

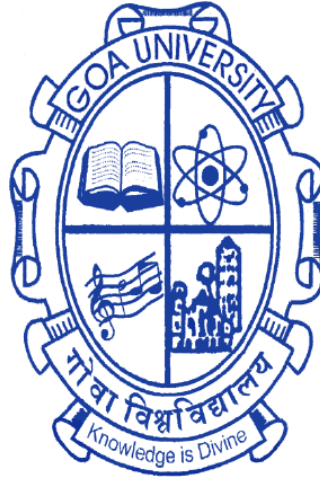
# Sanskrit, State and Legitimacy in Goa (4<sup>th</sup> Century AD-1565)

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE DEGREE OF

## DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

GOA UNIVERSITY



By

Aditi Shukla

Department of History

Goa University

Goa

December 2021

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## DECLARATION

I, Aditi Shukla, hereby declare that this thesis represents work which has been carried out by me and that it has not been submitted, either in part or full, to any other University or Institution for the award of any research degree.

Place: Taleigao Plateau

Date: -12-2021

Aditi Shukla

## CERTIFICATE

I hereby certify that the above Declaration of the candidate, Aditi Shukla is true and the work was carried out under my supervision.

Dr. Nagendra Rao,

Research Guide

Professor and Head, Department of History

Goa University.

## **Acknowledgement**

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Aditi Shukla

Dedicated to the love of

My Parents

And

My Husband

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### THE 'STATE' IN GOA

Goa has had a long history, the earlier part of which is unrecorded, while the recorded part of the history of Goa begins from the fourth century AD onwards. The earliest datable history of Goa initiates from the record of Bhoja Devaraja of fourth century AD<sup>1</sup>. The records of the Bhojas of Chandrapura extend from the fourth century AD to sixth or seventh century AD<sup>2</sup>. The period of rule of the Bhojas was contemporary to that of the Kadambas of Banavasi in Karnataka and the Pallavas of Kanchi. It was in the same period that a major shift of the change of inscriptional language from Prakrit to Sanskrit was occurring in pan-India situation. The records issued by the dynasties serve as the evidence of the change. The records were composed in Sanskrit language, but still carried some expressions of Prakrit language<sup>3</sup>. With the passage of time, the records came to be composed in pure Sanskrit. During the sixth century AD, the Konkan Mauryas held control over some parts of Goa. Their rule over Goa is evident through the finding of two Sanskrit copper plate records belonging to the dynasty. Beginning from the second half of the sixth century AD, the Chalukyas of Badami started to rule over some territories of northern part of Goa. Eight copper plate records of the Chalukyas of Badami have been found, out of which seven are found at the northern border of Goa at Nerur, while one has been found within the present boundary of Goa. The grants extend from the sixth century AD to early eighth century AD. The Chalukyas of Badami reigned supreme in the Deccan with their territories extending from the Western ocean to the Eastern ocean<sup>4</sup>. It comprised the regions of Goa, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka<sup>5</sup>. In the seventh century AD, the house of the Chalukyas of Badami was divided and the house of Eastern Chalukyas was established<sup>6</sup>. In the eighth century AD, the Rashtrakutas of Malkhed defeated the Western Chalukyas and occupied their territories<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Siroda plates of Bhoja Devaraja, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 24, p. 143 .

<sup>2</sup> V T Gune, *Gazetteer of Goa, Daman and Diu*, p. 65.

<sup>3</sup> The aspect has been discussed in Chapter 3 of the present work.

<sup>4</sup> Aruna Pariti, *Genealogy, Time and Identity*, p. 17.

<sup>5</sup> Aruna Pariti, *Genealogy, Time and Identity*, p. 17.

<sup>6</sup> Aruna Pariti, *Genealogy, Time and Identity*, p. 17.

<sup>7</sup> A S Altekar, *Rashtrakutas and their Times*, p. 15, 36-37; V T Gune, *Gazetteer of Goa, Daman and Diu*, p. 82.

The region of Goa was ruled by the feudatories of Rashtrakutas, the Shilaharas of Goa. Three copper plate grants of the Goa Shilaharas have been discovered, ranging from the end of tenth century AD to the early decades of eleventh century AD that provide insight into the history of the period<sup>8</sup>. Apart from the records of Goa Shilaharas, the records of the Rashtrakutas and that of the North Shilaharas also provide information regarding the political and economic history of the region. The Goa Shilaharas were subdued by the Western Chalukyas<sup>9</sup> who once again acquired power and subdued the Rashtrakutas<sup>10</sup>. However, the North Shilaharas and the Kolhapur Shilaharas continued to rule<sup>11</sup>.

In the tenth century AD, the house of Goa Kadambas rose to prominence in Goa<sup>12</sup>. The Goa Kadambas rule extended from the mid-tenth century AD till the mid-fourteenth century AD. The kingdom of the Goa Kadambas flourished during the eleventh to twelfth century AD. However, their power started declining from the thirteenth century AD. After the decline of the Western Chalukyas in twelfth century AD<sup>13</sup>, the Goa Kadambas continued to rule independently for some period. However, they were reduced to feudatories in the thirteenth and fourteenth century AD. During the period of their rule, the Goa Kadambas issued a large number of inscriptions, in Sanskrit as well as in Kannada. The fourteenth century AD was the period of struggle between the Hindu kings and the Muslim invaders<sup>14</sup>. The Vijayanagara rulers took hold of Goa in the last quarter of fourteenth century AD and continued to rule for almost a century<sup>15</sup>. By the last quarter of the fifteenth century AD, the Bahamani rulers eradicated the Vijayanagara rulers from Goa and started ruling over it. The prosperous maritime trade from the ports of Goa and the import of horses from the Arab countries was the leading cause of struggle between states to exert their rule in Goa.

The Portuguese conquered the Island of Goa from the rulers of Adil Shah dynasty in 1510 AD<sup>16</sup>. However, they could hold only the island of Goa, while other territories of Bardez and Salcette

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<sup>8</sup> V V Mirashi, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol 6.

<sup>9</sup> V T Gune, *Gazetteer of Goa, Daman and Diu*, p. 89.

<sup>10</sup> V V Mirashi, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol 6, p. xiii.; V T Gune, *Gazetteer of Goa, Daman and Diu*, p. 82

<sup>11</sup> V V Mirashi, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol 6.; V T Gune, *Gazetteer of Goa, Daman and Diu*, p. 89.

<sup>12</sup> G M Moraes, *Kadambakula*, p. 167.

<sup>13</sup> V T Gune, *Gazetteer of Goa, Daman and Diu*, p. 108.

<sup>14</sup> V T Gune, *Gazetteer of Goa, Daman and Diu*, p. 124-129.

<sup>15</sup> V T Gune, *Gazetteer of Goa, Daman and Diu*, p. 128-129.

<sup>16</sup> V T Gune, *Gazetteer of Goa, Daman and Diu*, p. 137.

continued to remain under the rule of the Adil Shahi rulers. The Portuguese obtained Bardez and Salcette from the Adil Shahi rulers in 1543 AD<sup>17</sup>. During this period, the Vijayanagara rulers once again obtained the monopoly from Portuguese for receiving the horses from Ormuz. In 1565 AD, with the fall of Vijayanagara dynasty, the exorbitant commerce of Portuguese that was dependent on the supply of horses to the Hindu kings, also declined.

During the period from the fourth century AD till 1565 AD, the region saw the emergence and transition of state system. The political processes of the various dynasties of Goa have been analysed in the present work in order to understand the state administrative machinery of the kingdoms. A state is a complex organization that comes to form through the combined effects of social, economic and ideological processes. The ideological apparatus of a state functions to gain legitimacy of the authority from the subjects. Several scholars have analysed various factors that contribute towards legitimacy of state in India. However, none of the scholars have estimated the significance and role of language in state and its legitimacy. It is observed that the records issued by various dynasties that ruled Goa in the first millennium AD are composed in Sanskrit language. In the second millennium AD, the dynasties that held Goa and other regions as well, issued Sanskrit inscriptions in Goa, while they issued records in the respective regional language in the other occupied territories. After the conquest of Portuguese, it is seen that they make use of the local language and literature and compose texts like *Kristapurana*. It shows that the language is an important tool that helps the rulers to connect with the ruled. The present work is the first attempt to understand and bring to light the importance of Sanskrit and other languages in state formation in Goa and its function as a tool of legitimacy. In the process of the analysis, the political processes of the kingdoms of Goa have been analysed. It also highlights the characteristics of 'state' that are evident in the Goa Kadamba state.

## **GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY OF GOA**

Konkan Coast is a long strip of land on the Western coast of India. According to ancient texts, it is called *Saptakonkana* which means the land of seven divisions. Goa is one part of the seven divisions of *Saptakonkana*, the others being Kerala, Turlana, Saurashtra, Karhata and Barbara<sup>18</sup>. Goa is a small state covering an area of 3702 square kilometers. The state shares its boundaries

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<sup>17</sup> V T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu*, p. 148.

<sup>18</sup> Gerson Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda*, p. 326.

with Maharashtra in the north, Karnataka in the east and south and Arabian Sea in the West. It lies almost midway between the economic areas of Gujarat and Malabar. The geographical boundaries of the state lies between the latitudes 14°53'57" N and 15°47'59" N and the longitudes 73°40'54" E and 74°20'11" E. It has a subtropical monsoon type of climate.

Goa has been of considerable importance since very early times which is substantiated by its multiple mentions in the ancient texts. Goa is known as Gove in Kannada<sup>19</sup> and as Goem in Konkani<sup>20</sup>. Its name is also said to be the abbreviation of Gomant. Goa finds mention in historic texts like *Vishnu Purana*, Bhishm Parva of *Mahabharata*, *Sahyadrikhanda* and *Konkanamahatya* as Goparashtra, Gorashtra, Gomant, Gomanchal, Gomantak, Gopakapattana and Govapuri. There is mention of people called *gomantas* in the 9<sup>th</sup> canto of the Bhishmaparva of *Mahabharata*<sup>21</sup>. It is also connected with the Sanskrit word *go* meaning cow in the sense of a country of cows<sup>22</sup>. Its name is also said to be the abbreviation of *Gomant*. Traditionally, Goa is said to be a part of Parashuramakshetra in the *Sahyadrikhanda*<sup>23</sup>.

In the travelogues, the Arabs identified Goa as Kuwa<sup>24</sup> or Kuwe<sup>25</sup>. In Ibn Batuta's travelogue, he mentions the name as Sandabur which have been identified as Goa<sup>26</sup>. Sandabur might be corresponding to Chandrapura in Goa which was a port since ancient times and a busy trade centre<sup>27</sup>. In the books of the Greeks, Goa finds mention as Nelkinda and Aegedii in *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*<sup>28</sup>. *The Geographie* by Ptolemy mentions it as Kouba<sup>29</sup>. The mention of Goa in various travelogues of people from different parts of the world provides testimony to the trade relations of Goa with several countries of the world since time immemorial. This claim is supported by D D Kosambi, who has pointed out that the Greek settlement at Dhenukakata and

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<sup>19</sup> The name 'Gove' appears in the Kannada inscriptions of Goa Kadambas. See S G Kadamb, *Sources of History of the Kadambas of Goa*.

<sup>20</sup> M Nambirajan, *Coastal archaeology of Western India*, p. 3.

<sup>21</sup> Mahabharata, Bhishmaparva, 9<sup>th</sup> Canto

<sup>22</sup> Henry Yule and A.C.Burnell-Hobson-Jobson, p.379

<sup>23</sup> J Gerson Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda, Uttarardha*, Chapter 7; Chandrakant Keni, *Konkanakhyana, Adirahasya*, Chapter 1.

<sup>24</sup> Lee's Travels of Ibn Batuta, (London, 1829), p. 164. As quoted in HASC, p. 118.

<sup>25</sup> Yules Cathay and the Way Thither, Vol II (London, 1866), p. 444, as quoted in HASC, p. 118.; J N Fonseca, *Sketch of the City of Goa*, New Delhi, 1986, p. 118.

<sup>26</sup> M Nambirajan, *Coastal Archaeology of Western India*, p. 3; Alvita Mary D' Souza, 'Urban Maritime History of Goa', *Unpublished PhD Thesis*, Goa University, 2007, p.2.

<sup>27</sup> Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India-Trade, Religion and Politics in Indian Ocean*, p. 25.

<sup>28</sup> *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, Translated by Wilfred H Schoff, pp. 44, 202.

<sup>29</sup> Claudius Ptolemy, *The Geographie*, Edited by Edward Luther Stevenson, p. 156.



the sculpture of a sphinx in the Chaitya Cave at Karle are indicative of foreign connections in India due to the trade from the Western coast<sup>30</sup>.

## **PREHISTORIC GOA AND EARLY SETTLERS**

There is no definite evidence available to signify the period when human inhabitation in this region started. Owing to the geography of Goa, it has moderate average rainfall, several water resources in the form of rivers, tropical deciduous forests and coastal plains. The region provides enough resources for human sustenance.

Depending upon the archaeological evidences available, the prehistoric period of Goa can be divided into lower, middle and upper Paleolithic age, Mesolithic age, Neolithic age and Megalithic age. There are certain evidences which form the part of rock art or petroglyphs of the early settlers of Goa<sup>31</sup>.

The Lower Paleolithic age in India has been dated approximately to half a million to fifty thousand years BC<sup>32</sup>. There have been found evidences which help in dividing the Paleolithic age into lower, middle and upper Paleolithic age when the early man was a hunter. Light stone implements from Mandovi and Zuari river basin, unifacial chopper from Shigao near Dudhsagar, bifacial choppers from Bimbal, Tambdi Surla and Sonavli<sup>33</sup>. The arrowheads, awls, scrappers made of quartz stone have been found at Arali near Dabolim, Shigao and Fatorpa and belong to the middle Paleolithic period<sup>34</sup>. It has been dated to around 35,000 BC. The implements like blades made of siliceous material have been found at Velha Goa, Mopa, Molanguinin<sup>35</sup>, Sal, Anakhane and Kudne<sup>36</sup>. They have been categorized to belonging to upper Paleolithic period from 10,000 BC<sup>37</sup>. By this period, man had become food gatherer.

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<sup>30</sup> D D Kosambi, *Myth and Reality*, p. 107.

<sup>31</sup> For details see, M Nambirajan, *Coastal Archaeology of Western India*.

<sup>32</sup> M Nambirajan, *Coastal Archaeology of Western India*, p. 20.

<sup>33</sup> S A Sali, *Indian Archaeological Report*, 1964-65, pp. 8-10.

<sup>34</sup> M Nambirajan, *Coastal Archaeology of Western India*, pp. 33-34.

<sup>35</sup> M Nambirajan, *Coastal Archaeology of Western India*, pp. 40-41.

<sup>36</sup> Alvita Mary D' Souza, 'Urban Maritime History of Goa', *Unpublished PhD Thesis*, p. 2

<sup>37</sup> A R Marathe, 'Prehistoric Explorations in the Mandvi and Zuari Basin, Goa', *Bulletin of Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol. 42. (Poona: Deccan College Publication, 1983) pp.104-106.

During the Mesolithic period man started living in artificially created structure and was more inclined towards maritime and riverine food resources, apart from hunting and gathering<sup>38</sup>. Use of microliths, small stone blades, flakes, points, fluted core was prominent which have been found at Rivona, Quepem taluka and along the coastal regions<sup>39</sup>. M Nambirajan discovered some more Mesolithic sites in Goa which include Alorna, Bhutkambha, Farmagudi, Tambdisurla, Quepem, Shigao, Verna, Waghli, Chandel, Molanguinim and Bombdimol<sup>40</sup>.

By the beginning of the Neolithic period in 6000 BC, man had transformed his means of obtaining food. They had started food production and their implements were designed to suit the purpose. The tools were specially ground and polished stones were utilised as axes and adzes mostly made to use for some agricultural activity. The tools of this period have been found in Tambdi Surla, Sancorda, St. Catejan Church at Old Goa Chicalim and Arali<sup>41</sup>. Nambirajan informs that the present Mandovi -Zuari basin was the 'focal point of Neolithic phase'<sup>42</sup> in Goa and that the Anmod-Tambdisurla gap was used for movement between Goa and Karnataka at least since Neolithic period<sup>43</sup>.

The rock art belonging to pre-historic period, called Petroglyphs, has been found at Usgalimol, Pansalimol, Mauxi and in Kajur in Goa. They are significant findings as it has placed Goa on the map of rock-art in India and the world. They have been dated to 1500 BC to 800 BC, to the changing phase from Megalithic to Chalcolithic period. The rock art specimens from the other parts in India range from Mesolithic to the modern period. In Goa, the rock engravings, especially from Kazur are datable from the Iron Age, Megalithic or to the overlapping phase of the Megalithic or Early Historical periods. N K Kamat has estimated the dates of 2500 BC -1500 BC for the petroglyphs<sup>44</sup>, while P P Shirodkar suggested that the engravings belong to Upper Paleolithic or Mesolithic age and dated them to 8000 BC -6000 BC<sup>45</sup>. There are different kinds of engravings on hard laterite surface and the figures comprise of humans in different position,

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<sup>38</sup> M Nambirajan, *Coastal Archaeology of Western India*, p. 54.

<sup>39</sup> K V Rao, 'Stone Age Culture of Goa', *Archaeological Studies*, Vol III, University of Mysore, 1978, pp. 86-90.

<sup>40</sup> M Nambirajan, *Coastal Archaeology of Western India*, p. 56.

<sup>41</sup> M Nambirajan, *Coastal Archaeology of Western India*, p. 107.

<sup>42</sup> M Nambirajan, *Coastal Archaeology of Western India*, p. 108.

<sup>43</sup> M Nambirajan, *Coastal Archaeology of Western India*, pp. 108-109.

<sup>44</sup> N K Kamat, *Stone Age Gallery, Goa Today*, Panjim, 1993: pp 36-41.

<sup>45</sup> P P Shirodkar, *Stone Age Bruisings and Rock Carvings of Goa-How Old they are?*, *Unpublished Seminar Paper*, Department of Archives, Archaeology and Museums, Government of Goa, Panaji. 1994.

animals like bull, deer, elephant, cattle, mother and child and chakravyuha. The figure of the bull seems to be an X-ray representation of the animal. There is engraving of bow and arrow like design as well<sup>46</sup>. The design of the Chakravyuha or labyrinth has found also at Tikla paintings near Gwalior in Madhya Pradesh, at New Grange in Ireland dated to 3000 BC, at Melos in Greece dated 2500-2200 BC and at Volcamonica in Italy. This shows that the design is somewhat universal<sup>47</sup>.

The Megalithic period is dated from 1300 BC to 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. It is a period when people made use of large stones especially to mark areas of burial of the dead. Quite a few megalithic sites have been found in Goa, including dolmens, menhirs, stone circles, etc. The stone circles have been found at Curdi, Fatorpa, Kajur, Ibrahimpur and Bambolim<sup>48</sup>. From the excavation of the stone circles, red and black ware and red ware pottery sherds have been found. Some of the features on the wares signify the overlapping of megalithic and early historical period. Menhirs have been found in about fifteen places in Goa including Tambdi Surla. They are found in straight line and in a group of two or three. A sculpture on a flat laterite stone depicting a female figure carrying a small child in arms, were discovered closely to stone circle at Curdi<sup>49</sup>. On the basis of features, it has been suggested to belong to Megalithic period.

The above description of the early history of human settlements in Goa is helpful in order to understand the social and cultural aspects of the population since pre-historic times. It is significant to understand its role in shaping the society in the historical period of Goa. The recorded history of Goa is known from fourth century AD onwards. Goa was ruled by the Bhojas of Chandrapur, Konkan Mauryas, Chalukyas of Badami, Goa Shilaharas, Goa Kadambas, Vijayanagara Empire, Bahamani and Adil Shahi rulers and the Portuguese before it gained independence in 1961 AD. Goa has been ruled by various rulers who patronized different faiths. A number of records were issued by the ruling dynasties that help to construct the pre-Portuguese history of Goa. The period of the rule of dynasties saw the employment of Sanskrit language for the composition of the inscriptions. From the second millennium of the Christian era, the emergence of regional language for composing inscriptions of the ruling kingdoms of

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<sup>46</sup> Evident on the basis of field work

<sup>47</sup> M Nambirajan, *Coastal Archeology of Western India*, p.121-123.

<sup>48</sup> M.Nambirajan, *Coastal Archaeology of Western India*, pp. 110, 113-116.

<sup>49</sup> P P Shirodkar, 'A Rare find of Mother Goddess at Kurdi', *Goan Society Through the Ages*, 1987, Goa, pp. 9-15.

Goa was seen. The Goa Kadambas used Kannada language for issuing their records in the region of Karnataka, whereas they employed Sanskrit language for issuing inscriptions in Goa. The rulers of Vijayanagara issued Sanskrit and Marathi inscriptions in Goa. In the sixteenth century, the capture of Goa by the Portuguese changed the scenario. The state availed the support of the local elites for strengthening their empire<sup>50</sup>. They employed the use of local language in order to appeal to the local audience and utilize the resources for their benefit. The local language of the people was called as *Canarim*, which developed under the influence of Sanskrit, Marathi and Kannada. A text called *Krista Purana* was composed by Father Thomas Stephens in *Canarim* in order to influence the masses<sup>51</sup>.

Language functioned as an important tool through which the states acquired the sanction of the people and validated its authority. Sanskrit functioned in Goa as a tool of legitimacy that was significant for state formation in the region of Goa.

### **AIMS OF THE STUDY**

This study is performed with specific aims in mind. Foremost, the study aims to assess the state administration with respect to role of Sanskrit. The study assesses various features of state administration that indicate the relationship of Sanskrit with the state machinery. The capacity of Sanskrit in the social, economic and political features of the state have been analysed. During the period of 4<sup>th</sup> century AD to sixteenth century AD, the political processes of the states underwent a tremendous change across India. ‘Sanskrit cosmopolis’<sup>52</sup> was created from the fourth century AD onwards as a result of switching the language of inscriptional records from Prakrit to Sanskrit. Inscriptional records of various dynasties provide evidence for the same. The earliest inscription of Goa belongs to fourth century AD, which has been composed in Sanskrit language. In consonance with the changes in the pan-Indian scenario, the early records of Goa present the change of language of inscriptions. The early Sanskrit inscriptions are embedded with few Prakrit words. It indicates that the political processes were similar across India as they were in

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<sup>50</sup> Angela Barreto Xavier, Ines G Zupanov, *Catholic Orientalism- Portuguese Empire, Indian Knowledge (16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> Centuries)*

<sup>51</sup> See Angela Baretto Xavier and Ines Zupanov, *Catholic Orientalism*, p. 230.

<sup>52</sup> Sheldon Pollock, *Langauge of the Gods in the World of Men*.

Goa. Dynasties adopted suitable techniques in the functioning of the state that were trending in the neighbouring states as well.

Secondarily, the present work is devised to assess the relationship of Sanskrit with legitimacy of state. Suitable techniques of the legitimization of the authority of the rulers were embraced as a part of political processes. Though the state could be kept safe and the boundaries intact from the external attacks of rival dynasties with the help of military strength, the coherent internal conditions of the state could be established through the validation of the king's authority. The validation was sought through several means that appropriated as tools of legitimacy. Language was one of the methods that suitably employed to gain legitimacy from the people. The kings employed that language for composing inscriptional records, which was deemed fit according to the audience. Following the same cause, inscriptions issued in the Tamil region were mostly found in Tamil language. Even when the records were bi-lingual, one of the languages was Tamil. The rulers of the dynasties of Goa issued Sanskrit inscriptions in the entire period of study, with a few exceptions of Kannada and Marathi records. The rulers employed language as a suitable medium of consolidation of authority in the region of Goa. The relationship of Sanskrit with the state of Goa has been estimated through the analysis of the inscriptional records.

The analysis of the change of language for the composition of inscriptional records of trans-regional dynasties serves to explain the function of language as a tool of legitimacy. It has been observed that the dynasties changed the language of inscriptions depending upon the region and the related audience for whom the record is issued. The change started appearing from the sixth century AD onwards. However, the prominent visible change of language from Sanskrit to regional languages became evident from the tenth century AD onwards, which has been termed as 'vernacularisation'<sup>53</sup>. However, the scholars have not analysed the causes that led to the mentioned change. The present work intends to present the underlying causes of the so called 'vernacularisation'. It is observed that suitable language was employed for recording the grants and other royal orders, which intended to appease the audience. It functioned to achieve validation of authority of the states that was required by the pre-state polities, early state as well as mature states.

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<sup>53</sup> Sheldon Pollock, *Language of the Gods in the World of Men*.

Sanskrit was not only involved at the political level of states, rather was an important feature of the social and cultural elements of society. Through the present study, it is intended to observe and bring to light the aspects of society of Goa that were affected under the effect of Sanskrit culture. The traditions enshrined in the puranic works like *Sahyadrikhanda* and *Konkanakhyana*, along with the traditions represented in the inscriptional records of Goa, have been analysed that report the Sanskritised Goan culture. Comparison of the folk tradition with the Vedic traditions provide the base of the study of the mentioned effect. In due course of time, Sanskrit was adopted by the people of Buddhist and Jain faith as well as by the rulers whose mother tongue was a regional language. The language was employed in the writing of elaborate genealogies and eulogies for the rulers that resemble the composition of literary works. It brings to light the 'cosmopolitan' character of Sanskrit. The mentioned facets of Sanskrit have been duly analysed in the present work.

## CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

For a better understanding of the research, we need to explain the concepts around which the study has been framed. Sanskrit, concept of state, legitimacy, both horizontal and vertical.

### Sanskrit

Vedas, Brahmanas, Upanishads, Puranas and other sacred literature of the Hindus have been composed in Sanskrit language. Indian scholars like Panini and Patanjali have composed works on Sanskrit grammar that have been followed by later scholars for composing Sanskrit works. A huge volume of Sanskrit works were eventually composed in the early years of Christian era. Indian scholars like A S Altekar<sup>54</sup>, R K Mookerji<sup>55</sup> mention that Sanskrit language and Sanskrit works like Vedas, Upanishads, astronomy, medical sciences and others were a part of curriculum taught in the educational institutes in India since ancient times. The language attracted the interests of various foreign scholars as well. Arthur A MacDonell<sup>56</sup>, Max Muller<sup>57</sup>, Martin Haug<sup>58</sup> are to name a few scholars who studied the Indian texts written in Sanskrit. Scholars like

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<sup>54</sup> A S Altekar, *Education in Ancient India*, Benares: Educational Publishers, 1944.

<sup>55</sup> R K Mookerji, *Ancient Indian Education- Brahmanical and Buddhist*. London: Macmillan and Co., 1947.

<sup>56</sup> Arthur A MacDonell, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, London: William Hienemann Ltd, 1928.

<sup>57</sup> Max Muller, *A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, London: Williams and Norgate, 1860.

<sup>58</sup> Martin Haug, *Aiteraya Brahmana of the Rigveda*, Vol I. Allahbad: Panini Office, 1922.

John Faithful Fleet<sup>59</sup>, F Keilhorn<sup>60</sup>, B Lewis Rice<sup>61</sup> are some of the European scholars who studied the Sanskrit inscriptions of India. The legacy of studying Sanskrit works and analyzing the social and political functions has been continued by scholars like Stephen Hillyer Levitt<sup>62</sup> and Sheldon Pollock<sup>63</sup>. Pollock has termed Sanskrit as the ‘Language of the Gods’. He claims that Sanskrit is a cosmopolitan language that entered the world few years before the commencement of Christian era and was adopted as the language of political will across India. Stephen Hillyer Levitt examines the grammar of Sanskrit in puranic texts like *Sahyadrikhanda* and *Patityagramanirnaya*. Madhav M Deshpande<sup>64</sup> has contributed immensely to the study of Sanskrit grammar. His work *Sanskrit and Prakrit: Socio-linguistic Issues* features the social aspects related with Sanskrit language<sup>65</sup>. He discusses the use of Sanskrit in Buddhism and Jainism, vernacular Sanskrit as well as social and political issues projected through Vedic Sanskrit.

Sanskrit has travelled various phases that comprise the phase of high popularity wherein the Vedas, Brahmanas, Upanishads came to be composed. The next phase saw the waning popularity of Sanskrit and it became restricted for religious purposes by the elites. Further, Sanskrit once again took the front stage with the royal dynasties using it for inscribing their orders and other political functions. The language was adopted by the kings as a tool for obtaining legitimization of their authorities. Sheldon Pollock has discussed the Sanskrit inscriptions issued by various dynasties of the first millennium of Christian era<sup>66</sup>.

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<sup>59</sup> John F Fleet, *Pali, Sanskrit and Old Kanarese Inscriptions*. London: Archaeological Survey of Western India, 1878.

<sup>60</sup> F Keilhorn, *Epigraphia Indica Volumes*.

<sup>61</sup> B Lewis Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol 7, Inscriptions in the Shimoga District, Part I. Bangalore: Government Central Press, 1902.; B Lewis Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol 8, Inscriptions in the Shimoga District, Part II. Bangalore: Government Central Press, 1904.

<sup>62</sup> Stephen Hillyer Levitt, *The Patityagramanirnaya*. New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 2017.

<sup>63</sup> Sheldon Pollock, *Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2018.

<sup>64</sup> Madhav M Deshpande, *Sanskrit and Prakrit: Socio-linguistic Issues*. New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Private Limited, 1993.

<sup>65</sup> Madhav M Deshpande, *Sanskrit and Prakrit: Socio-linguistic Issues*. New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Private Limited, 1993.

<sup>66</sup> Sheldon Pollock, *Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2018.

## State

The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines state as an ‘organized political community with government recognized by people’<sup>67</sup>. The earliest description of statecraft was given by Kautilya in his work titled *Arthashastra*. He propounded the *Saptanga* theory of state which states that Swami, amatya, janapada, durg, kosh, danda, mitra and shatru comprise the seven elements that combine together to form a state<sup>68</sup>. However, the *Saptanga* theory was formulated depending upon the conditions of the ancient period. Max Weber states that the authority of the ruler of the state must be obeyed by the dominated. Weber explains state as ‘an objectified structure of political rule’<sup>69</sup>. He states that state is ‘historically and structurally specific organization of the rule of men dominating men’<sup>70</sup> that is supported by legitimacy. Romila Thapar<sup>71</sup> mentions that a state regulates social relations and maintains balance between the ruler and the ruled in a society. She adds that a state needs to have a continuing surplus that is passed to the state through administrative hierarchy and if required the state can force additional taxes to obtain surplus. There is distinction of state owned lands and communal lands. The ideological apparatus of state justifies the social stratification and supports significant religions that can benefit the state. The state functions through a government that forms the state policies depending upon the interest of the state as well as the social elites<sup>72</sup>.

The nature of state in the medieval period has been discussed by several scholars like B D Chattopadhyaya<sup>73</sup>, R S Sharma<sup>74</sup>, B P Sahu<sup>75</sup>, Hermann Kulke<sup>76</sup> and Burton Stein<sup>77</sup> among

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<sup>67</sup> H W Fowler and F G Fowler, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*, Bombay, 1987, p. 853.

<sup>68</sup> Kiranjit Kaur, ‘Kautilya: Saptanga Theory of State’, *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol 71, No. 1 (Jan-Mar 2010): pp. 59-68.

<sup>69</sup> Karl Duszka, Max Weber’s Conception of State, *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, 3, No. 1 (Autumn, 1989), p. 73

<sup>70</sup> Max Weber, Legitimacy, Politics and the State, in *Legitimacy and the State*, edited by William Connolly: p. 33, Oxford, Basil Blackwell Publications, 1987.

<sup>71</sup> Romila Thapar, *From Lineage to State- Social formations of the mid-first millennium BC in the Ganga Valley*, p. 13.

<sup>72</sup> Romila Thapar, *From Lineage to State- Social formations of the mid-first millennium BC in the Ganga Valley*, p. 13.

<sup>73</sup> B D Chattopadhyaya, Political Processes and the Structure of Polity in Early Medieval India, in *The State in India, 1000-1700*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001.

<sup>74</sup> R S Sharma, *Indian Feudalism*, Hyderabad, Orient Blackswan Pvt Ltd., 2001.



others. R S Sharma states that medieval period was a period of feudalism in India where the nature of state was feudal<sup>78</sup>. He describes that due to the decline of trade and urbanism, the economy of state was mainly dependent on agriculture. The state delegated the authority to the landlords who in turn took the help of peasants to grow crops and collect surplus for state. Burton Stein put forward the theory of Segementary state for the medieval south India polity<sup>79</sup>. He suggested that in a segmentary state, several domains of power were created, rather than a single centralized authority. The domains were autonomous administrative centres while the king enjoyed only ritual sovereignty. He stated that in medieval south India, a 'pyramidal' structure of authority was followed where the *nadus* functioned as the stratified political centres. Under the Cholas, the segmentary state was divided into central, intermediate and peripheral zones of polity. James Heitzman supported the segmentary state theory for the Chola polity and added that they were an early state<sup>80</sup>. He suggested that the kings patronized the *brahmanas* and the temples as well as resolved local disputes. Later, the elites were incorporated into the administrative structure who extracted tax and added to state resources. Hermann Kulke<sup>81</sup> has proposed the 'integrative state' model for medieval India. He suggests that the integrative state consists of nuclear zone, peripheral zone and the neighbours. He states that a chiefly power is formed in a nuclear area which later grows into larger territory and integrates the peripheral zones within its jurisdiction<sup>82</sup>. This enlarged kingdom expands the core region and forms an imperial kingdom that includes the integrated hinterland along with the nuclear region<sup>83</sup>.

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<sup>75</sup> B P Sahu, The State in India: An Overview, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Vol 55 (1994); B P Sahu, Legitimation, Ideology and State in Early India, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Vol 64 (2003).

<sup>76</sup> Hermann Kulke, *The State in India, 1000-1700*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997.

<sup>77</sup> Burton Stein, The Segmentary State, in *The State in India*, edited by Hermann Kulke, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2007.

<sup>78</sup> R S Sharma, *Indian Feudalism*, Hyderabad, Orient Blackswan Pvt Ltd., 2001.

<sup>79</sup> Burton Stein, The Segmentary State, in *The State in India*, edited by Hermann Kulke, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2007.

<sup>80</sup> James Heitzman, State Formation in South India, 850-1280, in *The State in India*, edited by Hermann Kulke, pp. 162-163. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001.

<sup>81</sup> Hermann Kulke, The early and the Imperial Kingdom: A Processual Model of Integrative State Formation in Early Medieval India, *The State in India, 1000-1700*, p. 234.

<sup>82</sup> Hermann Kulke, The early and the Imperial Kingdom: A Processual Model of Integrative State Formation in Early Medieval India, *The State in India, 1000-1700*, p. 234.

<sup>83</sup> Hermann Kulke, The early and the Imperial Kingdom: A Processual Model of Integrative State Formation in Early Medieval India, *The State in India, 1000-1700*, p. 235.

Peter Skalnik and Henri J M Claessen have discussed the concept of early state in their work titled *The Early State*<sup>84</sup>. They mention that state is an organization wherein the individuals are connected through a complex relation. It is mentioned that a government of a state should have a centralized nucleus. Law and order needs to prevail in a state and the people must obey the sovereign either through coercion or through consensus. The state should be powerful enough to claim independence and safeguard against external threats. It is suggested that the state must have enough regular surplus that can help for the maintenance of state apparatus and that the state must possess an ideological structure that can provide legitimacy to the rulers.

B D Chattopadhyaya disagrees with the feudal state theory of medieval period in India. He states that during the early medieval period, the societies required a 'constant validation of power'<sup>85</sup> that is associated with the need of legitimization<sup>86</sup>. Legitimation of authority was a necessity for the states in various stages of state formation, whether pre-state, transition state or a mature state. He explains that the kings aspired to validate their rule through the *brahmanas*, who in turn were in need to protection and sustainability from the royal authority. The requirements were similar under the Sakas, Kshatrapas and Muslim rule as well. He explains that the *brahmanas* were helpful for the spread of the royal ideology and the ideal social order. Chattopadhyaya suggests that the political aspects of a state were an interplay of the social, economic and religious aspects of the state<sup>87</sup>. B P Sahu rejects the proposition of 'feudal state' as well as that of 'segmentary state'. He states that the theory of segmentary state is both, 'theoretically and empirically weak'<sup>88</sup>. Sahu suggests that state must be analysed in reference to religious processes, agrarian expansion, landed magnates, peasantisation of tribes, caste formation and hierarchization of society.

Y Subbarayalu analysed the Chola state while taking into consideration several perspectives of a state like the political process, the King and his territory, socio-economic organization, title holders and officialdom, military, bureaucracy, local administration and the police and the

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<sup>84</sup> Peter Skalnik, Henri J M Claessen, *The Early State*, Netherlands: Mouton Publishers, The Hague, 1978.

<sup>85</sup> B D Chattopadhyaya, Political Processes and the Structure of Polity in Early Medieval India, in *The State in India, 1000-1700*, pp.213.

<sup>86</sup> B D Chattopadhyaya, Political Processes and the Structure of Polity in Early Medieval India, in *The State in India, 1000-1700*, pp.213. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001.

<sup>87</sup> B D Chattopadhyaya, Political Processes and the Structure of Polity in Early Medieval India, in *The State in India, 1000-1700*, pp.201-203. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001.

<sup>88</sup> B P Sahu, The State in India: An Overview, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Vol 55 (1994): 88-98

judiciary<sup>89</sup>. He discusses the nature of Chola state as described by Nilkantha Shastri as ‘a highly centralized state’ or an ‘imperial state’, Burton Stein as the ‘segmentary state’, Kathleen Gough as ‘archaic state’, that was similar to Asiatic modes of production and ‘the early state’ theory defined by Peter Skalnik and Henri J M Claesen<sup>90</sup>. He reflects opinions in favour of a ‘feudal state’, but he adds that no fixed nature can be attributed to the Chola state<sup>91</sup>. Malini Adiga has described the nature of state of Southern Karnataka under the Gangas in the early medieval period as feudal state<sup>92</sup> owing to the presence of feudal land tenures held by grantees. She informs that the overlords obtained the dues from the peasants who were bound to the land along with artisans. She disapproves of the ‘segmentary state’ and ‘integrative state’ theories for the Ganga state. On the other hand, Yogender Dayma has provided evidences of trade and urbanisation under the Western Gangas, which disapprove the theory of feudalism<sup>93</sup>.

## Legitimacy

The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines ‘legitimacy’ as ‘logically admissible; lawful, conforming to standard type; sovereign title, based on strict hereditary right’<sup>94</sup>. Legitimacy as an important factor for state formation has been discussed by various scholars like B D Chattopadhyaya<sup>95</sup>, B P Sahu<sup>96</sup>, Kesavan Veluthat<sup>97</sup> among others. Chattopadhyaya suggests that the legitimization of authority was obtained mostly through the involvement of social and religious aspects of the society and that the validation was significant for the state formation. He adds that sacrificial rituals, genealogical sanctity and construction of temple networks were the important tools for legitimizing king’s authority<sup>98</sup>. He informs that all states were in constant requirement of

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<sup>89</sup> Y Subbarayalu, *South India Under the Cholas*, pp.207-241.

<sup>90</sup> Y Subbarayalu, *South India Under the Cholas*, pp. 248-258.

<sup>91</sup> Y Subbarayalu, *South India Under the Cholas*, p. 248.

<sup>92</sup> Malini Adiga, *The History of Southern Karnataka- Society, Polity and Culture in the Early Medieval Period, AD 400-1030*, Chennai: Orient Longman Pvt Limited, 2006.

<sup>93</sup> Yogender Dayma, *State and Society under the Western Gangas, Unpublished PhD Thesis*, Delhi University, 2019.

<sup>94</sup> H W Fowler and F G Fowler, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*, Bombay, 1987, p. 465.

<sup>95</sup> B D Chattopadhyaya, Political processes and The Structure of Polity in Early Medieval India, in *The State in India 1000-1700*, edited by Hermann Kulke, pp. 195-232.

<sup>96</sup> B P Sahu, Legitimation, Ideology and State in Early India, *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 64 (2003): 44-76.

<sup>97</sup> Kesavan Veluthat, Religious Symbols in Political Legitimation- The Case of Early Medieval South India, *Social Scientist*, 21, No. 1/ 2, pp. 23-33.

<sup>98</sup> B D Chattopadhyaya, Political processes and The Structure of Polity in Early Medieval India, in *The State in India 1000-1700*, edited by Hermann Kulke, pp. 207-208.

validation of their authority including the states under Muslim rule. It was due to the need of validation that the *brahmanas* composed the eulogies of the Muslim rulers and Sanskritised their titles as *Suratrana*<sup>99</sup> as well as Sanskritised the Hijri era<sup>100</sup>. B P Sahu suggest that for effective administration and control over territories, the rulers displayed affiliation for religious institutions as well as for their representatives<sup>101</sup>. He mentions that cultural differences caused the employment of culture specific measures for specific communities. He explains that though there was unequal distribution of power in the society, it was projected that the rules and practices, along with the distribution of power was justified. Such processes were integral to the strategies of domination and legitimization.

Kesavan Veluthat has enlisted several factors that are significant for the legitimization of the king's authority. He states that symbols of religion or Brahmanism like temples, Vedic rituals, *yajnas*, patronizing the *brahmanas*, identifying the God as the king and the king as the God became the legitimatizing factors in the state<sup>102</sup>.

The scholars have discussed several measures of legitimization of authority that were employed in the states. The factors are related to the ideological apparatus of the state which is also confirmed by the elite society. However, the scholars have not discussed the significance of language as a tool of legitimacy to the authority. Language has an important role in communicating the ideology of the rulers to the people of the state and the consequent dynastic support to the relevant religious institutions. The present work aims to analyse and bring to light the role of language in state formation and for gaining the validation of state authority.

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<sup>99</sup> B D Chattopadhyaya, Political processes and The Structure of Polity in Early Medieval India, in *The State in India 1000-1700*, edited by Hermann Kulke, p. 208.

<sup>100</sup> Refer to the footnotes in B D Chattopadhyaya, Political processes and The Structure of Polity, p. 208.

<sup>101</sup> B P Sahu, Legitimation, Ideology and State in Early India, *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 64 (2003): 44-76.

<sup>102</sup> Kesavan Veluthat, Religious Symbols in Political Legitimation- The Case of Early Medieval South India, *Social Scientist*, 21, No. 1/ 2, pp. 23-33.

## SOURCES OF STUDY

The study has been conducted with the help of inscriptions of the dynasties that ruled over Goa. There are more than hundred and fifty inscriptions issued under the patronage of the dynasties. The works of G M Moraes, R N Gurav, relevant volumes of *Epigraphia Indica*, *South Indian Inscriptions*, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, *Corpus Inscription Indicarum*, Annual reports of The Archaeological Survey of India, Annual reports of the state circles of ASI, *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, *Gazetteer of Goa*, *Maharashtra State Gazetteer*, *Karnataka State Gazetteer* and *Bombay Gazetteer* have been consulted to study and analyse the inscriptions. Gerson Da Cunha's *Sahyadrikhanda* and Chandrakant Keni's *Konkanakhyana* are essential to study the literary texts of Goa. Field visits conducted to relevant areas were undertaken to provide a better understanding of the archeological remains of the dynasties.

*Epigraphia Indica*, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, *Indian Antiquary* and *Corpus Inscription Indicarum* provide the primary sources for studying, analyzing and understanding the people and their cultures in Goa. They provide access to the available evidences of the kings and dynasties, people and environment based upon the copper plate charters, stone inscriptions, hero stones, etc. The *Journals of the Royal Asiatic Society* and the *Journal of the Bombay branch of Royal Asiatic Society* are significant for gathering information about the rulers of Goa and their traditions. The articles published in the journals throw light on different aspects of administration of the kings.

The Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India provide information of significance regarding the excavations conducted and the findings of the excavations. They help to fill the gaps in the existing ideas of Goa's history. The *Historical Archives of Goa* contain records which reveal information about the village communities called as *comunidades* by the Portuguese and *Gauncaria* system in India. The village communities have been a very important part of human settlements in Goa since very early time. The social, cultural, political and economic aspects of the villages were impacted and affected by the functioning of the village communities. The land of the villages was held on a community basis and the agricultural produce was divided amongst the village community members. The shares were also given to the temple and its priest, temple servants, etc for their maintenance. The records throw light on the formation and constitution of village communities, the officials and the working of the *comunidades*.

*Pissurlencar Collection* is an exclusive source of information which reveals about the culture of the people of Goa. Consisting of Portuguese sources, sources in Sanskrit, Marathi, Konkani and other languages as well, it reveals that the people of Goa were habitual of reading ancient texts like Mahabharata, Ramayana, Puranas and other hindu texts. They were well versed in the hindu traditions and followed the traditions religiously. It also provides access to some of the published inscriptions of kings who ruled in Goa.

The secondary sources have been consulted to gain an in depth understanding of various aspects of state in kingdoms and empires. They are helpful for the comparison of the situation of Goa with the states formed in other regions of the country. The works of Sheldon Pollock, B D Chattopadhyaya, Romila Thapar, Kesavan Veluthat, B P Sahu, David Schulman, Nagendra Rao, Y Subbarayalu, Stephen Hillyer Levitt, R Champalakshmi, Teotonio R De Souza, Yogender Dayma, Aruna Pariti are indispensable for the study. Works of Angela Barreto Xavier, Rui Gomes Pereira, Cunha Rivara, Olivinho J F Gomes, V R Mitragotri, Parag Parobo Datta, Remy Dias are immensely helpful for understanding the social structure of Goa.

## **REVIEW OF LITERATURE**

V.T.Gune has a significant contribution in the study of Goa's history. In *The Gazetteer of Goa, Daman and Diu, part I*<sup>103</sup>, he has presented the history of Goa since pre-historic times. He mentions about the evidences of human inhabitation in Goa since the Stone Age and goes up to the history of various dynasties that have ruled in Goa, the Portuguese period, the struggle for freedom and the scenario post-liberation. He specifies the evidences of the ruling dynasties and has explained the socio-economic and cultural aspects. He provides the information about the sculptural remains of the religious institutions in Goa since earliest times. He also informs of the inscriptional records of the dynasties that ruled over Goa. In *Goa Through the Ages*<sup>104</sup>, he has written about Goa's coastal and overseas trade from earliest times to 1510 AD. He writes that

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<sup>103</sup> V T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu*, Gazetteer Department, Government of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu, 1979.

<sup>104</sup> V T Gune, *Goa's Coastal and Overseas Trade: From the earliest Times till 1510 AD*, in *Goa Through the Ages: An Economic History*, edited by Teotonio R de Souza, Vol. 2, 117-136. 1990. Reprint, New Delhi: Concept publishing Company, 1999.

there was active trade carried on from Konkan coast since 400 BC. His claims are based upon the Jataka stories. The information is extremely useful for the interpretation of the political processes of the states. However, the information does not include the analytical information regarding state formation and the nature of state in Goa.

F E Pargiter makes interesting discussions in *Dynasties of the Kali Age*<sup>105</sup> about the language in which the Puranas had originally be written. He claims that the original text (later included in the Puranas) was written in Prakrit language. The composition was directly translated from Prakrit to Sanskrit by the Brahmanas and the Puranas were compiled. He mentions that the puranas are professed to have been composed by Vyasa and the art of writing came to India seven centuries BC. The Prakrit shlokas were translated into Sanskrit shlokas and converted to the form of a prophecy uttered by Vyasa. These translations and compilations were done not later than end of third century and some before end of fourth century. Pargiter's suggestion is significant to understand the reasons behind choice of language for royal panegyrics. In his book, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*<sup>106</sup>, he discusses the Indian traditions based on the Puranas and the Mahabharata. He has also discussed about the *Brahmana* tradition and the Kshatriya tradition.

The book *A Forgotten Empire*<sup>107</sup> by Robert Sewell provides information about the Vijayanagar Empire and all the rulers of the empire. It gives a story style narration of the establishment, growth and development of the state, wars of the rulers with the Muhammadan Sultans and other neighbouring states and also gives a vivid picture of the capital of Vijayanagar. *A History of South India*<sup>108</sup> by K A N Shastri is helpful in getting insight of the Vijayanagara kings, the gradual progress of the different dynasties of Vijayanagar and their final fall in the sixteenth century. It also provides information regarding trade relations of Vijaynagar kings with the Portuguese in sixteenth century AD.

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<sup>105</sup> F E Pargiter, *The Purana Text of the Dynasties of Kali Age*. London: Oxford University Press, 2013.

<sup>106</sup> F E Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, London: Oxford University Press, 1922.

<sup>107</sup> Robert Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagar)- A Contribution to the History of India*, New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1982.

<sup>108</sup> K A N Shastri, *A History of South India-From Prehistoric Times to the fall of Vijayanagar*, Madras: Oxford University Press, 1958.

V.R.Mitragotri's *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara*<sup>109</sup> is an empirical account of the social and cultural aspects of Goa during the period of fourth century AD till the sixteenth century AD. He explains the society and the cultures, their changes and developments from the time of early settlers. He provides information regarding the various aspects of the society, namely social aspects, cultural aspects, religious aspects, educational features, information of various dynasties that ruled in Goa among other information. He also informs regarding the various divisions of society, people from different castes and their occupations and the traditions linked with each caste and tribe. He has tried to recreate the socio-cultural history of Goa from the Bhojas up to the Vijayanagara times. He mentions about the significance of *brahmanas* in the society. The kings followed the tradition of religious endowments to the temples and highly learned *brahmanas* in their kingdoms. Some of the rulers gave grants to Jain and Buddhist monks for their maintenance.

M.Nambirajan has conducted an extensive study of the archaeology of Goa and presented the facts from his field survey in *Coastal Archaeology of Western India*<sup>110</sup> while correlating them with the findings of other researchers. His findings are helpful for understanding the behavioural pattern of the human settlement in Goa from the Early Paleolithic to the early historical period ending with 6<sup>th</sup> century AD. It also helps in understanding the changes from the time of advent of humans in the region, their food habits and traditions and the consequent changes wherein man changed from food hunter to food gatherer to food producer. Evidences of rock arts which are unique and have helped place Goa on the World map of petroglyphs have been described.

B R Gopal gives detailed information about the early Kadambas in *The Corpus of Kadamba Inscriptions*. The Kadamba dynasty was established by Mayursarman who was affiliated with the Pallavas initially. Later, he formed the Kadamba dynasty and made Banavasi his capital. Gopal has provided the inscriptions of early Kadambas starting from the fourth century AD, contemporary of Pallava king Sivaskandavarman.

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<sup>109</sup> V R Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara*, Panjim: Institute Menezes Braganza, 1999.

<sup>110</sup> M Nambirajan, *Coastal Archaeology of Western India*, New Delhi: Kaveri Books, 2007.



Walter Elliot provides detailed information and analysis of the coins and currencies of the dynasties of South India<sup>111</sup>. He has categorized coins into three types<sup>112</sup>. Type I are the Die Coins of lead, copper and mixed metal which are found in the north of Kuntala, especially in the deltas of Godavari and Krishna. Type II is coins of Dravida and the Western Coast, exhibiting the progress of a normal native currency from the prehistoric puranas to the artistic issues of the Vijayanagara times. Type III is coins of Eastern Dravida and Coromondal, imitated apparently from the northern type, intermingling by degrees with those of class II, and becoming gradually degraded till they exhibit the scarcely recognizable symbols of the latest native coinage. He gives information about the coins of the Kadambas which play important role in analysis of the economic conditions of the Kadamba dynasty.

T Desikachari in his book *South Indian Coins*<sup>113</sup> mentions about the coins of various rulers of South India including the coins of the Andhras, Pallavas, Cholas, Malabar, Vijayanagara other than Indo-Dutch and Indo-French coins. Coins of Vijayanagara are of special interest for this research. It also serves to compare information provided by Walter Elliot in his book *Coins of Southern India*.

*Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* provide a lot of information about the types of states, stages of state formation, process and features of state formation, etc. It serves a platform to learn about the views of different historians on state formation and legitimacy. The research articles of historians like B D Chattopadhyaya, B P Sahu, Kesavan Veluthat, etc throw light on the factors essential to keep in mind while analyzing the stage of state formation regarding the ruling dynasty.

*KadambaKula*<sup>114</sup> by George H Moraes is the earliest work on the history of the Kadamba dynasty. Moraes has extensively studied the inscriptions of the Kadambas and deciphered relevant information about them. He has discussed the early Kadambas, the Kadambas of Banavasi, Kadambas of Hangal, Kadambas of Goa and other minor houses of the Kadambas. He discusses the mythological origin of the Kadambas as mentioned in the Talagunda Pillar

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<sup>111</sup> Walter Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, Varanasi: Prithvi Prakashan, 1970.

<sup>112</sup> Walter Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, p.6

<sup>113</sup> T Desikachari, *South Indian Coins*, Trichinopoly: St. Joseph's Industrial School Press, 1933.

<sup>114</sup> G M Moraes, *The Kadambakula- A History of Ancient and Medieval Karnataka*, Bombay: B X Furtado and Sons, 1931.

Inscription. He also sheds light on the temples, art and architecture, geographical extents, and other features of the Kadambas. He also provides the genealogy of the Kadambas. The Kadamba kings are discussed in detail in the genealogical order.

R N Gurav's *unpublished PhD thesis* from Karanataka University, Dharwar titled 'The Kadambas of Goa and their Inscriptions'<sup>115</sup>, elaborates on the history of the Kadambas of Goa. Gurav discovered several inscriptions of the Goa Kadambas during his field visits in view of his research work. The provenance of the inscriptions also give an idea about the geographical extent of the Goa Kadamba rulers. The inscriptions consists of copper plate grants, stone slab inscriptions, inscriptions on temple walls as well as hero stones. He has tried to recreate the history of the Goa Kadambas in view of his findings. Around seventy two inscriptions form the part of his work. He has been able to elaborate the genealogy of Goa Kadambas which was earlier given by George Moraes in KadambaKula. Depending upon the inscriptions, he has divided the Kadamba rulers into three sections where the first part comprises of kings whose period involved the rise and consolidation of Goa house of Kadambas, the next period is of kings of the middle period and the third period has been termed as the independent period. This division also gives an idea about the author's understanding of the stage of state formation of the mentioned dynasty. He also gives description of the cultural history of the Goa Kadambas which includes aspects like administration, religion, education, architecture and town planning, language and social conditions.

The Gazetteers of Goa, Maharashtra, Ratnagiri and North Konkan are useful for getting obtaining the factual knowledge of the areas. It gives detailed information about the history and geography of the related places. The history involves the different kings who are associated with the place and their evidences in the form of inscriptions or the remains of the constructions during their reigns. This helps to confirm the relationship of the rulers with other areas as well as helps to confirm the extent of their kingdoms. It serves as a source of verification of the information obtained from other sources.

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<sup>115</sup> R N Gurav, *The Kadambas of Goa and their Inscriptions, Unpublished PhD Thesis*, Dharwar: Karnataka University, 1969.

*Indian Epigraphical Glossary*<sup>116</sup> by D C Sircar is most important for the purpose of this research. It is the source to find the meaning of the words mentioned in the inscriptions of the various kings during the period of their rule. Apart from the glossary, he also provides information about the administration of the rulers. He mentions about the privileges attached to the free holding land which the kings gifted to Brahmanas and religious institutions. He also writes about the names of the various taxes levied in the Dravidian languages and about the coins and weights and measures. Other works of D C Sircar like *Indian Epigraphy, Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History*<sup>117</sup> inform about the various languages employed in the composition of records. It also informs of the various aspects of inscriptions that are significant for the analysis in the present work.

Romila Thapar offers a descriptive information about the state in her work *Ancient Indian Social History-Some Interpretations*<sup>118</sup>. The articles 'Dana and Dakshina as forms of exchange' inform about the relevance and significance of the tradition of *dana* and *dakshina* offered to the *brahmanas* on ritual occasions by the rulers of medieval India. She informs that the tradition of *dana* has been in vogue since the Vedic times, which were arbitrary and unsystemised. However, it became an important aspect of socio-economic life in the later period and came to be associated as a legitimizing function in the dynastic political processes. The tradition of *dana* was also related to formation of *dana-stutis* in the honour of kings. This gradually developed in a two-way process in the later period, when the rulers made land-grants and the *brahmanas*, who were the beneficiaries, composed elaborate *prasastis* for the kings. The other work 'Genealogy as a Source of Social History' describes the significance of extensive genealogies in the *puranas* and later on in the inscriptions issued by the ruling dynasties.

B D Chattopadhyaya informs about the structure of medieval Indian polity in his work 'Political Processes and the Structure of Polity in early Medieval India'<sup>119</sup>. He states that the process of state formation was a complex process that involves the agrarian expansion, social processes as well as religious process in the kingdom. He adds that the rulers constantly attempted to secure

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<sup>116</sup> D C Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1966.

<sup>117</sup> D C Sircar, *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol I-From Sixth Century BC to the Sixth Century AD, Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1942.

<sup>118</sup> Romila Thapar, *Ancient Indian Social History-Some Interpretations*, New Delhi: Orient Longman Limited, 1978.

<sup>119</sup> B D Chattopadhyaya, Political processes and The Structure of Polity in Early Medieval India, in *The State in India 1000-1700*, edited by Hermann Kulke, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997.

validation of their authority from the public by employing the use of motifs of ideal socio-political order. He refutes the theory of ‘Oriental Despotism’ and ‘Feudalism’ in the perspective of medieval Indian polity. He states that the term ‘state’ cannot be used for the Kadambas of Banavasi, Hangal or Goa. However, the present work aims to refute the claim and present the evidences that prove that Goa Kadambas were indeed a ‘state polity’. His other work *Coins and Currency Systems in South India*<sup>120</sup>, provides relevant information about the coins of Goa Kadambas that substantiate with the evidences of the inscriptions and indicate a flourishing economy of the Goa Kadambas. *Representing The Other? Sanskrit Sources and the Muslims (8<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century)*<sup>121</sup> project the representation of Muslims in the records of Hindu kings of India. It adds to the value of Sanskrit as a tool of legitimacy for the ruling dynasties.

Teotonio R De Souza’s books, *Medieval Goa: A socio-economic history* and *Goa Through the Ages- An economic history*<sup>122</sup> are important works to understand the different aspects of Goa’s village and urban life. It consists of different articles which refer to historical geography, rural life, coastal trade, sea-borne trade, village communities, etc of Goa. The book on Medieval Goa is specifically about the rural life and the urban economy of medieval Goa. It gives answers to questions like the prevailing pattern of Goan economy, influence of the growth of money on the agrarian economy, impact of christianisation upon the Goan society and economy, the degree of town development and the extent of its interaction with the surrounding villages under its political control, etc. It also tells about the history of the Goan village communities. It describes the geographical distribution, historical origin and the customary legislation of Goan village communities. This is significant for this research in order to understand the origin of kingship, its ties with the village and beginning of state formation. The book also highlights the economic implications of the social aspect of village communities.

*Brahmanas of South India*<sup>123</sup> by Nagendra Rao critically analyses the traditional historical literature pertaining to significant caste groups, Brahmanas of South Western India. It tells about

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<sup>120</sup> B D Chattopadhyaya, *Coins and Currency Systems in South India, c AD 225-1300*, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt Ltd, 1977.

<sup>121</sup> B D Chattopadhyaya, *Representing The Other? Sanskrit Sources and the Muslims (8<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century)*, New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 1998.

<sup>122</sup> Teotonio R de Souza, *Goa Through the Ages, Vol II- An Economic History*, New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1990.

<sup>123</sup> Nagendra Rao, *Brahmanas of South India*, New Delhi: Kalpaz Publications, 2005.

the traditions of South Kanara and how the Brahmanas utilised the traditions to justify their higher status and social hierarchy. It also explains the southward movement and legitimate authority of the brahmanas according to Gramapaddhati and Sahyadri Khanda. This work is helpful in ascertaining the legitimacy of the claims of traditions and anecdotes of Konkan been created by Parashuram and as a result Goa being a part of Parashurama kshetra.

*The Patityagramanirnaya*<sup>124</sup> by Stephen Hillyer Levitt describes about the traditions of the Brahmanas of South and Western India. It explains how certain communities of polluted *brahmanas* came into existence. It also discusses the supposed origin of some of the major brahmanic groups in the area of the Sahyadri ranges, one of which discusses the mythological origin of the Konkan coast. It also discusses the advent of the Brahmanas in the South and Western India, in the Konkan coastal areas which has traditionally been said to be done by Parashurama. The formation of Konkan coast by Parashurama, which is therefore called as Parashurama Kshetra, has also been described. It also discusses the geographical area where the villages of the polluted brahmianas existed. Levitt criticism of Da Cunha's Sahyadrikhanda is significant to understand the errors of language in composing the text. His articles published in journal *Purana* extend his views on the Sanskrit text.

Sheldon Pollock in *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men*<sup>125</sup> discusses about the advent of God's language Sanskrit in the world. He speaks about how and when Sanskrit came to be used by people as the court language and became a medium of expression of political processes which earlier was restricted to be used by the priests in religious processes only. He attempts to understand the relationship of Sanskrit with local forms of culture and power. According to him, there have been two major transformations in culture and power in pre-modern India. The first one around the beginning of the Common Era, when the religious and sanctified language Sanskrit, became popular for literary and political expression. The second moment occurred around the beginning of the second millennium when the vernacular speech forms replaced Sanskrit for poetry as well as polity. He calls Sanskrit a 'cosmopolitan' language and explains the formation of 'Sanskrit cosmopolis' by giving three implications which are its trans-regional dimension, prominence given to the political dimension and the role of Sanskrit in producing the

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<sup>124</sup> Stephen Hillyer Levitt, *The Patityagramanirnaya*, New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 2017.

<sup>125</sup> Sheldon Pollock, *Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, Ranikhet. Permanent Black, 2018.

forms of cultural and political expression. He also tries to give the legitimation theory of Sanskrit by explaining that the rulers seek their popular consent by representation of self in Sanskrit literature in the form of poetry or *royal prasastis*. Regarding Vernacularisation, he states that when the people in power choose a local language as the carrier of the political will, it should be understood that they are choosing something which is not yet fully formed as compared to the mature language Sanskrit. However, Pollock does not bring into discussion the reasons of 'vernacularisation'. He does not attend to the question of 'audience' that was significant in the course of adoption of regional languages to compose the royal inscriptions. While discussing vernacularisation, Pollock does not take into consideration the presence and use of Tamil language in Tamil region that happened several centuries before the so called 'vernacularisation'.

Ancient texts like *Aitereya Brahmana*, *Sahyadrikhanda* and *Konkankhyana* provide the historical, mythological and geographical explanations to the traditions of people belonging to Goa. *Sahyadrikhanda* of *Skandapurana* speaks about the traditions of the geographical areas near the Sahyadri Mountains. It tells how Lord Parashurama created the land of Konkan for himself and then he brought and settled *Brahmanas* in the region. The *Yuktikalpataru* tells about the ship building qualities of the Bhojas and also about the sea-borne trade and commerce during their period. The *Aitereya Brahmana* mentions the name of Bhojas and also explains about the different types of constitution adopted by the rulers.

B P Sahu has mentioned several significant aspects of state formation in 'Legitimation, Ideology and State in Early India'<sup>126</sup>. He states that for the kings to continue in authority, they made use of religious ideas, symbols and institutions in order to validate their status and that legitimation was necessary for local state formation as well as in mature state societies. The ruling authority in power require various measures for legitimization of their rule that is presented as adhering to the norms of *dharma*. It is stated that legitimacy comprises three elements: confirmation to established rules, rules that can be justified by commonly shared beliefs by the rulers and the ruled and the evidence of consent on the part of subordinates. It helps the rulers to be perceived as 'moral agents, not just self-interested actors'. He has emphasized on the importance of inscriptions by stating that apart from marking territorial extent of the empire, they provide

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<sup>126</sup> B P Sahu, Legitimation, Ideology and State in Early India, *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 64 (2003): 44-76.

useful information about the state. By citing the example of Kushanas, he explains the rulers' occupation with legitimation and the use of devices ranging from the adoption of multiple titles to the accommodation of numerous deities, from traditions across the empire. He also elaborates on the role of *brahmanas* in the state formation. He calls them the 'guardian or interpreter of the socio-political order' that was patronized by the rulers. Also, the comparison between Buddhism, Jainism and Brahmanism is explained by stating that whereas the former were never intrinsic to legitimation process, the latter assumed significance in strategies of domination. Another significant argument put forward by Sahu is that he confronts vernacularisation with the need of legitimacy. He states that in the South Indian Inscriptions, the composition of the prasasti part in Sanskrit and the functional part in regional languages can be partly explained in terms of royal need of legitimacy both vertical and horizontal.

R Champalakshmi in the book *Trade, Ideology and Urbanisation*<sup>127</sup> mentions refutes the generalization of urban decay or decline of urban centres by the third century AD by examples of continuity of inland trade and associated urbanization in early medieval centres of ninth century AD. The book links the Buddhist stupas, viharas, sanghas and the brahmanical temples with the facilitation of trade and commerce as centres of interaction, integration, mobilization and redistribution of resources. Regarding the development of trading centres, it mentions that the more commercially active and organized towns were the pattinas located on the coast and that this accounted for fewer urban settlements in the interior and their presence only in inland capital and coastal port. This study is based on Tamil region, but the findings corroborate with the study of Goa region as well. The inscriptions of Kadambas of Goa mentions about the trading centres called pattanas in their inscriptions. Their later capital was named Goapkapattana. The book also discusses the transformation of society caused due to trade and urbanization that impacts state formation.

Aruna Pariti, gives description of the genealogy, notions of time and identity apparent in the inscriptions of Chalukyas. *Genealogy, Time and Identity*<sup>128</sup>, is a very systematic work that provides valuable information about the different kinds of genealogies in the inscriptional

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<sup>127</sup> R Champalakshmi, *Trade, Ideology and Urbanisation, South India, 300 BC to AD 1300*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006.

<sup>128</sup> Aruna Pariti, *Genealogy, Time and Identity, Historical Consciousness in the Deccan Sixth Century CE-Twelfth Century CE*, New Delhi: Primus Books, 2015.

records. The notions of time in the form of time of day, specific day of week, paksha of hindu calendar, month, year, yuga, which are mentioned in the inscriptions have also been discussed. The work primarily aims to prove that the opinion of the European scholars like James Mill, who considered that Indians lack a sense of history, is completely unacceptable. History has been recorded by Indians in a different style.

The articles written by Yogender Dayma<sup>129</sup> regarding the political and economic processes, state formation of the early Kadambas<sup>130</sup> and trade and urbanization under Western Gangas are extremely helpful in understanding the various aspects of a state that interplay to form a state. He has argued that the Kadambas were the first indigenous state systems in Karnataka. He also puts forward that the Kadambas originally belonged to Angirasa *gotra* and fabricated their descent from Manavya *gotra* and Hariti lineage. He explains that it was done probably because their predecessors, the Ananda kings also claimed to belong to manavya *gotra* and the Chalukyas and Vakatakas along with Anandas claimed Hariti lineage. Hence they too followed the tradition for the purpose of validating their authority.

An article Local Administration of Adil Shahi Sultanate by Hiroshi Fukazawa gives insight into the political structure and its administration under the Adil Shahi rulers. The article suggests that there were Hindu officials as well as Muslim bureaucrats in the administrative system. The territory was divided into parganas, Muamala and Qalah, out of which the Muamala was the largest division. Goa was one of the Muamalas and was directly administered by the king through a havaldar and his subordinates. The Muamalas were located in financially and militarily important zones. Since Goa was an important port, it was divided as a Muamlah. It provides details of the appointment of an official, his duties, remunerations, hereditary offices and others.

*Catholic Orientalism*<sup>131</sup> by Angela Baretto Xavier and Ines Zupanov mention about the significance of brahmanas in the early years of the Portuguese settlement. It mentions that they

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<sup>129</sup> Yogender Dayma, "Economic processes in the Early Kadamba State", *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 67 (2006-07): 118-127.

<sup>130</sup> Yogender Dayma, "Political Processes in the making of the Early Kadamba State", *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 69 (2008): 102-114.

<sup>131</sup> Angela Barreto Xavier, Ines G Zupanov, *Catholic Orientalism: Portuguese Empire, Indian Knowledge (16<sup>th</sup>- 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries)*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2015.



were called as gentiles by the Portuguese. It is stated that the idea of governance of Portuguese was that the rulers must know the people who are being ruled upon. This knowledge was extracted with the help of brahmanas who held the important posts in the village communities as well as higher authorities. They have been termed as knowledge specialists, as the ones who had the required knowledge and transmitted it whenever required. The Portuguese believed that the Indian culture was dominated by the gentiles and that the power of customs was directly related with politics. In order to understand the culture and customs, they also learnt the languages used by them, Sanskrit and Konkani.

## **CHAPTERISATION**

The present work is presented in the form of seven chapters. The study has been conducted with the help of primary and secondary sources that have been analysed in the light of the definite aims of the study.

The first chapter of the work is 'Introduction'. The chapter deals with the historical background of the study, aims of the study, the conceptual framework on which the study is based, sources of the study, review of literature and the chapterisation. The chapter begins with the background, based on which the present work has been devised. The next part discusses the geographical and a brief pre-historical setting of Goa. Additionally the name of Goa as mentioned in the travelogues of foreign travelers has also been discussed. Beyond that, the aims of the study have been discussed, which are required to understand the significance of the study. Further, the concepts of Sanskrit, State and Legitimacy have been discussed, based on which the study has been performed. It provides a clear view of the concepts before analyzing the state formation and legitimacy of the states. The study has been conducted for the period 400 AD to 1565 AD that extends from the period of the rule of Bhojas of Chandrapur till the end of Vijayanagar Empire. The primary sources relevant to the study are available for the specified period. The sixteenth century AD saw a significant shift in the social setting and the culture of the region with the advent of the Portuguese in 1510 AD. Further, the review of literature and the scheme of chapterisation have been discussed.

The second chapter is titled as ‘Sanskrit in India’. It discusses the presence of Sanskrit in the inscriptional records from the Mauryan period onwards. The chapter presents the situation during the Mauryan period, especially during the reign of Asoka, when Prakrit and Aramaic languages and Brahmi, Kharoshthi scripts were used for composing the inscriptions. However, the work of Kautilya on statecraft, *Arthashastra*, has been composed in Sanskrit language. Sanskrit inscriptions started appearing during the rule of post-Mauryan dynasties. The appearance of the Sanskrit records from the last few centuries before Christian era and the growth of the numbers after the second century CE onwards shows the change in trend of the language used for composing inscriptional records. It also indicates the change of tools of legitimacy employed by the kings for validating their authority. The Junagadh *prasasti* of Saka Rudradaman marks the period since when the appearance of Sanskrit inscriptions and literary works gathered pace. The earliest Sanskrit inscription in South India was issued in the early years of third century AD by the twenty-eighth Satvahana king, Vijaya Satkarni. In the forthcoming centuries, Sanskrit is adopted as the language of the state and employed in the inscriptions of the ruling dynasties. The chapter focusses on the gradual change of language of records beginning from the dynasties of the North to the dynasties of the South. The records of the Sungas, Kushanas, Sakas, Satvahannas, Vakatakas, Guptas, Pallavas, Gangas of Talakad, Chalukyas, Rashtrakutas of Malkhed have been studied and presented, which indicates that the rulers employed Sanskrit language for their inscriptional records. The chapter also discusses the literary text compositions that happened in the late centuries before the era of Christ and the early centuries of Christian era. Along with that, the chapter projects about the followers of Buddhist and Jain faith, who adopted Sanskrit for their compositions as well. The arguments of B D Chattopadhyaya bring out the situation in the courts of Muslim rulers in the Northern parts as well. Sanskrit inscriptions are issued under their patronage as well. The discussion brings to light the significance of language as a tool of legitimacy due to which Sanskrit was adopted for the purpose of records.

The third chapter, titled ‘Sanskrit and State Formation with special reference to Goa- Bhojas to Shilaharas’, discusses the relationship of Sanskrit with the state formation of the ruling kingdoms in Goa. The aspect has been studied with the help of the primary sources available for the period of study. The study ranges from 400 AD to 1010 AD that includes the rule of the Bhojas of Chandrapur, through the Konkan Mauryas, Western Chalukyas and till the rule of Rashtrakutas through their feudatories, Southern Shilaharas. Except for the Bhojas who had their core territory

within the geographical region of Goa, all other dynasties held Goa as a peripheral territory and established their control over it with the help of their governors. The inscriptions issued by the rulers of Goa aid in understanding the social, economic and political situation of Goa in the first millennium AD. In all, there are twenty inscriptions of Goa that have been issued by the dynasties and have been composed in Sanskrit language. The records are indicative of the ideologies of the rulers. An analysis into the gradual development of including genealogies in the inscriptions has also been made. The analysis is correlated with the sources of legitimacy to the kings, which helps in realizing the relationship of Sanskrit with the state. The arguments of scholars like R S Sharma, B D Chattopadhyaya, B P Sahu and Yogender Dayma are helpful in the analysis.

Chapter four is titled as ‘Sanskrit and State formation with special reference to Goa- Kadambas and Vijayanagar Empire’ and discusses the situation between the rise of Goa Kadamba dynasty in the tenth century AD till the fall of Vijayanagar Empire in 1565 AD. In the mentioned period, the effect of the Bahmani and Adil Shahi rulers in the fourteenth and fifteenth century AD and the Portuguese in the sixteenth century AD has also been discussed. The work of GM Moraes, R N Gurav and S G Kadamb have been consulted to study the details of the Goa Kadamba dynasty. Additionally, the volumes of *Epigraphia Indica*, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, *South Indian Inscriptions*, *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, and *Archeological Reports of ASI* have been consulted. The period of the advent of Goa Kadambas is coeval with the rise of vernacular language in different regions of South India. The chapter clarifies the argument of the author that the employment of language for the purpose of inscriptional records was dependent on the audience in different regions. It has been clarified that the trans-regional dynasties employed Sanskrit language for issuing inscriptions in Goa and Kannada language for their inscriptions issued for the audience of Karnataka, whose common language was Kannada. In this way, Sheldon Pollock’s theory of vernacularisation by clarifying the reasons that cause the change in the choice of languages. The argument of the author regarding language as a tool of legitimacy of state is projected through the discussion of the use of Sanskrit titles by the Muslim rulers as well as by the use of Persian inspired titles used by the Vijaynagara kings. The last part of the chapter discusses the attitude of the missionaries towards the Indian languages like Sanskrit and other regional languages.

The fifth chapter, titled ‘Sanskrit, Sahyadrikhanda and Indegenous Traditions’ discusses the literary texts *Sahyadrikhanda* and *Konkankhyana*, in order to estimate the social, cultural and political aspects of state. The texts have been analysed to study the features of state and legitimacy. These aspects will be utilized to estimate the aspects of state formation in *Skh* and *Konkanakhyana*. These literary compositions are helpful to understand the processes adopted by the rulers for state formation and legitimization of authority. The texts indicate that languages have been used as a measure of validation of authority by the rulers since antiquity. Similar processes are observed during the medieval period as well. The chapter discusses the historiography of *Skh* and *Konkanakhyana*, and the contents, author and period of composition of the texts. A separate section will discuss about the language of *Sahyadrikhanda*. It includes the legitimizing role of Sanskrit for composing the *sthalapurana*. The Sanskrit *Skh* will be compared with the Kannada *Skh*. The chapter proceeds with the discussion of Parashurama tradition and the comparison of the stories of *Skh* and *Konkankhyana*. The elements of state and legitimacy in *Skh* will be discussed. The aims of composing a *sthalapurana*, a local regional text has also been discussed in the chapter. It answers the questions pertaining the need to compose the Sanskrit text *Skh*.

Under the section of the Indegenous traditions of Goa, the religious affiliations of the people of Goa have been discussed. The topic comprises the traditions mentioned in the literary texts as well as in the inscriptional records issued by the dynasties of Goa. It further examines the inter-relationship of Sanskrit and the indigenous traditions of Goa along with the Greater traditions and the lesser traditions of Goa. The concluding part is the discussion pertaining to the literary traditions of pre-Portuguese period and those during the early decades of the Portuguese period in Goa.

The sixth chapter titled ‘Sanskrit and Epigraphy in Goa’ discusses the apparent features of Sanskrit in the epigraphs of Goa. The chapter discusses about the engagement of Sanskrit language with the administrative matters of the rulers of Goa. Sheldon Pollock argues that *prasastis* describe the politics and culture of states<sup>132</sup>. The study analyses the argument in relation to the use of Sanskrit for composing the eulogies as well as its function as the vehicle of expression. The inscriptions of Goa are examined regarding three aspects, the audience, content

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<sup>132</sup> Sheldon Pollock, *Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, Introduction, p. 14

of record and the purpose of the record. The chapter brings to light the audience that are aimed at in the records. It helps to assign the reasons of employing a particular language for the compositions of the records. The study shows that *brahmanas*, temples, Jains and the like were the audience of the records. The content of the records shows that the genealogy of the ruling dynasty and the notions of time, the transaction statement are indicative of the various tools that were employed for the legitimation of authority. The purpose of the record bring to light the social, cultural and ideological aspects of the state. The three factors together constitute the entire text of the inscription. The role of Sanskrit as the medium of communication has been discussed. The next section of the chapter evaluates the effect of Sanskrit on the regional languages like Konkani and Marathi. Tables have been used to clarify the influence of Sanskrit on Konkani and Marathi words. Use of regional languages in the formulation of inscriptional records has been compared with the Bhakti movement that occurred in the similar time period. Lastly, the chapter compares the distinct features and styles of the inscriptional texts against those of literary works like *Skh* and *Konkanakhyana*.

The seventh chapter is 'Recapitulations and Conclusion' that presents the findings of the present study along with the implication of present work for future researches. It lists the main findings of the study for a clearer understanding of the reader. The Conclusion is followed by the Bibliography and the appendices.

## CHAPTER 2

### SANSKRIT IN INDIA

#### INTRODUCTION

Sanskrit has been associated with India since time immemorial. The first scripture of India is Rigveda which has been composed in Sanskrit language. All other Vedas and Puranas have also been composed in Sanskrit language. However, the Vedic period being the period of shruti and smriti, all the scriptures have been carried forward by the means of oral tradition. The Vedas have been composed in the highest development level of the language with all the grammatical rules of Sanskrit. This explains that Sanskrit was in the peak stage of development and was employed thoroughly during the Vedic period. The Vedic education system helped in the transmission of knowledge through generations. The medium of education was Sanskrit<sup>1</sup>. Panini terms Sanskrit as *bhasa*, 'language' and distinguishes it from 'the language of the Vedas', which have been described as 'sub-domains of a unified Sanskrit language'<sup>2</sup>. Deshpande states that the Sanskrit language termed as *bhasa* by Panini, signifies the language of the upper-classes of the society, thereby distinguishing it from other languages used by other sections of the society<sup>3</sup>.

By the time of the advent of Buddhism and Jainism, the social structure had changed and Sanskrit had transformed into the language permitted to be used only by the elites of the society such as the *brahmanas* and other high social classes. The common people probably lacked the knowledge of Sanskrit and it gradually became restricted to the field of *Vedic* and Brahmanic rituals only. Even if people had the knowledge of Sanskrit, it was allowed to be used only for ritual purposes. In the eventuality, Sanskrit was regarded as the 'language of the Gods'<sup>4</sup>. Since, Sanskrit came to be associated with ritual purposes, the section of people who made use of it also became categorized as elites. It was only the *brahmanas* or the priests who chanted the *Vaidika* hymns for the purpose of offerings to God or sacrifices or *yajnas*. Eventually, un-Sanskrit languages had to be used for

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<sup>1</sup> For details see R C Majumdar, *Ancient India*, R. K. Mookerjee, *Ancient Indian Education- Brahmanical and Buddhist*

<sup>2</sup> Madhav M Deshpande, *Sanskrit and Prakrit, Socio-Linguistic Issues*, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Madhav M Deshpande, *Sanskrit and Prakrit, Socio-Linguistic Issues*, p.3.

<sup>4</sup> The phrase has been used by Sheldon Pollock in his book, *The Language of the Gods in the world of Men*

all other purposes in the state including the administrative, political and social activities. Prakrit became the chosen language for these purposes<sup>5</sup>.

The Buddhist texts namely Vinayapitaka, Suttapitaka, among others were composed in Prakrit language. The kings of different dynasties that ruled over different parts in India used Prakrit language for the composition of prasastis and sasanas<sup>6</sup>. When we consider the literary works from the Mauryan period onwards, which is fourth century BCE, it is seen that the inscriptions start appearing during the period of Mauryan king Ashoka. There are inscriptions on rock edicts that are classified into major rock edicts as well as minor rock edicts. There are pillar edicts which are found located at places that show the extent of the Mauryan territory. There are also cave inscriptions issued by the Mauryas. The inscriptions, are found to be written in Brahmi script and Prakrit language. However, in the North-West province under the Mauryas, there was use of Kharoshthi script and Aramaic language<sup>7</sup>. Asoka gave his doctrinal message of Buddhism through his edicts in the same language, as the one chosen by Buddha and his followers. The Buddhists wanted to reach out to common people and therefore employed the use of local people's dialect<sup>8</sup>. Asoka also followed suit. Jains also made use of Prakrit language for the spread of the doctrinal message of *Jainism*. Their canonical literature was also composed in Prakrit language<sup>9</sup>. However, in a later period, Buddhists as well as Jains used Sanskrit, perhaps to appeal to the elite classes.

The period between fourth century BCE and third century CE shows the preference of Prakrit over Sanskrit in the inscriptions all over India, perhaps with the exception of Tamil region where Tamil language written in Tamil brahmi script was used in the composition of inscriptions. The inscriptions of Mauryan ruler Asoka, whose empire was spread across almost the entire country, were composed in Prakrit language, referred to as the Middle Indic dialect<sup>10</sup> by Pollock. The inscriptions of the Satavahanas who ruled in Maharashtra and parts of Andhra Pradesh are in

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<sup>5</sup> The inscriptions of the Satvahannas serve as evidence for the said argument as they evidently patronized brahmanical rituals, but employed Prakrit for their inscriptions; Pollock has discussed the everyday use of Middle Indic dialects and the limitation of Sanskrit to ritualistic practices in his work *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, pp. 39, 45-46, 48-50; Madhav M Deshpande, *Sanskrit and Prakrit, Socio-Linguistic Issues*, p. 17

<sup>6</sup> Mauryas, Satvahannas are the examples of rulers who employed Prakrit language for the inscriptions.

<sup>7</sup> One of such inscription is the Lampaka Inscription of Asoka, found at Lampaka in Afganistan, W B Henning, The Aramaic Inscription of Asoka found in Lampaka, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (1949), pp. 80-81.

<sup>8</sup> See Madhav M Deshpande, *Sanskrit and Prakrit- Socio-Linguistic Issues*, for details.

<sup>9</sup> Deshpande, *Sanskrit and Prakrit- Socio-Linguistic Issues*, p. 9

<sup>10</sup> Sheldon Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the world of Men*, pp.60-61.

Prakrit language<sup>11</sup>. The famous Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela<sup>12</sup> is also in Prakrit language. The early inscriptions of the Pallavas are in Prakrit language. However, the later inscriptions of India present the mixing of Sanskrit words in Prakrit compositions before the onset of pure Sanskrit language in their inscriptions<sup>13</sup>. This shift in the choice of language from Prakrit towards Sanskrit for inscriptional purpose, could be seen clearly from the third century CE onwards. The reason behind the shift being the inclination of the rulers to validate their authority with the help of the ancient language of Indian scriptures and fabricate the links of their dynasty with the dynasties of the solar and lunar race, which were mentioned in the ancient literature. Legitimacy was required to be sought not just with the tool of brahmanical traditions, but also with the language that was used to express the rituals in the dharmasastras. Deshpande asserts the rise of *brahmanas* with Pushyamitra Sunga after he defeated the Mauryas, as the reason that caused gradual rise of Sanskrit in following centuries<sup>14</sup>. The rising influence and impact of the *brahmanas* on the ruling dynasties, can be asserted as a significant cause for the change in the trend of language, in accordance with them.

This chapter aims to present the pan-Indian shift of the choice of language of the ruling kingdoms, from Prakrit to Sanskrit, for inscriptional purposes. The chapter gives a vivid description of dynasties across India who issued inscriptions in Sanskrit language. It helps to assess the gradual shift in the language across the country from the North towards the South of India. The chapter also presents the change of the tools of legitimacy that served as the cause which effected the change in choice of language by the rulers.

## SANSKRIT INSCRIPTIONS IN INDIA

With the further discoveries and decipherment of inscriptions, it can be seen that Sanskrit was not completely lost in the wave of Prakrit for the inscriptional purpose. Sanskrit inscriptions, though

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<sup>11</sup> D C Sircar, *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization-From Sixth Century BC to the Sixth Century AD*, Vol I. Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1942; Mirashi, V.V. *The History and the Inscriptions of the Satavahanas and the Western Kshatrapas*. Bombay: Maharashtra State Board for Literature and Culture, 1981.

<sup>12</sup> K P Jayaswal, R D Bannerji, 'Hathigumpha Inscription of Kharavela' *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 20, pp. 71-89.

<sup>13</sup> The statement is supported by the views of Madhav M Deshpande in his work *Sanskrit and Prakrit, Socio-Linguistic Issues*, pp. 15-16

<sup>14</sup> Madhav M Deshpande, *Sanskrit and Prakrit, Socio-Linguistic Issues*, p. 15



few, were composed as early as first century BCE. The earliest Sanskrit inscription found till date belongs to the beginning of first century BC. The Hathi Bada inscription at Nagari<sup>15</sup> is the oldest inscription dated to the early years of first century BC<sup>16</sup>, and has been written in Brahmi script and the language of the composition is Sanskrit. The inscription was issued probably by a Kanva ruler with the epithet *Sarvatata*. The Kanvas were a brahmana dynasty that ruled over parts of Northern India after the Sunga dynasty. The inscription mentions about the construction of a *puja-sila-prakara* which is ‘an enclosure wall around the object of worship’<sup>17</sup>.

The Ayodhya inscription of DhanaDeva<sup>18</sup> is another one of the oldest inscriptions in Sanskrit in the record. Dated to around first century BCE or first century CE<sup>19</sup>, the record is about Pushyamitra Sunga, issued by a local king DhanaDeva who was ruling in Ayodhya. The inscription is in Sanskrit language and mentions the Sunga king Pushyamitra. It mentions king Dhanadeva as *Pushyamitrasya shashten Kaushiki putren Dhana(deva)*. It also tells about the two horse-sacrifices *dviravamegh-yajina* done by Pushyamitra Sunga. This term indicates that the Sungas followed the brahmanic rituals. The inscription is composed in Sanskrit. D C Sircar has stated there is Prakrit influence on it<sup>20</sup> due to doubt over the word *Pushyamitrasya*. However, D R Sahni states that the record is in ‘correct Sanskrit’<sup>21</sup> and calls it one of the few early inscriptions in Sanskrit.

Another Sanskrit inscription that belongs to the period before the beginning of Christian era is the Mora Well inscription from Mathura<sup>22</sup>. This inscription belongs to Mahakshatrpa Rajuvala’s son Sodasa who is titled as *Swamin* in the mentioned inscription. The Satraps were non-Indians in origin and had no relation with *vaidika* or *brahmanic* rituals<sup>23</sup>. None of their inscriptions have any mentions about any *vaidika* sacrifices been done by the rulers. However, the kings adopted Sanskritic symbols to legitimize their authority. The mentioned inscription is an exception to the

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<sup>15</sup> For details of inscription, see D R Bhandarkar, Hathi-Bada Brahmi Inscription at Nagari, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 22, pp.198-205, Also read Sheldon Pollock, *Language of the Gods in the world of Men*, p.60 for information.

<sup>16</sup> D R Bhandarkar, Hathi-Bada Brahmi Inscription at Nagari, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 22, p. 201.

<sup>17</sup> D R Bhandarkar, Hathi-Bada Brahmi Inscription at Nagari, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 22, p. 201.

<sup>18</sup> D C Sircar, *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization-From Sixth Century BC to the Sixth Century AD*, p. 96.

<sup>19</sup> The dating of the mentioned inscription has some doubts, which have not yet been resolved. Therefore the dating has been given in probability.

<sup>20</sup> D C Sircar, *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization-From Sixth Century BC to the Sixth Century AD*, p.96.

<sup>21</sup> D R Sahni, A Sunga Inscription from Ayodhya, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 20, p. 55.

<sup>22</sup> H Luders, Seven Brahmi Inscriptions from Mathura and its Vicinity, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 24, p. 194.

<sup>23</sup> Sheldon Pollock, *Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, p. 69.

pattern of inscriptions of the Mahasatrapas regarding the choice of language. It is a very important inscription for two main reasons. The inscription has been composed to commemorate the erection of five statues of Vrishnis which is related to Jain canonical literature as well as mentioned in the brahmanical epic *Mahabharata*<sup>24</sup>. This signifies the tendency of the rulers to appeal to the followers of popular faith in order to validate their authority. The other inscriptions of the Mahasatrapas are in Prakrit. The canonical writings of Jains are also in Prakrit. However, this inscription was composed in Sanskrit with few words of Prakrit language<sup>25</sup>. The second reason is that this inscription that belongs to first century BCE, has been composed in artificial metres of Sanskrit kavya genre<sup>26</sup> which was seen later only around the fifth century AD in inscriptions other than the Sanskrit works of poets<sup>27</sup>. It is significant to understand that kavya poetry was fully developed in first century BCE. The inscription does not provide details of the composer of this kavya. Hence, it is difficult to ascertain the author of the composition. It is probable that the courts of the Mahasatrapas included the Brahmanas who had the knowledge of Sanskrit and were the ones who composed it. Since the Mahasatrapas were not of Indian origin, they probably wanted to legitimize their rule in India by employing the highly revered language of elites which was otherwise utilised by the *Brahmanas* and kings for ritual purposes only. The inscription is helpful in understanding that the rulers employed the tool of suitable language in the inscriptions. This led to portray their support towards the audience of corresponding faiths which in turn, helped to legitimize their command in their ruling kingdom.

Another Sanskrit inscription dated between the first century AD and second century AD is a two line Sanskrit inscription engraved on a statue of Lord Buddha, a *Bodhisattva*. The red sand stone sculpture was found from Mathura<sup>28</sup> and it belongs to the Kushana period. The style of sculpture is similar to the statues of Vima Kadphises and Kanishka of the period of AD 40-78, whereas the characters are similar to those belonging to the second century AD. The inscription is written in

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<sup>24</sup> H Luders, Seven Brahmi Inscriptions from Mathura and its Vicinity, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 24, pp. 197-198

<sup>25</sup> See H Luders, Seven Brahmi Inscriptions from Mathura and its Vicinity, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 24, pp. 194-201

<sup>26</sup> The details mentioned in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 24 state that the inscription has been composed making use of *Bhujangavijimbhita* metre of Sanskrit *kavya*, which is also said to be used in a later Sanskrit work *Kalpanamandatika* by Kumaralata, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 24, p. 199

<sup>27</sup> For details, see H Luders, Seven Brahmi Inscriptions from Mathura and its Vicinity, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 24, p.199

<sup>28</sup> T N Ramachandran, An Inscribed Bodhisattava Image from Mathura, *Ancient India*, Vol 6, (January, 1950): pp. 100-102.

Brahmi script and Sanskrit language. It records the gift of a householder, for the welfare and happiness of the concerned person, whose identity is not decipherable. The record is significant to show the affiliation of the Kushanas towards Sanskrit, irrespective of being the followers of Buddhism. The presence of a Sanskrit inscription on a *Bodhisattava* sculpture is not ironical, rather it represents the employment of suitable means for appeasing the audience from whom the rulers sought legitimacy.

However, the above mentioned inscriptions are solitary instances of Sanskrit language used for inscriptional purposes at a time when Prakrit was exceptionally employed for all inscriptions from the Asokan period to the Satvahanna times.

Sheldon Pollock has called the Hathi-Bada inscription of Nagari as the earliest Sanskrit inscription and the Ayodhya inscription of Dhanadeva as the next earliest inscription composed in Sanskrit language. All the above mentioned inscriptions belong to northern part of India. Kesavan Veluthat mentions that it was in the first century BCE that the Sanskrit inscriptions began to appear in the Indian sub-continent, but he gives the credit of the first Sanskrit prasasti to the Junagadh inscription of Rudradaman. He calls the *Buddhacarita* and *Soundarananda* of Asvaghosa as the first *kavyas* in Sanskrit<sup>29</sup>. However, Veluthat has omitted the Mora well inscription of Mathura of Mahaksatrap Sodasa as the first Sanskrit inscription that made use of *kavya* genre as discussed earlier.

Siddham Idam tadakam Sudarsanam Girinagaradap.....<sup>30</sup>

Be it (accomplished), This lake Sudarsana from Girinagara.....<sup>31</sup>

The above mentioned content of Junagadh inscription of Mahaksatrapa Rudradaman, dated 150 AD has been called the first fine piece of literature in Sanskrit language by the historians. The inscription has been composed in the form of *kavya* or royal panegyric. The Junagadh inscription happened in the same century as that of *Buddhacarita* and *Soundarananda* of Asvaghosa which is second century AD. They have been termed as one of the first Sanskrit *kavyas* by the scholars<sup>32</sup>. Asvaghosa was patronized by Kanishka, the Kushana ruler who was a contemporary dynasty of

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<sup>29</sup> Kesavan Veluthat, Rise and Fall of the Kavya Project, *Studies in people's History*, Vol 6, No. 1 (2019): pp. 5-15.

<sup>30</sup> F Keilhorn, Junagadh Inscription of Rudradaman, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 8, pp.36-49.

<sup>31</sup> Translation provided in F Keilhorn, Junagadh Inscription of Rudradaman, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 8, p.45.

<sup>32</sup> Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, p. 70; Kesavan Veluthat, The Rise and Fall of Kavya Project, *Studies in People's History*, 6, 1 (2019): 5–15.

the Sakas and ruled in second century AD<sup>33</sup>. It has been mentioned that even the Prakrit inscriptions of the Kushanas mentioned the name and title of the king in the Sanskritised form like *maharajasya kanishkasya*<sup>34</sup>. The compositions occurring in the same time period is beyond mere coincidences. It is indicative of growing inclination of kings towards Brahmanical faith or the growing influence of *brahmanas* in the state affairs that caused the scholars or poets towards resorting to Sanskrit as the chosen language for writing texts and records.

Sanskrit has been associated with the ancient Indian texts since time immemorial. Rigveda is considered as the first Sanskrit text. However, Indian texts from the earliest times have been *sruti* and *smriti* texts, rather than written texts. As a result, there are no surviving written materials from the Vedic and post-Vedic age. The information has been transmitted through the means of oral tradition<sup>35</sup>. The closest work of Sanskrit to the Junagadh inscription of Rudradaman in chronological terms is Patanjali's *Mahabhashya* which has been dated to approximately first century BCE<sup>36</sup>. However, Panini's work has also been transmitted as a *smriti* work.

Inscriptions came to be composed in Sanskrit language at a stage later than Prakrit language although Prakrit has been called a derivative language of Sanskrit<sup>37</sup>. The Western Ksatrapas were Indo-Scythians that is non-Indian origin<sup>38</sup>. The inscriptions of the Western Ksatrapas have been found to be mostly in Kharoshthi and Brahmi scripts and in Prakrit language with only few inscriptions in Sanskrit. It is important to look at the adoption of Sanskrit and *kavya* poetry for the purpose of composing inscription, with a social and political point of view. The composition of Asvaghosa's Sanskrit works in Kushana court and the composition of Sanskrit *prasasti* of Saka king, shared the same time period. They all were composed in the second century AD. This incidence is beyond coincidence. It was probably the beginning of the period of Sanskrit revival on the political fronts which caused the change of choice of language for public documentation.

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<sup>33</sup> Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, p. 70.

<sup>34</sup> Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, p. 70.

<sup>35</sup> For details see Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical tradition*; Sheldon Pollock, *Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, Introduction; also see discussion in Aruna Pariti, *Genealogy, Time and Identity*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>36</sup> Madhav M Deshpande, *Sanskrit and Prakrit, Socio-Linguistic Issues*, p. 17.

<sup>37</sup> Sheldon Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, p. 60.

<sup>38</sup> Patanjali has not considered them to be non-Indian in origin. He mentions the term *aniravasita* (non-outsiders) for Sakas and Yavanas (Greeks), even though they were not original residents of India (See Patanjali's *Mahabhashya*), Sheldon Pollock, *Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, p. 70.

Sanskrit was gradually becoming important for those states where it was not even employed for vaidika rituals.

The Buddhacarita and Saundarananda of Asvaghosa were composed prior to the Junagadh prasasti of Rudradaman<sup>39</sup>. Asvaghosa was a brahmin ascetic before he was converted to Buddhism. Madhav M Deshpande mentions that several Buddhist monks were originally brahmanas who were converted to Buddhism<sup>40</sup>. Pollock has also discussed the request of brahmana monks to Buddha to preach his teachings in Sanskrit language, which Buddha disagrees to<sup>41</sup>. However, from the second century AD onwards, the Buddhist discourse adopted Sanskrit language and abandoned their 'resistance'<sup>42</sup> towards it. In the words of Pollock 'the value of a language resides, in part at least, in the social value of those who speak it'<sup>43</sup>. This asserts the earlier argument that the Sanskrit language was adopted by the rulers in due course of the growing influence of the *brahmanas* in the kingdom. It was done to appeal to the audience.

The Kushanas and the Sakas, both were ruling dynasties who did not originate in India. They did not belong to any of the varnas that were acknowledged according to Indian Vedic system. The reason behind the adoption of the language that was considered sacred and was integral to the vaidika rituals in India can only be for providing legitimacy to the state. The rulers needed to portray their adoption of and firm belief in the Indian values and roots so as to be fully acknowledged by the common people as their rulers, for which they needed the support of the elite section of the society, the Brahmanas. It is the question of legitimacy of the respective states that caused the drift of language. This is even more significant with the fact that all the prior works on Buddhism have been composed in Pali and Prakrit, while Asvaghosa chose Sanskrit for his works. He describes the life of Buddha in Buddhacarita and the life and works of Nanda in Saundarananda in Sanskrit.

Kesavan Veluthat states that the Satvahanas and the Pallavas, who were of Brahmanic origin, used Prakrit language for their political and public function and probably reserved Sanskrit as the sacred

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<sup>39</sup> Asvaghosa lived from 80 AD to 150 AD. So his works must have been completed earlier while the date of Junagadh prasasti of Rudradaman is 150 AD. Hence the correct chronological order would be Asvaghosa's works and then Junagadh prasasti.

<sup>40</sup> Madhav M Deshpande, *Sanskrit and Prakrit, Socio-Linguistic Issues*, p. 7.

<sup>41</sup> Sheldon Pollock, *Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, p. 54.

<sup>42</sup> For details see discussion in Sheldon Pollock, pp. 56-57.

<sup>43</sup> For details see discussion in Sheldon Pollock, p. 57.

language, utilised only for worship and rituals, but he does not try to explain the reason behind the choice of Sakas and Kushanas of Sanskrit kavya poetry for the compositions in their courts<sup>44</sup>. However, from the third century AD onwards, the change in the language of inscriptions of the Satvahannas and the Pallavas from Prakrit to Sanskrit can be observed from their inscriptions. Sheldon Pollock does not attempt to look into the reasons leading to choice of Sanskrit by the Sakas and the Kushanas. Rather, he has discussed the possible reason of choosing Prakrit rather than Sanskrit for public domain by the Satvahannas and Pallavas, who claim brahmanical descent and lineage<sup>45</sup>. He explains that since Sanskrit was associated with the sacred brahmanic rituals<sup>46</sup>, the kings did not employ it for the activities of public domain and rather adopted Prakrit language for their records. However, Pollock has omitted the question of audience as well as that of the influence of Maurya dynasty and contemporary dynasties of Satvahannas who also used Prakrit for their records. In fact, it is dependent upon the intended audience that the language of the inscriptions was chosen by the rulers.

To quote Pollock, he states for the Junagadh inscription of Rudradaman that

‘For the first time, self-consciously expressive Sanskrit, with all the enormous authority, power and cultural value garnered by the very fact of its centuries-long monopolization and ritualization, was used in public space, in bold letters for all to see, for the self-representation of a living overlord’<sup>47</sup>

This statement is a proclamation of an act of legitimizing the kingship of a non-Indian ruler who established his rule on Indian soil. Romila Thapar states that the Sanskrit inscription of Rudradaman in the period when Prakrit inscriptions were abounding, was more of an act of legitimization of his authority through the projection of his support to the Indian ideological system<sup>48</sup>, than being considered as an act of showing religious affiliation. Here, it is important to know that initially the Satraps were the viceroys of the Indo-Greeks and were ruling as the subordinate kings rather than independent dynasty. This fact calls for the need of legitimacy for

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<sup>44</sup> Kesavan Veluthat, The Rise and Fall of the Kavya Project, *Studies in People’s History*, 6, 1 (2019): pp. 5–15.

<sup>45</sup> Sheldon Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, pp. 61-64.

<sup>46</sup> Sheldon Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, p. 67.

<sup>47</sup> Sheldon Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, p. 68.

<sup>48</sup> Romila Thapar, *The Penguin History of Early India-From the Origins to AD 1300*, p. 224.

the Satraps to establish their authority on the people of the soil as well as establish connection with elites of the society.

The prasasti of the restoration of the Sudarshana Lake by Mahaksatrapa Rudradaman is not just an exemplary Sanskrit *kavya* composition of the early age, but also symbolizes the relationship that Sanskrit has had with the states. The inscription explains the qualities of the king Rudradaman by stating<sup>49</sup> that he was the king accepted as the protector by the people of all castes. It is stated that he ruled over a large territory<sup>50</sup> and the people were completely safe in his region. His valour is described by mentioning about his attacks and victory over the Yaudheyas and the Satvahannas. The document mentions that Rudradaman's treasury overflowed with 'gold, silver, diamonds, beryl stones and precious things' by the rightfully earned tribute, tolls and shares from his people. He is also mentioned to be bestowing presents and honours to his people. It is specially mentioned that the king has earned the attachment of dharma and is well read. It also mentions about increasing the religious merit and fame of the king and that he worked for the welfare of brahmanas and the cows. The record specially mentions that Rudradaman was proficient in language and composed grammatically correct and beautiful prose as well as poetry<sup>51</sup>.

It is evident that Rudradaman was heading a well-established state. The state of its economic and social prosperity can be understood by the description in the inscriptions. The political boundaries of the state were wide and expanding, which is explained by the mention of Rudradaman's victory upon the Satvahannas, who are said to be ruling supreme in the Deccan, as well as on several other kings of Central India. In an era where Prakrit was still continuing as the chosen language for political documentation and Sanskrit was strictly reserved for Vedic rituals by the Brahmanas, Rudradaman chose to employ the revered Sanskrit for his political interests. The record also intends to portray the inclination of the kings towards Sanskrit language by mentioning about his proficiency in it.

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<sup>49</sup> The description has been provided by D C Sircar in *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization- From Sixth Century BC to the Sixth Century AD* and quoted by Pollock in *Language of the Gods*, p.

<sup>50</sup> The territories under the rule of Rudradaman as indicated in the Junagadh inscription included Akaravanti, Anupa, Anarta, Surashtra, Svabhra Maru, Kaccha, Sindhu, Sauvira, Kukura, Aparanta and Nishada. These comprise a country from Bhilsa in the east to Sindhu in the West and from Abu in the North to the North Konkana in the South including the peninsulas of Kutch and Kathiawar, *Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions*, p.7.

<sup>51</sup> Sheldon Pollock, *Language of the Gods in The World of Men*, p. 69.

The period of the composition of Rudradaman's Sanskrit prasasti was witnessing the emergence of Sanskrit beyond its otherwise limited field of utilization. Till 152 AD / 153 AD, i.e. the date of Rudradaman's prasasti, the number of Sanskrit inscriptions as well as literary works were few that could be counted in numbers. Gradually, a surge of Sanskrit works can be noticed. The rule of Western Satraps was coeval with that of the Satvahanas in the Deccan<sup>52</sup>. The Western Satraps tried to expand their kingdom by conquering the territories of the Satvahanas. The Satvahanas are known to be brahmanas by origin and they followed the Vedic rituals which is evident from their records. The Western Satraps in order to legitimize their rule post-conquering Satvahanas and other rulers' territories, employed the use of Sanskrit and the patronization of *brahmanas*. The free use of Sanskrit in inscriptions and the patronage of *brahmanas*, is indicative of the political inclination of the Kshatrapas than religious requirements<sup>53</sup>. The son-in-law of the Saka king Nahapana, Rishabhadata, defeated the Malavas, and then proceeded towards Pushkar. He bathed at the Pushkar tirtha, and made a donation of three thousand cows and a village to the Brahmanas<sup>54</sup>. The Western Kshatrapas, in order to gain legitimacy from the residents of their territories, proclaimed to belong to a brahmanic gotra<sup>55</sup>, Brihatphala or Brihatphalayana. The Sakas had marital relations with the Satvahanas and the Ikshavakus of Andhra.

The next inscription that was composed entirely in Sanskrit was of the Satvahana king known as Vijaya Satkarni<sup>56</sup> which has been dated to 207 AD, i.e. the beginning of third century CE. Prior to the discovery of this inscription, the Nagarjunkonda inscription of Ikshavaku king Ehavala Chantamula, issued in fourth century AD was considered the earliest Sanskrit inscription in South India. According to the inscription issued in early third century CE by king Vijaya was the last of the line of Satvahana kings and is known by his two inscriptions<sup>57</sup> and few coins. His rule lasted for six years. Two inscriptions issued by him have been found, one at Nagarjunkonda issued in 206

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<sup>52</sup> Sheldon Pollock, *Language of the Gods in the World of men*, p.61, V V Mirashi, *History and Inscriptions of the Satvahanas and the Western Kshatrapas*, p. 381. Also the dates of the inscriptions of the Satvahanas and the Western Kshatrapas make it evident that they were contemporaries.

<sup>53</sup> K A N Shastri, *The Mauryas and the Satvahanas*, pp. 293-315.

<sup>54</sup> Nasik Cave Inscription, also V V Mirashi, *The History and Inscriptions of The Satvahanas and the Western Kshatrapas*, pp.282-283; Also see Romila Thapar, *The Penguin History of Early India-From the Origins to AD 1300*, p. 224.

<sup>55</sup> D C Sircar, K G Krishnan, Two inscriptions from Nagarjunkonda, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 34, p.21.

<sup>56</sup> The inscription known as the Chebrolu inscription of Satvahana king Vijaya, was discovered at Chebrolu, Guntur district of Andhra Pradesh in 2019. The details are published in *Studies in Indian Epigraphy*, Vol 45. This is the earliest Sanskrit inscription from South India.

<sup>57</sup> Nagarjunkonda Prakrit inscription and Chebrolu Sanskrit inscription.



AD and the other at Chebrolu<sup>58</sup> issued in 207 AD. Both the inscriptions are very interesting. They were released within a gap of six months, one in the winter and the other in the summer. The Chebrolu inscription is the only Sanskrit inscription of the Satvahanas discovered till date. Issued in the fifth regnal year of king Vijaya, the inscription tells about the construction of a brahmanic temple devoted to the worship of Saptmatrikas<sup>59</sup>. The discovery of this inscription changes the perception of Satvahannas towards their approach for Sanskrit. The Nagarjunkonda inscription of king Vijaya was issued in his sixth regnal year in 206 AD and is dedicated for the welfare of Buddhists<sup>60</sup>. This inscription is in Prakrit language. It can be seen that where Sanskrit has been used for a Brahmanic inscription, Prakrit has been employed for inscription issued for Buddhists. This choice of languages shows the desire of the king of a waning kingdom to earn support from the Brahmanas<sup>61</sup> and Buddhists. It should be noted here that the famous *Gaathasattasi*<sup>62</sup> which was composed under the patronization of Satvahanas<sup>63</sup> in the first century AD, was composed in prakrit. Two Sanskrit texts titled *Yugapurana* and *Katantra*<sup>64</sup> were also composed under the patronization of the Satvahannas<sup>65</sup>, out of which *Katantra* has been dated to second century AD. Deshpande mentions an incident from the story of the origin of Katantra grammar, where the anguish of a Prakrit speaking Satvahanna, insulted by his Sanskrit- speaking wife has been portrayed<sup>66</sup>. A text *Suhrilekha* in Sanskrit was composed by a Buddhist apostle Nagarjuna, who is believed to be a friend of Gautamiputra Satkarni<sup>67</sup>. This indicates the growing influence of Sanskrit language in the social sphere of the Satvahanna kingdom.

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<sup>58</sup> Chebrolu, situated in Guntur district of Andhra Pradesh was known by the name Tambrapre during early times, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 45.

<sup>59</sup> For details see K Muniratnam, *Studies in Indian Epigraphy*, Vol 45, pp. 119-127.

<sup>60</sup> For details of the inscription, see *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 36.

<sup>61</sup> Satvahana King Vijaya Satkarni was among the last kings of the dynasty, whose period of rule ended shortly. In the Matsya Purana, he is mentioned as the 28<sup>th</sup> king out of 30 kings of the Satvahanas, V V Mirashi, *History and Inscriptions of the Satavahanas and Western Kshatrapas*, p. , *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 45, pp. 119-120.

<sup>62</sup> *Gaathasattasai* was composed under the patronage of the Satvahannas, *The Mauryas and the Satvahannas*, p. 305.

<sup>63</sup> *Gaathasattasai* was composed in the first century AD in the court of Satvahana king Hala who ruled between AD 20-24. It is also stated that Hala himself composed the anthology, *The Mauryas and the Satvahannas*, p.305.

<sup>64</sup> The text regarding Sanskrit grammar has been composed in second century CE, See Pollock, *Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, p. 62.

<sup>65</sup> Sheldon Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, p.62.

<sup>66</sup> M M Deshpande, *Sanskrit and Prakrit, Socio-Linguistic Issues*, p. 16. For details see Sheldon Pollock, *Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, p. 69.

<sup>67</sup> Michael Mitchner, The Chutus of Banavasi and their Coinage, *The Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. 143 (1983), pp. 95-120.

The Satvahanas have been taken as an example to show that no dynasty in second century CE employed Sanskrit language for its public proclamations, irrespective of how *vaidika* it was<sup>68</sup>. However, the finding of a Sanskrit inscription issued by a Satvahana king, puts the claim in doubt. Sheldon Pollock mentions that the Satvahanas were a lineage who saw themselves inhabiting a Vedic world and were identified as followers of Brahmanical faith, yet all the inscriptions issued by them are in Prakrit and that there is no evidence for their use of Sanskrit beyond the ritualistic practices<sup>69</sup>. It has been mentioned earlier that the Satvahannas had marital relations with the Sakas. The Sakas started issuing Sanskrit inscriptions in the mid-second century AD<sup>70</sup>. This can be appropriated as one of the reasons of the gradual shift of Satvahannas towards Sanskrit language.

V V Mirashi says that intelligibility and facility in pronunciation were the main causes of origin and use of Prakrit language. However, he contradicts himself while mentioning about the Satvahanas that they were '*brahmanas*' by caste which is evident by the use of term like *ekabrahamana*<sup>71</sup> (a unique brahmana). Also the Naga princess, Naganika has been described as a strong adherent of Vedic religion<sup>72</sup>. Srisatkarni performed a number of sacrifices<sup>73</sup> including two *asvamedha yajnas* and *Rajasuya yajna* to celebrate his victory over the Mauryas of the Konkan and annexing of western Malwa and territory immediately south of it, thereby earning for himself the title of *samrat*. Perhaps, the choice of language for political documentation of the Satvahanas changed by the beginning of third century AD. King Vijaya employed Sanskrit for making donations for a brahmanical temple. He probably wanted to segregate the Brahmanas and Buddhists which made him select specific languages.

The period of the end of the Satvahanas rule in the Deccan saw the growing occurrences of Sanskrit records taking the main stage of political pursuits. The once sacred language, no longer remained reserved only for the religious purposes. The territories of the Satvahanas were taken over by the

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<sup>68</sup> Sheldon Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, p. 61

<sup>69</sup> Sheldon Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, pp.61-62

<sup>70</sup> The Junagadh inscription of Rudradaman, dated to 150 AD was the first Sanskrit inscription of the Sakas. See D C Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*; Sheldon Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men*; Also see Madhav M Deshpande, *Sanskrit and Prakrit, Socio-Linguistic Issues* for details.

<sup>71</sup> In a Nasik Cave inscription (no.13) of Pulamavi, his father Gautamiputra is described as such, V V Mirashi, *The History and the Inscriptions of the Satavahanas and the Western Kshatrapas*, p. 13.

<sup>72</sup> V V Mirashi, *The History and the Inscriptions of the Satavahanas and the Western Kshatrapas*, p.14.

<sup>73</sup> Sri Satkarni performed several brahmanical sacrifices like *agnyadheya*, *anvarambhaniya*, *gavamayana*, *angirasatiratra*, *aptoryama*, *angirasamyana*, *gargatiratra*, *chhandoga-pavaman-atiratra*, *trayodasaratra*, *dasaratra* and others, *The Mauryas and the Satvahanas*, p. 302.

Ikshavakus. There are epigraphical evidences which show that the Ikshavakus<sup>74</sup> not only took over the geographical territories of the Satvahanas, but also carried forward the culture, rituals, social and political norms. They carried forward the tradition of bearing matronymic titles like *Vashishthi-putra*, *Mathriputra* and *Haritiputra*<sup>75</sup>. The political documents of the Ikshavakus are found to be in Prakrit language<sup>76</sup> with the exception of the four inscriptions of Ikshavaku king Ehavala Chantamula<sup>77</sup>, which are in Sanskrit. Following the text in the inscriptions, it can be understood that they were patrons of Buddhism. The Prakrit inscriptions mostly record the donations related to Buddhists and their viharas, chaitya halls, etc. Their capital, the present day Nagarjunkonda, has revealed numerous Buddhist structures. However, the Nagarjunkonda inscriptions of Ehavala Chantamula, composed in Sanskrit language, record the construction of Brahmanical temple devoted to lord Siva and his son lord Kartikeya. The mentioned king was a devout follower of Brahmanic faith. The first king of Ikshavakus, Santamula I is said to have followed *vaidika-dharma*. The inscriptions of his descendants portray him to be a performer a various brahmanical sacrifices and *danas*<sup>78</sup>. The newly acquired independent status of the ruling dynasties in India was proclaimed usually by the performance of horse-sacrifice<sup>79</sup>. Interestingly, it is known from the inscriptions that Santamula I performed the *Asvamedha yajna*, *agnishtoma*, *vajapeya* and *bahusuvrnaka yajna*<sup>80</sup>.

The majority of the inscriptions are devoted to Buddhist faith, which is self-explanatory as the reason behind the choice of Prakrit language for the inscriptions of Ikshavakus. The belief of the kings in the brahmanical faith is evident by few inscriptions. One of it refers to the construction of a shrine for Nodagisvaraswami by two women. Another one refers to the construction of a temple

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<sup>74</sup> The period of rule of the Ikshavakus lasted in the third century AD. By the end of the third century, they had lost the power and probably continued to rule as feudatory lineages.

<sup>75</sup> The inscriptions of the Ikshavakus reveal the fact. Also see P R Srinivasan, S Sankaranarayanan, *Inscriptions of the Ikshavaku Period*, p.3.

<sup>76</sup> There are seventy-six inscriptions of the Ikshavaku dynasty which have been discovered till date. Out of them, only four inscriptions are in Sanskrit and the rest seventy two inscriptions are in Prakrit language, P R Srinivasan, S Sankaranarayanan, *Inscriptions of the Ikshavaku Period*, Hyderabad: Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1979.

<sup>77</sup> B C Chhabra, Nagarjunakonda inscription of Ehavalasri's time, year 11, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 33, pp.147-149; D C Sircar, K G Krishnan, Nagarjunkonda inscription of the time of Ehavala Chantamula, year 16, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 34, pp. 17-20.

<sup>78</sup> Santamula I is said to have performed sacrifices like *Agnihotra*, *Agnishtoma*, *Vajapeya* and *Asvamedha* and *danas* like *Hiranyakoti-dana*, *Go-satasahasra-dana* and *Hala-sata-sahasra-dana*, *Inscriptions of the Ikshavakus*, pp.3-4.

<sup>79</sup> A S Altekar, R C Majumdar, *The Vakataka-Gupta Age*, p.65.

<sup>80</sup> D C Sircar, K G Krishnan, Nagarjunakonda Inscription of Ehavala Chantamula, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 34, p. 18.

of Lord Siva, mentioned as Sarvadeva, with the blessings of Lord Kartikeya by a Talavara. Another inscription records the construction of a temple to Lord Mahadeva Pushpabhadraswamin while another one records the gift of a land to Bhagwan Halampuraswamin by an individual. The choice of Prakrit language rather than Sanskrit by the rulers for their inscriptions can be explained on the basis of the intended audience of the inscriptional records. The audience belonged to the local region and possessed a greater knowledge of Prakrit than Sanskrit. The audience also consisted of Buddhists who antagonized Sanskrit and favoured the use of Prakrit since early times<sup>81</sup>. Hence the kings tended to use Prakrit language while issuing inscriptions meant for them.

Whenever it is mentioned that a particular dynasty preferred Prakrit over Sanskrit for its political proclamations, it should be understood that there always was a choice between the two languages that was at their disposal. Both the languages were well developed with a grammar of their own, which was put into practice by their patrons. At the onset of Buddhism, when Prakrit language was chosen to reach out to the common people, it is evident that Sanskrit was already in use, though it was exclusively restricted for use only by the learned elites of the society. It was beyond the reach of the common people of the social classes. The affairs of the masses were to be conducted in the Prakrit language. This argument is substantiated by the evidence of a discussion between two brahmana converted Buddhist monks with the Buddha, as enshrined in the Buddhist canonical literature, *Vinayapitaka*<sup>82</sup>. These two monks requested Buddha to allow them to spread his words of wisdom in Sanskrit language so that their proper meaning is conveyed to the people. But, Buddha refused the proposal and told them to use local language for the purpose<sup>83</sup>. The case of Jains is also a similar story. The Jains also employed Prakrit language for transmission of the religious sermons<sup>84</sup>.

Thus, when for some centuries, Prakrit was the exclusive choice for writing inscriptions as well as literary texts, it should not be considered that the knowledge of Sanskrit was lost. The elite society had the knowledge of both the languages and their grammar equally. Sanskrit was also present and

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<sup>81</sup> See Madhav M Deshpande, *Sanskrit and Prakrit, Socio-Linguistic Issues* and Sheldon Pollock, *Language of the Gods in the World of Men* for detailed discussion.

<sup>82</sup> Sheldon Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, p.54.

<sup>83</sup> This incident from *Vinayapitaka* has been discussed by Pollock, *Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, p. 54; and Madhav M Deshpande, *Sanskrit and Prakrit, Socio-Linguistic Issues*, p. 7. Deshpande states that this incidence is mentioned in several Buddhist texts.

<sup>84</sup> Madhav M Deshpande, *Sanskrit and Prakrit, Socio-Linguistic Issues*, p. 9; Pollock, *language of the Gods*, p. 58.

was put to use whenever and wherever desired. This is the reason we find occurrences of Sanskrit inscriptions even during those periods which have been called as the exclusive time of Prakrit expressions.

The position of Sanskrit can be rightfully compared with that of *Asvamedha* sacrifice. The *Asvamedha yajna* is said to have been revived by the Gupta emperor Samudragupta<sup>85</sup>. However, the epigraphic evidences reveal that *Asvamedha* was performed twice by Pushyamitra Sunga<sup>86</sup>, once by Parasriputra Gajayana Sarvatata<sup>87</sup>, twice by Vedisri Satkarni<sup>88</sup>, ten times by the Bharsivas<sup>89</sup>, four times by the Vakataka Pravarsena I<sup>90</sup>, once by Ikshavaku Vashishthiputra Shantamula I<sup>91</sup> and also by Vishnudeva<sup>92</sup> in around 150 BCE. Hence, if the translation of a verse in Samudragupta's Allahabad pillar inscription given by Fleet stands correct, it can only be called a pure and simple exaggeration of Gupta kings. Similarly, Sanskrit was never absent from the scenario, it always was significant for the kings and their kingdoms in order to establish their legitimate authority on the state. It was only that the language selected to communicate it to the common people was the language they were conversant with and not the language of the learned men.

Sanskrit has always played a significant role in state formation. Prior to the advent of Buddhism and Jainism, Brahmanism was followed by the states and dynasties. During the period when the patronage of Buddhism and Jainism was on peak, Brahmanism and thereby Sanskrit might have had restricted roles within the ambit of religious performances, but was always important for the legitimacy of the states. The rulers though did not employ Sanskrit for the composition of inscriptions and other texts, they continuously employed it for performing Vedic sacrifices and other Brahmanic rituals, which is evident from the inscribed texts of the ruling dynasties.

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<sup>85</sup> Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, The Bilsad and Bihar stone pillar inscription of Kumaragupta and Budhagupta speak of Samudragupta as *chir-otsann-asvamedh-ahartta* which has been translated by Fleet as "who was the restorer of the *asvamedha* sacrifice, that had been long in abeyance"

<sup>86</sup> *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 20, p.57; Also see The Brick Inscription of Damamitra, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 33, pp.99-100.

<sup>87</sup> *Indian Antiquary*, Vol LXI, p.203; *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol 9, p.795; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 22, pp. 203-204

<sup>88</sup> *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol 5, p.60, No.II.

<sup>89</sup> *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol 3, 1888, p. 2.

<sup>90</sup> *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol 5, 1963, Inscriptions of the Vakatakas, p. xl; V V Mirashi, Jamb plates of Pravarsena, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 26, pp. 155-164.

<sup>91</sup> *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 20, p.18 (Ayaka pillar inscription B2, line 1; C2 line 3; C4 line 3; E line 1; G lines 2-3; H lines 4-5); *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 35, pp.18-19; *Inscriptions of the Ikshavakus*, pp.3-4.

<sup>92</sup> V A Smith, Observations on the Gupta Coinage, *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, 1893, p.97.

Satvahanna dynasty serves as the example for the above statement. The performance of Vedic rituals was a tool employed for gaining legitimacy in the kingdom and also for proclaiming their rightful kingship in the areas beyond their territories.

B P Sahu argues that the processes of state formation involves the participation of the ruler as well as the ruled. The rulers employ the use of religious strategies and common ideologies of the ruled, which aids in the legitimization of the king's authority and substantiates his power in the kingdom<sup>93</sup>. He further argues that legitimation was necessary for communities experiencing local state formation as well as in complex state societies. Administrative control and efficiency over the territories was not the only base of political systems in early India. Kings displayed support for religious institutions and their representatives among several other strategies in order to consolidate their authority<sup>94</sup>.

The Kushana rule ended in the second century AD and the decline of Satvahanas occurred in the early third century AD. The time period spanning between the decline of these two major powers and the rise of Gupta Empire in the north, has been called the dark period of Indian history<sup>95</sup>. However, it was not actually a dark period. Several smaller kingdoms were holding different spaces in the northern and southern part of India in the third century, out of which one important dynasty was the Vakatakas. The Vakatakas rose under the leadership of Pravarasena I which resulted in the decline of the Shakas. They ruled for around ninety six years<sup>96</sup>. They were a Brahmana dynasty which is evident by the performance of *Brihaspati-Sava* sacrifices, which are said to be intended for and open to Brahmanas only<sup>97</sup>. The Vakatakas were ruling in some provinces during the Gupta period. They had matrimonial relationships with Gupta dynasty<sup>98</sup>. Their inscriptions range from the third century AD to the eighth century AD. Like their

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<sup>93</sup> B P Sahu- Legitimation, Ideology and State in Early India, *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Vol. 64 (2003), pp.44-76.

<sup>94</sup> B P Sahu- Legitimation, Ideology and State in Early India, *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Vol. 64 (2003), pp.44-76.

<sup>95</sup> Romila Thapar

<sup>96</sup> 96 years of reign has been given to the dynasty of Vindhyashakti in the Brahmanda and the Vayu Purana, K P Jayaswal, *History of India*, p.18.

<sup>97</sup> K P Jayaswal, *History of India*, p.66.

<sup>98</sup> RudraSena II's queen Prabhavati Gupta, mother of DivakarSena, was the daughter of Gupta king, Chandra Gupta II, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 15, p.40.

contemporaries they issued all the inscriptions in Sanskrit language<sup>99</sup> with a sole exception of Basim plates of Vindhyasakti II, dated to 355 AD that has been composed in Prakrit language<sup>100</sup>. The Vakatakas ruled in the Central Provinces and Maharashtra region of ancient India. The inscriptions are all in prose form and did not use the *kavya* genre. They record donations made by the kings to the Brahmanas. The inscriptions contain the name and *gotra* of the donees. The Vakatakas succeeded the rule of Satvahanas and they upheld the Brahmanical traditions. Unlike the Satvahannas, they recorded their political documents in the sacred language. No instance of use of regional language for inscripational or textual purpose under the Satvahannas and Vakatakas has come to picture. This indicates the absence of a developed regional language that could be utilized for composing inscriptions. It also suggests the rising significance of the brahmanas in the kingdom as audience that lead to the use of Sanskrit for issuing records.

Sanskrit became the official language of administration of the Vakatakas. They upheld the Vedic tradition of education in Sanskrit medium which is evident through the mention of various Gurus and Acharyas in their inscriptions. The role and importance of the Brahmanas in a kingdom was back as that in the Vedic times, before the advent of Buddhism and Jainism. The proclamations of Brahmanical rites and rituals, sacrifices like *Asvamedha*, *Agnistoma*, *Aptoryama*, *Ukthya*, *Shodasin*, *Atiratra*, *Vajapeya* and *Brihaspati-sava* were the sources of legitimacy of the Vakataka kings. They mentioned the name of their *gotras* with their names in the inscriptions so as to validate their Brahmana status. Aruna Pariti mentions that *gotra* is an ancient institution that finds multiple mentions in *puranas* and *shastras* and was employed by *brahmanas* for claiming ancient links as well as creation of identity<sup>101</sup>. Validation was also sought by the kings by proclaiming themselves to be the protector and upholder of *dharma*<sup>102</sup> and by portraying themselves as the devotee of Lord Shiva<sup>103</sup> and some as devotees of Lord Vishnu<sup>104</sup>.

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<sup>99</sup> One literary text, a poem composed by Pravarasena II, *Setubandha*, is in prakrit language, *The Vakataka- Gupta Age*, p.114.

<sup>100</sup> Sheldon Pollock, *Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, p. 117.

<sup>101</sup> Aruna Pariti, *Genealogy, Time and Identity*, p. 65.

<sup>102</sup> *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 9, pp.267-71; Also see B P Sahu, Legitimation, Ideology and State in India, *proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Presidential Address, Vol. 64, 2003.

<sup>103</sup> Vakataka King Prithvisena I (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 17), King Prithvisena II (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 9) have been depicted as Shiva devotees.

<sup>104</sup> Queen Prabhavati has been depicted as the devotee of Lord Vishnu in the inscription, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 15, p.43.

Another important and interesting aspect of Vakataka period is that even those inscriptions which were dedicated for the Buddhist monks, have been composed in Sanskrit language. This makes it evident that the Buddhists too learnt Sanskrit language eventually. Pollock also mentions the formation of ‘Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit’ which was employed by the Buddhists from second century CE onwards<sup>105</sup>. Pollock has attributed the cause of this change to the natural superiority of Sanskrit<sup>106</sup>. He does not accept the ‘competition with brahmanas for popular esteem’<sup>107</sup> as the probable reason for the transition towards Sanskrit. However, the evident reason for the specified change appears to be the necessity to control the fading popularity of Buddhism in the face of rising Brahmanism. What Pollock suggests as the natural superiority of Sanskrit, is a feature that is not subject to change with dynasties. The natural characteristics would remain the same, it is the necessity arising due to the requirements of a kingdom that causes the choices to be made.

The Vakataka rulers and their Brahmana ministers<sup>108</sup> dedicated few caves to the Buddhists monks and declared it dedicated to the *Buddha, Dharma* and *Sangha*<sup>109</sup>. This shows that Sanskrit had transformed from being employed as a sacred language not only by *brahmanas* but also by the Buddhists. It travelled beyond the boundaries of brahmanical religion. The rulers utilized Sanskrit to get validation from people from all communities. A Brahmana, belonging to a distant place like Kerala, being appointed as the minister of the Vakatakas who were a ruling family of Central provinces, makes it evident that Sanskrit was trans-regional and it helped to get connected with the people having superior qualities. It also indicates that by this time Sanskrit had spread to all parts of India including the deep southern states like Kerala.

The originator of the Vakataka race, Vindhyashakti was initially a governor or minister under some dynasty. None of the Vakataka inscriptions mention about his territorial expansion or about his rule as the king of a major dynasty. On the other hand, his successors are shown as kings ruling over large regions and the inscriptions mention several places that were under their control<sup>110</sup>.

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<sup>105</sup> Sheldon Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, pp.56-57.

<sup>106</sup> Sheldon Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, p. 57.

<sup>107</sup> Sheldon Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, p. 57.

<sup>108</sup> The minister of Vakataka Devasena, Hastibhoja, has been mentioned as being of Vallarus brahmana descent, probably hailing from Kerala and the inscription mentions his genealogy. He is named as being a gem and has been equated with the highest learned *brahmanas* like Ajanta Inscriptions, *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, p.138.

<sup>109</sup> Ajanta Cave Inscriptions, *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, p.128

<sup>110</sup> R C Majumdar and A S Altekar, *The Vakataka-Gupta Age*, p. 103.



Territorial expansion is indicative of agrarian expansion as well, which in turn indicates increased economy and state formation. The inscriptions were a means of spreading the name and fame of the kings and also for establishing their legitimate authority over the conquered provinces. They took the aid of Sanskrit language in order to establish their authority. They were projected as the upholder of dharma and Vedic order in the society<sup>111</sup>.

The Gupta dynasty was established by 320 AD. The scholars have omitted to notice that the Vakataka rulers introduced Sanskrit prior to the Guptas. It has also been mentioned earlier that the brahmanical rituals like the *Asvamedha yajna* had been performed by several kings including the Vakataka kings, before it was performed by the Gupta rulers. Depending upon the evidence, Vakatakas period deserves to be credited as ‘the period of Sanskrit revival’.

Several *prasastis* were composed in Sanskrit during the period of their rule. One of the exemplary *prasastis* composed under the Guptas is the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta<sup>112</sup>. Not only there were several poets of fame during the Guptas, rather the kings too aspired to become poets. The poets were highly respected and appreciated and also were appointed to senior administrative posts. The mastery of the poets on the language who added to the charm of the *kavya*<sup>113</sup>. This probably was the reason why the poets were appointed as the *sandhivigrahikas*. So much was the importance of poetry that the kings themselves aspired to be called poets. Samudragupta himself has been called *kaviraja*<sup>114</sup> in the Allahbad pillar inscription. Not only the Guptas were poets, but also the Vakatakas with whom they had matrimonial relations, also claimed to be poets. The Saduktikarnamrita of Sridharadasa cites a Sanskrit verse which has been attributed to the Vakataka prince Divakara<sup>115</sup>. Also, his brother Pravarsena II has been acclaimed as the author of a Prakrit composition<sup>116</sup>.

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<sup>111</sup> For the details see B P Sahu, Legitimation, Ideology and State in India, *proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Presidential Address, Vol. 64, 2003.; B D Chattopadhyaya,

<sup>112</sup> D C Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 254-259 ; J F Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol 3, Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings, pp. 1-17.

<sup>113</sup> For details, see J F Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol 3, Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings, p.120.

<sup>114</sup> J F Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol 3, Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings, pp.203-219; Diskalkar, *Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions*, p.24, 28; Majumdar and Altekar, *The Vakataka-Gupta Age*, p.155; R K Mookerji, *Indian Culture*, Part IX, p.77.

<sup>115</sup> J F Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol 3, Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings, p.124.

<sup>116</sup> Majumdar and Altekar, *The Vakataka-Gupta Age*, p.114. Pravarsena II is said to be the composer of *Setubandha*, which describes the exploits of Rama in the capture of Lanka

Unlike the Vakatakas, the Guptas were a dynasty of non-brahmanic lineage<sup>117</sup>. Even though Guptas were non-brahmanical, they patronized Sanskrit, thus showing the utility of Sanskrit to achieve legitimacy. The first king of the Gupta dynasty was Ghatotkacha, but the dynasty rose to prominence with his son Chandragupta. Chandragupta married a Lichchhavi princess Kumaradevi and with the support from the Lichchhavis, he extended his kingdom's territories<sup>118</sup>. Their son Samudragupta is styled as Lichchhavi-Dauhitra in the Allahbad Pillar inscription<sup>119</sup> and is continued to be called so by his successors. The Allahbad pillar inscription of Samudragupta is the most important Sanskrit prasasti or kavya composed by Harisena. It tells about the political and administrative history of Samudragupta's reign in the fourth century AD. The Sanskrit *prasastis* dramaticize the fame of the Gupta dynasty<sup>120</sup>. In a manner similar to Kalidasa's Raghuvamsa, the poets explain that the fame of the Gupta kings spread beyond the limits of the earth and went upto the abode of Indra.

Samudragupta followed the policy of extermination, making of subordinates, levying tribute and taxes to the state, subduing and freeing up the kings and projected his wars as *dharma-vijayin*<sup>121</sup>. The ultimate aim of the *dharma-vijayin* of Samudragupta was to become a *chakravartin*. The tribute that he earned from such kingdoms was not added to the royal treasury, rather was distributed among the *brahmanas*, which is suggestive of the legitimizing function of his act. The Allahbad pillar inscription gives a fair idea of state formation under the Guptas. It tells about the territorial expansion of the kingdom, from the north to the south and from east to the west. It also tells about the tribute offered to him by the subdued kings, both in and out of his territory. D C Sircar suggests that the act of distribution of the tribute among the subjects displays the economic prosperity of the state<sup>122</sup>. The performance of *asvamedha* sacrifice suggests the subordination of the kings of smaller kingdoms. The inscription mentions the ranks of *mahadandanayaka*, *sandhivigrahika* and *kumaramatyā* for Harisena, the composer of the Allahbad Pillar inscription.

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<sup>117</sup> For details, see J F Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol 3, Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings, Introduction.

<sup>118</sup> For details, see J F Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol 3, Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings, p.4.

<sup>119</sup> J F Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol 3, Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings, pp. 203-219.

<sup>120</sup> This is specifically about Samudragupta and his grandson Kumaragupta, J F Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol 3, Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings, pp. 1-17.

<sup>121</sup> Mentioned in the Allahbad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, J F Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol 3, Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings, pp. 1-17.

<sup>122</sup> D C Sircar, Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 254-259.

Another person who executed the charter has been ranked *mahadandanayaka*. This indicates the administrative organization of the Gupta period. The state of the Guptas was well administered. The entire kingdom was divided into centre, provinces, districts, towns and villages and the officials were appointed accordingly. The state's economy was well developed which is indicated by the findings of the Gupta coins. Trade and commerce was flourishing. The taxes were extracted from agriculture, traders, guilds and other means<sup>123</sup>.

Gupta dynasty and the period of their rule is termed as the classical example of resurgence of Sanskrit and Sanskritic revival by scholars like Max Muller, who called the return of Sanskrit to the political sphere as the 'Sanskrit Renaissance'<sup>124</sup>. Max Muller holds the opinion that there was a complete absence of Sanskrit in the political sphere before the Gupta period and the brahmanical culture as well suffered especially under the rule of the Mauryas<sup>125</sup>. He considers that Sanskrit was revived by the Guptas and that the literature that was composed under the patronage of Gupta rulers was more 'artificial' than 'natural'<sup>126</sup>. However, his arguments are not acceptable. He probably omitted the Sanskrit literary works produced before the advent of the Guptas and therefore mistakingly called it a 'blank' period in brahmanical literary culture. Works like Patanjali's *Mahabhashya*, Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, *Yugapurana*, Katantra's grammar, Asvaghosa's *Buddhacarita* and *Saundarananda*, Sanskrit prasastis produced under Sakas, Vakatakas and other dynasties are some of the examples of the Sanskrit literature produced prior to the onset of Gupta Age. Sheldon Pollock has not discussed regarding the utilization of Sanskrit by the Guptas. He has discussed the literary transformation in the records of Vakatakas and further discussed that of Pallavas.

The Pallavas have been much debated over their probable Parthian (pahlava) origin and their supposed Indian origin<sup>127</sup>. They also find mention in the Tamil Sangam literature, as the rulers of Tondamandalam<sup>128</sup>. After the fall of the prominent ruling kingdom of the South, the Satvahanas, the Pallavas make their appearance in the Kanchi area of Tamil country. They are known from

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<sup>123</sup> For details see D C Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 254-259.

<sup>124</sup> Sheldon Pollock, *Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, p.74.

<sup>125</sup> Sheldon Pollock, *Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, p.74.

<sup>126</sup> F Max Muller, 1882:xviii ff., 84 ff, cited in Sheldon Pollock, *Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, p.74.

<sup>127</sup> A S Altekar, R C Majumdar, *The Vakataka-Gupta Age*, p.230; R Gopalan, *History of The Pallavas of Kanchi*, Introduction.

<sup>128</sup> R Gopalan, *History of the Pallavas of Kanchi*, Introduction.

their earliest three inscriptions of their king Skandavarman. They have been called ‘the Vakatakas and the Guptas of the South’<sup>129</sup>. They are credited with introduction of Sanskrit in the South as the Vakatakas did in the North<sup>130</sup>. The Pallavas claim to be brahmanas in their origin as per their records and pursued to become Kshatriyas eventually<sup>131</sup>. Skandavarman is also claimed to have performed the brahmanical rituals of *Agnistoma*, *Vajapeya* as well as *Asvamedha yajna*<sup>132</sup>.

The Pallavas Empire extended up to the Tungabhadra River and the Krishna River in the north. The Western region of Karnataka up to the coastal area of Arabian Sea, which was under the Gangas<sup>133</sup> and the Kadambas<sup>134</sup>, was initially under the sovereignty of the Pallavas. The region of Banavasi was ruled by Chutu Nagas who had matrimonial relationships with the Pallavas<sup>135</sup>. The Pallavas obtained the Western region of Karnataka by matrimonial alliance with Chutukulananda dynasty<sup>136</sup>. The inscriptions of the Pallavas can be divided into three categories. The early inscriptions of the Pallavas are in Prakrit language, from the fourth century onwards the language is changed to Sanskrit, beginning with those of Sivaskandavarman and the last category is that of Sanskrit-Tamil inscriptions<sup>137</sup>.

The Pallavas were contemporaneous with the Vakatakas and the Guptas in the North. Titles like *Dharma-maharajadhiraja* which is an imperial title meaning ‘a king, who at the time of issuing the record, was engaged in an act of religious merit’<sup>138</sup> were introduced by the Pallavas. It is quite evident that the kings made use of Vedic rituals, brahmanical laws in order to support their authority in their territory. The employment of Sanskrit language was required to draw validity from the people of the kingdom for a dynasty that claimed of Brahmanical descent and being

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<sup>129</sup> K P Jayaswal, *The History of India (150 AD-350 AD)*, p. 178.

<sup>130</sup> K P Jayaswal, *The History of India(150 AD-350 AD)*, p. 178.

<sup>131</sup> Evident from their names in their records where they attached the suffix *varman* which is the title of Kshatriyas. As Yuvaraja, Skandavarman is said to belong to the *bharadwaja gotra*; Altekar, Majumdar, *The Vakataka-Gupta Age*, p.231.

<sup>132</sup> Altekar, Majumdar, *The Vakataka-Gupta Age*, p.231; Inscriptions of the Pallavas published the *Epigraphia Indica, Indian Antiquary, South Indian Inscriptions*.

<sup>133</sup> The Gangas continued as the feudatories of the Pallavas for some generations. For details see, R Gopalan, *History of the Pallavas of Kanchi*.

<sup>134</sup> It is evident from the Talagunda pillar inscription that Kadamba Mayursarman got his dominion country from the Pallavas, Talagunda Pillar Inscription, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 8, pp. 24-36.

<sup>135</sup> R Gopalan, *History of the Pallavas of Kanchi*, Introduction; V V Mirashi, *The History and Inscriptions of the Satavahanas and the Western Kshatrapas*; D C Sircar, *The Successors of the Satavahanas in Lower Deccan*.

<sup>136</sup> R Gopalan, *History of the Pallavas of Kanchi*, Introduction.

<sup>137</sup> R Gopalan, *History of the Pallavas of Kanchi*, p. 5.

<sup>138</sup> D C Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 93.

followers of Shaivism and Vaishnavism. The practice of giving *dana* and *dakshina* to the *brahmanas* was in vogue in the Pallava period. B D Chattopadhyaya has observed, royal grants to *brahmanas* were a method of integrating the peripheral areas of the territory within the control of the state administration, thereby expanding the domain of state power<sup>139</sup>. The kings gave villages and land to the *brahmanas* and exempted them from any sort of taxes. They also boast of having performed several *asvamedha yajnas*<sup>140</sup>. The kings not only praised the highly learned *brahmanas* and specified their level of knowledge as per Vedic system in the inscriptions, but also were keen in having themselves expressed as the one who was well versed in the study of the Vedas and *sastras*<sup>141</sup>.

The Pallavas probably took to the tradition of the day which was becoming common in the northern part of the country. They gave up the use of Prakrit for their inscriptions and resorted to the use of Sanskrit. By the fourth century AD, the dynasties ruling in the northern India and in Deccan regions were also issuing their political will in Sanskrit language. Sanskrit emerged as the language for all the functions of the state, religious, social, administrative as well as political. During this period, Sanskrit also started showing its capacities as the cosmopolitan language which was qualified for communication intra and inter-dynastically<sup>142</sup>. Its engagement in all spheres of the states was spreading from the north towards the south. Right from Vakatakas and Guptas, to the Pallavas, the kings started associating themselves with the latest means of validation, which was using Sanskrit as the popular language for their religious as well as political actions. The Sanskrit charters included the genealogies of the rulers, including the names of the ancestors. It also portrayed the interest of the kings in Vedic rituals by specially mentioning the performance of Vedic sacrifices like *Asvamedha sacrifice*<sup>143</sup>. These aspects were not present in the Prakrit records of the rulers. The use of Prakrit language for political as well as literary compositions had reduced tremendously. Sanskrit had stepped in and was chosen by the kings to communicate their acts which would lead to legitimization of their authority. The reason can be explained on the basis of decline of Jain patronage and the rise of brahmanical influence for the state. In the later centuries,

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<sup>139</sup> Hermann Kulke, *The State in India*, p. 224; Malini Adiga, *The Making of Southern Karnataka-Society, Polity and Culture in the Early Medieval period, AD 400-1030*, p.99.

<sup>140</sup> K P Jayaswal, *History of India 150 AD- 350 AD*, p.186.

<sup>141</sup> Sheldon Pollock, *Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, pp.118-119.

<sup>142</sup> From the fourth century onwards, Sanskrit inscriptions started appearing as a regular practice from most of the dynasties of North as well as South, therefore Sanskrit has been described thus.

<sup>143</sup> R Gopalan, *History of the Pallavas of Kanchi*, p.5.

the Pallavas started issuing Tamil inscriptions in the Tamil region. The Tamil inscriptions included Sanskrit benedictory verses and the functional portion was composed in Tamil language<sup>144</sup>. Pollock has ascertained the cause for the change in language of inscriptions to Tamil to be vernacularisation<sup>145</sup>. However, it is the need to appeal to audience that causes the kings to adopt a particular language for records. Tamil language was employed in the records in order to seek validation from the local people of Tamil land. In the same records, the benedictory portion was written in Sanskrit language to conform the association to *puranas* and *dharma-sastras* that was a source of legitimacy as well.

The Gangas of Talakad were located in between the territories of Kadambas and the Pallavas, in the present day Karnataka region. This dynasty emerged by the close of the fourth century. They are said to have established the first indigenous state system<sup>146</sup>. The first found inscription of the Gangas is a Sanskrit copper-plate charter of the dynasty. It terms the first king of the Gangas, Konkanivarman as *dharma-mahadhirajasya*<sup>147</sup>. This was in keeping with the tradition initiated by the Pallavas where Sivaskandavarman was also titled in a similar fashion<sup>148</sup>. So, the rulers gave the image of being the upholders of *dharmic* law and followers of Brahmanical faith, right from the beginning. They claim to belong to the Kanvayana *gotra* in their early inscriptions<sup>149</sup>, which is again comparable with claims of the Pallavas<sup>150</sup> and Kadambas. All the inscriptions of the Gangas of the early phase<sup>151</sup> are found to be in Sanskrit language. The Gangas also proclaim to have performed the *hiranyagarbha* and *Asvamedha yajna* which in accordance with the *dharmic* laws was necessary to claim Kshatriya status. It is especially important for the states undergoing transition from pre-state to state society<sup>152</sup>.

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<sup>144</sup> For details see Sheldon Pollock, *Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, p. 121.

<sup>145</sup> Sheldon Pollock, *Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, p. 122.

<sup>146</sup> Yogender Dayma, Trade and Urbanisation in early Medieval Karnataka, *Indian Historical Review*, 47(I), p.131.

<sup>147</sup> C Krishnamacharalu, Chura Grant of Pallava Vishnugopavarman, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 24, p.139-140; Majumdar and Altekar, *The Vakataka-Gupta Age*, p.247.

<sup>148</sup> C Krishnamacharalu, Chura Grant of Pallava Vishnugopavarman, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 24, p.139-140.

<sup>149</sup> Malini Adiga, *The Making of Southern Karnataka*, p.87.

<sup>150</sup> The Pallavas claim to belong to *bharadwaja gotra* and the Kadambas claimed to belong to the *Manavya gotra* in their respective inscriptions.

<sup>151</sup> Malini Adiga, *The Making of Southern Karnataka*, Introduction; The period of the Gangas has been divided into two phases: the early phase extending from 400 AD- 725 AD and the later phase extending from 725 AD-1030 AD.

<sup>152</sup> Malini Adiga, *The Making of Southern Karnataka*, p.109.

The Gangas emerged from a tribal background around the area of Kolar and rose to the prominence of a significant dynasty<sup>153</sup> with its capital at Talakad. As a part of their political processes, the Gangas entered into matrimonial alliances with the Kadambas and the ruler of Punnata<sup>154</sup> region. As a result, they gained territories from both the mentioned dynasties and extended their kingdom. The extension of their territories aided in the Ganga state formation through agrarian expansion and eventual revenue expansion<sup>155</sup>. Not only they gave land grants to the *brahmanas*, but also employed them at important positions in their courts. *brahmanas* held the post of privy councillor i.e. *sarvarahasyadhikrita* and the same person is also seen functioning as scribes for the king<sup>156</sup>. The Kudiliyam grant of Krishnavarman was composed by a *brahmana*<sup>157</sup> who is mentioned as the privy councilor of the king. The Keregalur copper plates of Madhavavarman II serves as the source for providing the information about the role played by the *brahmanas* in the state administration<sup>158</sup>. The *brahmanas* can be called the pillars on which the state developed and worked successfully. They were indispensable for state formation.

The Chalukyas of Badami emerged as powerful rulers under Pulakesin I<sup>159</sup> in the sixth century AD with their capital at the ancient city Vatapi in Karnataka. Within the passage of one century of their rule, the rulers integrated several regions under their dominion, which included the regions of Gujarat, Maharashtra, Goa, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh<sup>160</sup>. In the mid-seventh century AD, the Chalukyas of Badami was divided into Chalukyas of Gujarat and Chalukyas of Vengi that gradually developed into independent states. The Chalukyas issued a huge number of inscriptions that comprised donative records, records of the war feats as well as *prasastis*. The period of rule of the Chalukyas of Badami extended from the fifth century AD till the mid-eighth century AD, when they were subdued by the Rashtrakutas of Malkhed. The rulers patronized the *brahmanas* and the Jains in their kingdom<sup>161</sup>. The records of the dynasty are mostly in Sanskrit language, though

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<sup>153</sup> For details see Malini Adiga, *The Making of Southern Karnataka*.

<sup>154</sup> The Uttanur plates of Durvinita are the earliest to refer to this, Malini Adiga, *The Making of Southern Karnataka*.

<sup>155</sup> Dayma, Trade and Urbanisation in early Medieval Karnataka, *Indian Historical Review*, 47(I), p.131

<sup>156</sup> Malini Adiga, *The Making of Southern Karnataka*, p.106

<sup>157</sup> The details can be read in the 'Kudiliyam Grant of Krishnavarman', *Annual Reports of the Mysore Archaeological Department*, 1932, 124–30.

<sup>158</sup> The details have been explained in *The Making of Southern Karnataka*, p.106-108.

<sup>159</sup> Aruna Pariti, *Genealogy, Time and Identity*, p. 17.

<sup>160</sup> Aruna Pariti, *Genealogy, Time and Identity*, pp. 17-18.

<sup>161</sup> A S Altekar, *Rashtrakutas and Their Times*, p.272.

few inscriptions of Kannada language<sup>162</sup> and Telugu language<sup>163</sup> also appear till the eighth century AD. Interestingly, the Aihole record of Pulakesi II<sup>164</sup>, was composed by Ravikirti who was a Jain. The provenance of the record is also important since it is found on the exterior wall of Meguti Jain temple at Aihole. It shows that irrespective of own religious inclinations, the inscriptions were composed in the pan-Indian language. It was probably owing to the trend of the period, that the records were composed in Sanskrit language. The records inform that the rulers patronized the *brahmanas* and the Jains. Employing the pan-Indian language for issuing records signifies the attempt of the rulers to achieve pan-Indian status in the early medieval period. The pan-Indian ideology of the rulers was required for the creation of a socio-political identity of the dynasty and thereby achieve legitimacy of their authority. Though the rulers of the dynasty were Kannada in origin<sup>165</sup>, they selected Sanskrit as the language for composition of their inscriptions (see figure 2.1).

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<sup>162</sup> Badami cave Inscription of Mangalesa, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol 10, pp. 59-60; Ganajur Stone Inscription of Vikramaditya I, *Archaeological Report of South Indian Epigraphy*, 1932-33, p. 96, constitute some examples.

<sup>163</sup> Annavaram-Agraharam hero stone Inscription, *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1958-59, p. 24; Ramapuram Chalukya Inscription, *Indian Archaeological Report*, 1963-64, p. 11-13, are some of the examples.

<sup>164</sup> Aihole Inscription of Pulakesi II, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 6, p. 1-12.

<sup>165</sup> A S Altekar, *Rashtrakuta and Their Times*, p. 22; D P Dikshit, *Political History of the Chalukyas of Badami*, New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1958, p. 26.





Figure 2.1 Picture showing copper-plate inscription issued by the Chalukyas of Badami with the seal of the dynasty on the ring. *Source:* Photograph by the author. The copper-plates are preserved at the Government museum of Hampi.

The records mention elaborate genealogies of the rulers. They claim their origin from *Hariti* lineage and of *Manavya gotra*<sup>166</sup>. They claim their identity as *brahma-kshtra*<sup>167</sup>. This indicates that

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<sup>166</sup> Aruna Pariti, *Genealogy, Time and Identity*, p.66; D P Dikshit, *Political History of the Chalukyas of Badami*, New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1958, p. 20.

<sup>167</sup> Aruna Pariti, *Genealogy, Time and Identity*, p. 67.

the dynasty claimed validation of their authority through creating puranic links of their descent and ensured a continuing legitimacy through donation to the *brahmanas*.

The Chalukyas of Badami were dispossessed by the Rashtrakutas of Malkhed. A S Altekar has informed that the Rashtrakuta rulers were Kannada in origin<sup>168</sup>. He mentions that the name 'Rashtrakutas' was derived from the ancient name of 'Rathikas' that was prevalent under the Satvahanas<sup>169</sup>. The Rashtrakuta rulers occupied the territories of the Chalukyas of Badami after their defeat at the hands of Dantidurga<sup>170</sup>. They continued to remain power till the mid-tenth century AD<sup>171</sup>. Rashtrakutas being trans-regional state, they issued records in Sanskrit, Kannada as well as in Telugu language. It is observed that the Kannada records were issued in the region of Karnataka and the Telugu records were issued in the Andhra region. The rulers of the dynasty patronized the *brahmanas* as well as the Jains<sup>172</sup>. The kings followed the ideology of *varnashramadharm*a in the state. They performed various Vedic sacrifices as well, namely *hiranyagarbhamahadana*<sup>173</sup> and *tulapurushadana*<sup>174</sup>. This indicates that the rulers claimed legitimacy of their rule through their adherence of puranic faith. The rulers issued several donative records for the *brahmanas*.

Other than the Hindu dynasties, there are instances where the Sanskrit inscriptions have been issued under the patronage of Muslim rulers in India. The Palam Baoli inscription of 1276 AD<sup>175</sup> that records the construction of wells and *dharmasalas* in Delhi region, is composed in Sanskrit language. The record mentions the genealogy of the contemporary Muslim ruler of Delhi along with the genealogy of the donor's family. The genealogy of the Muslim ruler is mentioned in a Sanskritised manner<sup>176</sup>. Another example is the Sarban stone inscription of 1378 AD<sup>177</sup> is a Sanskrit inscription issued by a merchant who constructed well in the territory of the Muslim ruler of Delhi. This inscription also contains the Sanskritised genealogy of the Muslim king and

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<sup>168</sup> A S Altekar, *Rashtrakuta and Their Times*, p. 18.

<sup>169</sup> A S Altekar, *Rashtrakuta and Their Times*, pp. 20-21.

<sup>170</sup> A S Altekar, *Rashtrakuta and Their Times*, pp. 36-39.

<sup>171</sup> A S Altekar, *Rashtrakuta and Their Times*, p. 127.

<sup>172</sup> Pandita Reu, *History of the Rashtrakutas*, pp. 34-36; A S Altekar, *Rashtrakutas and Their Times*, pp. 272-274.

<sup>173</sup> A S Altekar, *Rashtrakutas and Their Times*, p. 297.

<sup>174</sup> A S Altekar, *Rashtrakutas and Their Times*, p. 301.

<sup>175</sup> P Prasad, *Sanskrit Inscriptions of Delhi Sultanate, 1191-1526*, pp. 3-15.

<sup>176</sup> B D Chattopadhyaya, *Representing the Other? Sanskrit Sources and the Muslims (8<sup>th</sup>- 14<sup>th</sup> Century)*, pp. 48-49.

<sup>177</sup> P Prasad, *Sanskrit Inscriptions of Delhi Sultanate, 1191-1526*, pp. 27-31; J. Eggeling, 'Sarban Inscription in the Delhi Museum', *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 1(1892, rpt., Delhi, 1983), pp. 93-95.

describes him as *Sri Mahamadeshahi*<sup>178</sup>. The Qutub Minar Stone Inscription<sup>179</sup> of Allauddin Khilji is an undated two line Sanskrit inscription that is engraved in Nagari script. The inscriptions also mention the date in the Indian terminology of *samvat*, *Vikrama samvat*<sup>180</sup>, Indian names of months and days as well. It indicates that the Muslim rulers attempted to legitimize their rule in the region by presenting themselves as adhering to the norms prevalent in the country that were followed by other contemporary Hindu dynasties. Accordingly, the rulers made use of the most suitable language, Sanskrit, for issuing the records.

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<sup>178</sup> B D Chattopadhyaya, *Representing the Other? Sanskrit Sources and the Muslims (8<sup>th</sup>- 14<sup>th</sup> Century)*, p. 50. The work mentions the Sanskrit genealogy of the Muslim ruler.

<sup>179</sup> P Prasad, *Sanskrit Inscriptions of Delhi Sultanate, 1191-1526*, pp. 18-19.

<sup>180</sup> Delhi Museum Stone Inscription, P Prasad, *Sanskrit Inscriptions of Delhi Sultanate, 1191-1526*, pp. 15-18.

## CHAPTER THREE

# SANSKRIT AND STATE FORMATION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO GOA

## BHOJAS- SHILAHARAS

### INTRODUCTION

Goa was inhabited by people since pre-historic times. However, the literary history of Goa started from fourth century CE onwards with the rule of the Bhojas of Chandrapur<sup>1</sup>. The earliest records of the Bhoja period reveal that the region was inhabited by people of all communities that included the *brahmanas*, ksatriyas, merchant community as well as the peasants. Remy Dias has mentioned that the Gaudas were the first settlers in the land of Goa and they were responsible for the beginning of community existence as well as village community, *Gauncaria*<sup>2</sup>. They had the knowledge of agriculture which was put to use and rice was maximally grown in the central uplands as well as the western coastal plains by clearing off the forest land and also by reclaiming *khazan* lands. With the kind of knowledge the Gaudas had, it can be understood that they were learned people who made use of their knowledge for their livelihood. It is probable that they were *brahmanas* as they were exposed to learning since ancient times.

According to the *Sahyadrikhanda* tradition, Lord Parshurama brought brahmana families from a northern region and settled them in Konkan land. It is also said that he reclaimed this land that is the Western coastal area, from the sea by shooting an arrow into the sea. The validity of this tradition will be discussed in the subsequent chapters. However, here we can compare this tradition to the settling of people in Goa. The reclaiming of land from the sea by shooting an arrow can be symbolically understood as reclaiming of fertile land from the sea and using it for rice cultivation

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<sup>1</sup> See V T Gune, *The Gazetteer of Goa, Daman and Diu*, Vol I for details. Also See, A R S Dhume, *The Cultural History of Goa, from 10000 BC to 1352 AD* for details.

<sup>2</sup> Remy Antonio Diano Dias, 'The Socio-Economic History of Goa with Special Reference to the Comunidade System', *Unpublished PhD Thesis*. Goa University, 2004.

by the settlers. It can also be compared to the use of iron implements in order to clear out the forest cover and make the area suitable for living and for cultivation. *Brahmanas* had the knowledge of the right kind of soil suited for crop cultivation and the water requirements as well, hence they were able to settle down in this far off land.

## **SANSKRIT AND STATE IN GOA INSCRIPTIONS**

An important thing to be noted before analyzing the information contained in the inscriptions of various rulers of Goa is that the earliest record available for study is the copper plate inscription of Bhoja king Devaraja, belonging to fourth century AD. The fourth century inscription being available on a copper plate is significant to understand the economic conditions of the state under study. K V Ramesh claims that in the region of South Kanara, the inscriptions issued during the first millennium of Christian era and the centuries before the Vijaynagara Empire were in stone<sup>3</sup>. He stated that copper plate inscriptions were not issued by the kings in the region of South Kanara prior to the advent of Vijayanagara rulers. However in the other parts of Karnataka, copper plate inscriptions have been issued by various dynasties in the centuries of first millennium AD. The rulers of the Kadambas of Banavasi, Chalukyas of Badami, and Western Gangas are some of the dynasties that issued copper plate inscriptions in the region of Karnataka as well as other states. Seventeen sets of copper plate inscriptions have been discovered at Halebelagola in Hasan district of Karnataka<sup>4</sup>. They have been attributed to the period ranging from sixth century AD to fourteenth century AD.

## **BHOJAS**

Bhojas are the first known rulers of Goa who ruled over Goa with their nucleus within the territories. The origin of the Bhojas remains obscure owing to the absence of any information about their origin, race or ethnicity in their records. Unlike the tradition of the contemporary rulers of the time, their records do not mention their *gotras* like that of Pallavas (Bharadwaja gotra),

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<sup>3</sup> K.V.Ramesh, *A History of South Kanara*, Introduction, p. xvii.

<sup>4</sup> R Krishna Kumar, *The Hindu* (Karnataka), 'Discovery of Copper plate Inscriptions at Halebelagola excites Scholars', November 22, 2020.

Kadambas and Early Chalukyas (Manavya gotra), Western Gangas (Kanvayan gotra) or any genealogy so as to ascertain their family history. It is probable that the Bhojas were not of Brahmanic origin and were local inhabitants who gradually rose to power that is evident through their inscriptions. The records do not specify any brahmanical connection of the family of the Bhojas.

The oldest inscription discovered till date is the Siroda plate of Bhoja Devaraja<sup>5</sup> which has been ascribed to fourth century AD<sup>6</sup>. The grant composed in Sanskrit language states that the mentioned gift had been made in the twelfth year of reign of the King Devaraja<sup>7</sup>. The Bhojas started ruling over Goa in the late fourth century AD. The grant given by Bhoja Devaraja addresses the present and future *bhogikas*<sup>8</sup>, *ayuktas*<sup>9</sup> and *sthayins*<sup>10</sup>. The record mentions the gift of tolls, pasture land for cattle grazing along with other provisions to two brahmanas of Bharadwaj gotra in village Thanniyarka-Kottinkayya from Jiyaya division. It is significant to note that even though the Bhojas do not express brahmanical connection of their families, yet they issued grants to the *brahmanas*. It shows that the Bhojas were aware of the significance of the *brahmanas* in the process of state formation and the validation of their authority. *Bhogikas*, *Ayuktas* and *Sthayins* appear to be the designation of officials of territorial sub-divisions, who were notified about the grant for the purpose of complete and continuous execution of the gift, devoid of any hindrance. The mention of the term present and future for the officials shows that they were public posts that were held continuously for the upkeep of state administration. The grant is also indicative of various levels of administration in the state. There is reference to *rahasyadhikrita* (refers to private secretary to

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<sup>5</sup> C R Krishnamacharlu, 'Siroda Plates of Bhoja Devaraja', *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 24, p.143.

<sup>6</sup> The inscription has been dated to fourth century AD by the archaeologists on paleographic grounds. The characters of the inscription bear resemblance with the characters of the grants of Pallava Sivaskandavarman, Vijaya Skandavarman and Mattepad plates of king Damodarvarman which have been dated to the same century, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 24, p. 143.

<sup>7</sup> Bhoja king Devaraja is not only the first known Bhoja king, he is also the first known ruler to have ruled over Goan territory with the core territory within the state of Goa, V T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory Goa, Daman and Diu*, Vol I, p. 65.

<sup>8</sup> The owner of a jagir is called *bhogika*. It is also explained as head of district or collector of the state's share of the produce of lands taken in kind, D.C.Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 55.

<sup>9</sup> *Ayuktas* literally means an 'officer'. It refers to governor of a district or sub-division, D C Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p.42

<sup>10</sup> *Sthayins* are the permanent tenants or residents of a village, E.I., Vo. 24, p.145, line 1 and 2 of text, D C Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 324.

the king or the privy-councillor), *sarvatantradhikrita* (refers to superintendent of all departments). These ranks refer to the administrative ranks of the state who were required by the king to run the state machinery.

The first grant of Bhoja Prithvimallavarman was issued from a place referred to as victorious Vrishbhnikheta. It records the gift of a field in a village Bhagalla- Pallika in Kupalapakatahara desa. The grant is addressed to present and future *Bhojakas*, *Ayuktas* and *Sthyayins*. The grant mentions the name of the donee *brahmana* with his *gotra* as well as the name of the composer *brahmana* as Devasarmma acharya of Bharadwaja *gotra*<sup>11</sup>.

The second charter issued by Bhoja Prithvimallavarman<sup>12</sup>, is addressed to present and future *Bhojakas*, *Ayuktas* and *Sthyayins*. The grant is issued from a place named Prithvi parvata. It records the gift of Kapoti *Khajjana*<sup>13</sup> in the village of Malara situated in Kupalakata desa. The grant was issued in the twenty-fifth regnal year for the merit of the king himself. It also mentions the name and *gotra* of the donee *brahmana* and the name and *gotra* of the composer. It however mentions two *gotras* of the donee as *bharadwaja* and *agniveshya*<sup>14</sup>.

The two inscriptions of Bhoja Prithvimallavarman have been said to belong to second half of sixth century AD or the first half of seventh century AD<sup>15</sup>. The term *vijaya* being added before the names of the places signifies the victory of the king over the rulers of those places. The mention of *desa* and *grame* indicates the subdivision of the territory occupied by the Bhojas into smaller units of administration. This claim is further supported by address to the officials of the sub-division, i.e. *Bhojakas*, *Ayuktas* and *Sthyayins*. Here, it is to be noted that the king gifted land to the donee *brahmana*. The land was made tax free and was meant for the individual use of the donee *brahmana*.

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<sup>11</sup> Gai, G S. "Two Grants of Bhoja Prithvimallavarman." *Epigraphia Indica*, 33 (1959-60): pp. 61-64.

<sup>12</sup> Gai, G S. "Two Grants of Bhoja Prithvimallavarman." *Epigraphia Indica*, 33 (1959-60): pp. 63-64.

<sup>13</sup> Khajjana is a Marathi and Konkani word that means a rice field created by embankment of coastal area after a low tide of sea. an area near the sea shore, on which a thin layer of sand accumulates after the ebbside coming through inlets; a rice field created out of such an area near a hillock by erecting embankments on the three other sides; a field created by reclaiming a river bed; cultivable land created from the bed of a river which carries the flood-water from the sea; a salty marsh or meadow; a rice field created near the bed of a nullah on the sea shore by putting embankments. See Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXIII, pp. 53-54, D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 154.

<sup>14</sup> Gai, G S. "Two Grants of Bhoja Prithvimallavarman." *Epigraphia Indica*, 33 (1959-60): p. 63.

<sup>15</sup> Gai, G S. "Two Grants of Bhoja Prithvimallavarman." *Epigraphia Indica*, 33 (1959-60): p. 61.

It gives an indication that the land was otherwise used collectively by the villagers for agricultural production. They also paid the royal taxes from the produce. It indicates that some form of village community was in existence during the rule of the Bhojas.

The issuing of land grants to *brahmanas* by the Bhoja kings in such early centuries is indicative of the higher social status of the *brahmanas* as accepted by the kings and the people. The *brahmanas* were allocated lands by the kings and they were exempted from all kinds of taxes that were levied on the rest of the inhabitants. It also indicates that *brahmanas* were highly revered by the kings. They were an integral part of the kingdom and by allocating tax free lands to the *brahmanas*, the kings ensured that they resided in their territories. This was one important measure to gain legitimacy in the state. *Brahmanas* were learned people. They read religious scriptures, had knowledge of all ancient texts. The rulers required their services for composition of *prasastis* as well as for all religious matters in the state.

The Hiregutti plates of Bhoja Asankita were found in possession of a family in North Kanara in Karnataka as a part of their heirloom. The plates have been ascribed to the end of the fifth century AD or the beginning of sixth century AD. The composition is in Sanskrit language and the characters are Southern class. This is the only inscription apart from the Brahmi Cave Inscriptions of Western India, belonging to late fifth or early sixth century AD from the west coast of India which mentions about Buddhism and patronage of the rulers to the religion<sup>16</sup>. It mentions of the grant of a village *Sundrika* in *Dipaka vishaya*<sup>17</sup> for the enjoyment of the Buddhist *vihara* belonging to them. The grant was executed by Bhoja king Asankita at the request of chief Kottipeggili born in the lineage of Kaikeyas of Nandipalli.

There are several points of interest in the above mentioned inscription. The grant mentions about a new Bhoja king, chief of Kaikeya lineage and of Buddhism. It is indicative of the religious and secular inclination of the Bhoja kings. The mention of *sva-vihara* in the grant does not clarify the ownership of the *vihara* to any of the mentioned rulers. It might belong to either of them or to both

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<sup>16</sup> P B Desai, Hiregutti plate of Bhoja Asankita, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 28, p. 73.

<sup>17</sup> *Visaya* can be described as a district, kingdom or territory; sometimes *visaya* was included in a *mandala*; but in some cases, *mandala* was included in *visaya*; at times *mandala* and *visaya* were synonymous; an administrative division, D c Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p.377.



and being maintained by both. It can be understood that during the period of the Bhojas, Buddhism and Brahmainism coexisted. The kings were patrons of both faiths. Grants were given for maintenance of Brahmanas as well as that of Buddhist monks and their *viharas*. However, this is the only inscription of the Bhojas that mentions about the existence of Buddhist faith in the territory of Bhojas.

It is important to note that where one ruler is introduced as belonging to Kaikeya lineage, the Bhoja kings are mentioned without any hereditary affiliations. None of the inscriptions of the Bhojas mention any relationship with each other or introduction to the hereditary rulers of Bhoja lineage. Hence, it would be apt to infer that the Bhojas were non-hereditary rulers. Since the records do not present any affiliation of the Bhojas to any hereditary lineage, they required some other valid tool of legitimacy. Use of Sanskrit language and land grants given to *brahmanas* can be considered as the tools of validation of their authority.

The kings amongst them were elected by the people based on suitable criteria. There was a process of election of the Bhoja king among the claimants to the throne by the elite section. They probably followed the Bhaujiya form of constitution as mentioned in the *Aiteraya Brahmana*<sup>18</sup>. The Mahabhojas along with Maharathis were the feudatories who controlled *rastras* under the Satavahana and are said to have issued coins as well<sup>19</sup>. The Satvahanas had marital relations with the Mahabhojas. Election of a suitable leader to the title of chief or king much similar to the selection of a headman<sup>20</sup> in a village. It is quite probable that some families of the Mahabhojas migrated South-westwards across the Sahyadri range and settled in the region now known as Goa and North Kanara. It is also possible that the Bhojas came to the region as feudatories of Satvahanas and later became independent rulers of the distant area.

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<sup>18</sup> According to the *Aiteraya Brahmana*, the chiefs of the Satvatas clan were termed Bhojas and it is stated that the former were regulated by the Bhaujya form of constitution wherein the authority seems to have been vested in the chosen representatives or leaders of the people, *Aiteraya Brahmana*, VIII, p. 14; Also discussed by P B Desai, 'Hiregutti Plates of Bhoja Asankita', *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 28, p. 72.

<sup>19</sup> V V Mirashi, *The History and Inscriptions of the Satavahanas and the Western Kshatrapas*, p. 120. Bombay, Maharashtra State Board for Literature and Culture, 1981.

<sup>20</sup> This is a personal view based on the structure of village communities. However, the village communities in Goa have never had a headman or *patil*, similar to that in Maharashtra.

Village was the smallest unit of administration during the time of Bhojas. The mention of grants of village lands situated in some *visaya* or *desa* gifted to Brahmanas, supports this view. The inscriptions mention about the permanent settlers of the village. This can also be understood in the way that the inhabitants of the villages were of two categories of privileges, permanent and non-permanent or temporary. The specific mention of *sthayins* was probably meant for those villagers who were permanent members of the village community and these members had the rights as well as responsibility over village land as a community. It indicates that certain rights and responsibilities were entrusted to the permanent residents of the villages. This points towards the existence of some form of village organization under the Bhojas of Chandrapur.

Another important point to note is that the grant is composed in Sanskrit language, although it is meant for allocation of village for the Buddhist monks. The use of Sanskrit language for the composition of inscriptions for the Buddhists indicates that by the fourth-fifth century AD, the Buddhists had adapted Sanskrit. The texts of Buddhism were composed in Pali and Prakrit as it was the language of the masses and the intention was to reach out to the common people. The apt way to reach out to common people is to make use of their mother tongue. Sanskrit was considered as an elite language and meant strictly for religious and scholarly purposes. In spite of all the mentioned aspects, the inscriptions have been composed in Sanskrit. This indicates that the new found kings were trying to achieve legitimacy for their rule by making use of the elite language and elite men. The *brahmanas* were the learned people who had the knowledge of Sanskrit. The kings purported to earn their support by empowering them. The land grants given to the *brahmanas* were made tax free which helped them to maintain their families and live peacefully. Needless to say, Sanskrit and the learned were the tools of legitimacy for the rulers.

The Arga plates of Kapalivarman were found at a temple at Arga, located to the south of Karwar in North Kanara district<sup>21</sup>. The plates have been engraved in archaic Kannada characters and the language of composition is Sanskrit. The charter has been dated to sixth century AD approximately. The grant is once again addressed to present and future *Bhojakas*, *Ayuktas* and *Sthayins*. This grant has been executed by Bhoja king Kapalivarman who is introduced with a

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<sup>21</sup> Annigeri, A M. "Two Grants of Bhoja Kings- Arga Plates of Kapalivarman; Kapoli Plates of Asankitavarman." *Epigraphia Indica*, 31 (1955-56): 232- 236.

decorated title of *Dharma-maharaja*<sup>22</sup>. In the charter, it is mentioned that the King granted a land in the village Sivapuraka as a gift to Chalukya feudatory Swamikaraja<sup>23</sup> who in turn gifted the land to a *brahmana* Bhavarya of Kaudinya *gotra*, so the merit might be attributed to him. Here we find the evidence of sub-infeudation. It was an attempt made by the feudatory rulers to obtain the support of the *brahmanas*.

The grant records that Swamiraja requested the king to gift the land to him. This indicates that the Bhoja rulers had good relationship with the Chalukyan chiefs. The village Sivapuraka has been identified near Karwar district of Karnataka. At the time of execution of the grant, Bhoja king Kapalivarman was residing at a place called Pamasakhetaka<sup>24</sup>. The land that was gifted to Swamiraja on his insistence is mentioned in the inscription as *pukkoli-khajjana*<sup>25</sup> owned by *Adityashreshthi*<sup>26</sup>. For us, the inscription is significant as it is written in Kannada characters and Sanskrit language. This allowed the local elites to read and understand the inscription. It shows that the kings adapted the necessary means of communication depending on the audience that was catered.

The date of this charter can be attributed to second half of sixth century based upon the following facts. The Chalukyan chief Swamiraja mentioned in the grant has been said to have won over eighteen battles. Chalukyan king Mangalesa killed him after he became erroneous. Mangalesa was the younger brother of Chalukya Kirtivarman I. Kirtivarman ascended the throne approximately in 566-567 AD<sup>27</sup>. Mangalesa was working under the orders of his elder brother during that period.

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<sup>22</sup> *Dharma-maharaja* is a royal title, supposed to mean 'a Maharaja who, at the particular time of issuing a record, was engaged in an act of religious merit.', D C Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p.93.

<sup>23</sup> Swamikaraja or Swamiraja appears to be the same Swamiraja whose name appears in the Nerur plates of Chalukyan king Mangalesa. Swamiraja was a fierce warrior and is said to have won eighteen battles. But he was killed by Mangalesa after he turned hostile, Nerur plates of mangalesa, *Maharashtra State Gazetteer*, Chapter 6, p.9; *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 7, p.161. However, Swamiraja appears as a different person and a predecessor of Swamikaraja in the Nagardhan plates of Swamiraja, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 28, pp.1-7.

<sup>24</sup> An unidentified place on the map, probably somewhere in North Kanara, or near Belgaum

<sup>25</sup> There is no available explanation for the term *pukkoli*. It is probable that it is the name of area where the *khajjana* land was located.

<sup>26</sup> *Shreshthi* means the chief of the guild. It can also be explained as a banker or merchant or the foreman of a guild ; sometimes mentioned in the list of the king's officials and subordinates addressed by him while making a grant, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p.317; *Adityashreshthi* is probably the name of the chief of the guild who owned the *khajjana* land which was gifted by the Bhoja ruler.

<sup>27</sup> *Maharashtra State Gazetteer*, Ancient History, Chapter 6, p. 207.

After Mangalesa ascended the throne around 597 AD<sup>28</sup>, he fought fierce battles and was victorious in them. He wanted to proceed beyond river Bhagirathi and erect a victory pillar on the banks of river Bhagirathi. However, due to the rebellions of Swamiraja, he had to hold back his further ventures and he returned back and killed Swamiraja. The mention of his successful wars and killing of Swamiraja is mentioned in the victorious Mahakuta pillar inscription. The Mahakuta pillar inscription has been dated to 601-602 AD. King Mangalesha died before Pulakesin II ascended the throne of Chalukyan monarch in 609-610 AD. Hence the Arga plates of Kapalivarman can be dated to the later half or the last quarter of sixth century.

Swamiraja has also been identified as the chief belonging to the family of Rashtrakutas of Vidarbha<sup>29</sup>. They owed allegiance first to the Kalachuris and then to the Early Chalukyas<sup>30</sup>. Based on the Nagardhan plates of Swamiraja, the period of his chieftom has been deciphered to be between 570 AD and 590 AD. This period correlates with the period of reign of early Chalukyan ruler Mangalesa. The execution of the above mentioned grant must have been carried out while Swamiraja was the chief himself. Hence the period of execution of this grant correlates with period of Swamiraja, i.e., between 570 AD- 590 AD.

The next available inscription is the Kapoli plates of Asankitavarman<sup>31</sup>. These plates were discovered in Kapoli village of Khanapur taluka of Belgaum district. The grant is addressed to the present and future *Bhojakas*, *Ayuktas* and *Sthayins*. The inscription has been composed in Sanskrit language throughout. It records the grant of village Vamsavataka situated in Palasika-vishaya which is identified as Palasige-12000<sup>32</sup> of later inscriptions. The gift was made with the approval of Bhoja king Asankitavarman by chief Elakella of Kaikeya lineage. The grant has been paleographically dated to sixth or seventh century AD<sup>33</sup>.

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<sup>28</sup> *Maharashtra State Gazetteer*, Ancient History, Chapter 6, p. 208.

<sup>29</sup> V V Mirashi, Nagardhan plates of Swamiraja, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 28, pp. 1-11.

<sup>30</sup> This makes the relationship between Chalukya monarch Mangalesa and Swamiraja evident.

<sup>31</sup> Annigeri, A M. "Two Grants of Bhoja Kings- Arga Plates of Kapalivarman; Kapoli Plates of Asankitavarman." *Epigraphia Indica*, 31 (1955-56): p. 232-236.

<sup>32</sup> The region named *Palasige-12000* is identified as modern day Halsi situated in Indian state of Karnataka.

<sup>33</sup> Annigeri, A M. "Two Grants of Bhoja Kings- Arga Plates of Kapalivarman; Kapoli Plates of Asankitavarman." *Epigraphia Indica*, 31 (1955-56): p. 234.

This is the second inscription of Bhojas wherein the Kaikeyas make appearance. The earlier Kaikeya chief mentioned is Kottipeggili of the family of Kaikeyas of Nandipalli. Nandipalli has been identified as Nandivalli which finds mention as a gift village in the inscription of Chalukya Kirtivarman II<sup>34</sup>. It is located in territory adjoining modern Hangal near Dharwar district of Karnataka. The second Kaikeya chief introduced is Elakella. Kaikeya lineage finds mention in several other inscriptions as well such as the Halmidi stone inscription of fifth century AD<sup>35</sup> where the Kadamba king is mentioned to have defeated the Pallavas and the Kaikeyas. Anaji stone inscription of Davangere taluka<sup>36</sup> that is dated 625-650 AD<sup>37</sup> mentions the name of Kaikeya Mahakella. Mahakella, also known as Chitrasena Mahakella also finds mention in the Honnavar plates of Kaikeya Chitrasena<sup>38</sup>. Banahalli plates of Krishnavarma I<sup>39</sup> mentions that he married a Kaikeya princess. The Kaikeya lineage finds several mentions in the inscriptions of the Kadambas<sup>40</sup>. The Kadambas had matrimonial relations with the Kaikeyas. Kadamba Mrigesvarma married a Kaikeya princess named Chandravati who gave birth to Kadamba Ravivarman. But the inscriptions do not mention any genealogy of the Kaikeyas. However, the inscription of Kaikeya Chitrasena Mahakella mentions Kadamba Ravivarman as *Ravimaharajadhiraja*. This shows that the Kaikeyas were the subordinates of Kadambas. Due to the absence of any details of Kaikeya lineage in any of the inscriptions, it is difficult to ascertain their links with the royal family of Kaikeyas of North Western India who find mention in epics like *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*. It can be estimated that the Kaikeyas of the south were probably a branch of the prior known family who might have migrated southwards.

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<sup>34</sup> Vokkaleri plates of Krishnavarman II belonging to 758 AD

<sup>35</sup> B R Gopal, *Corpus of Kadamba Inscriptions*, Vol. I, No. 5, Sirsi: Kadamba Institute of Cultural Studies, 1985.

<sup>36</sup> B Lewis Rice, 'Anaji Stone Inscription', *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol 11, Dg 161.

<sup>37</sup> J F Fleet, 'Epigraphic Researches in Mysore', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, (April, 1905): 289-312.

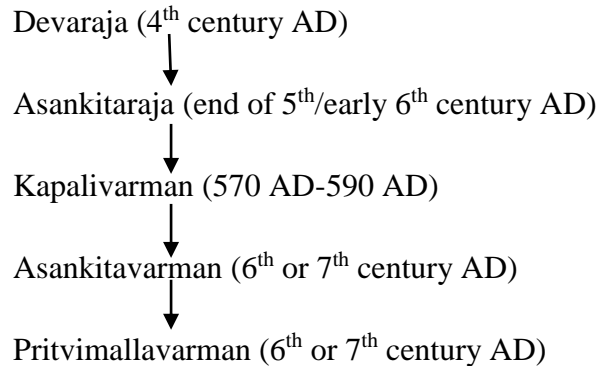
<sup>38</sup> G S Gai. *Inscriptions of the early Kadambas*. New Delhi: Indian Council of Historical Research & Pratibha Prakashan, Delhi, 1996: 120.

<sup>39</sup> B Lewis Rice, 'Banahalli Plates of Krishnavarma I', *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol 5, Bl. 121.

<sup>40</sup> Gudnapur pillar inscription of Ravivarman

From all the inscriptional evidences, few names of the members of Kaikeya lineage have been obtained that include Nandivarman<sup>41</sup>, Kottipeggili<sup>42</sup>, Chitrasena Mahakella<sup>43</sup>, Elakella<sup>44</sup>, Gopaladeva<sup>45</sup>, Anneyarasa and princess Prabhavati<sup>46</sup>. However, no relationship can be established amongst them depending upon the information available in the charters. There is only one available inscription that belongs to them, issued by Kaikeya prince Chitrasena Mahakella during the period of Kadamba Ravivarmma. There is no trace of genealogy of the above mentioned Kaikeya princes.

The Bhojas were the contemporaries of early Kadambas. The known rulers from amongst the Bhojas are presented devoid of any genealogy and chronology. Thus, there is no evidence to show any relationship between the mentioned kings. Therefore, it will be appropriate to understand that the Bhojas were not a royal family. They were the kings who were elected from the professional class of Bhojas and probably followed the Bhaujiya form of constitution. The chronology of the kings can be decided depending upon the fixation of dates of the available inscriptions. The probable chronology of Bhoja kings is:



<sup>41</sup> *Karnataka State Gazetteer-Uttar Kannada District*, 'History', p. 111.

<sup>42</sup> P B Desai, Hiregutti plate of Bhoja Asankita, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 28 (1949-50): 73

<sup>43</sup> G S Gai. *Inscriptions of the early Kadambas*. New Delhi: Indian Council of Historical Research & Pratibha Prakashan, Delhi, 1996: 120.

<sup>44</sup> Annigeri, A M. "Two Grants of Bhoja Kings- Arga Plates of Kapalivarman; Kapoli Plates of Asankitavarman." *Epigraphia Indica*, 31 (1955-56): p. 232-236

<sup>45</sup> Haldipur Plates, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 31, cited in *Karnataka State Gazetteer-Uttar Kannada District*, 'History', p. 111.

<sup>46</sup> G S Gai, Gudnapur Inscription of Ravivarman, *Inscriptions of Early Kadambas*. Delhi: Indian Council of Historical Research and Pratibha Prakashan.

There is no evidence that can prove whether there is any relationship between the Bhojas of Goa and the ancient race of the Bhojas that find mention in the epic *Mahabharata* and in *Rigveda*. However, the *puranic* and *dharmassatra* tradition of *dana* and *dakshina* was continued by the Bhojas. This shows that they were well versed with the *brahmanic* and *puranic* tradition much similar to other contemporary rulers of other parts of India. The inscriptions of the Bhojas do not mention any genealogy or any trace of elaborate description of mythological descent of the family progenitor as was the case with other contemporary dynasties. The kings are introduced without any elaborate decorative titles, except for Bhoja Kapalivarman who is seen introduced with the title of *dharmamaharaja*<sup>47</sup>. The title of *dharmamaharaja* was used by the contemporary rulers of Pallava dynasty<sup>48</sup>, Kadambas of Banavasi<sup>49</sup> and the Chalukyas of Badami<sup>50</sup>. It indicates that the Bhojas adopted the contemporary means of legitimacy in the process of their state formation. The elected kings did not seek legitimacy by the means of heredity. The only means to legitimize their authority was by giving land grants to the elites that comprised *brahmanas* and Buddhist monks. The rulers provided gifts of land to the *brahmana* families which was to be maintained forever. The lands were exempted from all kinds of taxes which meant that they were free from the boundations of revenue production for the state. They mention that the present and future officials must look after the execution of the gift and no person should interfere in the rightful ownership of the *brahmanas*. They also make it prominent that whoever<sup>51</sup> would not adhere to the orders of the king would incur sins for himself. Thus, sins towards the *brahmanas* were equated as sins towards god. In keeping with the *dharmic laws*, the code of Manu is quoted in the inscription in order to make their writs strict<sup>52</sup>. The *brahmanas* were the only source of legitimacy for the kings who were newly ascended on throne and power.

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<sup>47</sup> *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 31, p.233

<sup>48</sup> Sivaskandavarman and Simhavarman had the title of *dharmamaharaja* in their charters, R Gopalan, *History of the Pallavas of Kanchi*, pp. 37, 57.

<sup>49</sup> Some rulers of the Kadambas of Banavasi as well their feudatory chiefs adopted the title *dharmamaharaja*, Yogender Dayma, 'Political Processes in the Making of Early Kadamba State', *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Vol 69, (2008), p. 107-108.; . G.S. Gai, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 35, pp. Vol. VII, p. 37-38.

<sup>50</sup> Pulakesi I assumed the title of *dharmamaharaja*

<sup>51</sup> This order was meant for the common inhabitants of the region as well as for the members of royal Bhoja family.

<sup>52</sup> As mentioned in the Inscription of Bhoja Asankitavarman in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 24, p.235.

It is also probable that the elected chiefs of the Bhoja family followed the tradition of village communities where the members of the clan comprised the village inhabitants and the village chief or headman was the eldest member of the community. This is evident from the inscriptions where Bhojas are seen as the kings, *bhogikas* which also means bhojas are named as administrative officials of the state and the composer of grant is also known by the name of *bhogika*<sup>53</sup>. This claim is substantiated with the mention of *bhojakas* in the records of Banavasi Kadambas. A *bhojaka* named Shukrakirti held the post of general when Kakushthavarman was a prince<sup>54</sup>. His descendants also held administrative posts like that of *ajnapati* and *pratihara*<sup>55</sup> and scribes. Dayma suggests<sup>56</sup> that the *bhojakas* were an important class in the community or probably hailed from an important *bhojaka* family who were accommodated in the administrative ranking of the Kadambas. This shows that Bhojas comprised a social class rather than a social caste or a royal lineage. The most suitable Bhoja was probably elected as the king by the rest of the people which explains the absence of the mention of relationship of the kings with their predecessors in their inscriptions.

The inscriptions of the Bhojas are in Sanskrit. The first available inscription of Bhoja king Devaraja belongs to fourth century AD. It was in first half of third century CE that the inscriptions across southern India started making appearances in Sanskrit. The inscriptions of dynasties ruling in other parts of South India till the third century are mostly seen to be in Prakrit language. The only exception to it was the imprecatory verses that were in Sanskrit. The records of the Pallavas of Kanchi, Chutukulananadas, Salanyakas belonging to third- fourth century AD were composed in Prakrit language<sup>57</sup>. Gradually fourth century AD onwards Prakrit language is seen replaced by Sanskrit language. The records issued by the Pallavas of Kanchi from the end of fourth century AD onwards, inscriptions of the Kadambas of Banavasi and the Chalukyas of Badami were issued in Sanskrit language. Prakrit language was the language of common people. Sanskrit was considered as a sacred language which was utilised for religious rituals by the *brahmanas*. The

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<sup>53</sup> Madhava, the son of Govinda-bhogika, is named as the composer of the Kapoli grant of Asankitavarman, A M Annigeri, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 31, pp. 232-236.

<sup>54</sup> J.F. Fleet, *Pali, Sanskrit and Old Kanarese Inscriptions*, p. 22.

<sup>55</sup> J.F. Fleet, *Pali, Sanskrit and Old Kanarese Inscriptions*, pp. 24-27.

<sup>56</sup> Yogender Dayma, Political processes in the making of early Kadamba State, *Proceedings of The Indian History Congress*, Vol. 69, pp. 102-114.

<sup>57</sup> R Gopalan, *History of the Pallavas of Kanchi*, p. 37-39; D C Sircar, *Successors of the Satvahanas in Lower Deccan*, Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1939.



*brahmanas* who were considered as the house of knowledge and wisdom. They were the elites who had the knowledge of the language. They were fluent in the *Vedas*, *puranas* and other sacred texts. These texts are composed in Sanskrit language. The *brahmanas* composed elaborate *prasastis* for the rulers that aided to enhance the status of the rulers. Thus, the *brahmanas* were highly revered by the kings and were the recipients of land-grants by the rulers. The significance of the language can be understood by the fact that only the imprecatory verses of the inscriptions, where the blessings of gods were called upon, were composed in Sanskrit. The rulers adopted Sanskrit language owing to its 'cosmopolitan' characteristic. The dynasties sought to create pan-Indian identity through the use of 'Sanskrit cosmopolis'<sup>58</sup>. Hence, Sanskrit and land grants to *brahmanas* were important sources of legitimacy for the kings.

The increasing need of legitimacy drove the kings even more towards Sanskrit. Gradually, the *prasastis* or the royal panegyrics started to be composed completely in Sanskrit itself. The established kingdoms as well as the newly emerging lineages, both sought for validation of their authority by employing the use of Sanskrit and giving grants to *brahmanas*<sup>59</sup>. The Bhojas employed the similar means to legitimize their rule. Land grants to *brahmanas* were composed in Sanskrit for the same cause. The rule of Bhojas extended from fourth century AD up to seventh century AD. All the inscriptions of the Bhojas are found to be composed in Sanskrit language. The initial grants of the kings have few Prakrit words interspersed in the composition while the later ones are purely in Sanskrit. However, the compositions were written in simple Sanskrit language and they are found devoid of artificial metres usually employed in *kavyas*.

Village was the smallest unit of administration during the time of Bhojas. The mention of grants of village lands situated in some *visaya* or *desa* gifted to *brahmanas*, supports this view. . There is mention of *bhogikas*, *ayuktas* and *sthayins*. Out of these ranks, *Bhogikas* and *Ayuktas* refer to the administrative ranks of the sub-divisions of the king's territory. *Sthayins* refer to the permanent residents of the villages. The mention of permanent residents of village shows that the inhabitants

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<sup>58</sup> The phrase 'Sanskrit cosmopolis' has been advocated by Sheldon Pollock in his work, *Language of the Gods in the World of Men*.

<sup>59</sup> See B D Chattopadhyaya, 'Political processes in the Making of Medieval Indian polity' in *The State in India, 1000-1700*, edited by Hermann Kulke; B P Sahu, 'Legitimation, Ideology and State' *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Vol 64 (2003): 44-76.

were clearly demarcated as permanent residents and non- permanent residents, which is indicative of some kind of early village organization.

The inscriptions mention about the permanent settlers of the village. This can also be understood in the way that the inhabitants of the villages were of two categories, permanent and non-permanent or temporary. The specific mention of *sthayins* was probably meant for those villagers who were permanent members of the village community and these members had the rights as well as responsibility over village land as a community. *Sthanin* is a Sanskrit word which indicates that which has a place, fixedness or being permanent<sup>60</sup>. It is probable that the village communities were present in Goa from the time of Bhojas itself. It is also probable that the elected chiefs of the Bhoja family followed the tradition of village communities where the members of the clan comprised the village inhabitants and the village chief or headman was the eldest member of the community. All the members of the clan contributed towards the effective and smooth functioning of the community. However, the records of the Bhojas do not provide elaborate information about the structure of village communities. It shows that there is difference between the village communities under the Bhojas and the village community formed at a later period in Goa.

The Bhojas were a professional class of people. The best and most suited person was elected as the king who worked towards the growth and maintenance of the territory. From the inscriptions, it is evident that the territory under the Bhojas was divided into three levels namely *desa* (state or country), *vishaya* (district) and *grama* (village). The names of few officials are also mentioned. This indicates the presence of some kind of administrative formation, if not a clear structure, in the territory. Prior to the Bhojas, the inhabitants of Goa were part of pre-state society. The present day town of Chandor was a harbor, probably controlled by the Satvahanas in the second century AD-third century AD<sup>61</sup>. The port must have been active for trade with countries of the West is confirmed by the findings of China cups, gold grains and other materials from the area<sup>62</sup>. But no other evidence has been found which could indicate the presence of any ruling dynasty in the Goa territory. The Satvahanas controlled their territory of the West coast through their ministers or sub-

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<sup>60</sup> Vaman Shivram Apte, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p.905.

<sup>61</sup> V T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu*, Part I, p.58.

<sup>62</sup> For details, see V T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu*, Part I, Chapter 2.

ordinates. Since, the area was not directly under the control of any kingdom and was a peripheral territory of Satvahanas, the transformation of a pre-state society into a state society in Goa was started under the Bhojas of Chandrapur. Similar transformation occurred in the surrounding areas of Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Northern Andhra, Orissa and Bengal between 350 AD and 700 AD<sup>63</sup>. The Bhojas can be credited for being the first ruling dynasty of Goa which had its nucleus within the territory. The characteristics of Bhoja state polity that have been discussed clarify that they can be called as a pre-state society<sup>64</sup>.

The rulers of Bhojas came to power in Goa during a period which was seeing the revival of Sanskrit language in the Northern and Southern parts of India alike. The scenario was such that the kings were seen seeking validation of their authority through the vehicle of language of expression as well as through the *Brahmanas*. The Bhojas also followed the same pattern. They gave *dana* and *dakshina* to the *Brahmanas* and also appointed them to important positions in their courts. The Bhoja king Kapalivarman has been referred to with the title of *Dharmamaharaja*<sup>65</sup>. This title has been used by the Sunga kings<sup>66</sup>, Gupta kings in the fourth century AD<sup>67</sup>, early Pallava kings<sup>68</sup>, the Western Ganga kings<sup>69</sup> among the rulers of other dynasties. It shows that the Bhojas employed the use of Brahmanical and Dharmic laws like their contemporary kings in other parts of the country. By doing so, the kings wanted to increase their prestige not only among the population of their kingdom, but also in far off places, beyond the limits of their territory.

The Bhojas, by giving land grant to the *brahmanas* aided to the agrarian expansion of their state and alongside, gave due privilege to them. As suggested by B D Chattopadhyaya, in areas where state society was newly established, the function of the *brahmana* donees was to propagate the new ideal of Hindu kingship and hierarchically structured caste society with the new Hindu rulers and the priests at the top<sup>70</sup>. In a way, they were responsible for setting up of the entire infrastructure

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<sup>63</sup> R.S.Sharma, *Social Changes in Early Medieval India*, 1969, New Delhi

<sup>64</sup> For detail discussion on pre-state society, see B D Chattopadhyaya, 'Political Processes in the Making of Early Medieval polity' in *The State in India, 1000-1700*, edited by Hermann Kulke.

<sup>65</sup> A M Annigeri, *Arga plates of Kapalivarman*, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 31, pp. 232-234.

<sup>66</sup> D R Sahani, *Ayodhya Inscription of Dhandeva*, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 20, pp.54-58.

<sup>67</sup> J F fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol 3, *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings*.

<sup>68</sup> K P Jayaswal, *History of India*; R. Gopalan, *History of the Pallavas of Kanchi*.

<sup>69</sup> *Epigraphia Indica* volumes; Malini Adiga, *The Making of Southern Karnataka*.

<sup>70</sup> Hermann Kulke, *The State in India*, p.224.

of the state<sup>71</sup>. The agrarian expansion would eventually lead to revenue expansion. Veluthat states that agriculture registered a rapid increase immediately after the *brahmana* settlements had been established<sup>72</sup>. The evidences show that the system of revenue was well developed in the territory. There were taxes imposed on the merchandise that were brought into the area as well as on the objects that were sold there. This is suggestive of continuing trade in the region. There are mentions of *Ariake*<sup>73</sup> and *Sandabur*<sup>74</sup> in the books of Ptolemy and memoirs of Persian travelers. It is probable that there was active trade from this Western coastal region with various countries<sup>75</sup>. The Southern Indian states continued to trade through the Goan ports which explains the quest for monopoly and control over the ports of Goa among the dynasties of Deccan and the South. Trade through the Western ocean as well as land trade must have been ongoing which brought revenue to the state. It is possible that Chandrapur, being a port and center of trade, developed as an urban center during the rule of the Bhojas. Halsi, in Northern Karnataka too might have been a developing trade center or urban center which explains its control initially by the Bhojas and later by the Kadambas. However, the absence of any coins of the Bhoja dynasty does not allow us to learn the extent of economic development. At the same time, it clearly indicates the transformation of society from a pre-state society to a state society.

The Bhoja dynasty ruled over parts of Goa from the fourth century AD to the seventh century AD approximately. There have been found no records of the Bhojas that belong to centuries beyond seventh century AD. The inscriptions mention the following geographical places related to the Bhojas, *Chandrapur*<sup>76</sup> (Chandor), *Prithviparvata*<sup>77</sup> (Parvat Village, near Chandranath hill), *Dipakavishaya*<sup>78</sup> (Anjediv near Karwar or Diwadi or Diwar island in Goa), *Panaskheteka*<sup>79</sup> (Palsige/Halsi near Belagavi, Karnataka), *Arga*<sup>80</sup> (near Karwar). It is obvious from these names

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<sup>71</sup> Hermann Kulke, *The State in India*, p.224.

<sup>72</sup> Kesavan Veluthat, *The Early Medieval in South India*, Introduction.

<sup>73</sup> Ptolemy, *The Geographie*, p. 156.

<sup>74</sup> Lee's Travels of Ibn Batuta, (London, 1829), p. 164. As quoted in HASCG, p. 118.

<sup>75</sup> Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India-Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, p. 25.

<sup>76</sup> C R Krishnamacharlu, Siroda plates of Bhoja Devaraja, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 24, pp. 143-145.

<sup>77</sup> G S Gai, Two grants of Bhoja Prithvimallavarman, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 33, pp. 61-64.

<sup>78</sup> P B Desai, Hiregutti plates of Bhoja Asankita, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 28, pp. 70-75.

<sup>79</sup> A M Annigeri, Kapoli plates of Asankitavarman, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 31, pp. 234-236.

<sup>80</sup> A M Annigeri, Arga plates of Kapalivarman, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 31, pp. 232-234.

that the Bhojas territory extended from coastal region of Goa, some parts of North Kanara to Halsi region in Karnataka, which was eventually conquered by Kadamba Ravivarman. The records mention the name of various officials who appear divided on the basis of levels of administration. There is mention of village officials<sup>81</sup> and officials of the state administration like *Bhogika Amatya*<sup>82</sup>, *Sarvatantradhikari*<sup>83</sup>, *Rahasya Adhikari*<sup>84</sup> and *Talavara*<sup>85</sup>. The name *Talavara* appears as the title name of the executor of a Bhoja grant where the name appears as *Nandaka-Talavara*<sup>86</sup>. The name *Talavara* appears in the records of the Ikshavakus dynasty as well where they are mentioned as *Maha-talavara* and *Talavara*<sup>87</sup>. It also finds mention in the Satavahana records from Nagarjunakonda of third century AD<sup>88</sup>. It shows the influence of contemporary dynasties on this developing state in Goa. The Bhojas of Chandrapur had a developing administration which was run by the ministers and other officials. On the basis of the evident influence of neighboring contemporary dynasties on the features of Bhoja dynasty, it is probable that the state formation process was also influenced by them. Eventually stronger power Chalukyas took over Goa in the sixth century and Goa became a part of their territory.

## POST-BHOJA DYNASTIES

In between the ruling period of the Bhojas, the Traikutas of Konkan called themselves as the rulers of Aparanta<sup>89</sup>. Aparanta is identified as the *Ariake* of Ptolemy<sup>90</sup> and the *Periplus of The Erythrean Sea*<sup>91</sup>. It is identical with North Konkan. Traikutas were ruling over Aparanta. Goa might have been a part of Aparanta and the Traikutas probably held control over some parts of it. Since, no evidences of the Traikutas have been found from the state of Goa, it cannot be said with certainty

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<sup>81</sup> Village officials named in the inscriptions are *Bhojakas*, *Ayuktas* and *Sthayins*

<sup>82</sup> *Bhogika Amatya* is the name for the minister for revenue and finances

<sup>83</sup> *Sarvatantradhikari* is the chief administrator

<sup>84</sup> *Rahasyadhikari* is the private secretary or the privy councilor of the king

<sup>85</sup> *Talavara* is the name of the post of headman of a small administrative unit.

<sup>86</sup> A M Annigeri, Arga Plates of Kapalivarman, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 31, p. 234.

<sup>87</sup> P R Srinivasan, S Sankaranarayanan, *Inscriptions of the Ikshavaku Period*, Hyderabad: Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1979, p. 2.

<sup>88</sup> Nagarajunakonda inscriptions, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 20, p. 4; Two grants of Bhoja Kings, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 31, p. 234.

<sup>89</sup> Surat plates of Vyaghrasena, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol 4, pp.22-27

<sup>90</sup> Ptolemy, *The Geographie*, 202.

<sup>91</sup> *The Periplus of The Erythrean Sea*, p. 156.

which parts of Goa were under their sovereignty. It is possible that they continued trade from this coastal land. The Kalachuris of Indore extended their authority over parts of Aparanta-Konkan in the sixth century AD. Some of their coins have been found in Konkan and Deccan which shows that they continued maritime trade through the Western seas with other countries<sup>92</sup>. They were dispossessed by the Chalukyas of Badami.

The Kalchuris were replaced by the Konkan Mauryas. However, only two inscriptions of the Mauryas have been found in the Goa region, which tells about the short period of rule of the Konkan Mauryas. These inscriptions belong to the fifth –sixth centuries AD. The inscription records the grant of land to a *brahmana* of *Hariti gotra*. The grant provided one measure of *khajjana* land, a house-site, garden and a tank to the *brahmana*. It also provided him forest land which was to be reclaimed for agriculture, by clearing off the forest and making a bund in order to prevent sea water from entering the agricultural land<sup>93</sup>. It indicates that the rulers were interested in the expansion of agricultural production by bringing the forested region under cultivation in their state. This shows that the state under the Konkan Mauryas was a developing state that aimed at agrarian expansion in order to increase the resource base of the state. B D Chattopadhyaya has discussed that expansion of agriculture is a significant in the process of the transformation of a pre-state society to a state polity<sup>94</sup>. The record mentions that the *brahmana* was well- learned of Sam-Veda and that the grant to him was free from all hindrances from the state and free from taxes. The inscription clearly mentions that the gift was made for the merit of the king.

Another inscription of the Konkan Mauryas<sup>95</sup> records a grant of land to a Buddhist *vihara* located in *Sivapura* in Goa. Both the inscriptions are in Sanskrit and are the only records of Konkan Mauryas that have been found in Goa territory. It is possible that while having trade as the central motive for control on the Western coastal tract, the Mauryas needed local support for themselves. Earning the support of the social elites was the most appropriate way in order to establish themselves in the region which to execution of land grant to the *brahmanas* and to a Buddhist

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<sup>92</sup> V T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu*, Part I, p. 71.

<sup>93</sup> G S Gai, Bandora Plates of Anirjitavarman, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 33, pp.293-297

<sup>94</sup> B D Chattopadhyaya, Political Processes and the Structure of Polity in Early Medieval India, in *The State in India 1000-1700*, pp. 195- 232.

<sup>95</sup> G M Dikshit, Sivapura Plates of Candravarman, *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol 4, p.181

*vihara*. However, due to paucity of evidences, it is not possible to gain more insight into the period of Konkan Mauryas.

The Konkan Mauryas also find mention in the Aihole inscription<sup>96</sup> of Pulakesin II where it is stated that the Konkan Mauryas were destroyed by the Chalukyas. The Konkan Mauryas, who were subordinate rulers, were maintaining their control over the Western coastal region of Goa. The Konkan Mauryas were probably active in external as well as internal trade<sup>97</sup> with the states in the neighboring regions.

The Chalukyas of Badami wanted to conquer the strategic territories and hence they waged war against the Konkan Mauryas and banished them from Goa. Though the records are limited, yet they convey significant features of the period. They also aimed for agrarian expansion in the territory by virtue of land grants to Brahmanas which would also help in gaining<sup>98</sup> their support in the region. It is evident that the kings were aware of the theory of *dana* and *dakshina* which was adopted and followed by the rulers of other dynasties. Consequently, the grant was given to the Brahmanas which would in turn earn merit to the donor. A recently found inscription at Vada in the Thana district of Maharashtra, boasts of belonging to a Konkan Maurya king Suketuvarman<sup>99</sup>. The record mentions the name of two dynasties, namely, Bhojas and Konkan Mauryas. It is the only inscription found outside the boundaries of Goa issued by a non-Bhoja dynasty that mentions the Bhojas. According to the inscription, the Konkan Mauryas had matrimonial relations with the Bhojas of Chandrapur<sup>100</sup>. The inscription records the installation of a deity in the premises of a temple. It is significant to note that Thana and Goa are parts of Konkan region known as *Saptakonkana*<sup>101</sup>. The deity installed is one of the *Kotishwara* that is a form of Lord Shiva. The

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<sup>96</sup> F Keilhorn, Aihole inscription of Pulakesin II, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 6, pp. 1-11.

<sup>97</sup> Nagendra Rao, History of Goa with Special Reference to its feudal features, *Indian Historical Review*, 40,2 (2013) p.255

<sup>98</sup> The context is evident in the published grants of the Chalukyas of Badami in *Epigraphia Indica* volumes and *Indian Antiquary* volumes.

<sup>99</sup> K V Ramesh, Vada Inscription of Suketuvarman, Saka 322, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 40, pp. 51-54.

<sup>100</sup> K V Ramesh, Vada Inscription of Suketuvarman, Saka 322, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 40, pp. 51-54.

<sup>101</sup> According to the traditions in the *Sahyadrikhanda*, the Konkan region was created by Lord Parashurama and is made up of seven sub-regions and hence is known as Saptakonkana. The seven divisions of *Saptakonkana* include Kerala, Tulinga, Sourashtra, Konkanam, Karhada and Barbara, J Gerson Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda*, *Uttarardha*, Chapter 6, verses 47-48, p. 326.

Goa Kadambas had *Sapta-kotishwara* as their family deity who is also worshipped in Goa<sup>102</sup>. It indicates that the culture was similar in the northern parts of the Konkan belt.

Though the Aihole inscription mentions the vanquishing of Konkan Mauryas, it speaks nothing about the Bhojas. It is probable that the Bhojas were a developing state who had a stronghold on the region which made the Chalukyas refrain from disturbing them. It is also probable that the Bhojas had amicable relations with the Chalukyas<sup>103</sup> and for that the Chalukyas did not wage any war against them. After vanquishing the Konkan Mauryas, the Chalukyas held control over Goa from 540 AD to 728 AD. The region emerged as a peripheral territory of the Chalukyas. Some of the records of the Chalukyas have been found near the northern border of Goa near Ratnagiri district and one record is said to have been found in Goa. Goa was outside the nuclear area of the Chalukyas.

### **CHALUKYAS OF BADAMI**

The Chalukyas of Badami emerged as a power with their nucleus of power at Badami. The records of the Badami Chalukyas show that they were ardent followers of Brahmanism and *dharma*. They claim to belong to *Manavya gotra*. In Goa, the presence of the Chalukyas is marked by the finding of eight copperplate grants, out of which one is said to be found within the boundaries of Goa while the rest have been found near Nerur, located at the northern border of Goa in Ratnagiri district. The Chalukyas are said to have their seat at Ratnagiri from where they controlled Goa. Goa was an important center of trade since early centuries of the Christian era. In order to expand the economy of the state, the Chalukyas needed to gain control over the western coastal tract. However, the state under the Chalukyas of Badami was a developed state as compared to the state systems under the Bhojas of Chandrapur and the Konkan Mauryas. The Bhojas and The Konkan Mauryas presented features of a pre-state polity.

The Chalukyas followed the path of *dana* and *dakshina* to the *brahmanas*, so as to win over their loyalty and create their own state agents in the region. The Nerur grants of the Chalukyas dated

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<sup>102</sup> V T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu*, Part I, Chapter 2.

<sup>103</sup> A piece of land was gifted to Chalukyan subordinate Swamikaraja, who in turn gifted the land to a Brahmana and earned the merit for himself, Arga plates of Kapalivarman, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 33, pp. 232-234.



between 578 -750 AD, state the donations of land with libations of water to the *brahmanas*, whose *gotras* were mentioned in the grant. The land was gifted for the purpose of agriculture, residence as well as for providing for their cattle. It was protected by specially mentioning about the fear of sins for those who try to take away the privileges of the donee and bliss for those who maintain the decree. The record is marked with adherence of the brahmanic laws and *dharma* and the sins against the brahmanas were equated with sins against God himself. In a way, the king is portrayed as the protector of the ideal social order. B D Chattopadhyaya has mentioned that the king or the ‘temporal power’ was required to guarantee protection, which was not just physical, rather ensured protection related to ‘ideal social order’ as defined by the guardians<sup>104</sup> also called ‘the agents of the sacred domain’<sup>105</sup>. The act of giving donations and protection of the decree was significant for creating state agents of Chalukyas in the coastal region. These ‘agents’ comprised the elite section of the society who served to increase and spread the fame of the king. They also were allotted duties to collect the taxes from other people while they themselves were free from any kind of revenue payment. Chattopadhyaya states that the *brahmanas* became a part of political as well as economic expansion which lies in the horizontal spread of rural agrarian settlements<sup>106</sup>.

The grants are stated with elaborate genealogies of the kings beginning with the name of Pulakesi I<sup>107</sup>. It is specially mentioned in the record that the donor king belonged to the family of Chalukyas with their capital or seat of power at ancient *Vatapi*. This is the major point of difference between the inscriptions of Bhojas of Chandrapur and the Chalukyas of Badami. The records of the Bhojas do not mention any genealogy of the rulers. It has been stated that the genealogies function as tool of legitimacy for the rulers<sup>108</sup>. The genealogies are a record of historical and mythological descent

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<sup>104</sup> The Brahmanas were called the guardians of the sacred domain, who had the knowledge of all the Vedic and Dharmic laws, laws of manu and other scriptures. For details see, B D Chattopadhyaya, Political processes and the Structure of Polity in Early Medieval India, in *The State in India 1000-1700*, edited by Hermann Kulke, pp. 195-232; Also see B P Sahu, Legitimation, Ideology and State in India, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Vol 64, 2003, pp. 44-76.

<sup>105</sup> B D Chattopadhyaya, Political Processes and the Structure of Polity in Early Medieval India, *The State in India*, pp.208-209

<sup>106</sup> B D Chattopadhyaya, *The State in India*, pp.213-214

<sup>107</sup> J F Fleet, Nerur grant of Mangalesha, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol 7, p.161.

<sup>108</sup> B D Chattopadhyaya, ‘Political processes in early medieval polity’ in *The State in India, 1000-1700*; Romila Thapar, ‘Genealogy as a Source of Identity’, *Ancient Indian Social History-Some Interpretations*, pp. 326-360.

of the dynasties that provides antiquity to the ruling family<sup>109</sup>. The first king Pulakesi I is said to have performed *Asvamedha*, *Agnishtoma*, *Vajapeya* and *Paundarika yajnas* and is also said to have the knowledge of *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata* and the *Laws of Manu*<sup>110</sup>. The donor of the grant is said to be blessed by giving the donations and is stated to earn the merit of enjoying numerous years in heaven. The genealogy begins with the stating of merits of the king Pulakesi I who is said to have performed *Asvamedha yajna*<sup>111</sup>. The grants clearly state the pride the kings take in keeping with the *dharma* and also in giving donations to learned brahmanas. Through the study of the primary data, it can be made out that the Chalukyas took control of the Konkan region immediately after establishing their capital at Badami and continued to control it for centuries to come. It was only after getting hold of the Konkan territories that the Chalukyan dynasty got divided into the houses of East Chalukyas and West Chalukyas in the early seventh century AD<sup>112</sup>. The earliest Nerur grant belongs to Chalukya Mangalesha, the son of Pulakeshi I and the grants continued to be given by subsequent rulers and regent<sup>113</sup>. Chalukya Kirtivarman was the first Chalukyan monarch to establish his sway over South Konkan and Goa<sup>114</sup>.

The inscriptions of the Chalukyas found in and near Goa mention the name of the following places that are present in Goa, namely Parcem from Pernem taluka of Goa<sup>115</sup> and Cudnem from Bicolim taluka<sup>116</sup>. The Chalukyas also subdued the Konkan Mauryas<sup>117</sup>, so the territories belonging to the Konkan Mauryas went under the administration of the Chalukyas. These territories were handed over to Swamiraja who was the minister of Chalukyas<sup>118</sup> and had his capital at Revatidwipa. After

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<sup>109</sup> Aruna Pariti, *Genealogy, Time and Identity*, pp. 61-64.

<sup>110</sup> The traditional genealogies given in the inscriptions mention these aspects about Pulakesi I, *Gazetteer of Goa*, p. 74; J F Fleet, Nerur grant of Mangalesha, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol 7, p.162.

<sup>111</sup> J F Fleet, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol 7, pp.43-48

<sup>112</sup> B D Chattopadhyaya, *Coins and Currency Systems in South India*, p. 30.

<sup>113</sup> Vijayamahadevi, the queen consort of Chalukya Chandraditya, issued land grants to Brahmanas as the Queen regent of her minor son, V T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu*, pp. 74-75.

<sup>114</sup> V T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu*, p. 75

<sup>115</sup> J F Fleet, Nerur Inscription of Vijayamahadevi, IA Vol. 7, p.163

<sup>116</sup> V T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu*, p. 76

<sup>117</sup> G S Gai, Bandora plates of Maurya Anirjitavarman, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 33, p. 234; F Keilhorn, Aihole inscription of Plakesi II, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 6, p.1.

<sup>118</sup> Swamiraja is mentioned as being an able minister who was victorious in eighteen battles. This must have made him over-confident, which led to his killing by Chalukyan Mangalesha, V T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu*, p. 76.

the revolt of Swamiraja, Mangalesha killed him and made *Satyasharaya Devaraja Indravarman* of Batpura family, the governor of four vishayas and mandalas of Rewatidvipa<sup>119</sup>. Pulakesi II made his maternal uncle, a Sendraka king, the minister of Avaritika *vishaya* near Chiplun<sup>120</sup>. Senanandraja of Sendraka family<sup>121</sup>, is named as the donor of a piece of land<sup>122</sup> to a *brahmana*, and the deed is protected by the king by stating the *dharmic laws* which mention the merits of helping a *brahmana* and the sins that are incurred on acting against them. It is evident by these allocations of regions to ministers that the region of Goa and Konkan was not under the central locus of administration of the Chalukyas. It was a part of their peripheral territory which was conquered as a part of their territorial expansion and trade. However, the kings themselves were involved in the administration of Konkan areas due to its strategic location. It was significant and advantageous for the state's economy.

They continued trade with the foreign countries through the western sea. *Rewatidvipa* that was headquarter of Chalukyas in Konkan<sup>123</sup>, also known as *Konkan-900*<sup>124</sup> was located almost at the coast of the sea. The Nerur grant that states about the slaying of Swamiraja by Mangalesha, mentions that the rampart was visible in the waters of the sea<sup>125</sup>. The Aihole inscription of Pulakesi II mention that he attacked Puri-Konkan<sup>126</sup> with hundreds of ships and defeated the Mauryas<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> V T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu*, p.76; Goa plate, *Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol 10, p.348; *Indian Antiquary*, Vol 19, pp.11-12.

<sup>120</sup> J F Fleet, Chiplun grant of Pulakesi II, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 3, p.51; V T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu*, p.75.

<sup>121</sup> Sendrakas were probably a Naga royal family that were occupying some territory in Konkan. They are known by a lone inscription issued by them, *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I, part ii, p. 292.

<sup>122</sup> The measurements and boundaries of the donated land are mentioned in the Chiplun inscription, J F Fleet, Chiplun grant of Pulakesi II, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 3, pp. 50-52.

<sup>123</sup> Rewatidwipa was the headquarter of Swamiraja and later of the sendraka prince, from where they held control over the sea-borne trade with the Western countries

<sup>124</sup> For details see, *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I part ii, p.347; It is this Konkan-900 that was later a part of Goa Kadambas territory.

<sup>125</sup> J F Fleet, Nerur grant of Mngalesha, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol 7, p.162.

<sup>126</sup> Puri-Konkan has been identified as Gharapuri or Elephanta near Bombay. But being the capital of a large country, the suggested places were found inappropriate. The most suitable suggestion is that it is identical with Rajapuri in the former Janjira State, which is located at the mouth of a large creek on the western coast, *Maharashtra State Gazetteer*, Chapter 8, p.259.

<sup>127</sup> Puri was the capital of Konkan Mauryas and was called the 'fortune of Western Ocean', *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I, part ii, p.

and annexed North Konkan to his own territory<sup>128</sup>. It shows that Puri was an important center of sea-trade which led to the quest for its authority by various dynasties<sup>129</sup>. Chalukyas had trade with western countries is evident by the Aihole inscription as well as the sculptures engraved on the remnants of Chalukyan structures<sup>130</sup>. There were trade relations with Persia which is evident through the finding of silver coins from the Chimbhel-Raibandar region in Tiswadi taluka of Goa<sup>131</sup>. It clearly indicates that there was trade with Persia from Raibandar. The name Raibandar can be divided into 'Rai' and 'bandar', wherein 'bandar' is a Persian word that means 'harbour' in English. Alvita Mary D'Souza mentions that the ports were administered by governors of the kings, assisted by port masters called *Shah Bandar*<sup>132</sup>. It is possible that the place might have been in function as the harbor for ships arriving from Arab countries for trade<sup>133</sup>. The geographical location of Raibandar on the banks of river Mandovi supports the claim that the place was active for sea-trade. The Chalukyas had a well-established state with agricultural surplus as well as revenue from trade and commerce. Their territories were well protected with able ministers and governors. The dynasty reigned supreme till the middle of the eighth century, after which the Rashtrakutas of Malkhed overpowered them and reduced them to feudatory dynasty. However, in the first half of tenth century, the Chalukyas regained back their power and territories by defeating the Rashtrakutas. This dynasty of Chalukyas has been termed Western Chalukyas.

## GOA SHILAHARAS

Shilaharas were the most loyal feudatories of the Rashtrakutas of Malkhed<sup>134</sup> who came to power in the eighth century AD. There were three houses of the Shilaharas, the North Shilaharas that ruled over North Konkan comprising of modern Kolaba and Thana districts, Kohlapur Shilaharas

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<sup>128</sup> V T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu*, p.77.

<sup>129</sup> Later it became the capital city of the kingdom of North Silharas, *Maharashtra State Gazetteer*, Chapter 8, p.259.

<sup>130</sup> Noticed during field visit to Badami, Aihole and Pattadakal

<sup>131</sup> Alvita Mary D' Souza, *Reconstructing the Urban Maritime History of Goa-A Study of the Port Capitals of Chandrapura, Gopakapattana and Ella*, *Unpublished PhD Thesis*, Goa University (2007), p. 49.

<sup>132</sup> Alvita Mary D' Souza, *Reconstructing the Urban Maritime History of Goa-A Study of the Port Capitals of Chandrapura, Gopakapattana and Ella*, *Unpublished PhD Thesis*, Goa University (2007), p. 152.

<sup>133</sup> Alvita Mary D' Souza, *Reconstructing the Urban Maritime History of Goa-A Study of the Port Capitals of Chandrapura, Gopakapattana and Ella*, *Unpublished PhD Thesis*, Goa University (2007), p. 152.

<sup>134</sup> V V Mirashi, *Maharashtra State Gazetteer*, Chapter 8, p.259.

ruling over Kohlapur and Satara and the Goa Shilaharas who governed the South Konkan region comprising of Goa and Irdige or Sawantwadi and Ratnagiri regions. There are records of each of the Shilahara houses, but none of them mention any relation among the rulers of the houses. The only common feature of the inscriptions of Shilaharas is that they all claim descent from a common ancestor, Jimutavahana<sup>135</sup>. Jimutavahana has been mentioned as a Vidyadhara prince who saved the serpent king Sankhachuda from the clutches of an eagle and instead offered himself as food to it<sup>136</sup>. Thus, the family name was earned as Shilahara, which means ‘food on a stone slab’<sup>137</sup>. The family cannot be traced back to the said Vidyadhara prince and hence it probably is a mythological detail which has been added to genealogy for the validation of the family lineage, which was becoming the trend of the time.

The Shilaharas were initially the sub-ordinates of the Rashtrakutas and later that of the Western Chalukyas<sup>138</sup>. The writings of the Arab travelers<sup>139</sup> mention that the kingdom of the Rashtrakutas commenced on the sea-side at the Konkan country. This shows that the Rashtrakutas held sway over the Western coastal tract and the Shilaharas were functioning as their sub-ordinate dynasty. The Southern Konkan or Goa Shilahara dynasty is probably the oldest of the three Shilahara families<sup>140</sup>. From the inscription of Rattaraja, it is known that his ancestor Sanaphulla had received the favour of Krishnaraja, who has been identified as the Rashtrakuta king Krishna I<sup>141</sup>. He gave the territory of South Konkan to be governed by Southern Shilahara king Sanaphulla. Sanaphulla and Rashtrakuta Krishna I belong to the period of 782 AD – 783 AD<sup>142</sup>. The Shilaharas and the Rashtrakutas had *Garuda* or the eagle<sup>143</sup> as their standard which is evident in their inscriptions

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<sup>135</sup> Bombay Gazetteer, Vol I, part ii, p.536.

<sup>136</sup> Bombay Gazetteer, Vol I, part ii, p.535; Maharashtra State Gazetteer, p.260.

<sup>137</sup> Bombay Gazetteer, Vol I, part ii, p.535; Maharashtra State Gazetteer, p.260.

<sup>138</sup> After the Western Chalukyas overpowered the Rashtrakutas and seized their territories, the feudatories of Rashtrakutas became the sub-ordinates of the Chalukyas, A S Altekar, *Rashtrakutas and Their Times*, p. 127, 132.

<sup>139</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I, Part ii, pp.387-388. Arab travelers and geographers namely Sulaiman, Abu Zaid, Ibn Khurdadba, Al Masudi, Al Istakhri and Ibn Haukal have written accounts of the Rashtrakuta kingdom in their memoirs.

<sup>140</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I, Part ii, p.536.

<sup>141</sup> Kharepattana grant of Rattaraja, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 3, p.292; *Maharashtra State Gazetteer*, Chapter 8, p.262; *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I, part ii, p.536-537.

<sup>142</sup> Depending upon the period of Krishna I in Rashtrakuta records and calculation of the date of Sanaphulla based on the genealogy given in Rattaraja's inscription

<sup>143</sup> A S Altekar, *Rashtrakutas and Their Times*, p. 6.

as well as on the coins<sup>144</sup>. A S Altekar mentions that the Rashtrakutas of Malkhed were Kannada in origin<sup>145</sup>. He mentions that according to the contents of *Kavirajamarga* composed by Rashtrakuta ruler Amoghvarsha in 9<sup>th</sup> century AD, Canarese or Kannada was spoken in the region lying between the rivers Godavari and Kaveri<sup>146</sup>. V V Mirashi states that the kings of the Shilahara families had Kannada as their mother tongue<sup>147</sup>. The Kannada origin of the rulers is evident from their names and some Kannada terms used in their records. However, the records of the Shilaharas are mostly in Sanskrit, with few Marathi words and lines interspersed in the compositions. The rulers did not use Kannada language as the territory of their rule was in the region of Maharashtra and Goa, where the people did not understand Kannada language. However in the Kolhapur region, few Kannada inscriptions were composed under the Kolhapur Shilaharas<sup>148</sup>. E P Rice informs that the language of the people between rivers Kaveri and Godavari, which included the region of Kohlapur, was Kannada<sup>149</sup>. It shows that the kings used the language that was suitable for the audience of the inscriptions. The language of the kings was different from the language of the people and the kings gave importance to the language of the people in order to gain legitimacy of their authority.

Three Copper plate records of the Shilaharas of Goa have been found. They are composed in Sanskrit language, which furnish all the information available about the dynasty. Though the dynasty held the Konkan and Goa region from the last quarter of the eighth century, after the downfall of the Western Chalukyas, the records available are from the last of tenth century AD and beginning of eleventh century AD only. Records of the prior rulers have not yet been found and might require more archeological excavations in order to unearth them. Kharepatana, an important sea-trade port, was headquarter of the Goa Shilahara family<sup>150</sup>.

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<sup>144</sup> B D Chattopadhyaya, *Coins and Currency Systems in South India, c. AD 225-1300*, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Oriental Book Publishers, 1977, p. 39.

<sup>145</sup> A S Altekar, *Rashtrakuta and Their Times*, pp. 18, 24.

<sup>146</sup> A S Altekar, *Rashtrakuta and Their Times*, p. 24.

<sup>147</sup> V V Mirashi, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol 6, Introduction, pp. vi-vii.

<sup>148</sup> V V Mirashi, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol 6, Introduction, pp. vi-vii; Some examples are Herle Stone Inscription of Gandaraditya: Saka year 1040, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol 6, p. 221.

<sup>149</sup> E P Rice, *A History of Kanarese Literature*, London: Oxford University Press (1921): p. 12.

<sup>150</sup> V V Mirashi, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol 6, p. xxiii.

The Chikodi grant of Avasara II<sup>151</sup> issued in 998 AD, mentions the names of three merchants who present forty *dinars* to the king Avasara II for his *padyapuja* and thereby obtained the king's conformation to their hereditary rights over the places, Kinjal and Pulisa, which were the source of their livelihood. As a return for the favour, they had to grant two lakh betel nuts annually towards the expenses of the royal-bag of betel nuts. The ministers, namely *hadapa*<sup>152</sup>, witnessed the transaction. The record also mentions other officials like *Nagara Sandhivigrahika* (minister-in-charge of the capital), *Vajjada* and committee of *Hanjamana*<sup>153</sup>.

The Kharepattana grant of Rattaraja issued in 1008 AD<sup>154</sup> is composed in Sanskrit language and in Nagari characters, which makes the northern influence on the composition quite evident. The Rashtrakutas were overthrown by the Kalyani Chalukyas by the time of the issue of Chikodi grant of Avasara III and the Southern Shilaharas became the feudatories of Chalukyas. It is therefore that the inscription of Rattaraja included the genealogy of the Rashtrakutas, beginning from *Dantidurga* till *Kakkala* and also the names of their Chalukyan overlords *Tailapa* and his son *Satyasraya*. The initial part of the inscription contains the genealogy of the Goa Shilahara family and it mentions their descent from the mythological *Jimutavahana*. Shilahara Rattaraja is introduced with the title *Mandalika* which indicates the sub-ordinate status of the family. The inscription records the donation of three villages, namely *Kushmandi*, *Asanavira* and *Vadadgula*<sup>155</sup>, with defined boundaries, and were defined by the provision of *abhyantarassiddha*<sup>156</sup>. The donation was given to the ascetics of the *Mattamayura* sect who were Shaivites (*brahmanas*) and belonged to the *Karkaroni* branch. In addition to the provision of using the agricultural produce

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<sup>151</sup> V V Mirashi, Chikodi grant of Avasara II, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol 6, pp. 178-182.

<sup>152</sup> *Hadapa* is the official who is the bearer of the royal or king's betel bag. The reference to *hadapa* also occurs in the records of Vijayanagara king Krishnadevaraya where Era-Krishnappa-Nayaka is mentioned as his *hadapa*, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol 5, Introduction, p. xxxiii

<sup>153</sup> *Hanjamana* or Anjuvannam, was a trade guild that functioned mostly in the Western part of South India. It comprised mostly of Muslim traders from Arab countries under the Rashtrakutas in tenth-eleventh century AD. See Y Subbarayalu, *South India Under the Cholas*, pp. 176-187 for details.

<sup>154</sup> V V Mirashi, Kharepattana grant of Rattaraja, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol 6, pp. 183-192.

<sup>155</sup> Kharepattana Grant of Rattaraja, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 3, p.296.

<sup>156</sup> *Abhyantarassiddha* means that the donated land was free from any interruptions, no regular or irregular troops could enter the mentioned areas, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 3, p.297.

and other services from the village, the king also ordered one *gadyana*<sup>157</sup> (of gold) from every ship from foreign countries and one *dharana*<sup>158</sup> (of gold) from every ship arriving from Kandalmuliya. The provision of a family each of female attendants, oilmen, gardeners, potters and gardeners was provided for the activities associated with the worship of God by the *brahmanas*. In addition, the record demarcates and provides the land for *jagatipura* and a flower garden. The King ratified the record and protected the declaration for a period till the existence of sun and moon. He called it a gift of *dharma*. The record also mentions the name of another official, the *Sandhivigrahika*<sup>159</sup> whose son is named as the scribe of the given record<sup>160</sup>.

The last record of Goa Shilahara house was the Valipattana grant of Silahara Rattaraja<sup>161</sup>. There are no records of the family extant after this period. The record composed in Sanskrit language and written in Nagari characters, is meant to grant a piece of land from the village Bhaktagrama and a betel-nut garden near the *agrahara* village, Palaure to a *brahmana* who is mentioned without specifying his *gotra*. Interestingly, the donee *brahmana* is mentioned with the name of his father *brahmana* Senavai Nagamaiya, which is probably the earliest reference of Senavai *brahmanas* in Goa<sup>162</sup>. The record is devoid of any mention of the overlords of the Shilaharas. It is probable that after the destruction of the Rashtrakuta family and overpowering of the Chalukyas, Rattaraja had declared independence from the Chalukyas by this time. After Jayasimha II succeeded his brother Vikramaditya V, he invaded Konkan area and recaptured it. This put an end to the rule of the house of Goa Shilaharas in 1024 AD. The Miraja plates of Jayasimha of 1024 AD verify the mentioned subjugation<sup>163</sup>.

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<sup>157</sup> *Gadyana* probably implies to a unit of currency which was paid in the form of tax; name of coin, same as *gadyana* or *gadyanaka*, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p.107; V V Mirashi mentions that the weight of one *gadyana* measured 48 rattis or 87.84 grains, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol 6, Introduction, p. xlv.

<sup>158</sup> *Dharana* implies name of coin. In the present case, it signifies gold coin or weight of 320 *ratis*; sometimes called *sana* or *tanka*, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p.91

<sup>159</sup> It is the minister for peace and war, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 3, p.297; minister of foreign affairs, D C Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p.296

<sup>160</sup> V V Mirashi, Kharepattana grant of Rattaraja, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol 6, p. 183-192.

<sup>161</sup> V V Mirashi, Valipattana grant of Silahara Rattaraja, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol 6, p. 193-199.

<sup>162</sup> N Shyam Bhat and Nagendra Rao, 'History of Goa with Special Reference to its Feudal Features', *Indian Historical Review*, p.261.

<sup>163</sup> Lionell D Barnett, 'Miraj Plates of Jayasimha II', *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 12, (1913) pp. 303-305.; N Shyam Bhat and Nagendra Rao, 'History of Goa with Special Reference to its Feudal Features', *Indian Historical Review*, Vol 40, No. 2 (2013): 249-266.



Being the feudatories of the Rashtrakutas, the Shilaharas were responsible for the administration of the Southern Konkan region and also for the trade activities which were carried on through the Western sea. The economical processes of the Shilahara administration are evident through their records. There was internal as well as external trade, apart from agricultural production, which was carried on during the said period. The trade was carried out through the water ways as well as land. A system of taxation was devised for the traders who arrived on the ports with their vessels. The taxation system was segregated for the foreign ships and for Indian merchants with the foreign merchants having to pay greater amount<sup>164</sup>. However, the revenues earned through the agricultural produce was higher than through the sea-trade<sup>165</sup>. There were trade guilds like *Nagara* and *Hajamana* as well which mostly comprised of Muslim traders. This was probably because the Rashtrakutas were continuing trade with the merchants of Arab, Persia and Afghanistan<sup>166</sup>. Rao states that trade and traders were not taken seriously by the state<sup>167</sup>. However, in the cases of Shilaharas we can see that trade was an important part of their economic process and was significant for the economy. Ranabir Chakravarti calls the Shilaharas ‘a coastal polity’<sup>168</sup> as they earned revenues from the tolls levied on the ships involved in sea-trade. The taxation system for the Saivite ascetics that involved payment in the form of Gold coins makes it clear that the state had carved out a proper revenue system. People of the *Brahamana* community were also involved in trade which is evident by the mention of *Brahmana* Senavai Nagamaiya in the Valipattana grant of Rattaraja. Taxes were employed on all kinds of earnings of the people, whether agriculture or other commodities<sup>169</sup>.

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<sup>164</sup> The foreign ships had to pay one *gadiyana* while the Indian ships arriving were supposed to pay one *dharana* as tax to the ascetics of the Mattamayura clan, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 3, pp. 296-298.

<sup>165</sup> Ranabir Chakrabarti, ‘An Emergent Coastal Polity-The Konkan Coast Under the Shilaharas (tenth to thirteenth Centuries AD)’, *Studies in People’s History*, Vol 3, No. 2 (2016), pp. 136-137.

<sup>166</sup> Y Subbarayalu, ‘Anjuvannam: A Maritime Trade Guild of Medieval Times’, *South India Under the Cholas*, pp.176-187.

<sup>167</sup> N Shyam Bhat and Nagendra Rao, History of Goa with special reference to its feudal features, IHR 40 (2), 2013.

<sup>168</sup> Ranabir Chakrabarti, ‘An Emergent Coastal Polity-The Konkan Coast Under the Shilaharas (tenth to thirteenth Centuries AD)’, *Studies in People’s History*, Vol 3, No. 2 (2016),p. 137.

<sup>169</sup> The mention of rent free land gifted to the *brahmanas* makes it evident that taxes were to be paid to the royal officials by the people. Also, we find mention of people belonging to different professions like gardeners, oilmen, peasants who labour on agricultural land among others, who were usually paid from the agricultural produce of the land.

Dayma states that a 'state' needs to have a resource base capable of generating a surplus<sup>170</sup>. He further states that for the same purpose, the state takes necessary measures not only to broaden its resource base but also to create an administrative machinery that enables it to exploit the same. The agricultural production formed the larger part of the resources of the Shilaharas which is evident in their inscriptions. The Balipattana grant of Rattaraja of 1010 AD mentions the highly fertile paddy field Kalvala, which was capable of producing two crops in a year<sup>171</sup>. It indicates that the kings were interested in increasing their resource base through agrarian surplus. The Shilaharas styled themselves as *Mandalika* which means the ruler of a district, province or *Mandala*. It is also the title of a feudatory chief<sup>172</sup>. The administrative system under the Silaharas was well-developed. The inscriptions bear testimony to this with the reference to the chief ministers, *MahaSandhivigrahika*, *Pradhan*, *Amatya*, *Pauras* of *Nagara* or town. There is mention of city or town officials like *Nagara Sandhivigrahika*, *hadapa*, committees of traders or guilds, composers and scribes and so on. There is mention of *agraharas*<sup>173</sup> as well in the inscription. A good administrative system was the source of political legitimation for the kingdom. It can be claimed that the Shilaharas political system was well developed which was probably influenced by the administrative system of their suzerains, the Rashtrakutas because the state collapsed within years after Rattaraja declared independence from the Chalukyas. According to Chattopadhyaya, a state society must be stable in terms of its core territory, which does not get destabilized in terms of its territory upon the consequence of attack by the rivals<sup>174</sup>. The powerful Chalukyan ruler Jayasimha III waged war against the Shilaharas and vanquished them forever. The Goa Shilaharas can be called a developing pre-state polity as in spite of having a well-managed administration, the rulers could not expand their resource base to the maximum extent possible. In this sense, the Goa

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<sup>170</sup> Yogender Dayma, Economic processes in the early Kadamba state, *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Vol 67, (2006-07), pp. 118-127.

<sup>171</sup> V V Mirashi, 'Balipattana grant of Rattaraja', *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol 6, pp. 193-199 ; Ranabir Chakrabarti, 'An Emergent Coastal Polity-The Konkan Coast Under the Shilaharas (tenth to thirteenth Centuries AD)', *Studies in People's History*, Vol 3, No. 2 (2016), p. 131.

<sup>172</sup> D C Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p.196

<sup>173</sup> Rent free villages given to the brahmanas, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p.10.

<sup>174</sup> B D Chattopadhyaya, Political processes and the Structure of Polity in Early Medieval India, in Kulke, *The State in India, 1000 AD-1700 AD*, pp. 195-232.

Shilaharas differed from the Chalukyas of Badami and the Rashtrakutas who represented developed state systems.

The polity of the Shilaharas can be called feudal-polity as it exhibits several features of feudal state. The Kharepataana grant of Rattaraja of 1008 AD proclaims that the Rashtrakuta king Krishna I gave him the region of South Konkan as a subordinate ruler. He mentions the genealogy of the Rashtrakutas in his charter. Additionally, Rattaraja is styled as *Mandalika* which a feudatory title of rulers. The Shilaharas exerted control over the Southern Konkan region and helped in regulation of smooth trade and commerce for their suzerains. After the Chalukyas of Kalyani seized the territories of the Rashtrakutas, the Shilaharas owed allegiance to them as their overlords. This is evident from the mention of Chalukyan kings in Rattaraja's Kharepattana charter. It has been stated that *brahmanas* emerged as the landlords and intermediaries between the king and the peasants<sup>175</sup>. Rashtrakutas validated their authority by giving land grants to the *brahmanas*<sup>176</sup>. Similar processes can be seen in the limited records of the Shilaharas, when they donated lands and villages to the *brahmanas* and ascetics and allocate separate income sources for them. They are also rendered free from any royal or individual interference. However, there are evidences which indicate the contrary. According to the scholars of Indian Feudalism, the practice of giving land grants is related to the change-over of economy from money economy to ruralized economy, i.e. emergence of self-sufficient villages as units of production<sup>177</sup>. The probable reason is said to be the decline in trade with the West which resulted in demonetization and deurbanisation which forced the rulers to give remuneration in the form of land than cash<sup>178</sup>. But the study of the records of Chalukyas and Shilaharas shows evidences of flourishing trade in the region, in which they also participated. There are references to existence of coinage system as well<sup>179</sup>. However, very few coins belonging to the Chalukyas and the Rashtrakutas have been noted<sup>180</sup>.

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<sup>175</sup> B D Chattopadhyaya, Political processes and the Structure of Polity in Early Medieval India, in Kulke, *The State in India, 1000 AD-1700 AD*, pp. 195-232.

<sup>176</sup> N Shyam Bhat and Nagendra Rao, 'History of Goa with Special Reference to its Feudal Features', *Indian Historical Review*, Vol 40, No. 2 (2013), p.263.

<sup>177</sup> B D Chattopadhyaya, *The Making of Early Medieval India*, Introduction, P. 11.

<sup>178</sup> B D Chattopadhyaya, *The Making of Early Medieval India*, P. 11.

<sup>179</sup> The records of the Shilaharas mention the circulation of gold coins called *gadyanaka* and *dharana*, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol 6; B D Chattopadhyaya, *Coins and Currency Systems of South India*, pp. 48-50.

<sup>180</sup> B D Chattopadhyaya, *Coins and Currency Systems of South India*.

The Shilaharas went to the extent of forging royal authority by earning the support of the Saivite ascetics of the famous *Mattamayura* clan. The *Mattamayura* clan was a Saivite sect of ascetics that belonged to Central India<sup>181</sup>. The Acharyas of Mattamayura clan were well known for their scholarship and played important role in promoting learning. The ascetics of Mattamayura clan find mention in the records of the Kalachuris as well<sup>182</sup>. Shilaharas sought validation of their authority by giving patronage to a popular Saivite sect that originally belonged to a Northern region beyond their territory and spread to the Southern India as well. By this act, they probably sought to be legitimized as the upholder of socio-political order. The *dana* of land to *brahmanas* was also done for the same purpose.

The rule of Shilaharas of the South ended with the invasion of Chalukyan Jayasimha III in 1024 AD<sup>183</sup>. In the tenth century AD, the Kadambas once again became powerful and started conquering areas in Goa. They established their rule on the Western coastal region of Goa and in North Konkan within a few years of reign. With the establishment of the Kadambas in Goa, the territory was about to experience the phase of 'state-formation' when the society passed from pre-state polity to state polity.

It can be said that Goa witnessed the emergence of pre-state society from the period of the Bhojas and became much developed by the end of tenth century. During this period, it is evident that Goa was ruled by dynasties that were integrated into larger kingdoms and given the reigns of the region as sub-ordinates. Goa largely served as the peripheral territory of the bigger kingdoms of the Deccan and Southern India. The study of state society of Goa in early medieval period can be rightly called the study of 'state polity' within the larger state system.

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<sup>181</sup> V V Mirashi, "Saiva Acharyas of the Mattamyura Clan", *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (1950): pp. 1-16.

<sup>182</sup> V V Mirashi, "Saiva Acharyas of the Mattamyura Clan", *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (1950): pp. 3-7.

<sup>183</sup> V T Gune, *The Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu*, Part I, p. 89.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### SANSKRIT AND STATE FORMATION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO GOA

#### KADAMBAS AND VIJAYNAGARA EMPIRE

The first appearance of the Kadambas happened in the fourth century AD in Karnataka when Mayurasarma asserted his independence from the service of the Pallavas where he was serving as a *dandanayaka*<sup>1</sup>. When the Pallavas were unsuccessful in defeating him, they conferred upon him the territories between the Western sea and Prehara<sup>2</sup>. This laid the foundation of the Kadamba kingdom. Banavasi became the capital of the Kadamba state which earned them the name Kadambas of Banavasi. They controlled the territory from the fourth century AD to the early years of seventh century AD, when the Chalukyas rose to power and conquered Banavasi, thereby establishing their rule. The Kadambas are credited with being the first indigenous state system in Karnataka<sup>3</sup>. Prior to them, regions of Karnataka were controlled by powers like Mauryas, Satvahanas, Chutukulanandas and Pallavas. The Mauryas and the Satavahanas included Karnataka as their peripheral territory. It was under the Kadambas that the nucleus of power rested for the first time within the territory<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> G M Moraes, *KadambaKula*, This was the view of Prof Kielhorn based on the Talagunda pillar inscription. He says that according to the inscription, the Kadamba family was a great lineage of leaders of armies (*senani*). It also mentions that according to line 22, Mayurasarma was anointed by Shadanana, the six-faced god of war, after meditating on Senapati, the general of Gods, Kartikeya, p.16

<sup>2</sup> G M Moraes, *KadambaKula*, Introduction; F Keilhorn, Talagunda Pillar Inscription, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 8, pp. 24-36.

<sup>3</sup> Yogender Dayma, Structure of legitimation under the Early Kadambas, *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 2005-2006, pp.155-166.

<sup>4</sup> The nucleus of power of the Kadambas was Banavasi. The Satvahanas and Mauryas exercised their control over the region mainly through their ministers or their sub-ordinate local rulers, V T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu*, Part I, pp. 69-70.

## ORIGIN OF KADAMBAS OF BANAVASI

The Kadamba dynasty was established by Mayurasarma in 345 AD approximately. The origin of Kadambas is shrouded in mystery. The records present a mythological tale of the descent of the Kadambas. The Taalagunda pillar inscription states that the Kadambas were the descendants of the three-eyed and four-armed Kadamba, who came to life from the drop of sweat of Lord Shiva that fell from his forehead under a Kadamba tree<sup>5</sup>. This Kadamba who attained high learning, begot Mayurasarma, the subduer of the earth by the power of his sword, of his own arm and of his invincible armor<sup>6</sup>. This three-eyed four armed Kadamba was named Trilochana Kadamba and also known as Mukanna. According to another tale of his birth, it is said that King Mayurasarma was born to Rudra and the earth under the auspicious Kadamba tree<sup>7</sup>. A similar story is given in the Jain endowment of the Kadambas. Here Mayurasarma is described as the son of the sister of Jain Tithankara, Ananda Jinavritindra, who was born under a Kadamba tree. A kingdom was procured for him by clearing off the forests so as to make land available for cultivation<sup>8</sup>.

The accounts of origin found in the records of Hangal Kadambas and those of Goa Kadambas are quite similar. Both mention the account of origin of Kadambas from the three-eyed Trilochana Kadamba. Apart from the Kadambas, the Pallava inscriptions also mention an ancestral king named Trilochana Pallava as their most illustrious king. It is probable that the Kadambas followed the genealogical accounts of the Pallavas and adopted them with certain changes in their own accounts of mythological origin. Such actions helped the newly established dynasty to gain legitimacy by being related to accounts of antiquity. Mayurasarma is attributed with the Southward migration of Brahmanas from the North and their eventual settlement in *agraharas*<sup>9</sup>. The account is interestingly similar with the credentials of Kadamba Mayurasarma. Some of the later Kadamba inscriptions credit Mayurasarma for having caused the migration and settlement of Brahmanas in the Karnataka region from Ahichchitra in the north after he returned from Kanchi and settled at Triparvata<sup>10</sup>. This was done as, according to the Talagunda pillar inscription, there were no Brahmanas in South prior to this event. These claims are in consonance with the mythological

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<sup>5</sup> G M Moraes, *KadambaKula*, p.7.

<sup>6</sup> G M Moraes, *KadambaKula*, p.7; *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol 7, Sk, 117.

<sup>7</sup> *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol 11, Dg, 35.

<sup>8</sup> G M Moraes, *KadambaKula*, p. 7; *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol 7, Sb 262.

<sup>9</sup> *Agraharas* are villages specially meant for the residence of the *brahmanas*, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 10.

<sup>10</sup> Triparvata possibly must be a hilly region located in the Western Ghats or *Sahyadri*.

account of Lord *Parashurama* in the *Sahyadrikhanda* of *Skandapurana*<sup>11</sup>. It mentions that *Parashurama* shot an arrow in the sea and reclaimed land from it, which is known as *SaptaKonkana*<sup>12</sup>. Thereafter he is said to have brought Brahmanas from the northern region and settled them in the reclaimed land. The accounts of Trilochana Kadamba and Trilochana Pallava appear in the records of respective dynasties in about the same period makes it even more probable that the progenitor was a mythical person who was adopted by the composer of the records in order to enhance the prestige of the dynasty<sup>13</sup>. The claims of having caused the migration of the *brahmanas* is not backed by historical evidences except for the Talagunda pillar Inscription. Moraes argues that if there were no *brahmanas* in the South before Mukkanna, who was already in the South, then the historical evidence of the Talagunda inscription is contradicted that the Kadambas were of *brahmana* origin. Also, the pre-Kadamba sources refer to the presence of *brahmanas* in the region<sup>14</sup>.

Though the mythical tales of Kadamba historical origin cannot be verified, the only thing which is evident is that Mayurasarmma was the founder of the family. Fleet has suggested that Mayurasarmma established his might on the summits of Mount Himavat<sup>15</sup> and it is probable that he was of northern origin. However, the inscription of Krishnavarmma I clearly mention that he was of *Naga* origin<sup>16</sup> which makes it clear that the Kadambas were indigenous to South India. Another evidence which asserts their South Indian origin is the mention of Kadamba tree which gave their dynasty its name. Kadamba tree commonly grows in the South India. And when a dynasty adopts the name of a plant indigenous to the region, it becomes obvious that the dynasty too is indigenous to the place. Hence the argument of northern origin of the Kadambas cannot be accepted.

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<sup>11</sup> J Gerson Da Cunha, *Skandapuram antargatam Sahyadrikhanda, Uttarardha*.

<sup>12</sup> J Gerson Da Cunha, *Skandapuram antargatam Sahyadrikhanda, Uttarardha*. The account of creation of Konkan land is mentioned in several chapters of *Uttarardha* of *Sahyadrikhanda*. It is called *Saptakonkan* as the region comprises of seven divisions of Konkan area, of which the central region pertains to the present land of Goa.

<sup>13</sup> G M Moraes, *KadambaKula*, footnotes, p.8.

<sup>14</sup> The records of the Pallavas mention donations to the *brahmanas*, R Gopalan, *History of Pallavas of Kanchi*, p. 41.

<sup>15</sup> Fleet, Inscriptions relating to the Kadambas of Goa, *Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol 9, pp. 245,272,285; Moraes, *KadambaKula*, p.9

<sup>16</sup> Inscription of Krishnavarmma I, *Indian Anyiquary*, Vol 7, pp.34-35.

It is possible that alleging the connection of a royal family with the north was the latest addition in the means of validating the dynasty's status in the South<sup>17</sup>. Similar processes are evident in other contemporary dynasties. The Hoyasalas claimed their descent from the Yadavas of the north<sup>18</sup>. The Kekayas were said to be linked to the ancient Kaikeyas of the North-west India<sup>19</sup>. Kadambas claim to belong to the social class of *brahmanas*. The records state that they belong to *Manavya gotra*. There is absence of the mention of 'lunar race' or 'solar race' unlike other dynasties who along with the *Kshatriya* status, claim to belong to either of the races. The founder of Kadamba royal family, Mayurasarma is initially styled as *sarma*, a name used for *brahmanas*, and later is styled as Mayuravarma. In fact, all the later kings of Kadamba dynasty are styled *varma*, which is the name carried by the *kshatriyas*. It shows that the social classification was prevalent and the royal family adopted the names accordingly. The significance of bearing a *Kshatriya* name will be discussed further in the chapter.

The Kadambas were vanquished in the early seventh century by the Chalukyas. Their capital Banavasi was occupied later by the Alupas. An inscription of Alupa king Gunasagara, belonging to 675 AD mentions him as the ruler of Kadamba Mandala<sup>20</sup>. The Alupas were subjugated by the Chalukyan king Kirtivarmman I and this defeat is mentioned in the Mahakuta pillar inscription<sup>21</sup>. The region was eventually ruled by the Alupas as feudatories of the Chalukyas. The Chalukyas were overpowered by the Rashtrakutas in the middle of eighth century AD. The territories of the Chalukyas went into the authority of the Rashtrakutas. The Rashtrakutas continued controlling Banavasi twelve thousand through their feudatory rulers. In the tenth century, once again the Chalukyas came back to power after destroying the Rashtrakutas and gained back their territories. An inscription of Chalukya king Chattigadeva, belonging to the period of 967-968 AD states that the mentioned king conquered Banavasi and adjoining provinces from Rashtrakutas and set himself as an independent ruler<sup>22</sup>. The same inscription mentions the name of a Kadamba king

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<sup>17</sup> M V Krishna Rao mentions that the Gangas of Talkad claimed descent from the Ikshavaku dynasty, *Gangas of Talkad*, p. 4; D C Sircar, *Successors of the Satvahanas in Lower Deccan*, pp. 141.

<sup>18</sup> *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol 6, Cm, 137; Moraes, *KadambaKula*, p.11.

<sup>19</sup> Scholars opinion holds that the Kaikeyas of South were of the same stock as the Kaikeyas of the North-West, D C Sircar, *Successors of Satavahanas in Lower Deccan*, pp. 313-316.

<sup>20</sup> *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol 6, Kp 38.

<sup>21</sup> J F Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions, Indian Antiquary*, Vol 19, p.19; *Maharashtra State Gazetteer, History-Ancient Period*, Chapter 6, p. 209; Moraes, *KadambaKula*, p.75.

<sup>22</sup> *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol 8, Sb 465.



who is described as *Kadamba-Kula-Tilak-Bhaskara.....nripati*<sup>23</sup>. The name of the ruler cannot be read. But the Kadamba dynasty reappears on the grounds of Banavasi after a long gap of more than three centuries. The information in the given inscription is substantiated by an inscription of 971 AD, found near Sorab in NW Mysore<sup>24</sup>. It mentions a certain *Santivarmmarasa* who is said to be ruling over Banavasi twelve thousand. He probably belonged to Kadamba family. The inscription is mentioned to have been composed by the minister of peace and war, Kannaya. The estimated dates of the above mentioned records and the dates of the records of Goa Kadambas suggest that the Kadambas reappear in Banavasi and in Goa at more or less same time, i.e. middle of tenth century AD. It is probable that the Banavasi Kadambas were diminished in power, but still held some remote territory, which is still not known, and continued to exert their control over it.

## **KADAMBAS OF GOA**

The Kadambas made their appearance in Goa around the middle of the tenth century AD with an inscription of Shashthadeva I found near Curdi in Sanguem taluka of Goa. It was found on a stone slab which was a part of the doorjamb of Mahadeva temple at Angod<sup>25</sup> and has been paleographically dated to tenth century AD<sup>26</sup>. At the same time, Shilaharas were ruling over Goa and North Konkan in the tenth century, as the subordinates of Rashtrakutas, which is validated by their inscriptions issued in late tenth and early eleventh century<sup>27</sup>. The Marcella plates of Kadamba Shashthadeva II provide the account of the Goa Kadamba family<sup>28</sup>. It mentions *Kantakacharya* as the first king of Goa Kadamba stock. According to the genealogy given in the Marcella plates, Kantakacharya' son was Naagvarma, his son Guhalladeva I, then came Shashthadeva I, who is also known as Chaturbhuj, then Guhalladeva II, Shashthadeva II and then Jayakeshi I<sup>29</sup>. The record mentions Guhalladeva as an ally of the kings ruling in the countries extending to the sea. The kings mentioned here were most probably the Shilaharas who were ruling over Goa. The

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<sup>23</sup> *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol 8, p.155.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*, Sb 44; *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p.

<sup>25</sup> Kadamb, *Sources of the History of Goa Kadambas*, p. 77

<sup>26</sup> Gune, *Gazetteer of Goa*, p.94; Kadamb, *Sources of the History of Goa Kadambas*, pp.77-78

<sup>27</sup> The inscriptions are mentioned in Chapter 2 of this thesis. Also see *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol 6, Inscriptions of the Shilaharas, for details.

<sup>28</sup> Kadamb, *Sources of History of Goa Kadambas*, pp.52-65; Moraes, *KadambaKula*, Appendix 1

<sup>29</sup> Genealogy given by G M Moraes based on Marcella plates, *Sources of History of Goa Kadambas*, p.52.

record is dated to Saka 960, which amounts to 1038 AD of Christian era. In the beginning, the kingdom of the Goa Kadambas was the region to the south of the island of Goa including part of Salsette and some land towards the Western Ghats. Their capital was ancient Chandrapura<sup>30</sup>. This is substantiated by the mention of Kadamba Jayakeshi I in *Dvaiasharaya*<sup>31</sup>, a Sanskrit work of twelfth century written by Jain guru, Hemachandra<sup>32</sup>. The text glorifies the rulers of the Solanki race of Anahilwada Pattan. He mentions Jayakeshi I to be ruling at Chandrapura<sup>33</sup> in the ninth *sarga* of the text. It also mentions about the daughter of Jayakeshi I, Mayanalladevi, who married the Solanki ruler Karna in the tenth *sarga*<sup>34</sup>. These evidences confirm that the Goa Kadambas had Chandrapura as their capital in the initial phase of their rule.

There are about a hundred and thirty-five inscriptions of the Goa house of Kadambas which have been found till date<sup>35</sup>, out of which few have been issued by the allies of the Kadambas giving details of the war and other details and the territories that were eventually subjugated from the Goa Kadambas<sup>36</sup>. The find spots of the records vary from Goa, North Konkan, North Kanara, areas in Karnataka like Halsi, Belgaum and so on. The provenances of the inscriptions are suggestive of the territorial expanse of Goa Kadamba kingdom. The places names that occur in the inscriptions have been enlisted in the appendix No.1.

Kadamb states<sup>37</sup> that during the rule of Jayakeshideva I, the Kadamba kingdom became quite vast, enough to be called an empire. It extended from Sourashtra in the North to Dakshina Kannada in the South and to Bellary in the East. However, his argument does not coincide with the findings in the inscriptions. The territory of Goa Kadambas did not include regions from South Kanara and Sourashtra. The Kadamba rulers visited Sourashtra to pay homage to Lord Somanath, but did not

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<sup>30</sup> G M Moraes, *Sources of History of the Goa Kadambas*, p.168.

<sup>31</sup> The title of the book is named as such because the book was written for the dual purpose of teaching the Sanskrit grammar and telling the story of the Solanki kings of Anahilwada Pattan, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol 4, p.71.

<sup>32</sup> Hemchandra, also known as Hemacharya, the Jain Guru started writing the book but it was later completed by another Jain monk Lesajaya Tilak Gani in 1255 AD. Hemacharya was a Jain scholar of Gujrat in the time of Siddharaja and Kumarapala, *IA Vol 4*, pp. 71-72.

<sup>33</sup> *Indian Antiquary*, Vol 4, p.233.

<sup>34</sup> For details see *Indian Antiquary*, Vol 4, *Dvaiasharaya*, pp.233-235.

<sup>35</sup> For details see R N Gurav, *The Inscriptions of the Goa Kadambas*, *Unpublished Thesis*, Karnataka University, 1969.

<sup>36</sup> The inscriptions belong to the North Shilaharas and the Yadavas of Devagiri where Goa Kadambas find mentions. The Shilaharas and the Yadavas annexed some of the Goa Kadamba's territory. The Yadavas also appear to have reinstated Goa Kadambas on the ancient seat of Banavasi in Karnataka, S G Kadamb, *Sources of History of Goa Kadambas*.

<sup>37</sup> Kadamb, *Sources of History of Goa Kadambas*, p. 28-51.

hold exert control over the territory<sup>38</sup>. The Narendra Inscription<sup>39</sup> gives the details of the territories occupied by the Kadambas at the zenith of their rule. It mentions that the kingdom under Jayakeshi II included Konkan-900, Palasige-12000 (present Khanapur, Chikodi, Sampagaon talukas of Belagavi district), Unkal-30, Shabi-30 (part of Dharwar and Hubli talukas), Kontkulli-30, Hangal-500, Utsugrame and Kadaravalli-30, Palagunde-30, Velugrame-70 (present Belagavi), Haive-500 (part of North Kanara) and Kavadiidvipa- Savalakha. It shows that Goa Kadambas occupied a large territory as compared to Shilaharas. However, this kingdom cannot be termed as an empire.

There are hundred and thirty five inscriptions which has been issued exclusively by the royal house of Goa Kadamba dynasty. Starting from the period of middle of tenth century AD, the records extend to the second half of the thirteenth century AD. Though the Kadambas continued to rule till around the middle of fourteenth century AD, the discovered records issued by the dynasty till present are dated till the second half of thirteenth century. The rest of the history of the Goa Kadambas is known through the inscriptions of the rulers of other dynasties. The records of the Goa Kadambas are found to be composed in Sanskrit language and in Old Kannada, also known as *Halekannada*. The inscriptions include records of religious donations like *brahmadeyas*, *devadanas*, settlement of Brahmanas in *agrahara*, *brahmapuris*, hero stones, records concerning economic activities and so on.

The inscriptions issued by the Goa Kadamba dynasty are in Sanskrit language and in Kannada language. The inscriptions that have been issued in the region of Goa are found to be in Sanskrit language, while the inscriptions that are issued in the region of Karnataka are in Kannada language. However, few exceptions have been found. Few Kannada inscriptions have been issued in the region of Goa, which are the inscriptions on the warrior stones<sup>40</sup>. It is probably because the fighting forces probably comprised of Kannada speaking people. Some inscriptions found in Karnataka have been found to be bilingual, in which the languages are Sanskrit and Kannada. It probably caters to the audience who belonged to regions outside Karnataka. It is seen in the case of other dynasties like Pallavas, Rashtrakutas and Chalukyas of Badami that they issued Kannada inscriptions in the region of Karnataka. The Rashtrakutas issued Sanskrit inscriptions in the regions

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<sup>38</sup> Goa Charter of Jayakesideva, *O Oriente Portugues*, No. 22, pp. 386-398.

<sup>39</sup> Narendra Inscription, B, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 13, pp.316-326; Gune, *Gazetteer of Goa*, p.105; S G Kadamb, *Sources of History of Goa Kadambas*, pp. 183-218.

<sup>40</sup> Panjanakhani Inscription, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 37, pp. 284-287.

of Maharashtra and Goa, while Kannada inscriptions were issued in the region of Karnataka<sup>41</sup>. The region between rivers Godavari and Kaveri was a Kannada speaking region<sup>42</sup>. It is subjected to the same reason that the records issued by the Shilaharas of Kolhapur are in Kannada language<sup>43</sup>. The Chalukyas of Badami issued Sanskrit inscriptions in Goa, while they issued Sanskrit and some Kannada inscriptions in the region of Karnataka. The Chalukyas of Anahilwada issued Sanskrit inscriptions in Gujarat and the Western Chalukyas issued Kannada inscriptions in Karnataka. The chosen language for issuing the records shows the trend of using the language best suited to the audience.

Literature has been composed in the courts of rulers across India since early period. Beginning with the Mauryan period, a lot of compositions have been created, some of which have not survived long, resulting in the loss of important texts. *Brahmanas* composed Sanskrit texts and kings patronized them in their courts. One of the motives behind the patronage was that the *brahmanas* wrote elaborate genealogies for the kings which elevated the prestige of the dynasty. They also highlighted the religious acts of the kings with flowery Sanskrit language. The reason behind such actions will be discussed further in the chapter. Several famous texts have been composed by the poets, most of them being in Sanskrit and few in languages other than Sanskrit. Few of them are *Buddhacarita* by Asvaghosa<sup>44</sup>, Satvahanna king Hala's *Saptashati*<sup>45</sup>, Gunadhya's *Brihatkatha* written in *Paishachi* language<sup>46</sup>, *Shakuntalam* and *Meghdoot* by Kalidasa in the court of Chandragupta II, *Harshacharita* and *Kadambari* by Banabhatta in the period of King Harshavardhan, *Kavyadarsha* and *Kirtanjuniya* in seventh-eighth century AD by Dandin, *Brihatkathamajari* by Kshemendra in the court of King Ananta of Kashmir, *Aihole inscription* by Ravikirti during the reign of Chalukya Pulakesi II, Pampa<sup>47</sup>, Ponna<sup>48</sup> and Ranna, the three gems of Kannada literature who composed several texts in Kannada language in tenth century AD<sup>49</sup>.

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<sup>41</sup> A S Altekar, *Rashtrakuta and Their Times*, pp. 21-24.

<sup>42</sup> E P Rice, *A History of Kanarese Literature*, p.12; A S Altekar, *Rashtrakuta and Their Times*, p. 24.

<sup>43</sup> V V Mirashi, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol 6.

<sup>44</sup> It is a Sanskrit work that belongs to second century AD in Kushana period.

<sup>45</sup> It was composed in third century AD in Prakrit language

<sup>46</sup> This work was composed in the period of Satvahanna king Hala in third century AD.

<sup>47</sup> Pampa was a Jain poet in the court of Arikesari II. He composed *PampaBharata* which was a Kannada version of Vyasa's *Mahabharata*.

<sup>48</sup> Sri Ponna was the court poet during the rule of Rashtrakuta king Krishna III. The texts like *Shantipurana* and *Bhuvanaika*. *Shantipurana* was composed in Kannada language in *champu* style.

<sup>49</sup> E P Rice, *A History of Kanarese Literature*, pp. 30-32.

Interestingly, Pampa and Ponna belong to Telugu speaking region<sup>50</sup>. Somadeva composed *Kathasaritasagara* in Sanskrit language in eleventh century. Bilhana, the poet from Kashmir, composed *Vikramadevacharita* in the honour of King Vikramaditya VI in eleventh century AD<sup>51</sup>. *Dvaiasharaya*, a Sanskrit grammar and royal story tale was composed in the court of Chalukyas of Gujarat in the twelfth century by a Jain guru. Interestingly, there are no literature compositions extant that can be attributed to the courts of the Goa Kadambas, which quite contrasting to the highly learned status of the Kadamba rulers. They not only claimed to be highly learned and having the knowledge of the Vedas, Puranas and other brahmnacial texts, but also promoted learning by establishing centres of learning called brahmapuris . The only sources that help to build history of the dynasty are the inscriptions and their coins. In a period when literary compositions were being composed across the states, the absence of any literature in Kadamba courts is a question that cannot be answered in wake of no logical explanation. However, the inscripational compositions of the Goa Kadambas were quite elaborate and were composed in *kavya* metres, which resemble the literary compositions. The inscriptions include several examples from the *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata* and *puranas*, which add to the value of the compositions. However, there are no works available, other than the inscripational records that have been composed under the patronage of Kadamba kings of any of the families, be it Kadambas of Banavasi that existed from fourth century AD to early sixth century AD or the Kadambas of Goa who existed from tenth century AD to mid-fourteenth century AD.

## **SANSKRIT VERSUS REGIONAL LANGUAGE- THE QUESTION OF VERNACULARISATION**

A gradual shift is seen in the choice of language in which the texts are composed since early times. In the early centuries of Christian era, there was a shift from Prakrit language to Sanskrit language for the composition of records. In the later centuries, the shift is seen from Sanskrit to other languages like Kannada, Marathi, and Gujarati and so on. There is shift seen from Sanskrit to Kannada language in the records of the Kadambas of Goa post-tenth century AD, but the shift is

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<sup>50</sup> E P Rice, *A History of Kanarese Literature*, pp. 30-31. Rice mentions that Pampa and Ponna were originally from Vengi, which was a Telugu region.

<sup>51</sup> Sailendra Sen, *A Textbook of Medieval Indian History*, New Delhi: Primus Books, 2013, pp. 52-53.

not permanent in nature which will be proved in further discussion. There are some aspects which provide insight into the causes that lead to selection of a language<sup>52</sup> for a record. In order to understand the change in choice of language utilized by the dynasty for its political records, we need to understand the background of language selection.

In the words of Sheldon Pollock, Sanskrit was considered ‘language of the Gods’<sup>53</sup> that was employed exclusively for sacred and religious processes. *Brahmanas* were called as ‘the agents of the sacred law’<sup>54</sup>. They had the knowledge of the sacred texts and were socially classified to use the sacred language. Hence, they were considered with high regards and veneration by the royal dynasties. However with the passage of time Sanskrit came to be used in the political arena as well. Since then, Sanskrit has continued to serve the political functions for the ruling dynasties and helped the kings to enhance their power and prestige within and beyond their territories. Sanskrit continued to be employed for royal records for several centuries beginning from early Christian era till ninth century AD. In the last few years of sixth century AD and after the sixth century AD few occurrences of records in *Kannada* language were seen<sup>55</sup>. In the last century of Rashtrakuta rule, they issued several records in Kannada language, when they were issued in the region of Karnataka. However, at the same time Sanskrit records were issued in the region of Maharashtra. The number of Sanskrit inscriptions were lesser as compared to those in Kannada language, but the continuity was sustained. Pollock states that Kannada shifted to become the ‘primary language of expression of the political discourse’<sup>56</sup> initially during the rule of Rashtrakuta Nrpunga Amoghvarsha. Pollock mentions that the rulers provided for the cultural transformation wherein the vernacular language was promoted higher than Sanskrit, which was the cosmopolitan language. However, Pollock does not take into consideration, the significance of audience of inscriptions that was the main cause of the change. The rulers issued the inscriptions in the language that was most suited to the audience, in order to gain legitimacy of their authority in the region.

We need to see the above mentioned aspects in relation to the records issued by dynastic rulers of Goa. As stated by Pollock, the prominence of regional languages began under the rule of

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<sup>52</sup> Here it is related to the Goa Kadambas, so we are discussing about the selection between Sanskrit and Old Kannada

<sup>53</sup> The phrase has been used by Sheldon Pollock in his work, *Language of the Gods in the World of Men*.

<sup>54</sup> B P Sahu, ‘Legitimation, Ideology and State’, *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Vol. 64, (2003), pp. 44-76.

<sup>55</sup> Sheldon Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, pp. 332-333.

<sup>56</sup> Sheldon Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, p.332.

Rashtrakutas<sup>57</sup> and intensified during the rule of Krishna III in 940 AD<sup>58</sup>. A Sanskrit inscription interspersed with Kannada words was issued by Ganga ruler in 890 AD<sup>59</sup>.

Ninth and tenth century AD Goa was the peripheral territory of Rashtrakutas and was controlled by their sub-ordinate rulers, Southern Shilaharas<sup>60</sup>. The inscriptions issued by the Shilaharas are found to be in pure Sanskrit language written in *Nagari* script. Though the Balipattana grant of Rattaraja issued in 1010 AD includes few words of Marathi<sup>61</sup>. The Shilahara records state the genealogy of their suzerains in the sacred language itself. By the middle of tenth century AD, Kadambas resurfaced in Konkan -900 and began issuing their political records. It was in the same time frame that Kadambas are seen ruling on Banavasi region once again after a gap of almost three-four centuries. All the political records of Goa Kadambas issued in Goa are composed in Sanskrit language. The records issued in the region of Karnataka are in Kannada language. The Goa Kadambas probably followed the Rashtrakutas as they issued Sanskrit inscriptions outside Karnataka. Several Sanskrit compositions were inscribed in *Nagari* characters<sup>62</sup>, which is indicative of northern influence on the composers of South India.

After mid-eleventh century, there are some hero-stone inscriptions that have been issued in Goa in Kannada language. The hero-stones inscribed during the rule of Goa-Kadamba dynasty are found to be in Kannada language. There can be some possible reasons behind such actions. Hero-stones are memorial stones which are inscribed in the memory of warriors who laid their lives in battles while fighting for the king. The first instance of a hero-stone is the Panjanakhani stone inscription found in Goa<sup>63</sup> that belongs to 1054 AD. The inscription is about a warrior Annayya, who was the *dharma mantri* of Panjanakhani and fought against the forces of some Annalladeva. Annayya is described as hailing from Karnataka<sup>64</sup>. Another stone inscription found in Goa from Salcette

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<sup>57</sup> Pollock states that Rashtrakuta Amoghvarsha began the practice of using vernacular for the records and it gathered momentum during the time of Krishna III, Sheldon Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, p. 332.

<sup>58</sup> Sheldon Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, See footnotes on p.332

<sup>59</sup> Sheldon Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, Ganga ruler, King Ereyappa used Kannada words and morphemes in the inscription, p. 335.

<sup>60</sup> V V Mirashi, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Inscriptions of The Shilaharas, Vol 6; Chapter 3 of the present work.

<sup>61</sup> V V Mirashi, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol I, Inscriptions of the Shilaharas, pp. 193-199.

<sup>62</sup> The details of the development of nagari script is a different topic that needs more attention. Here we consider it developing first in Northern India depending upon the geographical region where it first appeared.

<sup>63</sup> Panjanakhani inscription, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 37, pp. 284-287.

<sup>64</sup> Panjanakhani inscription, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 37, pp. 284-287.

Taluka belonging to 1071 AD mentions about a warrior who laid down his life to protect and secure Haive-500 from some Kamdeva of Gokarn who revolted against the authority of the king<sup>65</sup>. Another hero stone inscription found in the Uttar Kannada region belonging to the rule of Kadamba Permadideva, is in Old Kannada language. The details of the year, warrior and the war in which he fell are lost. The details indicate that the records are addressed to a specific audience. The intended audience did not have the knowledge of Sanskrit and were Kannada speaking people. It caused the language to be chosen accordingly.

Another inscription<sup>66</sup> has been found from the same place, Sadashivagadh, also known as Chittakula, in the Uttar Kannada district. Issued by Kadamba king Vijayadityadeva, it belongs to 1179 AD and it has been composed in Sanskrit. This copper plate charter records the gift of a village to the Goddess Arya Bhagwati who has been recognized as Goddess Aajaa or Aaryaa Durga who resided on the island of Anjdiva in Uttar Kannada district<sup>67</sup>. The mentioned inscription is intended for the Goddess herself. The audience of the inscription belonged to non-Kannada region and therefore the inscription has been composed in Sanskrit language. A hero-stone from Dodvad fort in Khanapur Taluka of Belagavi district<sup>68</sup> has been composed in Old Kannada language. It belongs to twelfth century AD and commemorates the death of a warrior in a fierce battle. There are few more hero stones<sup>69</sup> belonging to the Goa Kadamba family and they all are found to be in Old Kannada language.

It should be noted that all hero-stones issued by the Goa Kadambas are in Kannada language. Other inscriptions which record grants of land to temples (*devadanas*), grants of land to *brahmanas* for various purposes (*brahmadeyas*), victory in wars are in Sanskrit. In the course of establishment and expansion of a dynasty, it progresses by territorial expansion and agrarian expansion. In the process of agrarian expansion, the village and tribal areas of the region are integrated as well. The land grants called in for agriculture on the available land as well as on the reclaimed land<sup>70</sup>, which

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<sup>65</sup> Raia Stone Inscription, *Kadambakula*, p.401; Kadamb, *Sources of History of the Kadambas of Goa*, pp. 99-101

<sup>66</sup> Sadashivgad (Chittakula) Inscription, EI Vol 29, pp.29-32; Kadamb, *Sources of History of the Kadambas of Goa*, pp.303-310

<sup>67</sup> P B Desai has mentioned the account of Goddess Aaryaa Bhagwati as explained by Dr. Gerson da Cunha in JBBRAS, Vol. XI, pp.288-310

<sup>68</sup> Kadamb, *Sources of History of the Goa Kadambas*, p.401

<sup>69</sup> For details, see Kadamb, *Sources of History of the Goa Kadambas*

<sup>70</sup> Reclaimed land like *khajjan*, forest lands, lands made available by construction of bunds were utilized for agrarian purposes.



required labour that was provided by the peasants who comprised of local people or even people who migrated in the search of work from neighbouring areas. The warriors also came from the tribal people who were trained in warfare and were suitable for wars. The kings integrated the population of newly acquired territories into their kingdom as subjects through a variety of practices which were significant for legitimizing function. Inducting the villagers and tribals in their army was one of such practices. Hence, on the occasion of the death of a warrior, the rulers aimed at the tribal audience to commemorate the bravery of the war hero. Since the common villagers and the tribal people would not have knowledge of the Vedic language, it would be appropriate to utilise the language of the audience for the purpose of records. It is also probable that the fighting forces comprised of Kannada speaking people, which explains the employment of Kannada for hero-stones.

The *Brahmadeyas* and *Devadanas* recorded by the Goa Kadambas support a similar pattern of language selection in the course of their composition. Pollock argues that once the vernacular political discourse was consolidated, Sanskrit gradually faded to almost insignificance<sup>71</sup>. However, he counters his own case when he expresses that notwithstanding the increasing recognition of regional languages, Sanskrit always asserted itself in the courts as the ‘medium of documentary idiom’<sup>72</sup>. When Sanskrit had replaced Prakrit for the inscriptional and literary records in the early Christian centuries, Sanskrit quickly and permanently substituted Prakrit, which is evident through the records of dynasties of the first half millennium AD. However, there is a difference between the change of language from Prakrit to Sanskrit and the change from Sanskrit to regional language. When the regional languages began to be employed for composition of inscriptions, they were used for an intended audience who belonged to that region itself. The records of Goa Kadambas dispense a similar story. Kannada and Sanskrit, both were used for composing inscriptions, but they served different audience. A classic example is the Degamve inscription of Permadideva and Kamaladevi<sup>73</sup>. They are a set of two inscriptions from a temple at Degamve and one each is on the right hand side and left hand side of the central shrine. It records the famous grant made by Queen Kamaladevi with the approval of King Permaadideva in order to establish an *agrahara*, a center

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<sup>71</sup> Sheldon Pollock, *Language of the Gods in the World of men*, p. 336.

<sup>72</sup> For details see Sheldon Pollock, *Language of the Gods in the World of men*, p. 336.

<sup>73</sup> J F Fleet, *Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol 9, Inscriptions relating to Kadamba Kings of Goa, pp. 272-277, 287-293; Kadamb, *Sources of History of Goa Kadambas*, pp.266-292

for higher education at the village Degamve. Interestingly, the grant was composed in Sanskrit language, but was scribed in Kayastha characters and also in Kannada characters. This was done probably to assert the validation of all classes of audience including the local *brahmanas* as well as *brahmanas* from outside, apart from the common people, since the seat of learning was meant for all people. Similar processes have been seen in Tamil inscriptions as well<sup>74</sup>. The same inscriptions has been composed in Sanskrit as well as in Tamil and been inscribed on different faces of a pillar. This example corroborates the earlier argument that the selection of language was done depending upon the audience. Sahu states that in South Indian Inscriptions, ‘the rendering of the *prasasti* section in Sanskrit and the operative part in regional languages can be partly explained in terms of royal need to tie legitimacy both down and sideways’<sup>75</sup>. It was not vernacularisation that directed the royal courts to engage with the regional language, rather the need of validation from the audience that called for the use of regional languages.

Another point of interest is that the compositions in regional language followed the pattern and methodology of that done in Sanskrit language. The Panjanakhani inscription<sup>76</sup> mentions the name of Kadamba monarch Jayakeshideva with the title *Padaval-endra* which means ‘lord of the west’. The Sanskrit title *paschima-samudra-adhisvara* carrying the same meaning is seen applied to other rulers of Goa Kadamba dynasty<sup>77</sup>. It can be said that the Kannada compositions were dependent on their Sanskrit counterparts especially for the expressions used for the kings. The literary composition *Kavirajamarga*, composed by SriVijiya and Nriptunga Amoghvarsha<sup>78</sup> was composed in the tenth century AD. Prior to *Kavirajamarga*, there was a complete silence in the world of Kannada grammar and methodology of poetics. It has been said to be based upon the work of Dandin, *Kavyadarsha*<sup>79</sup> a Sanskrit work that provided the main body in the composition of *Kavirajamarga*. However, the author nowhere states the adoption of Dandin’s work to frame his own. Pollock has also stated that till tenth century AD or the time period of *Kavirajamarga*,

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<sup>74</sup> Daud Ali, Royal Eulogy as World History- Rethinking Copper plate Inscriptions in Chola India, in *Querying the Medieval- Texts and The History of Practices in South Asia* edited by Ronald Inden, Jonathan Walters and Daud Ali, p. 172.

<sup>75</sup> B P sahu, ‘Legitimation, Ideology and State’, *PIHC*, Vol. 64, (2003): 59.

<sup>76</sup> Panjanakhani Inscription, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 37, pp.284-287; Kadamb, *Sources of History of the Goa Kadambas*, pp. 15-22.

<sup>77</sup>Kadamb, *Sources of History of the Kadambas of Goa*, pp. 17, 21.

<sup>78</sup> K V Subbanna, Prakash Belavadi, From the Award winning book “ Kavirajamarga Mattu Kannada Jagattu”: Essays on Kannada- The Language and the Culture, *Indian Literature*, Vol. 48, No.4, pp.100-108.

<sup>79</sup> Pollock, *Language of God in the World of Men*, pp. 343-344.

the Kannada literacy was always mediated by Sanskrit literacy<sup>80</sup>. In a way, the agents of Kannada compositions tried to create for Kannada what had been done for Sanskrit since ages, i.e. achievement of a trans-regional state. Nevertheless, as stated earlier, the use of the regional language began in order to address the local, Sanskritically illiterate population. Since there are no pieces of literature extant belonging to the Goa Kadamba dynasty, much cannot be said about their compositions in regional language.

On considering the composition of inscriptional records of Goa Kadambas, the first and foremost point of consideration is that the inscriptions were composed by the *brahmanas*. The *brahmanas* were the authors of the records that extensively praised the kings, wrote their genealogies and mentioned about the land grants and other important processes of the kingdom. Hence, the *brahmanas* had the knowledge of both languages, Sanskrit as well as Kannada. They studied both the languages and were therefore able to use phrases with similar meaning in both languages<sup>81</sup>. Depending upon the addressee and the potential of the audience to understand the record, the documents were composed in the required medium of language.

## **THE KADAMBA STATE**

The Kadambas of Goa ruled for a period of more than three centuries, close to four centuries, holding quite a large territorial region. Nonetheless, scholars have doubts over ascertaining the 'state' status of the dynasty<sup>82</sup>. Chattopadhyaya suggests that political processes of a state may be seen in terms of parallels with contemporary economic, social and religious processes<sup>83</sup>. Dayma professes that the making of the Kadamba state in Karnataka was a result of the combined effects of political, economic and social processes<sup>84</sup>. In order to determine the status of the Goa Kadamba state, we must first understand the processes in the making of the state. The social, economic and political processes together can help estimate the Goa Kadamba state.

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<sup>80</sup> Pollock, *Language of God in the World of Men*, p.345.

<sup>81</sup> For example, refer to discussion about *padavendra* and *paschimasamudradhiswara* in the same chapter

<sup>82</sup> B D Chattopadhyaya, Political Processes and the Structure of Polity in Early Medieval India, in Kulke, *The State in India, 1000-1700*, p. 217.

<sup>83</sup> B D Chattopadhyaya, Political Processes and the Structure of Polity in Early Medieval India, in Kulke, *The State in India, 1000-1700*, p. 213.

<sup>84</sup> Yogender Dayma, Structure of Legitimation under the Early Kadambas, *PIHC*, 66<sup>th</sup> session, 2005-2006, pp. 155-166.

## SOCIAL PROCESSES OF GOA KADAMBAS

The Goa Kadambas rule was established roughly in the middle of tenth century AD, with their capital at ancient Chandrapura. The first inscription available, was issued by Shashthadeva I and it addressed him with high sounding titles like *Parameshwara*, *Paramabhattacharaka* and *Prachanda-danda-mandala*<sup>85</sup>. The social processes of the Goa Kadambas were affected with the underlying motive of legitimation of authority. The Weberian distinction between power and authority states that power is synonymous to coercion and forced domination, whereas authority is analogous with legitimacy that ensures obedience and support of the subjects<sup>86</sup>. Legitimacy holds high value for state formation. A good administration and territorial expansion alone cannot hold a state intact<sup>87</sup>. A state remains stable through the legitimation of authority of the king, which is provided by the sub-ordinates and the common population, through his patronage for religious institutions, their representatives, fabricated genealogies showing their connection with some God, caste status and several other strategies. The strategies of securing validation influence the subordinates and ensure their obedience by creating similarity of ideologies. Ultimately, the aim of the new rulers was to be perceived as “moral-agents, not just self-interested actors”<sup>88</sup>.

When the Kadambas attained power in Goa, they were competing with established and bigger powers like the Rashtrakutas and the Western Chalukyas<sup>89</sup>. This created a greater need of validation of their authority over the region in a variety of ways, which could portray the new rulers as the champions of *dharma* or the socio-political order. Like the contemporary and predecessor rulers, the Goa Kadambas sought validation in a variety of ways like patronage to religious institutions and *brahmanas* who were considered as the ‘guardians of *dharma*’<sup>90</sup>, *brahmadeyas*, *Devadanans*, extensive genealogies, portraying themselves as the protector of

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<sup>85</sup> V T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu*, Part I, p.94; Kadamb, *Sources of History of the Kadambas of Goa*, p.77

<sup>86</sup> From the Sectional Presidential address of B P Sahu, Legitimation, Ancient History Section, Ideology and State in Early India, *Indian History Congress*, sixty-fourth session, Mysore, 2003, pp. 44-76.

<sup>87</sup> B P Sahu, Legitimation, Ancient History Section, Ideology and State in Early India, *Indian History Congress*, sixty-fourth session, Mysore, 2003, pp. 44-76.

<sup>88</sup> B P Sahu, Legitimation, Ancient History Section, Ideology and State in Early India, *Indian History Congress*, sixty-fourth session, Mysore, 2003, pp. 44-76.

<sup>89</sup> Ninth century saw the downfall of Rashtrakutas who were holding the territory of Konkan-900 through their feudatories. It was also the period of rise of Chalukyas who destroyed the Rashtrakutas and seized their territories, A S Altekar, *Rashtrakutas and their Times*, pp. 124-133.

<sup>90</sup> B P Sahu, Legitimation, Ideology and State in Early India, *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Vol 64 (2003) pp. 44-76.

*dharma*, delegation of authority by dissemination of resources and more such acts. The inscriptions issued by the Kadambas bear testimony to the measures undertaken to validate the authority.

It is known that Buddhist monks were sent to several parts of India and Ceylon, to propagate Buddhism<sup>91</sup>. Buddhist monk *Dhammarakhita* was allocated the region of Aparanta for the same in the third Buddhist council held at Pataliputra. Post- Mauryan period witnessed the rise of the Satvahannas and later Guptas who brought about the revival of Brahmanism. Their inscriptions mention about the Vedic rites and rituals that the kings patronized and practiced. Performing *yajnas* was considered as the significant indicator of guardianship of Brahmanism, that the rulers promoted. The patronage to Brahmanism was carried forward by the Pallavas and the Early Kadamba kings of Banavasi. The rulers of Goa, namely the Bhojas, Konkan Mauryas and the Shilaharas also promoted Brahmanism by giving grants to *brahmanas* and to the temples. One grant each by the Bhojas and the Konkan Mauryas was made for the Buddhist *vihara* and Buddhist monks<sup>92</sup>. The Chalukyas of Badami also gave patronage to Brahmanas and made several land-grants to them. They also mentioned their *gotra* in their records to prove a Brahmanical descent.

Fabricated genealogies were an important measure to seek ‘authoritative legitimacy of the states’<sup>93</sup>. The Kadambas of Goa claimed their descent from the mythical ancestor Mukkanna or Trilochana Kadamba, but did not pursue any lineage with the Banavasi Kadambas. The Curtorim Inscription of Viravarmadeva describes him to belong to the *vamsa* of Trilochana Kadamba<sup>94</sup>. Goa Charter of Jayakeshi I also states Trilochana Chaturbhuj Kadamba as the progenitor of their race<sup>95</sup>. Trilochana Kadamba is said to have sprung from the sweat of Lord Shiva that fell on the ground during his fight with the demon Tripura. Gandevi inscription<sup>96</sup> opens with the legendary mythical origin of Kadambas from the perspiration of Siva that fell under a Kadamba tree. The Halsi inscription states that from a drop of sweat that fell near the Kadamba tree from the forehead of Tryambaka, the conquerer of three worlds, was born Jayanta, who was born to cause prosperity

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<sup>91</sup> R C Mukherjee, *Asoka*, pp. 32-33.

<sup>92</sup> See chapter 3 of this work for details.

<sup>93</sup> B D Chattopadhyaya, Political Processes and Structure of Polity in Early Medieval Process, in *The State in India, 1000-1700*, edited by Hermann Kulke, pp. 198, 210.

<sup>94</sup> V T Gune, Kudatari Copper plate grant of Viravarmadeva, ‘Newsletter’ of Historical Archives of Goa, Vol. I, No. I, pp.55-58.

<sup>95</sup> P Pissurlencar, Goa Charter of Jayakesideva I, *O Oriente Portugues*, No.22, pp.386-398.

<sup>96</sup> A S Gadre, Gandevi Inscription, *Important Inscriptions of Baroda state*, pp.64-71; Kadamb, *Sources of History of the Kadambas of Goa*, pp. 69-76.

and to make the regions destitute of warriors. In claiming this Mythical tale of descent, the family fabricates its connection with Lord Shiva. The Kadambas claim to belong to *Manavya gotra*, and the records of Banavasi Kadambas state that they were *Hariti-putra*. Whereas two of their inscriptions<sup>97</sup> describes them to belong to Naga origin<sup>98</sup> and *Angirasa gotra*<sup>99</sup>.

The kings of Goa Kadambas bore the epithet “*banavasi-pura adhiswara*” meaning the ‘lords of Banavasi’. This title makes it evident that the Goa Kadambas belonged to the stock of Banavasi Kadambas itself. However, their genealogy begins with Guhalladeva I<sup>100</sup>. Bearing epithets of similar taste was in vogue in the medieval period in Karnataka where the dynasties described themselves as lord of those places that were their original homes and where they were not holding sway at that point of time. The Rattas of Saudatti styled themselves *Lattanura-pura-varadhiswara*<sup>101</sup> meaning Lord of Lattanura, present Latur, which was not within their territorial limits. The Shilaharas<sup>102</sup> called themselves as *Tagara-pura-var-adhiswara* meaning Lord of Tagara, identified as modern Ter<sup>103</sup>. The Kadambas of Goa followed suit and applied the epithet in their records. It was a strategy to validate their origin and use their ancestral links in order to gain prestige in the current scenario.

The originator of the Banavasi Kadamba dynasty, Mayurasarma claimed to be a *brahmana*, who went to the Pallava kingdom to pursue education<sup>104</sup>. The Gudnapur pillar inscription of Ravivarman<sup>105</sup> gives the genealogy of the Kadamba dynasty as follows;

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<sup>97</sup> J F Fleet, Sanskrit and Old Kanarese Inscriptions, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol 7, pp. 35-37.

<sup>98</sup> J F Fleet, Sanskrit and Old Kanarese Inscriptions, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol 7, p.34.

<sup>99</sup> J F Fleet, Sanskrit and Old Kanarese Inscriptions, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol 7, pp.35,36; Refer to Chapter 6 of this work for discussion on the *gotra* of the Kadambas.

<sup>100</sup> Evident from the records of Goa Kadambas;

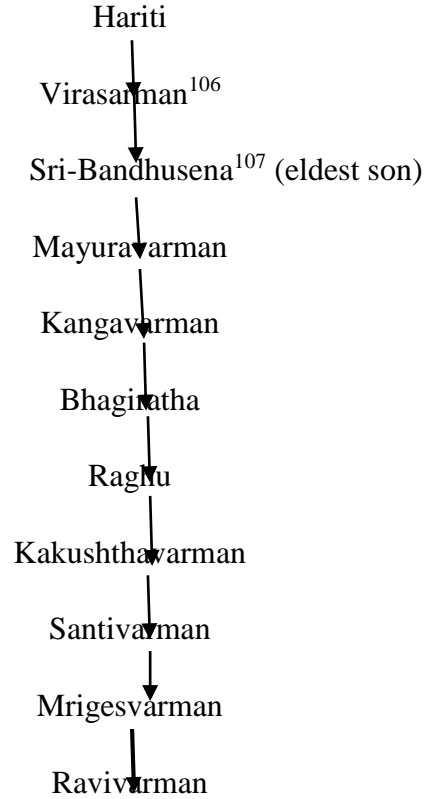
<sup>101</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I, part ii, Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 552.

<sup>102</sup> The shilaharas of North Konkan as well as Shilaharas of Karad, both styled themselves with the same epithet, *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I, part ii, Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 538, 546.

<sup>103</sup> V V Mirashi, CII Vol 6; *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I Part ii, p.538, 546

<sup>104</sup> Talagunda pillar inscription, EI, Vol 8; Gudnapur pillar inscription of Ravivarman in Elizabeth E Cecil, Mekhola Gomes, Kama at the Kadamba Court, *Indo-Iranian Journal* 64 (2021) 10-50.

<sup>105</sup> The inscription has been appropriated to 465 AD-500 AD



If the genealogy given in the Gudnapur record is correct, then it is to be accounted that Trilochana-Kadamba was indeed a mythological figure that was fabricated by the authors of the inscriptional record. The ultimate purpose being elevation of dynastic prestige in order to validate the kingdom's authority.

Mayurasarma was later styled as Mayuravarma. *Sarman* was the title of *brahmanas* which the Kadambas carried, along with the *gotra* as *Manavya gotra* and belonging to the family of Hariti. Thus, they were called *hariti-putras* in their records. The Kadambas of Goa also carried the same links of origin as that of Banavasi Kadambas. In the later records of Banavasi Kadambas, Mayurasarma is found styled as Mayuravarma which a *ksatriya* caste title. Interestingly, the Kadambas do not claim descent from any solar or lunar race, as was prevalent among other *ksatriya*

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<sup>106</sup> Virasarman's name occurs in the Talagunda pillar inscription of Kakushthavarman as the *guru* or preceptor of Mayuravarman, with whom he went to the Pallava kingdom for Vedic studies, EI, Vol 8, p. 32. The Gudnapur pillar inscription of Ravivarman mentions him as the grandfather of Mayurasarma.

<sup>107</sup> Bandhusena also finds mention in the Halsi copper plates of Ravivarman, *Indian Archaeology-A Review*, 1977-78, p. 25. He is mentioned as the progenitor of the officials of Jain temple with names ending in *-sena* or *-kirti*. It is interesting that he does not carry the usual Kadamba titles ending in *-sarman* or *-varman*.

dynasties<sup>108</sup>. They probably followed the status of being *brahma-ksatra*, like the Pallavas and the Chalukyas<sup>109</sup>. The records of the Goa Kadambas are styled in order to highlight the social status of the kings higher than those rulers who claimed descent from *chandravamsa* and *suryavamsa*<sup>110</sup>. The *Ksatriya* status of the kings was important according to the *dharma* ideology, which provided the basis of caste distinction. Accordingly, the *ksatriya* was supposed to be the warrior and make use of arms, whereas a *brahmana* was supposed to read texts, gain wisdom and help spread the *dharma* ideology in the society. By following the *dharma* norms, the rulers made themselves appear to be conforming to traditions.

*Brahmanas* were regarded as the guardians of the ideal social order that also served as the source of validation of king's authority<sup>111</sup>. In *Rigveda*, *dharma* is described as the basis of 'Vedic ritualism' - sacrifice<sup>112</sup>. However, the meaning of *dharma* is better understood as 'duty'. The rulers undertook to be projected as the adherents and the patronizers of *dharma* as well as that of the *brahmanas*<sup>113</sup>. They intended to be perceived as the one who follows and practices the pious deeds that were enshrined in the *dharmashastras*, which led towards the acceptance of the kings as the rightful authority. The high sounding titles of the kings like *dharmamaharaja*, *dharmamaharajadhiraja* were formulated in endorsement of the same duty. The relationship between the kings and the *brahmanas* was interdependent and significant to the society, especially for the transition states. The Goa Kadambas were initially a transition society that was undergoing evolution from a pre-state society to a state society. This called for the kings to patronize the *brahmanas* who would reciprocate by constructing an advantageous environment for the rulers to authenticate their rule. The *brahmanas* made use of appropriate language, figures of speech, mythological legends and tales to contrive the origin, genealogy and actions of the kings for them to gain support of the audience for the establishing or already established state society. As stated

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<sup>108</sup> Dayma, Structure of Legitimation Under the early Kadambas, *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Ancient India, 2005-2006, Vol 66, pp.155-166

<sup>109</sup> Aruna Pariti, *Genealogy, Time and Identity*, pp. 71-74; B D Chattopadhyaya, Political Processes and Structure of polity in Early Medieval India, in *The State in India, 1000-1700*, edited by Hermann Kulke, pp. 195- 232.

<sup>110</sup> Dayma, Structure of Legitimation Under the early Kadambas, *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Ancient India, 2005-2006, Vol 66, p. 157.

<sup>111</sup> B P Sahu, Legitimation, Ideology and State in Early India, *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 64<sup>th</sup> Session, (2003), pp. 44-76.

<sup>112</sup> For details see Pollock, *Language of the Gods in the World of Men*.

<sup>113</sup> Refer to B D Chattopadhyaya, Political Processes and Structure of Polity in Early Medieval Process, in *The State in India, 1000-1700*, edited by Hermann Kulke and B P sahu, Legitimation, Ideology and State in Early India, *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 64<sup>th</sup> Session, (2003).



by scholars<sup>114</sup>, the genealogical portions and *prasastis* in the epigraphical material provide evidence for the elements that went into the making of the ‘self-image’<sup>115</sup> of kingship from Gupta period onwards. The fabricated origin myths, dynastic traditions and local traditions, elaborate genealogies, kshatriya lineage and stereotypes from Sanskrit literature fused in courtly constructions, enhanced the social status of the dynasty as a whole. Vedic sacrifices that were performed by early members of the lineage, had trans-generational impact that aided to elevate the status of later rulers of the dynasty. These varied aspects legitimised the ruler’s claim to rule. In view of these requirements, *brahmanas* and Sanskrit became indispensable for state legitimation. The importance of the role played by *dharma* in a state can be estimated by seeing its use by almost all dynasties of North as well as South India<sup>116</sup>. It appears through their records that they believed, followed and upheld *dharma*.

The records of Goa Kadambas portray them to be the propagators of the ideal social order. Their records<sup>117</sup> give the description of the kings being well read and having great knowledge of Vedas, Vedangas, Puranas, *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata*, *Laws of Manu* and other sacred texts. Nagavarmma is compared to the preceptor of Gods in knowledge, to Vishwakarma<sup>118</sup> in architecture, to Vyasa in purity of conscience and to Cupid in terms of physical appearance<sup>119</sup>. The Gandevi inscription of Shashthadeva II<sup>120</sup> mentions Nagavarmma with the epithet *dharmarhasastra-vidbhut* which means ‘having the knowledge of all *dharmasastra* texts’. These texts were the essence of the ideal socio-political order in the society. Any king who would uphold the order would earn merit. The Curtorim Inscription<sup>121</sup> mentions that the rulers<sup>122</sup> of Goa Kadamba dynasty performed eighteen *asvamedha yajnas*. Though eighteen *asvamedha yajnas* appears to be an exaggeration of the actual number, since it involves very high amount of gold and other expenditure, it leaves no doubt that

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<sup>114</sup> B P Sahu, Legitimation, Ideology and State in Early India, *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 64<sup>th</sup> session, 2003; Kesavan Veluthat, The Self Image of Royalty, in *The Political Structure of Early Medieval South India*, pp. 47-85.

<sup>115</sup> The phrase has been used by Kesavan Veluthat in The Self Image of Royalty, in *The Political Structure of Early Medieval South India*, pp. 47-85.

<sup>116</sup> The records of various dynasties like Satvahannas, Ikshvakus, Guptas, Vakatakas, Pallavas and others represent a similar approach.

<sup>117</sup> Savai-Verem plates of Guhalladeva II where his father Nagavarmma is described as having studied all scriptures, Vedas, political science and was the abode of all the literature, science and desirable qualities.

<sup>118</sup> Vishwakarma is said to be the architect of Gods

<sup>119</sup> Savai-Verem plates of Guhalladeva II, *Kadamba Kula*, pp. 387-393.

<sup>120</sup> A S Gadre, Gandevi Inscription, Important inscriptions of Baroda state, pp.64-71.

<sup>121</sup> Curtorim Inscription, *Newsletter of Historical Archives of Goa*, Vol I, No. I, pp. 55-58.

<sup>122</sup> The rulers referred here are Guhalladeva, Shashthadeva II and Viravarmadeva.

the kings adhered to and promoted Brahmanical faith. Apart from the kings, the queens were also well educated of the mentioned books and well aware of *dharmasastras*<sup>123</sup> and accordingly were interested in establishment of *agraharas*, *brahmapuris* as well as other grants for *brahmanas*. The rulers needed to be recognized as the protector of *dharma* especially in the transitioning state societies. It was the duty of the king to follow the rules so as to spread the message of obedience among the common public. This step ensured rightful compliance of the people towards the king. The *Brahmanas* were the agents who securely guarded the *dharmasastra laws* and therefore it was the duty of the king to protect them.

The Kadamba kings gave land-grants to the learned *brahmanas* and exempted these grants from taxes. Jayakeshi I<sup>124</sup> is credited with donating several estates and *tula-purushas*<sup>125</sup> to the *brahmanas*. The grants were usually hereditary in character which were to be enjoyed by the *brahmana* family till eternity<sup>126</sup>. Interestingly, the rights of the beneficiaries were strictly safeguarded from any encroachment by instilling a fear of sins and punishment of hell for the encroachers<sup>127</sup>. In other words, the sins against Brahmanas were equated with sins against God, which was in consonance with the dharmasastric laws where *brahmana* is placed on top hierarchy. Inscription of Guhalladeva II<sup>128</sup> mentions that he took bath in the holy waters of *Ganges* every day and was praised by *brahmanas* who were like Lord Brahma. D.C.Sircar mentions<sup>129</sup> that according to ancient tradition recorded in *Manusmriti* and *Vishnumriti*, when a person purchases land to create revenue free holding for *brahmanas* and religious institutions, five-sixths of the religious merit would go to the purchaser and one part would go to the king of the country.

Another significant point is that the records mentioned about the educational status of the donee *brahmanas*, which indicated that donations were given only to deserving learned brahmanas, those who had attained a specific degree of wisdom<sup>130</sup>. The Gopaka copper plates of Guhalladeva

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<sup>123</sup> J F Fleet, Degamve Sanskrit Inscription of 1174 AD, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol 9, pp. 272-277.

<sup>124</sup> Narendra Inscription of the time of Vikramaditya VI and Kadamba Jayakesin II: 1125 AD, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 13, pp.298-316

<sup>125</sup> A *tula-purusha* is a gift of gold and other things equal in weight to the weight of the donor.

<sup>126</sup> For details, see the inscriptions of the Goa Kadambas.

<sup>127</sup> For example see Kudatari inscription, *Historical Archives of Goa*, Vol I, No. I, pp. 55-58.

<sup>128</sup> Savai-Verem plates of Guhalladeva II, *KadambaKula*, pp.391-393

<sup>129</sup> D C Sircar, Epigraphic Notes, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 33, pp.50-52.

<sup>130</sup> Eg. *Ved-vedanga-vidya-vit-swami*, Kudatari inscription of Viravarmadeva, *Historical Archives of Goa*, Vol I, No. I, pp. 55-58.

III<sup>131</sup> mention the establishment of a *brahmapuri*, a centre of higher studies, wherein twelve *brahmana* families from different parts of the state were invited for residing. Several arrangements like agricultural lands, gardens and houses were made for the maintenance of the families and the functioning of the institution. It is obvious that the most suitable and eligible *brahmanas* were selected from the kingdom as the beneficiaries. It is intended to bring out the fact that the kings endorsed the ideal social order and the *brahmanas* were protected and provided for by them that served to validate the royal authority<sup>132</sup>.

The *brahmanas* were indispensable for the Kadamba state. The provision of land-grants, residential areas, gardens, water-tanks, exemption from taxes and any governmental liability, according of high social status leaves no doubt that they were vital limbs of the state. They were placed at important official positions<sup>133</sup> in the state administration and the kings sought their advice in the event of decision-making. This claimed vertical legitimation of the state as well. The *brahmanas* were responsible for the education of people in the state. They taught all Vedic subjects of *Veda*, *Vedanta*, *Sankhya*, *yoga*, *nyaya*, *tatva*, *mimamsa*, astrology and others in the *agraharas* and *brahmapuris*. The subjects of religious discourses in the educational institutions are mentioned in Gopaka copper-plates of Guhalladeva III<sup>134</sup>, Degamve Inscription of 1174 AD<sup>135</sup> and Savai-Verem plates of Guhalladeva II<sup>136</sup>. They made use of the ‘divine’ language to compose *prasastis* for the kings. The eulogies were public documents<sup>137</sup> which were engraved on copper-plates and stones and were read out to the public by the officials. The inscriptions served as two-way mediums, one for the proliferation of the rulers’ excellence among the subjects of the state and another for the ratification of state authority by the people. The land-grants to *brahmanas* in the center and outlying regions of the kingdom helped the extension of state power as they disseminated Vedic-shastric-epic-puranic ideas, varna ideology and the ideal of Hindu kingship

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<sup>131</sup> P B Desai, Copper Plate grant of Kadamba Tribhuvanamalla, Saka 1028, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 30, pp.71-77; Kadamb, *Sources of History of the Kadambas of Goa*, pp.167-177

<sup>132</sup> B P Sahu, Legitimation, Ideology and State in Early India, *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 64<sup>th</sup> session, 2003, pp. 44-76.

<sup>133</sup> For details see the records of the Goa Kadambas in Kadamb, *Sources of History of the Goa Kadambas*

<sup>134</sup> P B Desai, Gopaka Copper plates of Kadamba Tribhuvanamalla, Saka 1028, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 30, pp. 71-77.

<sup>135</sup> J F Fleet, Degamve Inscription of 1174 AD, *Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol 9, pp. 272-277.

<sup>136</sup> G M Moraes, Savai Verem Copper plates of Guhalladeva II, *Kadambakula*, pp. 387-393.

<sup>137</sup> Sheldon Pollock, *Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, p. 122.

and in the process familiarized people with the norms of state-society<sup>138</sup>. It also functioned to assert state's rights entered into multiple levels of engagement and helped in constituting notions of legitimacy. Sanskrit language, being regarded as the sanctified medium of expression of the *dharmasatras*, was employed by the *brahmanas* in order to project veneration for the same. The Degamve inscription of 1174 AD, composed by Govindadeva who is said 'to have the intellect that roams uncontrolled over the Tarakashastra, the Tantras and poetics'<sup>139</sup>, compares the marriage of Jayakesi to Mailamahadevi to that of Lord Ram and Sita. He describes the qualities of queen Mailamahadevi by comparing her command to that of Vishnu, teaching practices of religion to the *Vedas* and sustaining everything like Earth herself.<sup>140</sup> Since *dharma* was the channel of achieving legitimacy, Sanskrit was considered the perfect vehicle to effectuate it.

Religion and temple construction were important social processes of Goa Kadambas. There are numerous instances of temples built by the Kadambas and their maintenance in their records. Religion was the essence of life of Goa Kadambas kings and they pursued it in extreme conscientiousness. Brahmaism and Jainism were the prevailing religions during the period of Goa Kadambas. There are few instances where Buddhists are mentioned in Goa Kadamba inscriptions<sup>141</sup>. The Goa Kadambas patronized Jainism and provided grants for the construction and maintenance of Jain *basadis*. Higher number of Jain *basadis* were constructed in the region of Karnataka than in Goa. Mugad Inscription of 1045 AD mentions a grant given by Naaragavunda Chaavunda-Gavunda for the maintenance of a Jain Chaityalaya<sup>142</sup>. The record is important from the aspect of culture as well as it mentions the construction of a *natyasala*, a theatre, by Mahasamanta Martandya<sup>143</sup>. The Alnavar Stone Inscription belonging to 1081 AD mentions about the construction of a Jinalaya in Alnavar<sup>144</sup>. Another inscription of 1126 AD, records a grant for

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<sup>138</sup> B P Sahu, Legitimation, Ideology and State in Early India, *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 64<sup>th</sup> session, 2003, pp. 44-76.

<sup>139</sup> J F Fleet, *Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol 9, pp.266-271, 272-277.

<sup>140</sup> J F Fleet, *Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol 9, pp.266-271, 272-277.

<sup>141</sup> R N Gurav, 'The Kadambas of Goa and their Inscriptions', *Unpublished PhD Thesis*, Karnataka University, Dharwar, p. 341.

<sup>142</sup> R N Gurav, 'The Kadambas of Goa and their Inscriptions', *Unpublished PhD Thesis*, Karnataka University, Dharwar, p. 345; *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. 11, No. 78, pp. 68-72.

<sup>143</sup> R N Gurav, 'The Kadambas of Goa and their Inscriptions', *Unpublished PhD Thesis*, Karnataka University, Dharwar, p. 347; *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. 11, No. 78, pp. 68-72.

<sup>144</sup> Alnavar Stone Inscription, *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol 15, No. 225; V T Gune, *Gazetteer of Goa, Daman and Diu*, p. 102.

the maintenance of a tank that was associated with the Jain Chaityalaya of Mugad<sup>145</sup>. It shows that Jains were important part of the Goa Kadamba state due to which the rulers patronized them. Apart from the Hindu religions, the Goa Kadambas gave patronage to the Muslims as well. The building of a *mijiguti* by Kadamba monarch Jayakesideva I<sup>146</sup> at Gopakapattana provides evidence for the same. However, this action concerns their economical processes than religious aspects since the Arabs were already residing in Goa and were conducting trade activities with the western countries<sup>147</sup>.

The Kadambas were devout Saivites. Their allegiance to the Brahmanical God can be assessed by their genealogy which associates the origin of the dynasty from a drop of sweat of Lord Siva under a Kadamba tree<sup>148</sup>. They worshipped Siva in the form of *Saptakoteshwara* as their family deity and built several temples for worship and reverence. The most famous of all records is the Gandevi inscription of Shashthadeva II<sup>149</sup> which records the construction of a *mandapika*<sup>150</sup> at the port of Gandevi in Gujarat. This was the result of the voyage undertaken by Shashthadeva II to pay homage to Lord Somanath, who is the incarnation of Lord Siva. It is possible that the pilgrimage to Lord Somanath caused the construction of Somanath shrines in Bardez taluka in Goa during Kadamba period<sup>151</sup>. The Savai-Verem plates<sup>152</sup> mention the king to be worshipping Lord Gokarn with gold and worshipping god Someswar by going beyond the seas. The earliest inscription of Goa Kadambas<sup>153</sup> was found on the doorjamb of Mahadeva temple at Angod in Curdi in the Sanguem taluka of Goa state. *Saptakoteshwara* was the family deity of the Goa Kadambas. The coins of Jayakesi I, Jayakesi II, Shivachitta Permadi and Soyideva have the legend *Sri Saptakoteshwar Varavira Jayakesideva* inscribed on them<sup>154</sup>. Several temples were constructed by

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<sup>145</sup> *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol 11, pp. 231-236.

<sup>146</sup> Goa charter of Jayakesideva I, *O Oriente Portugues*, No.22, pp.386-395.

<sup>147</sup> For details see, Goa charter of Jayakesideva I, *O Oriente Portugues*, No.22, pp.386-395; For details see, Moraes, *KadambaKula*; B D Chattopadhyaya, *Representing the Other? Sanskrit Sources and the Muslims (eighth to fourteenth century)*.; Ranabir Chakrabarti, *An Emerging Coastal Polity-The Konkan Coast Under the Silaharas (tenth to thirteenth century AD)*, *Studies in People's History*, Vol 3, No. 2 (2016), pp. 128-137.

<sup>148</sup> Genealogies mentioned in the records of Goa Kadamba dynasty mention the details of origin.

<sup>149</sup> A S Gadre, *Important Inscriptions of Baroda State*, Vol I, pp.64-71

<sup>150</sup> *Mandapika* is a market place created for commercial purpose. Gandevi being a port, was the most favourable place to construct and record it in an inscription.

<sup>151</sup> V R Mitragotri, *Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara period*, p. 144.

<sup>152</sup> G M Moraes, Savai-Verem plates of Guhalladeva II, *KadambaKula*, pp. 387-393.

<sup>153</sup> S G Kadamb, Curdi Inscription of Shashthadeva I, *Sources of History of the Kadambas of Goa*, p. 71.

<sup>154</sup> V R Mitragotri, *Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagar period*, p. 143.

the rulers of Goa Kadamba dynasty<sup>155</sup> in Goa region. However presently only three of them are surviving, namely the *Saptakoteshwar* temple at Opa, Curdi Mahadeva temple and the Tambdi-Surla Mahadeva temple.

The banner of the Kadambas carried the figure of Lord *Hanuman*. There are records which mention the construction of or grants to the temples of Narsimha<sup>156</sup>, Vaishnavite temples like KamalaNarayana temple<sup>157</sup>, Lakshmeswara temple<sup>158</sup>, Raameshwara temple<sup>159</sup>, Mahalakshmi temple<sup>160</sup> along with many others. Apart from these temples, there are instances where local deity that gained importance in the local region was included in the brahmanical pantheon and raised to the level of other Gods by giving grants, constructing temples and conducting *vedic* rites and rituals<sup>161</sup>. Gurav mentions the temples of tutelary Goddesses like Kumudabbe, Kulakabbe and Abbikabbe<sup>162</sup>. He mentions that the names of the villages were derived from the names of the deities. It is interesting to note that the temples were provided with enough grants in order to maintain the daily rituals of the temples and the priest who conducted the rites and rituals associated with the temple. The temples functioned as the educational centers as well in the kingdom where primary or higher education was imparted<sup>163</sup>. The Gopaka Copper plates of Guhalladeva III of 1107 AD, mention that educational discourses were held at the temple of Saraswati, situated in a *brahmapuri* at Gopakapattana<sup>164</sup>.

The inscriptions of Goa Kadambas give instances where grants are given for the Jain Bastis as well. The Mugad stone inscription of Shashthadeva II<sup>165</sup> records the grant of some lands for the

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<sup>155</sup> V R Mitagotri, *Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara period*, p. 144.

<sup>156</sup> Halsi Inscription, *JBBRAS*, Vol. 9, pp.280,281, 284-286.

<sup>157</sup> J F Fleet, Degamve Inscription of 1174 AD, *Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol 9, pp.266-271, 272-277; Kadamb, *Sources of History of the Kadmbas of Goa*, pp. 266-292

<sup>158</sup> Lakshmeshwar Inscription of 1147 AD, *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I, Part ii, p.569; *Carnatica Desa Inscriptions*, Vol I, p.812.

<sup>159</sup> G M Moraes, Kaadrolu Inscription of Guhalladeva III, *KadambaKula*, pp. 465-467

<sup>160</sup> J F Fleet, Degamve Inscription of Kamaladevi, *Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol 9, Inscriptions relating to Kadambas of Goa, pp. 294-295; S G Kadamb, *Sources of the History of the Kadambas of Goa- Inscriptions*, p. 293-296.

<sup>161</sup> One example is the nath cult that began in Konkan region, for further details, see Mitragotri, *Socio-Cultural History of Goa from Bhojas to the Vijaynagar period*, pp. 148-152.

<sup>162</sup> R N Gurav, 'The Kadambas of Goa and their Inscriptions', *Unpublished PhD Thesis*, Karnataka University, Dharwar, p. 366.

<sup>163</sup> See R N Gurav, *The Kadambas of Goa and their Inscriptions* for details.

<sup>164</sup> P B Desai, 'Gopaka Copper plates of Guhalladeva III', *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 30, pp. 71-77; R N Gurav, 'The Kadambas of Goa and their Inscriptions', *Unpublished PhD Thesis*, Karnataka University, Dharwar, p. 367.

<sup>165</sup> Mugad Stone inscription of Shashthadeva II of 1045 AD, *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol 11, No. 78, pp.68-72.

repairs of a Jaina *chaityalaya* and the feeding of the visitors. It also records the construction of a theatre attached to the Jaina temple. The same record mentions a long pedigree of Jain *gurus* of Kumudi-Gana. Another inscription of Jayakesideva I<sup>166</sup> that mentions the foundation of a Shiva temple and an *agrahara*, was found on a slab built into the ceiling of a central shrine of the Jain *basadi* at Amminabhavi in Dharwar. This is indicative of the fact that the Jain shrine and the Jain *basti* was probably established and maintained by the Goa Kadambas. It also indicates that the state patronage for the Jains declined in the later period. It also indicates the competition between the *brahmanas* and the Jains for state patronage and that the *brahmanas* were gaining importance over Jainism. A record<sup>167</sup> of construction of a Jain *basadi* at Malakanakoppa is available from the period of Guhalladeva III. The Maanagundi inscription<sup>168</sup> mentions the genealogy of the Jain preceptors of the Jain temple of Manikyapura<sup>169</sup>. However, no mentions of any textual compilations of the Jains, belonging to the Goa Kadamba period are extant. We might owe higher frequency of Jain grants to the fact that the father of Mayurasarmma was a Jain preceptor<sup>170</sup> and probably hence the eugenic inclination. A R S Dhume has attributed the patronage of Jains by the Goa Kadambas to the reason that the rulers were themselves Jains<sup>171</sup>. However, none of the inscriptions convey this inference. Hence, the argument cannot be accepted.

Buddhism was prevalent in Goa since the Mauryan period. The discovery of a Buddhist stone sculpture from Colvale<sup>172</sup> that has been dated to early centuries of Christian era ratifies the claim. The Bhojas and the Konkan Mauryas provided grants to the *Buddhist sangha*<sup>173</sup>. However, the existence of Buddhism is not recorded in the inscriptions of Goa Kadambas<sup>174</sup>.

Buddhism and Jainism were prevalent in the region much before the spread of Brahmanism. The spread of Brahmanism in South India started after the Satvahannas came to power. B P Sahu argues that the effect of Brahmanism was much more extensive than that of Buddhism and Jainism. He

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<sup>166</sup> Amminabhavi Stone Inscription, *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol 11, pp.138-140.

<sup>167</sup> V T Gune, Malakanakoppa Stone Inscription, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu*, Part I, p.103.

<sup>168</sup> G M Moraes, Maanagundi (B) inscription, *KadambaKula*, pp.418-427.

<sup>169</sup> For details see G M Moraes, Maanagundi (B) inscription, *KadambaKula*, pp.418-427

<sup>170</sup> Refer to Ravivarman pillar inscription of Gudnapur for details.

<sup>171</sup> A R S Dhume, *The Cultural History of Goa*, 10000BC to 1352 AD.

<sup>172</sup> Mitragotri, *Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijaynagara Period*, p. 156.

<sup>173</sup> For details, see the inscriptions of the Bhojas and Konkan Mauryas discussed in Chapter 3 of the present work.

<sup>174</sup> R N Gurav, 'The Kadambas of Goa and their Inscriptions', *Unpublished PhD Thesis*, Karnataka University, Dharwar, p. 341.

adds that 'Brahmanism succeeded in those aspects, which were the cause of failure of the other two that is the construction and dissemination of a dominant ruling ideology'<sup>175</sup>. However, it cannot be accepted that Buddhism and Jainism were insignificant for legitimization of king's authority. Buddhism spread to Southern part of India during the rule of Maurya king Asoka<sup>176</sup>, which is also evident through the thirteenth rock edict of Asoka<sup>177</sup>. In the period of Satavahana rule, the inscriptions record several grants made by the kings, their queens, officials, feudatories as well as people belonging to various castes and profession to the Buddhists<sup>178</sup>. It shows that the rulers obtained validation of their authority from the people of Buddhist sects. The construction of Buddhist caves at significant locations like the Karle<sup>179</sup> and Naneghat pass indicates that the Satavahana rulers made their Buddhist patronage visible and clear to the people<sup>180</sup>. The positioning of inscriptions on the trade routes has been a practice since very early times. Romila Thapar informs that Asokan edicts, inscriptions in Kharoshthi, Brahmi and Bactrian and several inscribed Buddhist images were located on the trade route that connected the North West India with Central Asia<sup>181</sup>. She adds that the rulers patronized people from varying religious faiths, which was justified for obtaining legitimacy from the elites of significant communities. Accordingly, the inscriptions were recorded in respective languages<sup>182</sup>.

In the later period from the fourth century AD onwards, several examples of state patronage for Jains can be seen. The rulers of Early Kadamba state made several grants for the construction of Jain *basadis* and their maintenance<sup>183</sup>. Instances of grants to the Jain temples by the rulers belonging to Ganga dynasty and Rashtrakutas are also available<sup>184</sup>. It shows that Jainism was popular till the last few centuries of first millennium AD. However, Jainism started fading from the tenth and eleventh centuries AD.

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<sup>175</sup> B P Sahu, Legitimation, Ideology and State in Early India, *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Vol 64 (2003), pp. 44-76.

<sup>176</sup> V V Mirashi, *The History and Inscriptions of the Satavahanas and The Western Kshatrapas*, p. 137.

<sup>177</sup> R G Basak, *Asokan Inscriptions*, pp. 63-75.

<sup>178</sup> V V Mirashi, *The History and Inscriptions of the Satavahanas and The Western Kshatrapas*, p. 141.

<sup>179</sup> V V Mirashi, *The History and Inscriptions of the Satavahanas and The Western Kshatrapas*, p. 143.

<sup>180</sup> A S Altekar, *Rashtrakutas and Their Times*, pp. 1-28.

<sup>181</sup> Romila Thapar, *The Penguin History of Early India-From the Origins to AD 1300*, p. 222.

<sup>182</sup> Romila Thapar, *The Penguin History of Early India-From the Origins to AD 1300*, pp. 222-223.

<sup>183</sup> R N Gurav, 'The Kadambas of Goa and their Inscriptions', *Unpublished PhD Thesis*, Karnataka University, Dharwar, p. 343.

<sup>184</sup> R N Gurav, 'The Kadambas of Goa and their Inscriptions', *Unpublished PhD Thesis*, Karnataka University, Dharwar, pp. 341, 343-344.



Brahmanism or the *brahmanas* became imperative to state formation after the fall of Satvahanas in third century AD. The records issued by the subsequent dynasties in Southern India like the Pallavas, Chtukulanandas, Kadambas of Banavasi, Chalukyas of Badami, Western Gangas, Shilaharas include a large number of grants that were given to the *brahmanas*. The records from the fourth century AD onwards are seen to be composed in Sanskrit language. The records of Goa Kadmbas present a similar scenario where land grants to *brahamans* and Sanskrit were popular sources of validation of dynastic authority. The land-grants to *brahmanas*, as well as the patronage to Jains indicates the horizontal legitimation of state's authority<sup>185</sup>. Whereas, the incorporation of *brahmanas* into the levels of administration, earned them political loyalty and vertical legitimation<sup>186</sup>. Within the passage of about a century of Goa Kadamba's rule, the kingdom was close to transition from a pre-state to a state polity.

## **ECONOMIC PROCESSES OF GOA KADAMBAS**

When gardens on every side, white-plastered houses, alleys, horse-stables, flower-gardens, agreeably connected bazaars, harlot's quarters and tanks were charming the eye, the Lord of the Ocean<sup>187</sup>, duly proceeded on his ships.....along with the whole population of Gove, to Saurashtra<sup>188</sup>

The above statement provides a visual image of the social and economic prosperity of Kadamba state in the early eleventh century AD. The period of Goa Kadambas was much unlike the previous dynasties that ruled over Konkan. The rise of Kadambas cannot be regarded only as a political development of the region, rather it was the progress of a pre-state polity into a state system. As mentioned earlier, the Kadamba kingdom was entering a state-system by the mid of eleventh century, i.e. beginning of the rule of Jayakeshi I. The study of a state society compulsorily includes

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<sup>185</sup> B P Sahu, Legitimation, Ideology and State in Early India, *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Vol 64 (2003), pp. 44-76.

<sup>186</sup> B P Sahu, Legitimation, Ideology and State in Early India, *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Vol 64 (2003), pp. 44-76.

<sup>187</sup> Lord of the Ocean the epithet used for Kadamba Shashthadeva I, Lionel Barnett, Narendra Inscription of Mallikarjuna temple, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 13, pp.298-316.

<sup>188</sup> Lionel Barnett, Narendra Inscription of Mallikarjuna temple, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 13, pp.298-316; Kadamb, *Sources of History of the Kadambas of Goa*, pp. 183-204.

the analysis of its economic processes. Y Subbarayalu gives special importance to the socio-economic processes of the Cholas while studying the nature of the state<sup>189</sup>. He states that merchants were next only to *brahmanas* in social status<sup>190</sup>. He mentions that the corporate bodies in the Chola state were caste based and that the economic status of individuals was important for becoming a member of the *ur*, *sabha* and *nagaram*.<sup>191</sup>

The foremost economic process of the Kadambas is the policy of agrarian expansion in the territory. Agrarian expansion resulted in the generation of agrarian surplus in which the *brahmanas* and religious institutions played a significant role. B D Chattopadhyaya mentions that the economic progress of a state begins with the horizontal spread of rural agrarian settlements<sup>192</sup>. The records of Goa Kadambas are inclusive of several instances of land grants given to *brahmanas* individually and in groups. Romila Thapar states<sup>193</sup> that the inclusion of virgin land including *khajjana* land, forest area or any wasteland, into agriculture, results in the expansion of agrarian economy. The Panjim plates of Jayakesi I of 1059 AD name three *khajjana* lands<sup>194</sup> that were donated as rent-free holdings to the *Brahmanas*. The copper-plate grant of Kadamba Tribhuvanmalla also mentions *khajjanaka* in relation to gift of land to some *brahmana*. The evidences appropriate to the argument that the state intended to bring the wasteland under cultivation, thereby expanding the agrarian economy. The lands gifted were to be utilized for agrarian purpose and the surplus would serve in adding to the resources of the *brahmanas* and the institutions they were attached to. Another point of significance is that the *brahmanas* were the managers and organisers of production not only in the *brahmadeyas*, but also for the land-owning peasants in non-*brahmadeya* settlements<sup>195</sup>. This was mostly owing to their specialized knowledge of astronomy, on the basis of which they introduced an element of prediction in yields on the basis of seasonal sowing and cropping patterns, as well as effective management of water resources. This aspect presents the indispensable status of the *brahmanas* in state.

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<sup>189</sup> Y Subbarayalu, *South India Under the Cholas*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2014.

<sup>190</sup> Y Subbarayalu, *South India Under the Cholas*, p. 219.

<sup>191</sup> Y Subbarayalu, *South India under the Cholas*, p. 220.

<sup>192</sup> B D Chattopadhyaya, The Political Processes and Structure of Polity in Early Medieval, in Hermann Kulke, *The State in India, 1000-1700*, p. 213.

<sup>193</sup> Romila Thapar, Regional History with reference to the Konkan, *Cultural Pasts*, p. 251.

<sup>194</sup> For details see Panjim Plates of Jayakesi I, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 33, pp.50- 54.

<sup>195</sup> Champakalakshmi, *Trade, Ideology and Urbanisation*, pp. 39-40

In addition to the donations of lands, villages to the *brahmanas*, the rulers made provision of irrigation facilities as well that aided in agrarian expansion. The irrigation facilities provided were in the form of tanks, lakes, rivers and wells that find mention in the records of land grants. Provisions were made for the maintenance of the tanks as well. The tanks served the purposes of water libations to the worshipped deity as well as for the irrigation of the associated agricultural lands. Narendra Inscription of Mallikarjuna temple<sup>196</sup>, Gopaka Copper plates of Guhalladeva III<sup>197</sup>, Mugad Stone Inscription of Guhalladeva III<sup>198</sup>, Mugad Stone Inscription (undated)<sup>199</sup> are some of the examples where the records mention the construction and maintenance of tanks associated with the temples.

The trade and commerce of Kadamba state were in full bloom which can be assessed by the mentions of inland as well as sea-borne foreign trade in the charters of Goa Kadambas. Narendra Inscription of Mallikarjuna temple<sup>200</sup> of the time of Jayakesi II presents a perfect image of the flourishing economy since the time of Shashthadeva I in the Kadamba state. The prosperity has been depicted by the words stated earlier. It also states that Shashthadeva I built a line of ships starting from his dominion and stretching up to Lanka. The large extent of ships mentioned indicate flourishing trade and also the presence of a naval force of the state. This statement is supported by the Panaji copper plates that mention that Jayakesi I had great sway over the seas and was an expert in the naval warfare<sup>201</sup>. The same inscription mentions about *tula-purusha* donations to *brahmanas* by Jayakesideva I. *Tula-purusha* is the donation of gold in weight, equal to the weight of the donor. Such kind of donations are possible by states only when state is earning enough revenues and the economy is plummeting.

The Goa charter of Jayakesideva I issued from Goapakapattana<sup>202</sup> projects the commercial prosperity of the state. The charter mentions that Guhalladeva was helped by a rich Arab merchant, Madhumad while he was on his way to Somanath. The presence of Arab merchant supports the

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<sup>196</sup> Narendra Inscription of Mallikarjuna Temple, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 13, pp. 298-316.

<sup>197</sup> Gopaka plates of Guhalladeva III, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 30, pp. 71-77.

<sup>198</sup> Mugad Stone Inscription of Guhalladeva III, *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. 11, pp. 231-236.

<sup>199</sup> Mugad Stone Inscription (undated), *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol 11, pp. 264, 265.

<sup>200</sup> Narendra Inscription of Mallikarjuna Temple, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 13, pp. 298-316.

<sup>201</sup> Panaji copper plates, Kadamb, *Sources of History of the Kadambas of Goa*, pp.107-133.

<sup>202</sup> Gopakapattana had developed as a port for maritime trade during the Goa Kadamba period, See Alvita Mary D'Souza, 'Reconstructing the Urban Maritime History of Goa: A Study of the Port Capitals of Chandrapur, Gopakapattana and Ella', *Unpublished PhD Thesis*, 2007, p. 230.

earlier argument that the western coastal region of Goa was active center of foreign trade. His grandson was an able minister in the administration of Jayakesideva. He built a *mijiguti* near the port and it functioned as the house of taxes for the ships and commercial vessels arriving and departing from the port. Taxation system was devised with the consent of all businessmen and traders. The taxes were to be paid in form of *gadyankas* and *drachams*<sup>203</sup>. Apart from currency, the vessels carrying consumables, had to pay in measures of commodities. It mentions that trade was conducted within the Indian sub-continent as well as with fourteen foreign countries<sup>204</sup>. The construction of a *mandapika* by Shashthadeva II<sup>205</sup> at the port of Gandevi in Gujarat speaks volumes about the prowess of the Kadamba dynasty. Planting of a stone inscription at Gandevi in Gujarat can be compared to the placing of the pillar edicts of Mauryan king Asoka at places much distant from his core territory. Apart from the trading point of view, the stone inscription served the purpose of legitimation through the decree of market construction. It also suggests about the interest of king in expansion of trade with more nations from the concerned port. Apart from trade, the process can be understood as a part of strategy of gaining loyalty from the people of his kingdom as well as that of far-away land. A similar action was undertaken by Shashthadeva II at the time of his marriages. He made donations<sup>206</sup> of villages to provide for the burning of incense at the temple of Somanath at low prices for the common people.

The flourishing trade and commerce of the Goa Kadambas can be estimated from the Maanagundi inscription of Jayakeshideva III<sup>207</sup> that describes the Goddess of the city of Manigundage to be having strands of *lapis lazuli* for her hair. Such mentions clarify the point that the entire state of the Kadambas was well under the influence of prosperity and urbanism. The proponents of 'Indian-Feudalism'<sup>208</sup> like R S Sharma and others, argue that the system of land-grants was fabricated due to the decline in money economy. It is suggested that the trade and commerce declined, which gave way to self-sufficient villages, de-monetisation and de-urbanisation. It also suggests that land grants were formulated to substitute for cash remuneration. However, the charters of the Goa Kadambas present a completely different picture. The lands gifted to the religious institutions were

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<sup>203</sup> *Gadyankas* and *drachams* were gold coins prevalent in the Kadamba state.

<sup>204</sup> For details see Gandevi Inscription, *O Oriente Portugues*, No.22, pp.386-398.

<sup>205</sup> Gandevi Inscription, *Important inscriptions of Baroda State*, Vol I, pp.64-71.

<sup>206</sup> Narendra Inscription of Mallikarjuna temple, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 13, pp.298-316.

<sup>207</sup> G M Moraes, Maanagundi (B) Inscription, *KadambaKula*, pp.418-427; B R Gopal, *Karnataka Inscriptions*, Vol 5, pp. 250-257, 259-261.

<sup>208</sup> See Yogender Dayma, Economic Processes in the Early Kadamba State, *PIHC*, Vol 67, pp. 118-127.

valued against gold coins. The popularity of land-grants are evident along with the blooming trade and commerce during the rule of Goa Kadambas. The evidences cited earlier make the argument clearer. The money economy was continuing unaffected as is shown by the popular use of Kadamba Coins<sup>209</sup>. The tax-system of Goa Kadambas included the payment of taxes in the form of *gadyankas* and *drachamas*. Pius Malekandathil informs that Chandrapura was a busy port from eighth century AD onwards and continued in the period of Goa Kadambas, which is evident from the Jewish letters of Cairo Genizza<sup>210</sup>. He states that the trade at Chandrapura from the Arab countries and the Jewish merchants was so extensive that the city was appeared on the famous catalan map of Majorcan Jew named Abraham Cresques in 1375 for King Charles V of France<sup>211</sup>. The extensive details of trade and commerce are the evidences that prove that the Kadamba state were not a feudal economy, rather were a developed state economy that functioned substantially<sup>212</sup>.

Taxes amounted to a big share of the state revenue. The presence of taxation system is attested in the land-grant charters itself that mention that the gifted lands were free from all kinds of taxes. Further, the Goa charter of Jayakesideva define the taxes levied on the traders that arrived and departed from the port of Gopakapattana. It also mentions that the property of the heirless families, on the event of the death of the owners, shall be confiscated by the *mijiguti* that functioned like a port-trust. Similar process is evident in the Gaadivore grant of Shashthadeva III<sup>213</sup>. The record mentions the gift of village Gaadivore situated in Palasige-12000 along with several other privileges like *nidhi* meaning treasure troves, *nikshepa* meaning deposits, *danda* and *dosha* meaning fine, *aputrika* meaning property of the childless, *sulka* meaning tolls, *kara*<sup>214</sup> meaning major taxes and *upakara* meaning minor taxes<sup>215</sup>. Taxes were also levied on the products produced for common consumption like oil, agricultural products, root-camphor, use of public-conveniences like roads and bridges, betel, areca-nut and other plantations, crafts production among others.

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<sup>209</sup> The coins like *drachamas*, *gadyankas*, *nishkas* and *Padma-tanka coins* find mention in several inscriptions of Goa Kadambas. For details see, R N Gurav, *The Kadambas of Goa and their Inscriptions, Unpublished Thesis*, Karnataka University; Also see B D Chattopadhyaya, *Coins and Currency Systems in South India, 600-1300*, pp. 38-43.

<sup>210</sup> Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India-Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, pp. 24-25.

<sup>211</sup> Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India-Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, p. 25.

<sup>212</sup> Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India-Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, p. 25.

<sup>213</sup> G S Gai, Gaadivore grant of Shashthadeva III, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 34, pp. 105-110.

<sup>214</sup> D C Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, pp. 144-145.

<sup>215</sup> D C Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 352.

Maanagundi Inscription<sup>216</sup> mentions the name of two tax-officers who made remission of *taila-sarige* and tax on oil-mill situated in the sites of temples at Maanagundi.

State's trade and commerce was controlled with the help of several *shrenis* or guilds. The Golihalli inscription<sup>217</sup> mentions the *aruvattokkalus*<sup>218</sup> which is probably a corporate body of sixty agriculturists in the village, town or city. It is mentioned along with several other bodies of merchants like the thirty-six travelling merchants, some protected merchants, guild of oil merchants, guild of basket weavers along with few others. It also mentions that the merchants of a village were headed by one merchant which makes the existence of guilds self-evident. The inscription mentions that a measure of oil per oil mill in the village to be devoted for burning of lamp in the temple. The Maanagundi inscription<sup>219</sup> mentions a guild of oil-men consisting of fifty families, belonging to another village, who donated little amount of oil in the service of Jain temple. It also mentions a guild of betel- leaf traders who donate a measure of betel leaves for every truck load to the city Jain temple. Guilds like *Tambuliga-setti-sasirvaru*<sup>220</sup>, *the Ayyavole Five-hundred*<sup>221</sup>, *gavaregaru*<sup>222</sup> find mention in the records of Goa Kadambas. The *hanjamana* guild was active on the coastal areas ranging from Kerala to the territory of the Rashtrakutas. Known as *Anjuvanam* in the records of Chera Kings from Kerala<sup>223</sup>, it was a body of traders from West Asia including Arabs, Persians and people of other religions as well. It is possible that this trade guild was active in the region of Goa under the Goa Kadambas as well. Apart from these other associations of traders of building construction material, ship-building, iron- workers, cloth traders, spices and condiments, flowers, agricultural products among several others must have

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<sup>216</sup> Maanagundi Inscription, *Karnataka Inscriptions*, Vol 5, pp.248-250

<sup>217</sup> J F Fleet, Golihalli Inscription, *Inscriptions relating to Kadamba Kings of Goa, Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol 9, 296-303.

<sup>218</sup> R N Gurav, Goa Kadambas and their Inscriptions, *Unpublished PhD Thesis*, Karanataka University, Dharwar, p. 408.

<sup>219</sup> G M Moraes, Maanagundi (B) Inscription, *Kadambakulala*, pp. 418-427

<sup>220</sup> It refers to an association of traders in betel-nuts and other associated items used for eating betel-leaves, Gurav, Goa Kadambas and their Inscriptions, p. 475.

<sup>221</sup> It refers to an association which along with other bodies granted a visa for *honnu*. It appears in Golihalli inscription and Siddapur Inscription.

<sup>222</sup> It refers to a guild of basket-weavers and mat-makers, appears in Golihalli inscription, J F Fleet, Golihalli Inscription, *Inscriptions relating to Kadamba Kings of Goa, Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol 9, 296-303.

<sup>223</sup> Y.Subbarayalu, Trade Guilds of South India up to the tenth century, *Studies in People's History*, Vol 2, No. 1 (2015): 21-26

existed in all probability. Interestingly, the traders associations are also seeking validation by giving donations and grants to the religious institutions<sup>224</sup>.

The records point towards the existence of commercially active and organized towns titled as *pattinams* or *pattanas*, called as trade enclaves that were located near the coast<sup>225</sup>. In the later records of Goa Kadamba, the capital is named as Gopakapattana which was a famous port and developed to the extent that an institution that functioned like the port trust was created, in order to manage its functions. The city is also described to be a prosperous dwelling of the people where the streets were always full of people. The Huppavalli inscription<sup>226</sup> mentions the presence of four *pattanas* namely Dharwar, Narendrapura<sup>227</sup>, Tadakodu and Ammeyabhavi, located in Halasige-twelve thousand, the thousand, and the five hundred-and-four. In addition to being a commercial and trade center, these places are also credited with being a center of education in the form of *agraharas*<sup>228</sup>. It is indicative of the towns developing much more than just a commercial center. The *agraharas* were centers for higher education where the number of residing Mahajans ranged from two hundred to four hundred<sup>229</sup>. Maanagundi (B) Inscription<sup>230</sup> also mentions *pattanigas* and *settis* from four *pattanas* who register a gift of money out of the income of betel-leaves. In the light of mentioned facts, the kingdom of Goa Kadambas may be assessed to have developed from an agrarian society to a commercially developed society where money was used as an exchange medium not only in long-distance trades, but also in the payment of taxes, trading of goods as well as making donations to religious institutions. The Goa Charter of Jayakesideva I<sup>231</sup> describes the tax-structure that was imposed in the state on the ships, commercial as well as non-commercial, and other merchandise. It mentions that the ships that arrived from countries other than the countries specified in the record<sup>232</sup>, will have to pay two Gadyanakas. The commercial ships arriving from Malaya will have to pay one Gadyaanka for each trip and five drachmas for a local

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<sup>224</sup> R Champakalakshmi, *Trade, Ideology and Urbanisation*, pp.44-45.

<sup>225</sup> R Champakalakshmi, *Trade, Ideology and Urbanisation*, p.28.

<sup>226</sup> Huppavalli Inscription, *Karnataka Inscriptions*, Vol 5, pp. 246-248.

<sup>227</sup> Narendrapura is known by the modern name of Kundur near Dharwar in Karnataka

<sup>228</sup> There is reference to a mahaagrahaara at Huppavalli, an *agrahara* at Kundur-nadu (the ancient name of Narendra) in the records of Goa Kadambas.

<sup>229</sup> Lionel D Barnett, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 13, pp. 57, 337.

<sup>230</sup> *Karnataka Inscriptions*, Vol 5, pp. 250-257 and 259-261.

<sup>231</sup> P Pissurlencar, Goa Charter of Jayakesideva I, *O Oriente Portugues*, No. 22, pp. 386-395.

<sup>232</sup> The list included Simhala, Zangavar, Kalah, Pandya, Kerala, Chouda, Ganda, Khyata, Gurjara, Laata, Puxta, Sri Sthanaka and Chandrapur, Goa Charter of Jayakesideva I, *O Oriente Portugues*, pp. 386-395.

ship. Other taxes also had to be paid in the currencies of Gadyaankas and drachamas. Other than the currencies, boats carrying consumable goods were supposed to pay in measures of goods. The dealers of Gold and Silver had to pay Gadyanaka as tax. In case of purchase and sale of residential properties, other properties and slaves, the tax had to be paid by the seller as well as the buyer in the form of dramo. The sale of commercial boats and transfer of goods from one ship to another also ensued taxes from the merchants<sup>233</sup>.

The interaction between traders of distant as well as nearby regions created an interface between the regional and trans-regional processes. Through the medium of trade, the cultural synthesis among varied cultures also occurred invariably<sup>234</sup>. Pius Malekandathil informs about the extensive maritime trade activities that continued under the Goa Kadambas that involved the Arab merchants along with the regional and trans-regional merchants of India<sup>235</sup>. In such circumstances, the society meets the economy and impacts each other. Scholars have argued<sup>236</sup> that the institutions of *brahmadeya* and *nagaram*<sup>237</sup> that were used as interdependent agents of political synthesis have brought the *nadus* together in a system of unified political organization and economic exchange. Though the study was based on the Cholas, it appears to be true in the case of Goa Kadambas as well. Subbarayalu states that *nagaram* constituted the merchantile villages in the Chola state<sup>238</sup> and *sabha* was the corporate body of *brahmana* villages<sup>239</sup>. In the case of Goa Kadambas, the merchantile villages were called the *pattanas*<sup>240</sup>, which contributed towards the development of state. The members of the trading associations gave grants for the construction and maintenance of temples as well as educational institutions.

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<sup>233</sup> P Pissurlencar, Goa Charter of Jayakesideva I, *O Oriente Portugues*, No. 22, pp. 386-395.

<sup>234</sup> B P Sahu, *Legitimation, Ideology and State in Early India, Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Ancient India, Vol 64, 2003, pp. 44-76.

<sup>235</sup> Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India-Trade, Religion and Politics in the Indian Ocean*, pp. 25-27.

<sup>236</sup> R Champakalakshmi, *Trade, Ideology and Urbanisation*, p. 45

<sup>237</sup> *Nagaram* has been defined as the market or commercial center, for details see Champakalakshmi, *Trade, Ideology and Urbanisation*. Also see Y Subbarayalu, *South India Under the Cholas*, p. 124.

<sup>238</sup> Y Subbarayalu, *South India Under the Cholas*, p. 124.

<sup>239</sup> Y Subbarayalu, *South India Under the Cholas*, p. 138.

<sup>240</sup> See Alvita Mary D'Souza, 'Reconstructing the Urban Maritime History of Goa: A Study of the Port Capitals of Chandrapur, Gopakapattana and Ella', *Unpublished PhD Thesis*, 2007, p.233.



## POLITICAL PROCESSES OF GOA KADAMBAS

The geographical territory of Goa Kadamba house<sup>241</sup> extended from Kavadivipa in the north of Goa including Thane, to North Kanara region, Konkan-900, Palasige-12000 (present Khanapur, Chikodi, Sampagaon talukas of Belagavi district), Unkal-30, Shabi-30 (part of Dharwar and Hubli talukas), Kontkulli-30, Hangal-500, Utsugrame and Kadaravalli-30, Palagunde-30, Velugrame-70 (present Belagavi), Haive-500 (part of North Kanara) and Kavadivipa- Savalakha. Ancient Chandrapura, present day Chandor in Goa was initially the capital of the Goa Kadambas. This center served as the nuclear region not only to Kadambas, but was the base for all the prior dynasties that held control over *Konkan-900*. In the recorded history of Goa, The Bhojas had Chandrapura as their capital. The travelogues of Arab travelers mention it as the prosperous port of *Sandabur* which has been identified by historians as Chandrapura. It was probably the resource potential of the place that made it the choice for establishing dynasties. The Konkan Mauryas and the Shilaharas also continued their rule through the urban center of Chandrapura. Alvita Mary D'souza mentions that the Chandrapura port had a market place where traders from three villages namely Chandor, Cavorim and Giridolim gathered<sup>242</sup>. It indicates that the region in and around Chandrapura was being utilized by the successive states to impose their sovereignty in the region. It is one of the possible causes of its choice by the Goa Kadambas as their capital. In the later period of Goa Kadamba rule, the state underwent a surge in the trade and commerce, which is evident through the tax structure that was imposed on merchants and merchandise. The naval military strength of the Goa Kadambas also grew substantially. It is evident through the mention of naval fleet in various records of Goa Kadambas. It is probable that as the port requirements of the state increased, they shifted their capital from Chandrapura to Gopakapattana that was a port on river Zuari<sup>243</sup>.

Prior to the advent of Kadambas in Goa, the society was a part of pre-state polity, which is evident through the records of the earlier rulers of Konkan, namely, Bhojas, Konkan Mauryas and Goa Shilaharas. At the time of advent of the Goa Kadambas, a major changeover had taken place in the

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<sup>241</sup> Narendra Inscription, B, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 13, pp.316-326; Gune, *Gazetteer of Goa, Daman and Diu*, Part I, p.105; Kadamb, *Sources of History of The Kadambas of Goa*, pp. 183-218

<sup>242</sup> See Alvita Mary D'Souza, 'Reconstructing the Urban Maritime History of Goa: A Study of the Port Capitals of Chandrapur, Gopakapattana and Ella', *Unpublished PhD Thesis*, 2007, p.234.

<sup>243</sup> See Alvita Mary D'Souza, 'Reconstructing the Urban Maritime History of Goa: A Study of the Port Capitals of Chandrapur, Gopakapattana and Ella', *Unpublished PhD Thesis*, 2007, p.237.

political scenario of Southern India. The Rashtrakutas were overthrown by the Chalukyas and as a result, the territories of the Rashtrakutas went under the control of the Chalukyas. The Shilaharas were removed from their territories by the emerging Kadambas. The records of the Goa Kadambas mention the kings to be the *Mahamandaleswara* meaning the feudatory rulers of the Chalukyas. The claim is substantiated by the records of the Chalukyas<sup>244</sup> that mention the Kadamba rulers as their subordinates. However, the subordination of Kadambas can be called only a 'symbolic subjugation' as several inscriptions<sup>245</sup> omit the mention of '*mahamandaleswara*' and directly mention the name of the king from 1038 AD onwards. The Kanakur inscription of Jayakesideva II<sup>246</sup>, belonging to 1104 AD mentions him as *Konkanadhipati* meaning the emperor of Konkan. The inscriptions of 1119 AD<sup>247</sup> and 1122 AD<sup>248</sup> mention Jayakesideva II as *Konkana Chakravarti*. The Golihalli inscription<sup>249</sup> of Shivachitta-Permadideva mention him with the titles of *Mahamaheswara*, *Paschimsamudradhiswara*<sup>250</sup> and *Konkana Chakravarti*. The title of *mahamaheswara* signifies independent rule of the monarch. The inscription also mention a certain *dandanayaka* who makes a grant in the favour of a temple. The Maanagundi stone inscription<sup>251</sup> of 1216 AD mentions Jayakeshideva III as *Konkana Chakravarti*. The Kittur inscription<sup>252</sup> mentions him with the titles of *Mahamaheswara* and *Raayalalaatta*. It is interesting to note that none of the Goa Kadamba records eulogize their overlords. This is indicative of the fact that Goa Kadambas were ever trying to declare themselves as independent rulers and presented only symbolic subjugation to the Western Chalukyas. The power of the Western Chalukyas also diminished by the end of twelfth century AD<sup>253</sup>, which gave opportunity to the Goa Kadambas to become independent state society. It shows that the Goa Kadambas had developed from an early state polity to a self-sufficient state society.

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<sup>244</sup> Hulgar inscription of Vikramaditya VI, Prince of Wales museum inscription and Shiggaon inscription of Tribhuvanamalla Vikramaditya VI, in *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. 9, Introductions

<sup>245</sup> Savai-Verem plates of Guhalladeva, belonging to 1038 AD, Gandevi Inscription of Jayakesideva I, 1042 AD, Goa Charter of Jayakesideva I of 1053 AD, Gudikatti Inscription of 1052-53 AD are some of the inscriptions where the king is mentioned sans the title of feudatory king.

<sup>246</sup> *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol 11, pp. 192-194

<sup>247</sup> *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol 11, Introduction; *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I, part ii, p. 568.

<sup>248</sup> *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol 11, Introduction; *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I, part ii, p. 568.

<sup>249</sup> J F Fleet, *Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol 9, *Inscriptions relating to Kadamba Kings of Goa*, pp. 263, 296-303.

<sup>250</sup> The epithet means 'the lord of the Western Ocean'

<sup>251</sup> G M Moraes, *KadambaKula*, pp. 404-417; B R Gopal, *Karnataka Inscriptions*, Vol 5, pp. 248-250.

<sup>252</sup> J F Fleet, *Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol 9, pp. 304-309

<sup>253</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I, Part ii, pp. 223-224.

In the interest of declaring themselves independent monarchs, the kings sought the support of other rulers. They adopted the strategy of matrimonial alliances with the kings of other dynasties in order to gain their support. The Narendra inscription mentions<sup>254</sup> that Shashthadeva II sailed with great pomp and show on a pilgrimage to Somanath and received in marriage a daughter of the ruler of Thanneya. A Sanskrit compilation *Dviashraya*<sup>255</sup> mentions that the daughter of Jayakesi I was married to a Solanki king of Anahilwada in Gujarat. The daughter of Chalukya king Vikramaditya VI, Mailadevi was married to Kadamba king Jayakesideva II<sup>256</sup>. Permadi-Deva took for his wife Kamaladevi who is described<sup>257</sup> as the daughter of a king named Kamadeva. His wife belonged to the Pandyan race, probably the daughter of Raya-Pandya<sup>258</sup>. The matrimonial alliances gained support for the reigning kings and would have been helpful in the establishment of an independent kingdom as well as in the enhancement of their status. Such alliances also ensured no further encroachment upon the territory of the Kadambas by the respective kingdoms.

The Goa Kadambas gradually expanded their kingdom through matrimonial alliances, integration of local feudatories as well as by capturing rival kingdoms through wars, who refused to accept their sovereignty. The Panjanakhani inscription mentions that the *dharmamantri* of Panjanakhani successfully defended the city of Chandrapur and defeated a local chieftain. The same record mentions that Jayakesi I conquered the Aalupas, Shilahara ruler of North Konkan and the Laata ruler. All these rulers happen to rule on the west coast itself and that they were subdued by Goa Kadambas, satisfies their claim of him being the lord of the west. Additionally, the records<sup>259</sup> mention that Shashthadeva II claimed tribute from the sea-ports of Simbualla, Seylla and Megha. Raia stone inscription<sup>260</sup> states that a certain Kamadeva was annihilated by Jayakesideva I and as a result, Gokarn, also called Haive –five hundred was added to his territory. The Marcella plates<sup>261</sup> mention that Guhalladeva defeated several kings from seven Malayas and made them feudatories.

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<sup>254</sup> Moraes, *KadambaKula*, p. 175; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 13, pp. 298-316; Kadamb, *Sources of History of the Kadambas of Goa*, pp.183-204

<sup>255</sup> For details see the beginning of this chapter.

<sup>256</sup> Lionel D Barnett, Narendra Inscription of Mallikarjuna temple, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 13, pp. 298-316.

<sup>257</sup> J F Fleet, Degamve Inscription of 1174 AD, *Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol 9, pp. 261-271, 272-277.

<sup>258</sup> G M Moraes, *KadambaKula*, p.199.

<sup>259</sup> P Pissurlencar, Goa Charter of Jayakesideva, *O Oriente Portugues*, No. 22, pp. 386-395; A S Gadre, Gandevi Inscription, *Important Inscriptions of Baroda State*, Vol 1, pp.64-71.

<sup>260</sup> G M Moraes, Raia Stone Inscription, *KadambaKula*, p. 401.

<sup>261</sup> G M Moraes, *KadambaKula*, pp. 387-393.

It also states that he was an ally of the kings reigning in territories extending up to the western sea. This stipulates that he probably subdued the rulers and made them his feudatories, thereby extending his kingdom's territory. The Alnavar stone Inscription<sup>262</sup> of 1081-82 AD mentions that at the beginning of the reign of Guhalladeva III, his territory consisted of Konkan-nine hundred, Palasige- twelve thousand, Kundur- five hundred, Unkal- thirty, Sabbi- thirty, Haive- five hundred, Utsugram- thirty, Kaadarvalli- thirty, Kontakulli- thirty and Kavadiidvipa- one lakh twenty five thousand. The inscription of 1119 AD and 1122 AD, belonging to Jayakesideva II mentions the addition of Velugrame- seventy and Haanungal- five hundred to his kingdom. The same record mentions him with the epithet of *Konkana Chakravartin*. It has been mentioned<sup>263</sup> that Shasthadeva II defeated the rulers of Simhala (Goa), Parasika (near Thane or Mumbai) and Kaparikadvipa and got married to the daughter of Northern Shilahara king Mammuri, who was overpowered and reinstated in Kaparikadvipa by him. He remained his loyal feudatory till the life time of Shashthadeva II. When he turned hostile, he was killed by Jayakesi I<sup>264</sup> and Kavadiidvipa was added to his expansive territory. This also paved his way into the Lata kingdom as suggested by one of his records that he killed the pride of the best of Latas<sup>265</sup>. It is probable that the Kadamba kingdom was expanding and the rulers were on the verge of claiming independent status for the kingdom. The power of Chalukyas declined by 1150 AD and they were completely exterminated around 1189 AD<sup>266</sup>. The Kadamba kings probably enjoyed complete independence from the mid-twelfth century.

Jayakesi I is mentioned with the epithet of *Rayapitamah*. The records<sup>267</sup> mention that he earned this title by successfully reconciling the Chalukya and Chola kings at Kanchi, who were hostile to each other. This presents two scenarios wherein on one hand, it becomes evident that being a feudatory of the Chalukyas, Jayakesi must have lent support to them in their war against Cholas, on the other hand, it is probable that he attempted to assume larger and more respectable status by

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<sup>262</sup> *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol 15, No. 225; V T Gune, *Gazetter of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu*, Part I, p.102.

<sup>263</sup> Lionel D Barnett, Narendra Inscription of Mallikarjuna temple, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 13, pp. 298-316; A S Gadre, Gandevis Inscription, Important Inscriptions of Baroda State, Vol 1, pp.64-71.

<sup>264</sup> G M Moraes, Deganve inscription of Shivachitta, *KadambaKula*, pp. 179-180.

<sup>265</sup> Fleet, op.cit. p. 272 in Moraes, *KadambaKula*, p.180.

<sup>266</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I, part ii, pp.223-224.

<sup>267</sup> Asoge copper plates, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 26, pp. 303-309; J F Fleet, Kirihalsige inscription, *Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol 9, pp. 229-232, 241-246.

acting the councilor between the kingdoms, thereby reconciling their hostilities. Similar political diplomacy is evident from the Goa Charter of Jayakesi I which states that many princes and lords of other ports and of sea-girt islands paid homage to him<sup>268</sup>. This manifests that in the course of territorial expansion, Kadambas integrated local chiefs, which was made possible due to their strong army, high political status and confirmed by matrimonial alliances. This is also suggestive of the establishment of state polity of the Kadambas.

The growth of state administration and military organization symbolized the progress of Kadamba state. There are clear evidences of a developed administrative system in the records of the Kadambas. As per the records, the kingdom was divided into various units of administration, *vishaya*, the provinces or districts, *desa*, the sub-division of districts and *grama* that corresponds to villages. The villages were also differentiated into villages and smaller units of residence called hamlets. The officers were appointed that looked into the administration of the administrative units. The districts were headed by *dandanayaka* who was the civil as well as military head of the unit<sup>269</sup>. For the administration at center, there are mentions of council of ministers of the king, *sandhi-vigrahika*, *rajpurohita* and *rajadhyaksha*. Gopaka copper plates of Guhalladeva III impart information about the administration. It mentions chief priest, prime minister, representatives of towns and rural areas. It also mentions that the composer of the mentioned grant was a *brahmana* poet who also happened to be the royal preceptor. The same inscription records the hereditary offices held by various *brahmanas* namely *pauranika*<sup>270</sup>, astrologer, *dharmadhikari*<sup>271</sup>, *purohita*, *preceptor*, educational instructors and *yajnika-pravare*<sup>272</sup>. The grant of Jayakesi I<sup>273</sup>, describes the state craft or *rajya* as comprising of *Saptangam* or seven limbs, in accordance with the concept of state given in Kautilya's *Arthashastra*<sup>274</sup>. Apart from that there are evidences that indicate that the mahajanas of the agrahaaras were responsible for allocation and collection of taxes in the villages. Panjanakhani inscription refers to a *dharmamantri* of the city of Panajankhani. This shows that there were ministers for the management of religious affairs at center as well as at city level. The

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<sup>268</sup> P Pissurlencar, Goa Charter of Jayakesideva, *O Oriente Portugues*, No. 22, pp. 386-395.

<sup>269</sup> V T Gune, *Gazetter of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu*, Part I, p. 117

<sup>270</sup> It refers to reciter of the puranas.

<sup>271</sup> It refers to superintendent of religious affairs

<sup>272</sup> It refers to specialist in sacrificial lore

<sup>273</sup> *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 13, p. 386.

<sup>274</sup> Arthashastra, the Sanskrit treatise on statecraft mentions that a state comprises of seven limbs, which include king, amatya, janapada, durga, kosa, danda and allies.

*dharmamantri* here seems similar to *dharmamahamatras* appointed by Mauryan king Asoka in order to promote his teachings<sup>275</sup>.

The records of the Kadambas signify presence of a naval as well as armed forces in their kingdom. The Betki inscription records the death of certain Jaya, the Prabhu of Betki and servant of Poshtadeva. He is said to be the gate-keeper (*mahapadiyara*)<sup>276</sup> of the army camp of the crowned king<sup>277</sup>. Panajanakhani inscription also give evidence of the presence of an organized army in the Kadamba state. The presence of an organized army corroborates with fact that the Kadamba rulers used their army in order to subjugate the erring chieftains as well as to conquer new territories. Gandevi inscription speaks about the naval warfare of Shashthadeva II in which he defeated the rulers of Simhalla, Parsika and Kavadidvipa and then arrived at Prabhas with his fleet. The Panjim copper-plates mention that Jayakesi I maintained a substantial naval fleet with the help of which he defeated the rulers of Pandayas, Paramaaras, Cholas, Latas and Pallavas<sup>278</sup>. The Kadamba kings are credited with claiming tribute with the chiefs of several sea-ports and of islands in the sea. A hero stone of the period of king Biravarma of fourteenth century AD, depicts the scene of a naval battle between the forces of Gopakapattana and Honavar<sup>279</sup>. Other than this, there are several other hero-stones, which depict scenes of naval warfare (see figure 4.1). The evidences indicate the development of naval technology in Goa<sup>280</sup>. This ratifies the claim that the Goa Kadambas were possessors of a strong naval fleet.

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<sup>275</sup> K V Ramesh, Four Stone inscriptions from Goa, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 37, pp. 284-287.

<sup>276</sup> K V Ramesh explains that in the title *mahapadiyara*, *padiyara* is the *tadbhava* of the Sanskrit term *pratihara*, which means 'a male door-keeper'. K V Ramesh, 'Four Stone Inscriptions from Goa', *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 37, pp. 287-288.

<sup>277</sup> K V Ramesh, 'Four Stone Inscriptions from Goa', *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 37, pp. 287-288.

<sup>278</sup> Panajim Copper plates, *KadambaKula*, pp. 394-400; Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India: Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, p.24.

<sup>279</sup> Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India- Trade, religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, p. 27.

<sup>280</sup> Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India- Trade, religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, p. 27.



Fig 4.1. A Hero-Stone depicting naval warfare. *Source:* Sculpture displayed at the Archaeological Museum, Old Goa. Photograph taken from Christopher H de Souza, “Craftsmen and Artisans in Goa (AD 1000-1700)”, *Unpublished PhD Thesis*, Goa University, 2020.

In the light of the stated arguments, it can be said that the political processes of the Kadambas of Goa were carried on with the integration of local chiefs, matrimonial alliances, administrative and military arrangements as tools. The understanding of political processes is based on the social and economic processes as an integral part of political process. This leads to make inference about the state society of the kingdom. Depending upon the complex interplay of all the mentioned processes, it can be deduced that the Goa Kadambas progressed into a state society by the end of

eleventh century AD. This refutes the claim of scholars<sup>281</sup> who hesitate in admitting the Goa Kadambas as a state-society and rather prefer to confer it with the title of a feudal polity.

The power of Goa Kadambas started declining around the beginning of thirteenth century which is evident by the claim of the Yadavas of Devagiri over territories that were earlier stated to be a part of Kadamba territory<sup>282</sup>. By the middle of thirteenth century AD, Shashthadeva III ascended the throne of Goa Kadambas, with the help of Kamadeva, who has been identified as his brother-in-law<sup>283</sup>. He was probably the son of LakshmiDeva II who was a Ratta *mahamandaleshwara*<sup>284</sup>. The extent of reign of Shashthadeva III is not known, but it is known that after him, his brother-in-law Kamadeva took the reins of Kadambas in his hands. The last inscription<sup>285</sup> of Shashthadeva III was issued in 1263-64 AD. Moraes has placed his period up to 1260 AD<sup>286</sup>. However, according to the last available inscription, his period of rule may be extended to 1263-64 AD at least. It is possible that he died after a few years and thereafter KamaDeva acceded the throne of Goa Kadambas. Beyond this period, the political situation of Goa went into a condition of turmoil. The reign of KamaDeva saw the resurgence of the Yadavas of Devagiri who held sway over Goa for almost a period of fifty years. In 1238 AD, the Yadava ruler Singhana appointed Bicchana or Vicchana as the governor of Southern provinces and his viceroy over there. He is said to have subdued<sup>287</sup> the Rattas, the Kadambas of Goa, the Guttas, Pandyas, Hoysalas and other chiefs of Southern provinces. In 1260 AD, Yadava ruler Mahadev is said to have destroyed the ruler of Konkan with ease. This ruler has been identified to be Somadeva of Thana Silaharas<sup>288</sup>. The Harihara inscription informs that in 1277 AD, the *mahamandalesvara* and *Maneya-Samantasainyadhipati* of the Yadavas, Saluva Tikkamadeva defeated the Hoyasalas and reinstated the Kadamba king Kamadeva in Goa<sup>289</sup>. The Marathi commentary of *Bhagvad-Gita*, *Dnyaneswari*

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<sup>281</sup> B D Chattopadhyaya, Political processes and the structure of polity, in Kulke, *The State in India, from 1000 AD-1700 AD*, p. 217.

<sup>282</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I, part ii, pp. 243, 245, 246.

<sup>283</sup> G M Moraes, *KadambaKula*, p.208.

<sup>284</sup> G M Moraes, *KadambaKula*, p. 209.

<sup>285</sup> Bankapur Stone Inscription of Shashthadeva III, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 34, p.106; V T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu*, Part I, p.114; Kadamb, *Sources of History of the Kadambas of Goa*, p.432

<sup>286</sup> G M Moraes, *KadambaKula*, p. 210.

<sup>287</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I, part ii, p.243.

<sup>288</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I, part ii, p.247

<sup>289</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I, part ii, p. 529; V T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu*, Part I, pp.114-115.



mentions that Ramachandra reinstated the ancient kingdom of the Kadambas<sup>290</sup>. However, this step was taken to keep the advancement of the Hoysala ruler in the Yadava provinces at bay. In the year 1289 AD, some Krishnadeva is said to have been governing the entire Konkan<sup>291</sup>. This suggests that the region of Goa once again became the peripheral territory of bigger powers and was controlled by their governors and viceroy. Ramachandra was the last independent Hindu monarch of the Deccan<sup>292</sup> of thirteenth century AD. In 1294, Devagiri, the capital city of the Yadavas was invaded by Allah-Ud-Din Khilji, who completely destroyed it and made the ruler pay him annual tribute. This weakened the hold of the Yadavas in South India. Hoysala ruler Vira Ballala III attempted to conquer the Kadamba territories and subdue the Kadamba king. However, he could not be successful and was defeated by the Kadamba king Kamadeva in 1301 AD<sup>293</sup>. The last known inscription of Kamadeva belongs to 1312 AD<sup>294</sup> after which he is not heard of. The capital of Goa Kadambas shifted from Gopakapattana back to the fortified city of Chandrapura<sup>295</sup> after the Muhammadan invasion. A ruler named Biravarma held Gopakapattana in the 1340s<sup>296</sup>. However, Chandrapura was also attacked in 1328 AD by the agents of Delhi Sultans and the ruling Kadamba king might have left the place. A record issued in 1351 AD<sup>297</sup> records the name of eight rulers preceding the rule of BhimaBhupal. They probably were the local chieftains who were ruling in Pernem<sup>298</sup>. The record mentions him as the 'lord of Konkan'. By the middle of fourteenth century, the socio-political prosperity of Goa was overturned and the people left for safer places<sup>299</sup>.

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<sup>290</sup> V T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu*, Part I, p. 115; IA Vol 21, p.51; *Dnyaneswari*, canto 18, 76-58.

<sup>291</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I, part ii, pp.529-530.

<sup>292</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I, part ii, p.248.

<sup>293</sup> V T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu*, Part I, p. 121.

<sup>294</sup> *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol 8, Sa 32.

<sup>295</sup> V T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu*, Part I, p. 123.

<sup>296</sup> Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India-Trade, religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, p. 27.

<sup>297</sup> Corgao copperplate grant of BhimaBhupal in Newsletter, Historical Archives, Archeology Museum, Panaji, Vol I, No.1, pp. 49-54.

<sup>298</sup> V T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu*, Part I, p. 124.

<sup>299</sup> Estimated on account of the fact that Vijaynagar viceroys to Goa reinstated the *brahmanas* at a later period by creating agrahara villages for them in Goa, which shows that they had left the state earlier, V T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu*, Part I, Medieval Rulers.

## POST-KADAMBA GOA- VIJAYANAGAR AND THE BAHAMANIS

The fourteenth century served as the transition period for the state of Goa. The transition being in all aspects, changed the socio-economic as well as political situation and brought about retrogression of the state. The power of the Kadambas diminished and finally faded. The Delhi Sultans were executing raids on the southern part of India and they appointed their governors in order to look after the territories and help extracting tributes. In a similar action, Harihara I was appointed governor by Muhammad Tughlaq incharge of Bellary and a portion of Krishna-Tungabhadra doab<sup>300</sup>. Between the periods of 1327 AD-1344 AD, he held the title of *Purva-Paschima-Samudradhipati* and he held sway over the sea-coast as well. It is probable that he with the help of his brother Bukka laid the foundation of Vijayanagar Empire around 1344 AD<sup>301</sup> with the help of Vidyaranya Swami, identified to be Madhav<sup>302</sup>. His kingdom expanded quickly, due to the anxiousness of the people of the South against the despotic rule of Muslim rulers<sup>303</sup>.

Goa became a part of the Vijayanagar Empire by 1359 AD as is suggested by the record of Bukka I<sup>304</sup> and remained so till the year 1367 AD when the Muhammadans marched against the Vijayanagara rulers and captured it<sup>305</sup>. Though the Vijayanagar Empire was initiated earlier, the consolidation of the empire could happen only around 1378 AD-1379 AD as there were several wars between the Muhammadan kings of Gulbarga and the Vijayanagara rulers<sup>306</sup>. Goa was also occupied by the armies of the Bahamani sultan of Gulbarga, 1356 AD onwards and there was a constant struggle between the two parties to hold the territory on the West coast. It was called a permanent possession of the Vijayanagara Empire only from 1380 AD onwards. Under the sovereignty of Bukkaraya I, the Empire was divided into several *rajyas* out of which Goa was the part<sup>307</sup> and capital of the *rajya* Aragagutti<sup>308</sup>. Prior to gaining complete sovereignty over the Konkan region, the Vijayanagar rulers had to face the rebellion of the continuing Kadamba rulers

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<sup>300</sup> Sherwani, *Bahmanis of the Deccan*, p. 23.

<sup>301</sup> Robert Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, Introduction, p. 5.

<sup>302</sup> V T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu*, Part I, p. 124.

<sup>303</sup> Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 27.

<sup>304</sup> Robert Sewell, *Historical Inscriptions of South India*, p. 194.

<sup>305</sup> Robert Sewell, *Historical Inscriptions of South India*, p. 198; V T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu*, Part I, pp. 126-127.

<sup>306</sup> For details see Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*

<sup>307</sup> Also known as Maleha *rajya*, it comprised Banawasi, Chandragutti and Goa, K A N Sastri, *History of South India*, p. 256.

<sup>308</sup> KAN Sastri, *History of South India*, p. 256

of Goa in 1379 AD<sup>309</sup>. The Kadambas rebelled against the rule of the Vijayanagar kings represented by their minister Madhav in their land, in order to gain independent status. However, the rebellion was crushed by the son of Madhav, Bachappa who is said to have plundered Kadambapura and made the people submit to him. This earned him the titles of *Sapta Konkana Dhuli patta*, *Konkana pratishthith Acharya*, as well as that of *Kadambapura jana pratipalika*<sup>310</sup>.

The first family of the Vijayanagar kings continued to hold sway over Goa undisturbed till around the middle of fifteenth century. Being the adherents of Hindu faith, the records of the rulers are found to be in Sanskrit language as well as in Kannada and Telugu. Although the rulers supported the cause of Sanskrit education, their records incorporated the Muhammadan style of titles too for themselves. The records<sup>311</sup> introduce the kings with the title of *Hinduraya Suratrana* which means *Sultan* of the hindu kings. This title is said to be of Vijayanagara origin<sup>312</sup>. There is another instance where a record<sup>313</sup> mentions the son of Bukka, Bhaskara with the title of *Bhavadur* that evidently refers to a title borrowed by Muhammadan *bahadur*. As pointed out by B D Chattopadhyaya, by adopting the Muhammadan titles, the rulers tried to establish sovereignty among the Hindu rulers<sup>314</sup>. Though the title represented the rivals of the Vijayanagara rulers, they used it to validate their authority in the region. During the initial period, the relationship of Vijayanagar with Goa was mainly related to social and religious matters. Madhav, the first general of Vijayanagar at Goa restored the Saptakoteshwar temple of the Kadambas and established the deity once again in it. He reinstated several *brahmanas*, who had left their homes due to the brutality of the Muslim invaders, by creating *agraharas* or *brahmapuris* in Kochre village of Sawantawadi where Karhade brahmanas were re-established, twelve Rigvedi brahmanas in Tiswadi taluka of Goa naming it Machalapura<sup>315</sup> and the likes. Being a scholar himself, he must have paid attention towards education of people. His successors were also *brahmanas*, who were well learned and also promoted learning. With their abilities, the *rajya* Goa Gutti was expanded in all directions. A Jain *basadi* was also established at Bandiwadi (Ponda) and a grant of two villages

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<sup>309</sup> *Epigraphia Indica* Vol 15, p. 12.

<sup>310</sup> *Epigraphia Indica* Vol 15, p. 12.

<sup>311</sup> Inscription of Harihara I, 1354 AD, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol 8, Sb 104.

<sup>312</sup> B D Chattopadhyaya, *Representing the Other? Sanskrit Sources and The Muslims (8<sup>th</sup>- 14<sup>th</sup> Century)*, New Delhi, Manohar Publishers, 1998, p.54.

<sup>313</sup> *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 14, p.97.

<sup>314</sup> B D Chattopadhyaya, *Representing the Other? Sanskrit Sources and The Muslims (8<sup>th</sup>- 14<sup>th</sup> Century)*, p. 54.

<sup>315</sup> V T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu*, Part I, p.128.

was given to them. The region was controlled by the Vijayanagar ministers with the help of local administrators who were appointed in the service of the generals. This lets an insight into the learned status of the Vijayanagar rulers. However the sovereignty of the Vijayanagar kings seems to continue only till the middle of fifteenth century as there are no records beyond 1450 AD that mention any names of the rulers. It is probable that the administration of the villages in accordance with village communities continued undisturbed all throughout as it was found existing and functioning on the arrival of Portuguese in Goa. The Portuguese records attest similar findings. After the downfall of Vijayanagara control over Goa, the region was headed by the local cheftains, the Naiks of Goa and continued till the establishment of Bijapur sultanate<sup>316</sup>.

The control over Goa Gutti kingdom by the Vijayanagar kings was strategic for trade and commerce. Most importantly, the rulers obtained Arabic horses for their cavalry from Goa. The control over Goa region was significant also to prevent the Muslim dynasties of the Deccan from obtaining the supply of horses. The economic prosperity of the empire can be attributed to its impetus on commerce, trade, industry, craft and agriculture. The kingdom's prosperity can be estimated on account of its rich archaeological remains. The importance of the ownership of the land of Goa lies in the fact that the sea-ports were significant for Vijayanagar's trade and especially for the import of horses from Ormuz. The carvings of Arabs with horses and that of use of horses in the warfare of Vijayanagar kings, on the archaeological remains bear testimony to the horse trade<sup>317</sup> (see figure 4.2).

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<sup>316</sup> V T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu*, Part I, p.128.

<sup>317</sup> The view is based on field trip to the territories of Vijayanagar Empire in Karnataka



Fig 4.2. Vijayanagara Archaeological remains at Hampi with Sculptures of Horses and Arabs.  
*Source:* Photograph by the Author.

Trade via sea-ports was the main reason of conflict among various dynasties so as to hold sway over the region and continue trade and commerce with foreign lands as it significantly affected the revenue of the state. Chandrapura, Gopakapattana and Ella were the main ports from where the sea-trade was carried out<sup>318</sup>. Due to the silting of river Zuari, the port of Gopakapattana was shifted to the port at Ella in Old Goa on river Mandovi which was deeper and broader and it fast became the emporium of trade and commerce, especially of the horses from Ormuz that were required by

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<sup>318</sup> Alvita Mary D'Souza, *Urban Maritime Trade, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Goa University*, p. 239.

the rulers of Vijayanagar and other kingdoms as well<sup>319</sup>. Pius Malekandathil suggests that the Vijayanagara governors chose the port of Ella and Raibandar over Gopakapattana<sup>320</sup>. He attests the availability of wood for shipbuilding from the forests of Ponda and the proximity of Ella to the main territory of Vijayanagara in Karnataka as the probable reason of the choice. It would help in a faster delivery of horses through the land route<sup>321</sup>. The Vijayanagara coin called *pratap* or *pagoda* was used as the new currency at the port<sup>322</sup>. Goa became the most prosperous city on the West coast of India. KAN Sastri mentions that vast tracts of land including Goa, Dabhol and Rachol were lost to the Muslims during the rule of Virupaksha II<sup>323</sup>, who were constantly trying to conquer the trading ports. The importance of these ports can be assessed in the statement of Sastri that when Narsimha ascended the throne of Vijayanagar, he tried to revive the disrupted trade of horses from Ormuz and Aden, on which his army's cavalry depended<sup>324</sup>. The trade had been dislocated owing to the capture of the ports and land of Goa by the Bijapur Sultanate. Therefore, the trade was revived by conquering the Tulu region ports and also by providing to the traders whatever price they demanded. In the meanwhile, Goa transitioned from being the core of a kingdom<sup>325</sup> in the reign of the Kadambas, to being one of the limbs of a vast empire serving the requirement of trade and commerce. Goa was connected to Bankapur through a major highway that served the purpose of bringing in materials of export to the trading ports and carrying inlands the imported materials. The trade and commerce in Vijayanagar Empire was linked to the annual religious festivals that were celebrated with great pomp and show in the state. Festivals like holi, Diwali, mahanavami and dussehra were the major festivals along with local festivals like *jatra* related to the local village deities. The celebration of festivals were the times when the markets were flooded with various commodities. Apart from markets during festivals, there were some permanent markets as well like the *pan-supari bazaar*<sup>326</sup>, market complex in front of Virupaksha temple and other market

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<sup>319</sup> V T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu*, Part I, p.132; Alvita Mary D'Souza, 'Reconstructing the Urban Maritime History of Goa: A Study of the Port Capitals of Chandrapur, Gopakapattana and Ella', *Unpublished PhD Thesis*, Goa University, 2007, p. 239.

<sup>320</sup> Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime Trade, Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, p. 28.

<sup>321</sup> Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime Trade, Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, p. 28.

<sup>322</sup> The coin *pratap* or *pagoda* is the same coin which is referred to as *pardao d'ouro* in the Portuguese sources. Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime Trade, Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, p. 28.

<sup>323</sup> KAN Sastri, *A History of South India*, pp. 262-263.

<sup>324</sup> KAN Sastri, *A History of South India*, p. 264.

<sup>325</sup> It was the capital and nuclear territory of the Kadambas, as discussed earlier in the chapter

<sup>326</sup> *Pan-Supari bazaar* was constructed on the road near the king's palace, near the Hazara Ramaswamy temple.

complexes located near temples. The commodities included everything starting from the agricultural products, gold, silver, jewels, and precious stones, cloth materials, craft articles to animals like horses, elephants, camels, cows and bulls. Traders and businessmen from around the world<sup>327</sup> visited the kingdom and some also wrote accounts of the conditions of the place<sup>328</sup>.

The Bahamanis once again conquered Goa in 1472 AD taking advantage of the disturbed situation of the Vijayanagara administration. Bijapur Sultanate was formed out of the Bahamani Sulatanate, in 1489 AD by Yusuf Adil Khan. The Sultanate comprised Konkan region to the south of Bankot River in Ratnagiri with the capital at Dabhol. An account of 1326 AD suggests that the Muhammadans titled themselves as *Maharaja* even before the Vijayanagar kings took up the title of *Hinduraya Surataala*. This indicates that the foreign invaders attempted to follow the Hindu norms of society by adopting the Hindu titles. A Kannada inscription issued by Muhammad Shah in 1645 AD in Dharwar district, mentions the title of the king as *Sriman Maharajadhiraja, Raja Simhasana Vidyapurirajadhipati Sthirarajyavanaluva Padushaha*<sup>329</sup>. It was an attempt to legitimize their power and authority by using motifs of Sanskrit representation of kings. A stone inscription of 1326 AD described the king as *Maharajadhiraja Sri Suratrana Rajya tatpada padmopa jeevi*<sup>330</sup>. This suggests that the Muhammadan rulers also adopted the cultural measures of gaining legitimacy in a Hindu state. They also adopted the regional language for issuing inscriptions in order to seek legitimacy from the natives of the region. During the period of the Adil Shahi rulers, the trade from the ports of Goa<sup>331</sup> earned high revenue and became famous among the trading community of India and foreign lands<sup>332</sup>. The traders consisted of both Hindu as well as Muslim traders along with foreigners who coexisted. Horses were the most expensive item that were traded at Goa and supplied to the rulers of the South. It is informed that the city of Goa paid an amount of 1,00,000 *pardaos* to Yusuf Adil Shah as taxes on the merchandise that was brought to the port<sup>333</sup>. Other than horses, commodities like betel, areca nuts, calico, fine muslins,

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<sup>327</sup> People from Arab countries, Persia, China, Russia, Portugal among others visited Vijayanagar and wrote accounts of it.

<sup>328</sup> For details see Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*

<sup>329</sup> K G Vasanta Madhav, 'Kannada Sources of the Adil Shahis of Bijapur', *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Vol 39 (1978): 378-384.

<sup>330</sup> Kannada Viswa Vidyalaya Shasana, Vol 8, Basava-Kalyana 13, 1326 AD

<sup>331</sup> Vengurla and the Island of Goa were classified as ports by the rulers, V T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu*, Part I, p. 135.

<sup>332</sup> V T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu*, Part I, p. 136.

<sup>333</sup> Barros, *Da Asia, Decada II*, Livro V, Capitulo II, p. 24, cited in Pius Malekandathil, p. 29.

spices and condiments, gold, silver and jewels were also traded<sup>334</sup>. The Adil Shahi rulers also took interest in expanding agriculture through bringing under cultivation the waste lands as well. According to the description of Goa given by Duarte Barbosa<sup>335</sup>, Goa was a prosperous city under the Muhammadan rulers, with rich merchants, respectable men and foreigners, great Hindu merchants and cultivators. It had good ports where ships from Indian as well as foreign lands flocked for trade. The city had handsome streets surrounded by walls and towers. The administration of the territory and the trade and commerce went on smoothly till the time of Portuguese occupation of Goa in 1510 AD. After the occupation of the Portuguese, the hold of the Bijapur kings on Goa was loosened but they still continued to trade for a few more years. However, after the treaty of Ismail Adil Shah with the Portuguese in 1548 AD, the Bijapur Sultanate completely lost the territory of Goa in favour of the Portuguese<sup>336</sup> that led to major loss to the trade activities of the Sultanate.

By the beginning of the sixteenth century<sup>337</sup>, the Vijayanagar Empire was in the able hands of Krishnadeva Raya who once again strengthened it. However, Goa came under the colonial rule of the Portuguese empire. The occupation of Goa and the naval supremacy over the maritime trade of the West coast, established by the Portuguese in Indian seas, largely affected the trade at the ports of western India that led to the Vijayanagar and Bijapur kings becoming dependent on them for procurement of necessary commodities, out of which the horses were the most important ones<sup>338</sup>. The significance of horse trade can be estimated from the information that in 1292 AD, the price of each horse was around 190 pounds<sup>339</sup>. By the time of Portuguese conquest of Goa, horse was valued at 800 *pardaos* in Ella<sup>340</sup>. An amount of 20 *pardaos* was paid as tax for every horse traded in pre-Portuguese period, while 40 *ducats* was taxed in the second half of sixteenth century AD<sup>341</sup>. The Portuguese gained the monopoly of trade conducted from the ports of Goa and laid claim to negotiate aids from desired rulers in their favour for the condition of providing horses,

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<sup>334</sup> V T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu*, Part I, p. 136.

<sup>335</sup> Fonseca, p. 132; Stanley's Duarte Barbosa, p. 74

<sup>336</sup> D C Verma, *History of Bijapur*, pp. 55-58.

<sup>337</sup> According to historians, Krishnadevaraya ascended the throne of Vijayanagar empire in 1509 AD, KAN Sastri, *A History of South India*, p. 267; Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 110.

<sup>338</sup> J K Sampatrao, *Trade and Commerce in the Adil Shahi Sultanate of Bijapur, 1489 AD- 1686 AD*, *Unpublished PhD Thesis*, Savitri Bai Phule University, Pune, 2015.

<sup>339</sup> Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime Trade, Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, p. 29.

<sup>340</sup> Tome Pires, *The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires*, p. 58.

<sup>341</sup> Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime Trade, Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, p. 29.



thus making profitable political contacts with the powerful states of Deccan<sup>342</sup>. Krishnadeva Raya secured the authority of Vijayanagar once again in entire South India within a span of ten years of reign. He managed obtaining horses for his army through the Portuguese and continued having friendly relations with them. Krishnadeva Raya was succeeded by Achyuta Raya in 1530 AD after his death. The enemies of Vijayanagar who were kept at bay till the rule of Krishnadeva, attacked Vijayanagar taking advantage of the mismanaged state conditions under Achyuta Raya<sup>343</sup>. Trade was also affected and disrupted. However, when Rama Raya acceded the throne in 1547 AD, he was able to obtain the monopoly of horse trade in the South, from Portuguese<sup>344</sup>. The Vijayanagara Empire fell in the battle that ensued in 1565 AD and was plundered by the Muhammadan kings who joined hands against the Hindu king and led to its destruction<sup>345</sup>. With the fall of Vijayanagar Empire, the prosperity of the Portuguese trade also fell as the Vijayanagara was the largest consumer of horses in South India.

#### **PORTUGUESE PERIOD: 1510-1565**

The Portuguese strengthened their hold on Goa and slowly and gradually kept expanding their territories. Goa became the colony of the Portugal crown and was utilized as a resource base for the nation. Maritime commerce was the primary concern of the Portuguese. However, they integrated the revenues from the agricultural lands of Goa as well into their economy that helped to firmly establish their state. Later, the state formation process permeated the religious processes of the region and several churches were constructed on lands originally used by the temples<sup>346</sup>. Gradually, the once Hindu state of Goa was converted into a Portuguese colony with the enforcement of Portuguese culture and social processes.

In the entire span of the transition, the *brahmanas* played a significant role in the shaping of the state and society. They were the agents who led the rulers to establish a legitimate state and society. The role of *brahmanas* in the state formation of the Hindu rulers has already been discussed in the

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<sup>342</sup> KAN Sastri, *History of South India*, p. 268

<sup>343</sup> KAN Sastri, *A History of South India*, p.275; B S Shastry, *Portuguese Kanara*,

<sup>344</sup> KAN Sastri, *A History of South India*, p. 276.

<sup>345</sup> KAN Sastri, *A History of South India*, p. 276.

<sup>346</sup> A K Priolkar, *The Goa Inquisition*, pp. 66-70 ; Xavier and Zupanov, *Catholic Orientalism*, pp. 122-127.

earlier chapters of this work<sup>347</sup>. The services of the *brahmanas* were required by the rulers of all the dynasties that ruled in Goa. It is informed that the Sinai *brahmanas* were employed in the Bahamani court in Salcete region who were the ancestors of the *brahmanas* of Goa<sup>348</sup>. Termed as ‘knowledge specialists’<sup>349</sup>, they preserved knowledge and transmitted it when required. They proved significant to the Portuguese as well, especially for the understanding of the society and the local administrative processes. The King of Portugal believed that religion and politics were interdependent<sup>350</sup>. In order to ascertain the extent of the interdependence, the Portuguese aimed to extract information from the local people, about their ideologies that impacted their thought process and functioning.

The Portuguese collected information regarding the Goan territory and its people<sup>351</sup> that formed the base for securing the fragile rule of the Portuguese. The importance of *brahmanas* was visible in the contents of the *Foral* of 1526<sup>352</sup> that collectively presented the information about the various rights of people concerning land and property, taxes and inheritance laws and administrative and judicial aspects of village life<sup>353</sup>. Scholars have informed that the *brahmanas* were the dominating elites of the village community and administration before the advent of the Portuguese as well as after the establishment of the Portuguese rule in Goa<sup>354</sup>. D’Costa states that the village organization was based on the ideologies enshrined in *dharmashastras* and *smritis*<sup>355</sup>. The information regarding the functioning of the village communities was provided largely by the *brahmanas*<sup>356</sup>. In a way,

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<sup>347</sup> The topic has been discussed in Chapter 2, 3 and 4 of this work.

<sup>348</sup> Rosalind O’Hanlon and Christopher Minkowski, What makes people who they are?, *Indian Economic Social History Review*, 45, No. 3, 2008, pp. 381-416, cited in Angela Barreto Xavier, Ines G Zupanov, *Catholic Orientalism*, p. 72.

<sup>349</sup> The term was applied for *brahmanas* as they were the ones who were working at the posts of priest, Kulkarni (accountant), scribes, administrators, educationist, medicos among others and hence possessed knowledge of multiple spheres, Angela Barreto Xavier and Ines Zupanov, *Catholic Orientalism*, p. 132.

<sup>350</sup> Angela Barreto Xavier and Ines Zupanov, *Catholic Orientalism*, p. 50.

<sup>351</sup> The earliest collected information was put under *Foral de Mexia of 1526*, composed by Afonso Mexia, Remy Dias Thesis, p. 76; also see Angela Barreto Xavier and Ines Zupanov, *Catholic Orientalism*, p. 53; Rochelle Pinto, ‘The *Foral* in the History of the Comunidades in Goa’, *Journal of World History*, Vol 29, No. 2 (June 2018), pp. 185.

<sup>352</sup> *Foral* of 1526, also known as *Foral de Afonso Mexia* was titled as *Foral dos Usos e Costumes dos Gaucares e Lavradores das Ilhas de Goa e Outros anexas a Ela*,

<sup>353</sup> Rochelle Pinto, ‘The *Foral* in the History of the Comunidades in Goa’, *Journal of World History*, Vol 29, No. 2 (June 2018), pp. 185-212.

<sup>354</sup> D.D. Kosambi, *Myth and Reality*, Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1962, p. 169; T.R. de Souza. *Medieval Goa*, pp. 56-58; Filippo Nery Xavier, *Bosattejo Historico das Comunidades*, Part II. Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1852, pp 24-25; Remy Antonio Dias, thesis, 2004, p. 58.

<sup>355</sup> A D’Costa, *The Christianisation of the Goa Islands*, Bombay, 1965, p.20.

<sup>356</sup> Angela Barreto Xavier, Ines G Zupanov, *Catholic Orientalism*, p. 72.

the imperialists needed the services of the *brahmanas* in order to secure and legitimize their rule over the Indians. The significance of the *brahmanas* for the Portuguese administrators can be understood in the fact that they wanted to know how the *gentiles*<sup>357</sup> and the new converts thought and what they believed<sup>358</sup>. For this purpose, they believed that the only way was through the knowledge of their language<sup>359</sup> and through their local informers comprising the *brahmanas* and other religious specialists.

The missionaries destroyed the Hindu temples in the region of the Island of Goa, Bardez and Salcette<sup>360</sup>. The Inquisition of 1560 AD<sup>361</sup> laid the rules that forced the locals to adopt Christianity<sup>362</sup> and read only the Christian religious texts<sup>363</sup>. However, the missionaries were interested in learning Sanskrit and reading the ancient texts of the Hindus<sup>364</sup>, in order to present the defects of the Hindu religion before the newly converted population and propagate their own faith<sup>365</sup>. For the same, they took help of the priests who taught them Sanskrit language as well as translated the sacred books of the Hindus. The sacred books were also utilized by the Portuguese in order to understand them and refute the texts with the information of Bible<sup>366</sup>. Angela Barreto Xavier informs that the House of India, established by Portugal, contained various documents that were eventually lost in the earthquake of 1755<sup>367</sup>. It is mentioned that a big book written on palm leaves was found that was written in Malabar script<sup>368</sup>. Olivinho J F Gomes informs that the Portuguese rulers destroyed the religious texts of Indian literature in the early years of sixteenth century AD<sup>369</sup>. He mentions that the missionaries preserved some of the literature that corresponds to the pre-Portuguese culture of Goa. The Missionaries took the help of the *brahmanas* for the

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<sup>357</sup> The Brahmanas, yogis and the Muslim ascetics were called *gentiles*, *Biblioteca Casantense*, MS 1889, c.84

<sup>358</sup> Xavier and Zupanov, *Catholic Orientalism*, p. 132.

<sup>359</sup> Sanskrit and Konkani, both were used by the *brahmanas* and so the Portuguese strived to learn and employ both the languages for their own purposes.

<sup>360</sup> A K Priolkar, *The Goa Inquisition*, pp. 69-71.

<sup>361</sup> A K Priolkar, *The Goa Inquisition*, p. 24.

<sup>362</sup> A K Priolkar, *The Goa Inquisition*, pp. 60-63.

<sup>363</sup> Angela Barreto Xavier, Ines G Zupanov, *Catholic Orientalism*, pp. 134-135.

<sup>364</sup> Gonzalo Fernandes Tranconso stated the *brahmanas* as a social group had the highest status among the four civil grades, that refers to the fourfold varna distinction of Brahmins, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra, Xavier and Zupanov, *Catholic Orientalism*; AK Priolkar, *The Goa Inquisition*, pp. 133-137.

<sup>365</sup> Olivinho J F Gomes, *Old Konkani Language and Literature-The Portuguese Rule*, pp. 64-66.

<sup>366</sup> For details see Xavier and Zupanov, *Catholic Orientalism*, pp. 133-134, 137, 139-140.

<sup>367</sup> Xavier and Zupanov, *Catholic Orientalism*, p. 18.

<sup>368</sup> Xavier and Zupanov, *Catholic Orientalism*, p. 19.

<sup>369</sup> Olivinho J F Gomes, *Old Konkani Language and Literature-The Portuguese Rule*, p. 2.

reading of the manuscripts. He informs that the works included the village community records of the ‘civil, religious, cultural and judicial activities’<sup>370</sup>. In addition to these records, with the help of *brahmanas*, they studied and translated the ancient texts of *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*<sup>371</sup>. It is documented in the *Documenta Indica*, that in 1559 AD, the Jesuit missionaries managed to ‘steal sacred books from a *brahmana*’<sup>372</sup> that comprised eighteen books of Vyasa’s *Mahabharata* and *Ananda Purana* written in Marathi<sup>373</sup>. The texts were translated and written down in Roman script in order to facilitate re-reading by other people as well. Gomes informs that these ancient books and the village community records were maintained in the native language of Goa, Konkani<sup>374</sup>. The manuscripts have been found in the archives at Braga in Portugal<sup>375</sup>. Xavier and Zupanov inform that the documents of the village communities were written in Konkani language<sup>376</sup>. However, later the use of Portuguese language was maintained in the records<sup>377</sup>. Apart from the religious texts, the manuscripts related to the knowledge of medicine were also consulted in the later years<sup>378</sup>. It is informed that Giovanni Alvarez, translated the Sanskrit work on medicine, *Medinica Brahmanica* that was utilized by a Jesuit Johann Ernst Hanxleden<sup>379</sup>. Olivinho Gomes informs that the services of Konkani physicians were utilized for the composition of *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus* in 1678<sup>380</sup>. The missionaries not only read Indian literature and studied the Indian languages, but also composed literature in Indian languages like Konkani, Tamil, Sanskrit, Kannada, Telugu among others<sup>381</sup>.

The proper understanding of the Sanskrit *puranas* became the base for the composition of *Kristapurana* by Father Thomas Stephens, which comprised stories from the Bible written in

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<sup>370</sup> Olivinho J F Gomes, *Old Konkani Language and Literature-The Portuguese Rule*, p. 7.

<sup>371</sup> Olivinho J F Gomes, *Old Konkani Language and Literature-The Portuguese Rule*, p. 8.

<sup>372</sup> *Documenta Indica*, Vol. 4, edited by J Wicki, Roma: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu (1940-88): pp. 334-335.

<sup>373</sup> *Documenta Indica*, Vol. 4, pp. 334-335, cited in Xavier and Zupanov, *Catholic Orientalism*, p. 134.

<sup>374</sup> Olivinho J F Gomes, *Old Konkani Language and Literature-The Portuguese Rule*, pp. 7-9.

<sup>375</sup> Olivinho J F Gomes, *Old Konkani Language and Literature-The Portuguese Rule*, p. 8.

<sup>376</sup> Xavier and Zupanov, *Catholic Orientalism*, p. 59.

<sup>377</sup> Xavier and Zupanov, *Catholic Orientalism*, p. 59.

<sup>378</sup> Xavier and Zupanov, *Catholic Orientalism*, p. 84.

<sup>379</sup> Xavier and Zupanov, *Catholic Orientalism*, p. 109; Zupanov, ‘Amateur Naturalist’, p. 99.

<sup>380</sup> Olivinho J F Gomes, *Old Konkani Language and Literature*, p. 38.

<sup>381</sup> Xavier and Zupanov, *Catholic Orientalism*, p. 207.

native *Canarim*<sup>382</sup> language for the local people, in the style of *purana*<sup>383</sup>. The arguments indicate that the Portuguese attempted to gain legitimacy for their rule through the adoption of appropriate religious techniques that helped to reframe the ideologies of the local people. The techniques included the adoption of local language that expanded the missionaries reach both vertically as well as horizontally in the social structure of Goa. It indicates the endeavor for social and political legitimacy that the Portuguese aspired on the Indian soil.

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<sup>382</sup> The work is composed in the language that was termed as *Lingua Bramana* or *Bramana Marastta*. It was probably similar to Old Marathi and called as *Canarim* in the local language, Xavier and Zupanov, *Catholic Orientalism*, pp. 230. Also see Olivinho J F Gomes, *Old Konkani Language and Literature*, p. 60. For a detailed discussion on the '*brahmana* language', see Olivinho J F Gomes, *Old Konkani Language and Literature*, pp. 43-48.

<sup>383</sup> Xavier and Zupanov, *Catholic Orientalism*, pp. 230; Also see Alexander Henn, 'Jesuit Rhetorics', p. 216. Twenty six Hindu *puranas* were utilized in the composition of *Kristapurana*.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### SANSKRIT, SAHYADRIKHANDA AND INDEGENOUS TRADITIONS

*Sahyadrikhanda* is a puranic text of Western region. It forms a narrative of the origin or genesis of some *brahmana* communities of Western India. *Sahyadrikhanda* (henceforth *Skh*) claims to be a part or *khanda* of *Skandapurana* (henceforth *Skp*). *Skh* contains the legendary narratives of the Western coastal region called *Sapta Konkana*<sup>1</sup>. There are no dates mentioned in the text that can help ascertain the period of its composition. However, with the aid of the contents of the text, some scholars have been able to form an opinion that it was composed probably in the sixteenth century AD. Similarly, there is a complete silence regarding the authorship of the text.

The *Skh* relates to the stories related to the geographical region of *Sahyadri* Mountains that are known as Western Ghats. J Gerson Da Cunha describes *Skh* largely as a mythological, historical and geographical account of Western India<sup>2</sup>. Shastri and Gui have described it as the description of sacred places of pilgrimage in the Sahyadri or western Ghats and along the Godavari river<sup>3</sup>. Levitt however disagrees with such description as he feels that only some part of *adirahasya* and some chapters of *uttarardha* together are fit for the description given by Da Cunha<sup>4</sup>. Patil holds the view that the *Skh* is a discursive as well as a historical text that represents the inter-community feuds and disparities of the *brahmanas*<sup>5</sup>. Based on the contents, *Skh* can be called as a text depicting the association of the *ksatriyas* and the *brahmanas* in the specified region. Rao states<sup>6</sup> that state formation was the consequence of *brahmana-ksatriya* alliance. In a way, the text can be said to be illustrate the gradual process of state formation in the concerned territories.

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<sup>1</sup> Sapta Konkana are the seven divisions of the Western coastal region. They are mentioned in the *Uttarardha* of the *Sahyadrikhanda* as Kerala, Tulinga (Tulu region in South Kanara), Konkana, Karhada, Varalata and Barbara, J Gerson Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda, Uttarardha*, Chapter 6, verses 47-48, p. 326.

<sup>2</sup> This description happens to be the title of the published edition of *Skh* by J Gerson Da Cunha.

<sup>3</sup> Cited in Stephen Hillyer Levitt, *The Patityagramanirnaya*, p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Stephen Hillyer Levitt, *The Patityagramanirnaya*, pp. 23-24.

<sup>5</sup> Urmila Patil, Conflict, Identity and Narratives: The Brahman Communities of Western India from the Seventeenth through the Nineteenth Centuries, *Unpublished PhD Thesis*, University of Texas at Austin, 2010: p.33.

<sup>6</sup> Nagendra Rao, *Brahmanas of South India*, p. 199.

This chapter focusses on the social and political issues of *Skh* that are relevant for the legitimizing function of the royal dynasties that were ruling over regions which form a part of the text. The authors that have previously studied *Skh* have barely taken into account the aspects of state formation that finds place in the text. It takes the author to consider the text mainly as a historical composition that provides inputs on the techniques adopted (mainly land-grants) by the authorities to provide for *brahmana* settlements in their states, which had a multi-fold benefit to the royals including state formation and legitimization of authority. Apart from *Skh*, the chapter also focusses on *Konkanakhyana*, a text composed in 1721 AD, which also mentions about the *Parashurama* tradition prevalent in the region apart from other traditions of Konkan.

The texts have also been analysed with the perspective of the legitimizing role of Sanskrit in state formation since the earliest mentioned times till the latest period evident from it. It further discusses the indigenous traditions of Goa and the effect of Sanskritic culture on the folk-lore as well as the effect of the folk traditions on the Sanskritic or *brahmanic* culture. Additionally, it also tries to analyse the relationship of Sanskrit with *Skh* and the traditions of Goa.

## HISTORIOGRAPHY

The Europeans maintained that the Indians lacked historical sense, which was evident through the available Indian literature. James Mill argued<sup>7</sup> that no historical composition existed in the literature of the Hindus. His opinions that Indians neither had any history nor any ancient literature are evident in his work<sup>8</sup>. His opinions were reverberated in the majority of the works of European scholars with few exceptions. None of the works that incorporated the ancient historical traditions were accorded the status of historical literature. The analysis was prejudiced in order to justify the British rule and administration in India. However, there are few exceptions<sup>9</sup> who not only appreciated the Indian literature, but also identified its strengths and weaknesses. Fleet, a prominent epigraphist of nineteenth century, remarked that the historical chapters of the *puranas* are indicative of historical consciousness of the Hindus,

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<sup>7</sup> James Mill wrote the book *History of British India* which became the bible of the British colonialists to validate their rule over India.

<sup>8</sup> Cited in Nagendra Rao, *Brahmanas of South India*, p.32; Aruna Pariti, *Genealogy, Time and Identity*, p. 7.

<sup>9</sup> The exceptional scholars who believed in the historicity of Indian texts include the likes of F E Pargiter, A L Basham, Hermann Kulke.

though he further mentions that ‘no national history of the Hindus’ is available<sup>10</sup>. Currently scholars strongly argue for the presence of historical consciousness among ancient Indian writers. Aruna Pariti in her work *Genealogy, Time and Identity*, argues to disapprove the theory that pre-colonial India had absence of historical consciousness<sup>11</sup> and gives evidences in the favour of it. Pariti states that during pre-colonial period, Indians had indigenous methods of writing history that did not follow any Western model of historical writing<sup>12</sup>. Rao states that the argument of colonial writers failed to take into consideration that the historical attitude of Indians was different from that of the West, especially regarding the motives and purposes of recording relevant events<sup>13</sup>.

The historiography of *puranas* begins with the ancient Indian historical traditions. The Indian traditions consist of *Vedas*, *puranas* and other traditions. Pargiter has studied the ancient tradition most extensively among the foreign scholars and analysed the significance as well as the drawbacks of the same. He states that the ancient tradition was preserved by the *sutas* and the *magadhas* through oral tradition, who were appointed as bards at the courts of kings<sup>14</sup>. Regarding the oral tradition, Kunal Chakrabarti states<sup>15</sup> that the texts of oral tradition have an absence presence, which intends to convey that though the texts couldn’t be seen physically in written form, they were present through the memory of the people. They sung the praise of the king and transferred the tradition from generation to generation. This tradition was later taken over by the *brahmanas* who then preserved the historical tradition in written forms. Pargiter quotes and explains from the *Padma purana* that it was the *suta*’s duty to compose the genealogies of gods, rishis and glorious kings as well as the eulogies of great men who were seen as declarers of sacred lore in the *itihasas* and *puranas*<sup>16</sup>. During the medieval period, it is observed that the same constituents formed the matter of the *puranas* and the inscriptional texts issued by the kings and the royal families. Pargiter mentions that according to a statement in the *Garga Samhita*, a *suta* is seen as a *pauranika*<sup>17</sup>, a *magadha* is seen as a genealogist (*vamsa-*

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<sup>10</sup> *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol 2, pp. 17, 21.

<sup>11</sup> Aruna Pariti, *Genealogy, Time and Identity- Historical Consciousness in the Deccan, sixth century CE-twelfth century CE*, p.10.

<sup>12</sup> Aruna Pariti, *Genealogy, Time and Identity*, p.10.

<sup>13</sup> Nagendra Rao, *Brahmanas of South India*, pp. 39-40.

<sup>14</sup> F E Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Traditions*, pp. 15-18.

<sup>15</sup> Kunal Chakrabarti, Literature and Languages- On Ramkatha- The statement is a part of interview of Kunal Chakrabarti by Kanad Sinha, 2015, Delhi, which is available on youtube.com- <https://youtu.be/tdQ73vwnBbg>.

<sup>16</sup> F E Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 18.

<sup>17</sup> The term implies one who knows the puranas or one who knows the ancient tales, F E Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 25-26.



*samsaka*) while the vandin an eulogist (*stavaka*)<sup>18</sup>. The argument is depictive of the fact that the mentioned professions and their functions were significant in the ancient times especially in the royal courts. He also mentions that the eighteen *puranas* were composed prior to the composition of the *Mahabharata* which itself has borrowed from the *puranas*<sup>19</sup>. This has an important bearing on the texts of South Western India, specifically *Sahyadrikhanda* as they are also indicative of borrowing from the preceding texts which will be discussed further in the chapter. It has been mentioned regarding the claims of the *puranas* that they were delivered from the gods themselves, which claims a divine authorship of the *puranas*<sup>20</sup>. R C Hazra states that the puranic literature belongs to the Rigvedic period and was sacred like the Vedas<sup>21</sup>.

The *puranas* originally covered five topics namely the original creation of universe, its dissolution and recreation, the Manvantaras that relates to the ages of Manu, ancient genealogies and the accounts of persons mentioned in the genealogies<sup>22</sup>. R C Hazra has informed that the *puranas* dealt with five subjects that were *sarga*, *pratisarga*, *vamsa*, *manvantara* and *vamsanucharita*<sup>23</sup>. The mentioned five topics gave rise to the term *panca-lakshana* as a sobriquet of the *puranas*. Though out of all the eighteen *puranas*, only eight of them constitute of the *panca-lakshanas*<sup>24</sup>. These were the distinguishing features of this *genre* and connoting them was significant for the later *puranas* to be legitimately accepted<sup>25</sup>. The *puranas* as they stand now are the result of later augmentations by the *brahmanas* who took the opportunity to supplement it with brahmanical stories and fables along with doctrinal and ritual matter<sup>26</sup>. Romila Thapar states the oral tradition was transformed into written literature, compiled and edited in the middle of the first millennium AD<sup>27</sup>. The *prasastis*, *vamsavalis* and ballads got shaped into *puranas* and it was this transformation that is said to be represented as

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<sup>18</sup> F E Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p.17.

<sup>19</sup> F E Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp.21-22.

<sup>20</sup> F E Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 30.

<sup>21</sup> R C Hazra, 'The Upapuranas', *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. 21, No. 1/ 2, (1939-40), p. 54.

<sup>22</sup> F E Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 36.

<sup>23</sup> R C Hazra, 'The Upapuranas', *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. 21, No. 1/ 2, (1939-40), p. 54.

<sup>24</sup> R C Hazra, 'The Upapuranas', *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. 21, No. 1/ 2, (1939-40), pp. 59-60.

<sup>25</sup> Urmila Patil, *Conflict, Identity and Narratives: The Brahman Communities of Western India from the Seventeenth through the Nineteenth Centuries*, *Unpublished PhD Thesis*, University of Texas at Austin, 2010, p. 40.

<sup>26</sup> R C Hazra, 'The Upapuranas', *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. 21, No. 1/ 2, (1939-40), pp. 54-56.

<sup>27</sup> Romila Thapar, *Ancient Indian Social History- Some Interpretations*, p. 298

*itihasa-purana* tradition by Romila Thapar<sup>28</sup>. The opinion of Urmila Patil coincides with that of Thapar regarding the oral tradition. She states while composing *Konkanakhyana*, the author has probably referred to either a distinct manuscript of *Skh*, or to the continuing oral tradition<sup>29</sup>. The introduction provided with the *Konkanakhyana* states that the author has travelled widely to meet the people belonging to the caste of *Saraswat brahmanas* and then composed the text. It is possible that the author obtained some manuscript of *Skh* from those *brahmanas* and also received information regarding the oral traditions. *Puranas* have been classified as ancient and later *puranas*. Dikshitar states that tradition has accepted the existence of eighteen greater *puranas* and eighteen lesser *puranas*<sup>30</sup> out of which the lesser *puranas* are very later productions, of a sectarian character and of purely local interests<sup>31</sup>. *Skh* can be called as a lesser *purana* that contains content of local or regional interests.

The extant literature that has passed through generations and centuries is composed in Sanskrit literature. *Sahyadrikhanda*, *Konkanakhyana*, *Gramapaddhati* are some of the texts concerning the South Western India that have been composed in Sanskrit and Kannada language. J Gerson Da Cunha collected fourteen Sanskrit manuscripts from different locations and published the *Skh*. The present study is based on Da Cunha's edition itself. B A Saletore has studied the *Tuluvagramapaddhati* separately and some of its accounts have been mentioned in his book *Ancient Karnataka*<sup>32</sup>. He speaks about the *Parashurama* tradition and also mentions the common contents of *Gramapaddhati* with *Mayuravarmakhyana*. K V Ramesh has altogether denied the authenticity of *Skh* as a text of historical importance<sup>33</sup>.

Levitt made a study of *Patityagramanirnaya*, a part of *Skh*, consisting of eleven chapters from the *Uttarardha*. He has critically analysed Da Cunha's edition of *Skh* and reported several shortcomings in his edition<sup>34</sup>. He mentions that the grammar of the Sanskrit text is incorrect at several places, so much so that the translation of the sentences makes no sense<sup>35</sup>. Additionally he states that Da Cunha's edition has skipped the inclusion of several chapters available in

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<sup>28</sup> Romila Thapar, *Ancient Indian Social History- Some Interpretations*, cited in Rao, *Brahmanas of South India*, p. 40.

<sup>29</sup> Urmila Patil, *Conflict, Identity and Narratives: The Brahman Communities of Western India from the Seventeenth through the Nineteenth Centuries*, *Unpublished PhD Thesis*, University of Texas at Austin, 2010, p. 42.

<sup>30</sup> Nagendra Rao, *Brahmanas of South India*, p. 151.

<sup>31</sup> Nagendra Rao, *Brahmanas of South India*, p. 151.

<sup>32</sup> B A Saletore, *Ancient Karnataka*, Vol. I, Ponna: Oriental Book Agency, 1939.

<sup>33</sup> K V Ramesh, *A History of South Kanara*, p. 12.

<sup>34</sup> Stephen Hillyer Levitt, *The Patityagramanirnaya*, pp. 20-34.

<sup>35</sup> Stephen Hillyer Levitt, *The Patityagramanirnaya*, pp. 20-23.

other manuscripts that claim to be part of *Sahyadrikhanda*, which makes the edition incomplete<sup>36</sup>. However, Levitt himself did not use the remaining portions of *Sahyadrikhanda* in his work that would have added value to his work<sup>37</sup>. He mentions that the text consists of four sections and the contents have been corrupted at least thrice as he finds evidence of three different number systems in the text as well as different styles of Sanskrit language used to compose different *adhyayas* of the sections<sup>38</sup>. He also mentions that out of eleven chapters of *Patityagramanirnaya*, eight chapters are common with *Gramapaddhati*.

Rao has been able to find a Kannada manuscript of *Skh* in Karnataka as well<sup>39</sup> that he states is completely different from the Sanskrit *Skh*. He mentions that the Kannada *Skh* concentrates mainly to provide the list of different pilgrimage centres, some of which are also mentioned in the Sanskrit *Skh*. He has studied and compared the contents of *Skh* with that of *Gramapaddhati*. He attempts to validate the historicity of the mentioned texts by successfully locating the villages mentioned in *Gramapaddhati* in the present day context. He also states that the chief purpose of these texts was the search for identity of *brahmanas* that would help to strengthen their position in society.

Urmila Patil has analysed the *Skh*, *Konkanakhyana*, *Satprasnakalpalatika*, *Syenvijatidharmanirnaya* and the *Dasprakarana* in her thesis<sup>40</sup>. She analyses the intra-community conflicts, competitions and rivalries evident through the mentioned texts of Western India. Some scholars<sup>41</sup> have studied the *Parashurama* tradition mentioned in various Sanskrit texts and described the various aspects of *Parashurama*, out of which some have been incorporated in the *Skh*.

*Konkanakhyana* is a traditional brahmanical text of Saraswat brahmanas of Goa. The text has been composed in Old Marathi language by a Saraswat *brahmana* and has been styled according to traditional Sanskrit *puranas*. The author of *Konkanakhyana* is not known whereas the date of composition has been mentioned to be 1721 AD<sup>42</sup>. However some scholars do not

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<sup>36</sup> Stephen Hillyer Levitt, *The Patityagramanirnaya*, pp. 29-34.

<sup>37</sup> Stephen Hillyer Levitt has used the edition of Gerson Da Cunha for his work titled, *The Patityagramanirnaya*.

<sup>38</sup> Stephen Hillyer Levitt, *The Patityagramanirnaya*, pp. 23-27.

<sup>39</sup> Nagendra Rao, *Brahmanas of South India*, pp 149-162

<sup>40</sup> Urmila Patil, Conflict, Identity and Narratives- The Brahman Communities of Western India from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries, *Unpublished PhD Thesis*, University of Texas at Austin, 2010.

<sup>41</sup> S S Janaki, Parashurama, *Purana*, Vol 8, No.1, pp. 52-82.

<sup>42</sup> Chandrakant Keni (ed.), *Konkanakhyana*.

completely agree with the date of publication of *Konkanakhyana* as 1721 AD<sup>43</sup>, rather consider it a work of later period, dating to 1909 AD<sup>44</sup>.

## CONTENTS, AUTHOR AND PERIOD OF COMPOSITION OF SAHYADRIKHANDA

The *Skh* is divided into three main parts, the *Adirahasya*, *Uttarardha* and the *Mahatmyas* that contain chapters on *Renukamahatmya*, *Chandrachud (Chandreshwar) mahatmya*, *Nagavhyamahatmya*, *Varunapurmahatmya*, *Kamakshimahatmya* and *Mangishmahatmya*. The first part of the *purana* is *Adirahasya* that comprises sixty seven *adhyaya* and the *Uttarardha* comprises twenty one *adhyayas*<sup>45</sup>.

Also titled as *Purvardha*, the section of *Adirahasya* deals with topics on the genesis of universe, expansion of land, description of heaven and hell, generation of *pralaya*, process of observing fast, importance of *dana*, *dharma upadesh*, description of communities of Deccan Plateau called *pathariya jati*, and genesis of ksatriyas among several other topics. The second section, *Uttarardha* deals with the description of different *brahmana* communities namely the Chitpavan brahmanas, Karashtra brahmanas, Saraswats and Deshasthas, description of Gomanchal, parashurama ksetra evolution, and settlement of brahmanas in villages by Kadamba king Mayurvarma<sup>46</sup>. Also mentioned in the same section is the description of the fallen or polluted *brahmanas* in eleven chapters. Levitt has termed it the third section of *Skh*<sup>47</sup> while scholars like Patil consider it a part of the second section itself<sup>48</sup>, which is because she has referred to Gaitonde's edition of *Skh* in which the *mahatmyas* are clubbed together with *Uttarardha*. The section of *Uttarardha* has been termed as the caste *purana*<sup>49</sup>. The last part of the text consists of the description of several *teerth ksetras* and local deities of the relevant geographical area along with the stories of *Renuka*, the mother of *Parashurama*. This part justifies the claim of the text of being a *sthala purana*. The *purana* also mentions various *tirtha sthalas* and holy rivers of the mentioned geographical area. Interestingly, the account does not

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<sup>43</sup> Sammit Kandeparkar, 'The Eki-Beki Dispute and the Unification of the Gauda Saraswat Brahman Caste', *Unpublished PhD Thesis*, University of Austin, p. 66.

<sup>44</sup> Sammit Kandeparkar, 'The Eki-Beki Dispute and the Unification of the Gauda Saraswat Brahman Caste', *Unpublished PhD Thesis*, University of Austin, p. 60.

<sup>45</sup> The number of chapters is based upon Da Cunha edition of *Sahyadrikhanda*.

<sup>46</sup> J Gerson Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda, Uttarardha*, Chapter 7, verses 50-52.

<sup>47</sup> S H Levitt, *The Patityagramanirnaya*, p. 4.

<sup>48</sup> Urmila Patil, Urmila Patil, Conflict, Identity and Narratives- The Brahman Communities of Western India from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries, *Unpublished PhD Thesis*, pp. 37-38.

<sup>49</sup> Levitt, Reflections on the *Sahyadrikhanda's Uttarardha*, *Studia Orientalia Electronica*, p. 153.

mention the Jain community, who were important part of society in the first millennium AD as well as in the first few centuries of second millennium AD. The rulers patronized the Jains and provided grants to them. It displays the anti-Jain character of the text, which was in vogue with the anti-Jain movement of the *brahmanas* from the tenth century AD onwards<sup>50</sup>.

The author of *Skh* has not been mentioned anywhere in the text. Going by the contents of the text, it is reasonable to state that it has been composed by a learned *brahmana*<sup>51</sup>. The *brahmana* must have been a resident of the related geographical area who was aware of the tales and antiquity of the region. As the fables suggest, the aim of the composition was to uphold the status of the *brahmanas* as well as to validate their authority on the holding of lands in the region. Legitimacy and validation have been the primary objective of epic literature. The ksatriya ruling dynasties sought legitimacy which was provided by the *brahmanas* by fabricating links of ruling ksatriyas with the genealogies given in the epics<sup>52</sup>. Rao states<sup>53</sup> that the local *puranas* and sthala mahatmyas have been authored by rsis who were also the authors of greater *puranas* like *Skp*. He states that the regional histories were linked with the greater *puranas* so as to permit the *brahmana* community to lay ownership claim on the fertile regions on the west coast. Urmila Patil has made an in-depth study of the different communities of *brahmanas* mentioned in *Skh*. She analyses the inter-community disputes and rivalry amongst the *brahmanas* that is evident in the *Uttarardha* section of the text. Patil states that the accounts of the *brahmanas* mentioned in the *Skh* helps to define the identity of *brahmana* groups in their residential region. It was with the aid of this regional identity that some of the *brahmana* groups were legitimized while others were delegitimized<sup>54</sup>. These statements make it evident that the augmentations in the text related with the regional *brahmana* groups must have been composed by the members of the so called legitimate *brahmana* groups. The *Konkanakhyana* suggests that the *brahmanas* composed the texts like *Skh*, *Bhairava purana* and other *puranas* as per the wishes of Shree Bhargava<sup>55</sup>. It suggests that the *Skh* has been composed by a *brahmana*. Considering the narratives in the text regarding the *brahmana* community, it can be stated that

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<sup>50</sup> The anti-Jain movement of the *brahmanas* has been discussed in the Chapter 6 of this work.

<sup>51</sup> The text has been composed by different authors in different periods, therefore the author is referred to as - *brahmanas*

<sup>52</sup> Nagendra Rao, *Brahmanas of South India*, p. 42.

<sup>53</sup> Nagendra Rao, *Brahmanas of South India*, p.44.

<sup>54</sup> Urmila Patil, Urmila Patil, Conflict, Identity and Narratives- The Brahman Communities of Western India from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries, *Unpublished PhD Thesis*, p. 45.

<sup>55</sup> Keni, *Konkanakhyana*, chapter 1, Verses 77-80, p. 27.

some parts of the text<sup>56</sup> have been composed by a member of Saraswat *brahmana* community<sup>57</sup>. The argument is supported by Deshpande<sup>58</sup> and O’Hanlon<sup>59</sup>.

Some parts<sup>60</sup> of the *Skandapurana* is said to have been composed before tenth century AD<sup>61</sup>, whereas other chapters have been composed between the eleventh and fourteenth century AD<sup>62</sup>. Since the time of composition of *Skh* has not been mentioned in the text, the scholars have utilized several evidences from the contents of the text in order to extract the details of the period when the *purana* would have been composed. The evidences include the mention of Kadamba king Mayuravarma who rose to power in the fourth century AD. It also mentions the *dvaitvaad* proponent philosopher Madhavacharya who existed in the thirteenth century. The mention of these people in the text indicate that the text has been composed later than the thirteenth century AD during or after the existence of Madhavacharya. With the help of later narratives, Patil argues that the chapters of *Skp* that are common with later texts like *Konkanakhayana* have been composed before the late sixteenth century AD<sup>63</sup>. Saletore states that the chapters of *Skh* which are common with those of *Gramapaddhati*<sup>64</sup> have been composed in the latter half of the fourteenth century AD. Levitt does not fully accept the arguments of Saletore and states that the earliest date of the composition of main body of the *PGNs* probably lies between the beginning of the fourth century AD and the beginning of fifth century AD<sup>65</sup>. He adds that the latest time period for the main body of *PGN* would be middle of thirteenth century AD, prior to the ascendance of Madhava’s philosophy in the region<sup>66</sup>. It has been stated that the first six chapters of *Uttarardha* are a later interpolation in the text, which cites the identification of *brahmanas* by their vernacular language as the main reason

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<sup>56</sup> The parts constituted by Saraswat brahmanas are probably the chapters ranging from one to six in the *Uttarardha* of Da Cunha’s *Skh*

<sup>57</sup> Several references in the *Skh* (S) help the author to make the mentioned analysis.

<sup>58</sup> Stephen Hillyer Levitt, Reflections on Sahyadrikhanda’s *Uttarardha*, *Studia Orientalia Electronica*, Vol 5 (2017), p. 156.

<sup>59</sup> Stephen Hillyer Levitt, Reflections on Sahyadrikhanda’s *Uttarardha*, *Studia Orientalia Electronica*, Vol 5 (2017), p. 157.

<sup>60</sup> It refers to the chapters of *Patityagramaniraya* of *Uttarardha* of *Sahyadrikhanda*.

<sup>61</sup> Stephen Hillyer Levitt, Reflections on Sahyadrikhanda’s *Uttarardha*, *Studia Orientalia Electronica*, Vol 5 (2017), p. 154.

<sup>62</sup> Stephen Hillyer Levitt, Reflections on Sahyadrikhanda’s *Uttarardha*, *Studia Orientalia Electronica*, Vol 5 (2017), p. 154.

<sup>63</sup> Urmila Patil, Conflict, Identity and Narratives- The Brahman Communities of Western India from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries, *Unpublished PhD Thesis*, pp.35-36.

<sup>64</sup> The chapters mentioned by Saletore in *Tuluvagramapaddhati* are the chapters of *Patityagramaniraya*.

<sup>65</sup> S H Levitt, *The Patityagramaniraya*, pp. 100-101.

<sup>66</sup> S H Levitt, *Patityagramaniraya*, pp. 97-98.

behind the analysis<sup>67</sup>. Rosalind O’Hanlon states that the *Patityagramanirnaya* has been constituted at a prior date that is before or around the end of first millennium CE, than the chapters ranging from one to six in the *Uttarardha*<sup>68</sup>. The reason being the identification of *brahmanas* based on their village of origin and their *gotra*<sup>69</sup>.

Some scholars advocate the period prior to tenth century AD as the time of composition of the chapters of *Patityagramanirnaya* of *Skh*<sup>70</sup>. Elsewhere Levitt has mentioned about the use of three different number systems and different styles of Sanskrit language used intermittently in the text<sup>71</sup>. This finding also indicates different stages and time periods of compositions of the text. In the advertisement part of Cunha’s edition, while mentioning the source places of each of the fourteen manuscripts, it has been mentioned that the manuscript obtained from Goa bears the date 1700 AD as its date of composition<sup>72</sup>. References to the existence of *janapadas* also occur in different sections of the text<sup>73</sup>. This may indicate a much earlier period of composition of the main body of *Skh(S)*.

The arguments of scholars may not have a unanimity regarding the earliest date of composition of *Skh*, but they do appear to have common conclusion regarding the latest dates. Janaki states that *Skh* is a late text is evident from its treatment of *brahmana* communities in various chapters<sup>74</sup>. Considering all the arguments, the text can be safely said to have been styled into its current shape latest by the sixteenth century AD, at least before the composition of *Konkanakhya* that mentions about *Skh*<sup>75</sup>. The arguments prove an important point about the *purana* which is that there have been several stages of augmentations in the text depending upon the need and situation of the dominant society. The continuous additions have led the *purana* to take the shape as it stands today. It is substantiated by the opinion of Ludo Rocher who states that the *puranas* cannot be dated to have been composed in one particular time

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<sup>67</sup> Stephen Hillyer Levitt, Reflections on Sahyadrikhanda’s Uttarardha, *Studia Orientalia Electronica*, Vol 5 (2017), p. 154.

<sup>68</sup> Stephen Hillyer Levitt, Reflections on Sahyadrikhanda’s Uttarardha, *Studia Orientalia Electronica*, Vol 5 (2017), p. 154.

<sup>69</sup> Levitt, Reflections on Sahyadrikhanda’s Uttarardha, *Studia Orientalia Electronica* 5, 2017, pp. 151-161.

<sup>70</sup> Refer to S H Levitt, *The Patityagramanirnaya*, for details, p. 99.

<sup>71</sup> Stephen H Levitt, ‘The Sahyadri-khanda: Style and Context as Indices of Authorship in the Patityagramanirnaya’, *Purana*, Vol 24, No. 1, pp 128- 145.

<sup>72</sup> J Gerson Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda*, p. 2

<sup>73</sup> Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda*, Varunapur mahatmya, chapter 1, p. 510.

<sup>74</sup> S S Janaki, Parashurama, *Purana*, vol VIII, No. 1, Jan 1966, pp.

<sup>75</sup> Konkanakhayana, by Chandrakant Keni mentions that it has been composed before 1721 AD whereas Patil states it to have been composed before 1711 AD.

period as a whole, rather their parts can be said to have been written in different periods<sup>76</sup>. The *brahmanas* took advantage of their knowledge of Sanskrit, history and tradition and utilized it to their benefit in order to secure their status in the society. They found it feasible to add the accounts of their origin and relation with the geographical territory in the *puranic* text so as to glorify their community and also to confirm their legitimate control over land. The *purana* served as the legal and sacred document to avoid any confrontation from the common people regarding their claims of ownership.

### **LANGUAGE OF SAHYADRIKHANDA**

*Skh* has been composed in Sanskrit language entirely. This serves as the foremost link that connects it with the *genre* of greater puranas. Though it is a *sthalapurana*, it refrains from using other regional languages for the composition. Several reasons can be attested for the cause. The authors of the text were *brahmanas* who were fluent in Sanskrit language and therefore put it to use for the composition. As has been discussed, the text has been composed in several stages with several levels of additions and interpolations. Rosalind O'Hanlon has argued that some parts of *Skh* have been composed in the first millennium AD, while other scholars have argued that other chapters of *Uttarardha* have been composed between eleventh and fourteenth century AD<sup>77</sup>. In the first millennium AD, Sanskrit language dominated the field of literary compositions across India. The author therefore selected Sanskrit, the cosmopolitan language for composing it. The later additions too followed the earlier author and continued to add text in the vocables of the same language.

The greater *puranas* or the *mahapuranas* have been composed in Sanskrit language. Since, *Skh* has been called a part of *Skp*, it was obligatory to be written in the same style and language, failing which the authenticity of its claim would not be settled. However, it has to be understood that the authors were of different standards of Sanskrit learning since the text conveys changing standards of Sanskrit used in the composition. The argument is supported by Levitt's analysis where he states that some of the verses have been written in simple declarative sentences whereas some others are much more complex. Additionally, some verses are very poorly

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<sup>76</sup> Ludo Rocher, *The Puranas*, p. 103, cited in N Rao, 'Kali Age Crisis as Jaina-Brahmana conflict: A contribution to Indian Feudalism debate', *History Compass*, 2021, pp. 1-8.

<sup>77</sup> Stephen Hillyer Levitt, Reflections on Sahyadrikhanda's Uttarardha, *Studia Orientalia Electronica*, Vol 5 (2017), p. 154.



formed where the meaning they intend to convey is not clear<sup>78</sup>. Levitt analysed the grammar of *Skh* and has criticized the poor grammar of the text. He mentions that the Sanskrit words and sentences have been poorly framed and are difficult to understand on translation<sup>79</sup>. The errors implicate on the authenticity of the text. It makes the text questionable for its historical value. In spite of not being proficient in Sanskrit, the author composed the text in Sanskrit language, probably to claim the legitimacy of being a *purana* and to achieve a pan-Indian status for a local text of Western coastal region.

Coming back to the above mentioned reason, *Skh* has been called a part of *mahapurana Skp*. The text ensures that the reader remembers its affiliation to *Skp* by mentioning the name of *Skp* at the beginning of the text as well as at the culmination of each *adhyaya*. The beginning of the text mentions the title as – *Skandapurantargatam Sahyadrikhandam*<sup>80</sup>. It means ‘*Sahyadrikhanda* that exists within the *Skandapurana*’. Each chapter ends with the colophon in the following style- *Iti Sri Skandapurane Adirahasye Sahyadrikhande.....*<sup>81</sup>, which means ‘this is the .... (numeral) chapter of the *adirahasya* of *Sahyadrikhanda* of *Skandapurana*’. Kunal Chakrabarty states that the *puranas* were an instrument for the propagation of brahmanical traditions, a medium for the absorption of local cults and associated practices and a vehicle for popular instruction on norms governing everyday existence<sup>82</sup>. Rao states that the *puranic* traditions helped to establish brahmanical hegemony in the peripheral regions<sup>83</sup>. In order to establish the *sthalapurana* of a peripheral region in the larger scenario of the *mahapurana*<sup>84</sup>, the regional text incorporated not only the style of composition, but also adhered to the traditional use of Sanskrit language in its composition. This is in consonance with Pollock’s opinion that ‘it is a generic tendency in brahmanical texts to inscribe themselves within larger textual traditions and postulate a common origin, which aids them to de-historicize their creation and present themselves as repositories of shared, pre-existing

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<sup>78</sup> Stephen H Levitt, ‘The Sahyadri-khanda: Style and Context as Indices of Authorship in the Patityagramanirnaya’, *Purana*, Vol. 24, No. 1, pp. 128- 152.

<sup>79</sup> Stephen Hillyer Levitt, *The Patityagramanirnaya*, p. 45.

<sup>80</sup> J Gerson Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda*, p. 1

<sup>81</sup> The Colophon is found at the end of all chapters in J Gerson Da Cunha, *Skandapurana antargatam Sahyadrikhanda*.

<sup>82</sup> Kunal Chakrabarty, ‘Texts and traditions: The making of Bengal Puranas’ in Champalakshmi, R, and S. Gopal, (eds), *Tradition, Dissent and Ideology, Essays in Honour of Romila Thapar*, 1994, p. 64, cited in Rao N., *Brahmanas of South India*, p. 165.

<sup>83</sup> Nagendra Rao, *Brahmanas of South India*, p. 165.

<sup>84</sup> For details see Nagendra Rao, *Brahmanas of South India*, p. 166.

knowledge<sup>85</sup>. Since the historical texts were significant for establishing the legitimacy of the brahmanical traditions and brahmanic claims in the peripheral regions, Sanskrit language enhanced the assertion of the claims even more.

### **SAHYADRIKHANDA IN KANNADA**

*Skh* is a text that carries the historical traditions of South Western India and has been composed in Sanskrit language. Other than *Skh*, other texts of South Western India, that allege themselves as a part of *Skp*, like *Gramapaddhati*, *Mayuravarmakhyana*, *Keralotpatti* have also been composed in Sanskrit language. However, there are Kannada *Skh* and *Gramapaddhati* as well.

Kannada is a regional language spoken primarily in the state and secondarily in the adjoining regions of Karnataka. *Gramapaddhati* is a historical traditional text of the South Kanara region that is composed in Kannada language. It is the Sanskrit translation of *Patityagramanirnaya*. B A Saletore has extensively studied and analysed the text as *Tuluvagramapaddhati*<sup>86</sup>. There are Sanskrit versions of the text as well. However, a single version of Sanskrit text compared to several Kannada versions of the text have been found<sup>87</sup> in the region. This is indicative of greater circulation of Kannada *Gramapaddhati* than the one in Sanskrit in the Kannada speaking areas. It has a colour of vernacularisation that can explain such findings which will be discussed further under the same head. Rao states that the Kannada *Gramapaddhati* can be found in a few *mathas* in Udupi and adjoining regions<sup>88</sup>. He has also been able to find a few manuscripts of the text with individuals in Udupi<sup>89</sup>. There are some features of *Gramapaddhati* that are common with *Sahyadrikhanda*. The Parashurama tradition has been discussed in both the texts, along with the mention of the tradition of Kadamba king Mayuravarmma who is stated to have brought and settled brahmanas in several villages in present day Karnataka. Rao has been able to geographically locate the villages mentioned in the text with their present day

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<sup>85</sup> Sheldon Pollock, 1985, pp. 499-516; cited in Urmila Patil, , Conflict, Identity and Narratives- The Brahman Communities of Western India from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries, *Unpublished PhD Thesis*, p. 41.

<sup>86</sup> B A Saletore, *Ancient Karnataka*, Vol I, 1939.

<sup>87</sup> For details see, Nagendra Rao, *Brahmanas of South India*.

<sup>88</sup> Based on personal conversation with Professor Nagendra Rao.

<sup>89</sup> The fact has been mentioned in the book authored by Prof. Nagendra rao, *Brahmanas of South India*

locations and names<sup>90</sup>. Saletore has also discussed about the Parashurama tradition mentioned in *Gramapaddhati*<sup>91</sup> that will be discussed later.

*Skh(S)* as a sacred text, a *purana*, is found to be in higher circulation in the states of Goa and Maharashtra. The manuscripts referred to by Cunha and Levitt are in Sanskrit language. Rao mentions about the Kannada version of *Skh*<sup>92</sup>, edited by Y C Bhanumati<sup>93</sup>. The Kannada *Skh* (henceforth *Skh(K)*) varies from the Sanskrit *Skh* in several ways. The only major ingredient common to both works is the description of *Parashurama* tradition. The *Skh (K)* mentions similar topographical details as that mentioned in *Skh(S)*<sup>94</sup>. It also mentions names of various *tirtha kshetras*, some of which are common with the Sanskrit *Skh*, while the rest are uncommon.

The *Skh(K)* does not tell about the Mayuravarma tale which finds mention in *Skh(S)*. It also does not speak about the fallen *brahmanas*. It mentions about the Jains who were prevalent in Karnataka region, the mention of which is absent in the *Skh(S)*. The absence of the mentioned features in the *Skh(K)* indicates a different purpose of the composition of the text. It is highly probable that a *brahmana* from Karnataka decided to compose *Skh* keeping in mind the facts that were relevant to the coastal region of Karnataka. Since the *Parashurama* tradition is common to the entire Western coastal region stretching from the present state of Gujarat to Kerala, the *Skh(K)* also narrates the tale of *Parashurama* and the settlement of *brahmanas* in the region. The *brahmanas* from Karnataka, composed the text in Kannada language in order to appeal to the local people. Since the audience for whom the literature was composed was fluent in Kannada and inarticulate in Sanskrit, it was apt to compose the text in Kannada itself. It is probably for the same reason that the *Gramapaddhati* has also been composed in Kannada language. Since the development of Kannada language has been observed from the last century of the first millennium of Christian era onwards, it can be said that the *Skh(K)* belongs to a later period than the *Skh(S)*. Pollock states that in view of the process of vernacularisation, the regional language replaced the popularity of Sanskrit in the linguistically separate regions<sup>95</sup>. However, the use of Kannada was enhanced because the common audience was not literate in Sanskrit. In order to make the text popular among local population, the author chose to write

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<sup>90</sup> Rao, *Brahmanas of South India*, Chapter 2

<sup>91</sup> B A Saletore, *Ancient Karnataka*, Vol 1, pp. 1-56.

<sup>92</sup> Rao, *Brahmanas of South India*, pp. 150-151.

<sup>93</sup> Y C Bhanumati (ed.), *SahyadriKhanda*, Mysore. 1984.

<sup>94</sup> Rao, *Brahmanas of South India*, p. 151.

<sup>95</sup> Sheldon Pollock, *Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, pp. 283-298.

the literature in the language that was understood by the common people. The *Skh(K)* aimed to popularize the *tirtha kshetras* that had major significance according to *Parashurama* tradition.

## THE PARASHURAMA TRADITION

The earliest mention of *Parashurama* occurs in the *Balakanda* of *Ramayana*, where he himself is seen discussing that he killed *Kartavirya* and that he also annihilated the *Ksatriyas* from the earth, twenty-one times. As a way of penance, he donated the entire earth to sage Kasyapa and proceeded to perform penance at Mahendra Mountain<sup>96</sup>. Such descriptions of *Parashurama* appear in *Mahabharata* in greater details and with higher frequency of occurrences. B A Saletore has discussed the story of Jamadagnya or Rama as mentioned in the *Mahabharata*<sup>97</sup>. It mentions that he created the lands of Aparanta and Surparaka after he was forced to leave the earth that he had donated to Kasyapa. This tale finds place in several later *mahapuranas* and *Sthalapuranas*. It became one of the favourite theme of the poets of the Western India<sup>98</sup>.

The *Bhagvata Purana*, *Padma Purana*, *Brahma Purana*, *Matsya Purana*, *Markandeya Purana*, *Harivamsa Purana*, *Skanda Purana* and the *Brahmanda Purana*<sup>99</sup> mention the *Parashurama* tradition<sup>100</sup>. Amongst all the Puranas that mention the *Parashurama* tradition, the *Brahmanda Purana* mentions it with elaborate details in thirty-seven chapters. In fact, *Brahmanda purana* has been called the connecting link between the *Parashurama* story in the epics and that in the later prominent compositions of Western India<sup>101</sup>. This shows that the *puranas* take upon the earlier epics and *puranas* and give descriptions with some additions and sometimes reductions in the story, depending upon the understanding of the author and the contemporary requirements of the society.

Since the *Parashurama* tradition in *Brahmanda Purana* has been called the connecting link between the earlier epics and the later mythological and historical compositions, the stories mentioned in the *purana* need to be studied. The *Brahmanda Purana* mentions in detail the fight between *Parashurama* and *Kartavirya*, his extermination of all the *ksatriyas* from the earth and his performance of penance on the Mahendra Mountain in twenty four chapters. It

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<sup>96</sup> S S Janaki, *Parashurama*, *Journal Purana*, Vol. 8, No. 1, p. 54.

<sup>97</sup> B A Saletore, *Ancient Karnataka*, Vol I, pp. 10-11.

<sup>98</sup> S S Janaki, *Parashurama*, *Purana*, vol 8, No. 1, pp. 55.

<sup>99</sup> S S Janaki, *Parashurama*, *Purana*, vol 8, No. 1, pp. 56.

<sup>100</sup> B A Saletore, *Ancient Karnataka*, Vol I, p. 11.

<sup>101</sup> S S Janaki, *Parashurama*, *Purana*, vol 8, No. 1, p. 56.

also introduces *Brahma*, *Vishnu* and *Shiva* along with Lord Ganesha and Skanda who play important roles in shaping *Parashurama's* destiny. Jamadagni and *Parshurama* have been portrayed as typical *brahmanas* who were against the use of arms, since it was against the *varnashramadharmas*. Even when he makes the use of axe in particular circumstances, he is portrayed to have performed due to divine will. Then there are stories of Sagara of Ayodhya and *Parashurama* together. It also mentions of his penance at Mahendra *parvat* for twelve years along with Akrtavrana. It states that the sons and descendants of Sagara were also called Sagaras, which were the oceans<sup>102</sup>. This correlation of Parashurama with Sagara mentioned in the *Brahmanda Purana* probably served as the base of the creation of tales of *Sapta-Konkan* after the Western ocean receded on the command of *Parashurama*<sup>103</sup>.

It is mentioned in the *Brahmanda Purana* that Sagara had to perform the *Asvamedha yajna* and while searching for the desired horse, the sons of Sagara dug up the earth that was eventually filled up with water. The sagara (ocean) thus created subdued a vast portion of earth including Gokarna, the place of Siva worship. At this situation, the sages approached Parashurama for help and he requested Varuna to recede. *Parashurama* threw his sacrificial vessel in order to state the limits beyond which the sagara must recede, which fell at Surparaka, modern Sopara<sup>104</sup>. The tale serves as the starting point for the mythological event of the creation of Saptakonkanas that is found mentioned in the *upapuranas* and the *sthalapuranas* of Western India, namely *Sahyadrikhanda*, *Konkanakhyana*, *Gramapaddhati* and *Keraloltpatti*. However, in the present study, the *Sahyadrikhanda* and the *Konkanakhyana* have been referred according to the requirement of the study.

In the *Skh* (S), the *Parashurama* tradition has been discussed in chapter six as well as in chapter seven of *Uttarardha*<sup>105</sup>. The chapter starts with the description of *dana* given by Bali to Vamana, who was the incarnation of Vishnu. This *dana* was further given by Vamana to Kasyapa who again took turn and gave it away to Gowda *brahamans* and Dravidas who resided in the Aryavarta. In the Tretayuga, when Kartavirya and other kings occupied the land gifted to the *brahmanas*, they approached God for help, who took birth as Bhargava Rama, the son of Jamadagni and Renuka<sup>106</sup>. Bhargava Rama performed penance and Lord Siva gifted him an

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<sup>102</sup> S S Janaki, *Parashurama, Purana*, vol 8, No. 1, pp. 57-58.

<sup>103</sup> S S Janaki, *Parashurama, Purana*, vol 8, No. 1, p. 58.

<sup>104</sup> The description is mentioned in the paper *Parashurama*, authored by S S Janaki, published in *Journal Purana*, Vol 8, No. 1, pp. 52-82.

<sup>105</sup> J Gerson Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda, Uttarardha*, Chapter 6-7.

<sup>106</sup> Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda, Uttarardha*, Chapter 6, p. 324.

axe which popularized him as *Parashurama*<sup>107</sup>. During the time when Rama went to visit the tirtha kshetras, Kartavirya took away the calf of Kamadhenu. Angered by his action, *Parashurama* decided to eradicate the *ksatriyas* from the earth and thus took twenty one turns to fully dispose them off. However, after their eradication, he donated the entire land to Kasyapa, Vashishtha and other sages as a part of penance<sup>108</sup>. Since he had donated the land to Kasyapa, Narada suggested him to obtain a piece of land for himself from the ocean. Thus he shot an arrow in the sea and it receded beyond the point, thereby creating land available for him<sup>109</sup>. The land thus created was known as *Parashuramakshetra*. It consists of seven divisions, namely Kerala, Tulanga, Saurashtra, Konkana, Karhata and Barbara.<sup>110</sup>

It further states that a part of land with specified length and breadth was called as Gokarna where Lord Shiva known by the name Mahabala, started residing<sup>111</sup>. Towards the north of it, Narve is situated where the *Saptakotishwara* linga is established. Rama divided and donated the land to *brahmanas* and created *agraharas* especially for those who were qualified in Vedic learning<sup>112</sup>. The *brahmanas* of Karnata, Maharashtra, Tailanga, Gurjara, Kanyakubja, Chittaputa, Kanchi, Kaushal, Saurashtra, Devarashtra, Indukachcha, Madhyama *brahmanas*, those of Abhira, Dravida, Dakshinapatha, Magadha, Ahikshetra and Chitpavan *brahmanas* were donated the lands<sup>113</sup>. *Prashurama* promised to help them whenever they would be in trouble and proceeded to Mahendra *parvat* to meditate for their protection. The *brahmanas*, in order to test his promise, remembered him and he immediately appeared before him. He got furious on knowing their intention of calling him and cursed them. The *brahmanas* repented their action and asked him for forgiveness. He reduced the intensity of his curse and retired to Mahendra hill. The *brahmanas* continued to reside in their respective villages and *agraharas*<sup>114</sup>.

The chapter seven of Uttarardha once again describes the creation of land by *Parashurama*. The chapter states that after eradicating the *ksatriyas*, Bhargava Rama performed *asvamedha yajna*<sup>115</sup> and donated the entire land to sage Kasyapa. After donating the land, he moved towards west and reached the Sahyadri Mountains<sup>116</sup> that was full of various kinds of plants,

<sup>107</sup> Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda*, Uttarardha, Chapter 6, p. 324.

<sup>108</sup> Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda*, Uttarardha, Chapter 6, p. 325.

<sup>109</sup> The description has been provided in Rao, *Brahmanas of South India*, pp. 153-154.

<sup>110</sup> Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda*, p.326.

<sup>111</sup> Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda*, pp. 326-327.

<sup>112</sup> Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda*, p. 327.

<sup>113</sup> Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda*, p. 327.

<sup>114</sup> Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda*, pp. 328-329.

<sup>115</sup> Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda*, verse 6, p. 329.

<sup>116</sup> Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda*, verse 11, p. 330.

animals, birds, insects, fruits, precious stones, metals, water fountains, people of different tribes, beautiful women, highly learned sages who were performing penance. Standing atop the hills, he witnessed the huge and deep sea and requested him to recede so as to create land for himself. The sea agreed to recede and requested him to stand on Sahyadri and throw his axe. Where the axe will fall will be the limit till where the sea will constrict and the land thus created will belong to *Parashurama*<sup>117</sup>. As a result, the sea receded by three *yojana* distance with Kanyakumari as its southern limit and Nasik and Triyambakeshwar as the northern boundary. Since the land was newly created and had no residing *brahmanas*, he conferred the *yagyopavit*<sup>118</sup> on some people and made them *brahmanas*<sup>119</sup>. He settled the *brahmanas* in that region and blessed them to prosper and live happily. He also promised to help them if they face any problem or difficulty and then proceeded to Gokarn, where he worshipped Mahabala as per the rituals. However, the *brahmanas*, in order to test the promise made by *Parashurama*, remembered him while posing to be in grief. *Parashurama* reached them immediately and on getting to know their real motive, got infuriated<sup>120</sup>. He cursed them to ask for alms and feed themselves and be considered equivalent to shudras. Thereafter, he proceeded to Mahendra hill to perform penance.

In the last part of the chapter, it states that time passed by and then a king named Mayuravarmma, belonging to Surya vamsa ruled over the region. On noticing the shudra *brahmanas*, he went to Ahichchitra and brought with him the highly learned *brahmanas* from that place. He donated residential place to them and settled them in thirty-two villages in his state<sup>121</sup>. It says that in this manner, after obtaining land from the sea, settling people and constructing temples in the region, constructing gardens, planting trees and beautifying the place, the region was established.

The *Konkankhyana*, is the narration of the history of Saraswat *brahmanas*<sup>122</sup>, who mainly resided in Goa and later spread to adjacent neighbouring states of Maharashtra, Karnataka and Kerala on the western coast. It narrates the history of the Saraswats from the time of *Parashurama* to the period after the advent of Portuguese on the Goan soil. The first chapter of *Konkanakhyana Purvardha* states that the pure land of Konkan which spread through

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<sup>117</sup> Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda*, verse 26, p. 331.

<sup>118</sup> The sacred thread worn by brahmanas.

<sup>119</sup> Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda*, Chapter seven, verse 31, p. 332.

<sup>120</sup> Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda*, Chapter seven, verse 42, p. 332.

<sup>121</sup> Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda*, Chapter seven, verse 52, p. 333.

<sup>122</sup> Chandrakant Keni (ed.), *Konkanakhyana*, Introduction.

hundred yojana distance was created by *Parashurama*. It mentions that Gomanchal or Goa was the centre of Konkana. Shree Bhargava shot fourteen arrows in the sea and thus reclaimed hundred yojana land from the sea. After obtaining the fresh land, he wished to conduct *yajna*. Since the Saraswat *brahmanas* were the most suitable for conducting *yajna*, *Parashurama* brought them to the newly created land along with brahmanas of Kanyakubj, Utkal, Gaud, Maithil, Gurajara, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Andhra and Dravida, and settled them in different places<sup>123</sup>.

It further mentions the seven divisions of the land created by Bhargava, Kerala, Tulinga, Gorashtra, Konkana, Karhada, Varalata and Barbara. The verses have been directly taken from *Skh (S)*<sup>124</sup> and inserted in *Konkanakhayana*<sup>125</sup> with slight modifications. The text states that the Saraswat *brahmanas* were from Gaud country and Shree Bhargava settled them in central region of Konkana. He created *agraharas* for them in Gomant where they continued to reside.

The significance of the *Parashurama* tradition can be estimated from its mentions in several inscriptions of the early medieval period, when it was a popular trend among the composers of inscriptions to quote from the *puranic* content in order to validate the connection with *dharma* ideology. The Nallala plates of Ganga king Durvinita, dated to AD 522-523, eulogise the king as an incarnation of Lord Parashurama<sup>126</sup>. Vinayaditya, the Western Chalukya ruler is compared to the elephant God to kings like Parashurama, in records of 692 AD<sup>127</sup> and 694 AD<sup>128</sup>. The Ganga ruler Sripurusha Kongunivarma II is described as powerful as the son of Jamadagni in various grants<sup>129</sup>. The Western Chalukya ruler, Vikramaditya II, also known as Tribhuvanamalla II<sup>130</sup>, is eulogized as ‘the resoluteness of him who in order to destroy the Kshatriyas in the earth slew the kings twenty one times’<sup>131</sup>. In a record of 1160 AD, King Vishnuvardhana Bittiga Deva is eulogized as an axe to a tree or Parashurama to Sahasrabahu and that he was the destroyer of Kshatriyas, which was in reference to the Cholas<sup>132</sup>. The evidences indicate that the rulers employed the ancient texts like the *puranas* in order to claim validation of their authority. The Parashurama tradition was a motif that was associated with

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<sup>123</sup> Ibid, Uttarardha, Chapter 1, verses p. 25.

<sup>124</sup> Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda*, Uttarardha, chapter 6, verse 47-48, p. 326.

<sup>125</sup> *Konkanakhayana*, Purvardha, chapter 1, p. 25.

<sup>126</sup> Nallala plates of Durvinita Kongunivradha, *Mysore Archaeological Report*, 1924, p. 21.

<sup>127</sup> *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. 8, Sb 571, p. 92.

<sup>128</sup> *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. 11, Dg 66, p. 62.

<sup>129</sup> B A Saletore, *Ancient Karnataka*, Vol I, pp. 15-16.

<sup>130</sup> *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol 7, Sk 124, p. 97.

<sup>131</sup> B A Saletore, *Ancient Karnataka*, Vol I, p. 17.

<sup>132</sup> B A Saletore, *Ancient Karnataka*, Vol I, p. 18.



power and strength, which is the reason of its use in the *prasastis* of the Deccan rulers. The rulers sought validation of their authority through comparison of the ruler with the puranic traditions. Interestingly, in addition to symbolize the strength of the Hindu kings, the motif was also employed for the description of the Muslim invaders in medieval period. The Vilasa grant belonging to fourteenth century AD, composed in Sanskrit and Telugu, mentions *Parashurama* in relation to the Turuskas rulers<sup>133</sup>. It mentions that the Ahammada *Suratrana*, who was *yama* (*laya-kala*) to the kings, swiped out the royal families that were left undestroyed by *Jamadagnya*<sup>134</sup>.

Kesavan Veluthat states that *Keralolpatti*, a ‘Sanskritised Malayalam prose’<sup>135</sup> gives a description of the creation of land by Lord Parashurama that has an important place in the history of Kerala. The text mentions that Lord Parashurama created the western coastal land by throwing his axe in the Arabian Sea and the sea receded from that point. The land of Kerala was thus created that extended between Gokarna and Kanyakumari. Lord Parashurama brought *brahmanas* from the north and settled them in sixty four villages, out which thirty two were present in the Tulu region whereas thirty two are in the present state of Kerala<sup>136</sup>.

The *Gramapaddhati*, mentions that Kadamba ruler Mayurasarma brought and settled *brahmanas* in his kingdom in Karnataka region, while *Keralolpatti* maintains that Lord Parshurama himself donated land to *brahmanas*, because of which they are the ultimate owners of land<sup>137</sup>. The *Sahyadrikhanda* in chapter six mentions that Lord Parashurama brought and settled *brahmanas* from different regions in the north and settled them in sixty four villages. Chapter seven states that *Parashurama* converted the local fishermen into *brahmanas*, whom he later cursed to become *shudras*. It further adds that in the later age, Kadamba king Mayurasarma brought and settled *brahmanas* in thirty two villages, and donated land to them.

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<sup>133</sup> N Venkataramanayya, M Somashekhara Sarma, Vilasa Grant of Prolaya Nayaka, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 32, pp. 239- 278.

<sup>134</sup> N Venkataramanayya, M Somashekhara Sarma, Vilasa Grant of Prolaya Nayaka, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 32, p. 241; B D Chattopadhyaya, *Representing the Other?*, p. 58.

<sup>135</sup> Kesavan Veluthat, *The Early Medieval in South India*, p. 133.

<sup>136</sup> Kesavan Veluthat, *The Early Medieval in South India*, p. 135.

<sup>137</sup> Kesavan Veluthat, *The Early Medieval in South India*, pp. 136-137.

## COMPARISON OF STORIES IN SAHYADRIKHANDA AND KONKANAKHYANA

The *Parashurama* tradition can be seen to have continued from the times of Ramayana till the much later times of *Kaliyuga*. However, the tradition has undergone several changes over time. Rao suggests<sup>138</sup> that the story of *Parashurama* kshetra must have had begun as an oral tradition which was put in a written form by a particular community of society according to their requirements. He adds that the tradition spread with the spread of *brahmanas* on the western coast. The changes in the story are evident with their descriptions in various *puranas*. The *brahmanda purana* mentions the creation of land by throwing of sacrificial vessel into the sea by Rama Bhargava while the *Skh(S)* mentions two different items used for setting the limit of the sea to recede. In the sixth chapter of *Uttarardha*, it is mentioned that Rama shot an arrow into the sea and the sea receded beyond that point<sup>139</sup>, whereas the seventh chapter mentions the creation of land by *Parashurama* by throwing his axe into the sea<sup>140</sup>. This shows that the seventh chapter is a later extension added into the main text. The *Konkanakhyana* takes on the sixth chapter and states that the land was created by Shree Bhargava by shooting arrows into the sea. However, all the different stories point towards one central theme of reclamation of land from the western sea.

The next point of difference in the stories is about the regions created on the Western coast. The *Brahmanda purana* states that the regions of Aparanta and Surparaka were created by *Parashurama* by reclaiming land from the sea. The *Skh (S)* mentions about the creation of Sapta Konkana including regions extending from Kerala to Maharashtra<sup>141</sup>. In the next chapter, the boundaries of the land are stated to be from Kanyakumari to Nasik and Triyambakeshwar, which coincide with the Sapta-Konkana regions. It seems probable, that the authors of the later texts made use of the presence of a common coastline and extended the boundaries of created land in their works, for the purposes suited to validate their authority over the land. For example, the *Konkanakhyana* states that the Saraswat brahmanas were settled in the central region of Konkana, called Gomant or the present day Goa by Shree Bhargava himself. Since the author of the text was a Saraswat brahmana, he probably intended to claim the rights of his community over the land of Goa and portray them as rightful heirs.

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<sup>138</sup> Nagendra Rao, *Brahmanas of South India*, p. 169

<sup>139</sup> J Gerson Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda, Uttarardha*, Chapter 6, p. 325.

<sup>140</sup> J Gerson Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda, Uttarardha*, Chapter 7, p. 331.

<sup>141</sup> J Gerson Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda, Uttarardha*, Chapter 6, p. 326.

The texts also differ on the *brahmanas* who migrated to the Konkan region. The *Konkanakhyana* mentions the migration of *brahmanas* of Kanyakubj, Utkal, Gaud, Maithil, Gurajara, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Andhra and Dravida to the reclaimed land on the western coastal region<sup>142</sup>. The author specially mentions that the best of all *brahmanas* were the Saraswat *brahmanas*. The Saraswats are stated to be the most qualified and suitable for performing the *yajnas*<sup>143</sup>. It has been stated that the Saraswats were the *brahmanas* of Gaud country. Shree Bhargava settled them in *agraharas* in the Gomant region which is situated in the centre of Konkan<sup>144</sup>. *Skh(S)* mentions several statements on the migration and settlement of *brahmanas* in the newly reclaimed land from the western ocean by Lord *Parashurama*. In the first chapter of *Uttarardha* that discusses about the genesis of Chitpavan brahmins, it has been mentioned that after the creation of the land and establishing of various *teerth ksetras*<sup>145</sup> in the region, Parashurama invited *brahmanas* from various places in order to perform worship of the deities and performance of *yajnas*. When they refused to come, he created *brahmanas* from the people residing at that place and they were called Chitpavans. In due course of time, Shree Bhargava got angry of the newly formed *brahmanas* due to their behaviour and cursed them. After that it has been stated that *Parashurama* invited and settled ten sages at Kushashthali<sup>146</sup>. Their names of the sages were Bharadwaj, Kaushik, Vatsa, Kaudinya, Kasyapa, Vashishtha, Jamadagni, Vishwamitra, Gautam and Atri<sup>147</sup>. Chapter four of *Uttarardha* mentions the settlement of the families of *brahmanas* of ten *gotras*, though it mentions their settlement at Kushashthali and Lotalyaam<sup>148</sup>, Mathagram, Churamani ksetra and Dipavati<sup>149</sup>. Chapter six mentions the *brahmanas* belonging to Karnata, Maharashtra, Tailanga, Gurjara, Chittaputa, from the banks of river Payosini<sup>150</sup>, from Aryavarta; Kanchi, Kaushala, Saurashtra, Devarashtra, Indukachcha and Madhyma *brahmanas* from the banks of river Kaveri as well as *brahmanas* of Abhira, Dravida, Dakshinapatha, Avanti, Magadha; *brahmanas* from Ahikshetra and the Chitpavan *brahmanas* were settled in the *agraharas* in Konkan region by giving them land grants<sup>151</sup>. The seventh chapter once again mentions the settlement of *brahmanas* on the coastal region of Konkan. However, in this chapter it is mentioned that *Parashurama* converted

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<sup>142</sup> Chandrakant Keni, *Konkanakhyana*, Chapter 1, p. 25.

<sup>143</sup> Keni, *Konkanakhyana*, Chapter 1, verse 45, p. 25.

<sup>144</sup> Keni, *Konkanakhyana*, Chapter 1, Verse 60, p. 26.

<sup>145</sup> Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda*, *Uttarardha*, Chapter 1, verses 26-29, p. 303.

<sup>146</sup> Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda*, *Uttarardha*, Chapter 1, verse 47, p. 304.

<sup>147</sup> Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda*, *Uttarardha*, Chapter 1, verses 48-49, p. 305.

<sup>148</sup> Lotalyaam can be identified with present Lotulim

<sup>149</sup> Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda*, *Uttarardha*, Chapter 4, verses 4-9, pp. 311-312.

<sup>150</sup> Payoshini is the ancient name of river Purna, a tributary of River Tapti in Maharashtra.

<sup>151</sup> Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda*, *Uttarardha*, Chapter 6, verses 57-63, p. 327.

fishermen into *brahmanas* by indoctrining them with the sacred thread<sup>152</sup>. Unlike the *Konkanakhyana*, the *Saraswats* are not seen been given special importance in the *Sahyadrikhanda*, except in few chapters of *Uttarardha*. It is also significant to note that while the *Skh(S)* mentions the migration of *brahmanas* from different places, it takes care to mention them with reference to the geographical regions of their original homes. It is helpful in assessing the relationship of the mentioned geographical regions with the social situations of the Konkan region. The *Konkanakhyana*, on the other hand, omits these geographical details and elaborates only about the settlement of *Saraswats* in the region of Gomant along with their social and cultural details. This is probably because the *Konkanakhyana* is based on the oral tradition transmitted through different *Saraswat* families of Goa who resided in different regions, than any written literature, at the time of its composition.

The differences in the stories occur gradually in due course of time. Starting from the *Brahmanda Purana* to the *Konkanakhyana*, a gradual change can be observed in the tales which probably are adapted depending upon the contemporary social situations.

*Teerth Kshetras* and the significance attached with them are highlighted in *Skh(S)*. The *Uttarardha* of the text contains chapters that deliberate on the significance of the *Gomanchal* region, its genesis and several places of pilgrimage that are present in the mentioned region. It states the illustriousness of rivers as well and while stating the importance of the *teerth kshetras*, they have been compared to the *teerth khsetras* at other places in India<sup>153</sup>. The significance of several *teerth kshetras* in located in Goa have been elaborated upon by adding several separate sections to the *Skh*. They appear as a part of the same text. The eminence of the areas has been described under titles like *Chandrachuda mahatmya*, *Nagavhya mahatmya*, *Varunapur mahatmya*, *Kamakshi mahatmya* and *Maangish mahatmya*. The *akhyanas* in the chapters exclusively mention about the worship of Lord Shiva and Goddess Parvati in various forms in these regions, which is said to have brought blessings and prosperity to the people and the *kshetras*. The *Kamakshi mahatmya* and *Mangish mahatmya* mention about Lord Vishnu as well. The tales that describe the heroic zeal of the gods and goddesses, take upon the stories mentioned in other *puranas* as well. Example being the tale of Goddess Durga as *Mahishasurmardini* which has been elaborated in the *Kamakshi mahatmya* of *Skh(S)*<sup>154</sup>, the

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<sup>152</sup> Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda*, *Uttarardha*, chapter 7, verses 30-31, pp. 331-332.

<sup>153</sup> Da Cunha, *Skh(S)*, In the verse 26 of Chapter 3 of *Uttarardha* of *Skh(S)*, the importance of Dipavati has been compared to that of Kedarnath, p. 310.

<sup>154</sup> For details see J Gerson Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda*, *Kamakshi Mahatmya*.

tale of serpents association with Lord Shiva that has been described in *Nagavyha mahatmya*<sup>155</sup>. The text contains vivid and intricate description implying the thrust of stories associated with local places of pilgrimage in Goa. Being represented as a part of a puranic text, the significance of the narration is elevated even more due to the aspect of legitimacy obtained by being a part of a regional *purana* that claims to be a part of *mahapurana*.

Pargiter states that out of the three categories of *brahmanas*, two were those who laud the sages and other *brahmanas* and those who advocated the significance of *teerth ksetras*<sup>156</sup>. He states that it is difficult to differentiate the quasi-historical tales from fables that are mythological, as the former has a tendency to treat their subject matter in a mythological way or to introduce mythology<sup>157</sup>. He elaborates that the brahmanic tales lack historical sense and they tend to create only allusions of history.

## ELEMENTS OF STATE AND LEGITIMACY IN SAHYADRIKHANDA

The text of *Skh(S)* highlights the social status of the *brahmanas* amongst all other *varnas*. They are referred to as *dvijottam*, *sarvashreshtha brahmanas* at several places, which signifies their highest regard in the society. Kesavan Veluthat states regarding *Keralolpatti*<sup>158</sup> that the text had an important social purpose that aided to specify the significance of the *brahmanas* who were the source of social legitimacy<sup>159</sup>.

The first and prominent aspect of state that appears in the text is mention of land grants given to *brahmanas* by Parashurama as well as other rulers. Apart from the *brahmanas*, the text mentions about the presence of people belonging to all *varnas* namely, *brahmanas*, *Kshatriyas*, *vaishyas* as well as *shudras*<sup>160</sup>. It also mentions that the people of different *varnas* performed their duties devotedly and coexisted peacefully<sup>161</sup>.

Chapter three of *Uttarardha* states the theory of the genesis of Konkana region by *Parashurama*, which is also known as *Parashuramakshetra* taking after his name. The Chapter

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<sup>155</sup> For details see J Gerson Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda, Nagavyha Mahatmya*.

<sup>156</sup> F E Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 1-14.

<sup>157</sup> F E Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 1-14.

<sup>158</sup> *Keralolpatti* is a text that is composed in Sanskritised Malayalam, which mentions about the genesis of land by Lord Parashurama, that led to the creation of Kerala, Kesavan Veluthat, *The Early Medieval in South India*, pp. 134-136.

<sup>159</sup> Kesavan Veluthat, *The Early Medieval in South India*, p. 135.

<sup>160</sup> Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda, Uttarardha, Kamakshi Mahatmya*, Chapter 1.

<sup>161</sup> Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda, Uttarardha, Kamakshi Mahatmya*, Chapter 1.

states that *Shree Bhargava* brought *brahmanas* and settled them in the village and *agrahara* at Kushashthali at Gomantak<sup>162</sup>. It also states that the *brahmanas* from Trihotra came and settled in various regions of Konkan, amongst which some places were located in present day Goa. The reason of bringing *brahmanas* from outside being that the region was newly created by reclaiming land from the Western ocean, hence there were no *brahmanas* residing in the region. They were provided with residential areas and constituted towards study of Vedas and other sacred texts as well as to perform religious worship in the regions. These regions were called as *teerth ksetras* or the places of pilgrimage. Parashurama has been said to belong to *treta yuga*. This aspect not only takes the history of Goan region to a much earlier period, but also establishes the fact that the *brahmanas* have been important organs of state since antiquity. Chapter six narrates the story of *prithvidana* or the gift of land given by Bali to Vamana (incarnation of Lord Vishnu) who in turn gave the land to sage Kasyapa. Kasyapa gifted the land to Gowda *brahmanas* and Dravidas residing in Aryavarta<sup>163</sup>. It continues to narrate the story of Bhargava Rama in Tretayuga when he creates Konkan region and grants the land to *brahmanas* for their residence and scholarship. Chapter seven of *uttarardha* once again mentions the inviting and settlement of *brahmanas* by Parashurama in the Konkan region. It further mentions that in a later period, a king named Mayuravarmma belonging to the *surya vamsa* ruled in the region. He invited *brahmanas* from Ahichchtra and gave them land in thirty-two villages to reside in his kingdom<sup>164</sup>. The tradition brings to light the significance of *brahmanas* in the society since the times of Parashurama, which was followed in the later centuries as well. The content in chapter seven indicates that the tradition of giving land grants to *brahmanas* started from *treta yuga* and the same tradition was followed in the *Kali yuga*. In the section of *Patityagramanirnaya* that comprise chapter nine to chapter nineteen of *Uttarardha* of *Skh*, several instances related to donation of land to *brahmanas* have been mentioned. The tenth chapter mentions the purification of the sons of *brahmana* widows by a highly learned priest. It is also stated that they were given residence in five villages established by the ‘foremost *brahmanas*’<sup>165</sup>. Chapter eleven mentions that for obtaining the favours of land and wealth, the *brahmanas* serve two wealthy *sudras* for a long period<sup>166</sup>, who later gifts them land, money and cattle in return of their services. Chapter twelve mentions that in order to obtain a certain piece of land, some *brahmanas* attempt deceit and try to influence the king

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<sup>162</sup> Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda*, Uttarardha, Chapter 3, verse 17.

<sup>163</sup> Rao, *Brahmanas of South India*, pp. 152-153.

<sup>164</sup> Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda*, Uttarardha, Chapter 7, verses 50-52.

<sup>165</sup> Levitt, *The Patityagramanirnaya*, p. 178.

<sup>166</sup> Levitt, *The Patityagramanirnaya*, p. 183.

with lies. However, on getting to know the truth, those *brahmanas* are excommunicated by the other *brahmanas*<sup>167</sup>. Chapter fifteen mentions an interesting incident with respect to Mayuravarmma. It mentions that when he brought *brahmanas* from outside and intended to settle them in his kingdom by giving them land, the *brahmanas* already residing in the region objected to his actions. They insisted that the land was owned by them as Sree Bhargava had given the land to them. However, Mayuravarmma gave them four villages to reside and gave the remaining land to the *brahmanas* from outside<sup>168</sup>. Chapter eighteen expresses the story of a *brahmana* and a king named Hemamalin, wherein the king acknowledges the honour of the *brahmana*, respects him and bestows him with gift of land as well as riches<sup>169</sup>.

In the preceding chapters, the significance of *brahmanas* for the state during the early medieval as well as medieval period in Goa has been discussed. It has also been discussed that *brahmanas* were revered by the ruling dynasties and were given land grants as *dana* by the kings. The current discussion proves that the ruling dynasties of medieval Goa upheld the puranic traditions of giving *dana* and *dakshina* to the *brahmanas* and settling them in their kingdoms. The *brahmanas* played significant role in state formation and were considered guardians of *dharma*. The rulers thereby created link with the *puranas* and *dharmasastras* by continuing the ancient traditions enshrined in them. The puranic link helped to validate the rule of the kings by presenting them as the abiders of the ancient traditions. The philosophical association with the *puranas* proved advantageous to the ruling dynasties in order to venerate the *brahmanas* and thereby securing legitimacy of their kingship. The association of the rulers of medieval period of Goa with the *puranas* is evident through the inscriptions issued by the kings. The copper-plate inscriptions abound with contents revealing puranic linkage. Daud Ali states that *puranas* set the doctrine to which other later historical writings submitted or followed<sup>170</sup>. He says that the Sanskrit inscriptions of post-Gupta age issued by the kings, utilise the 'puranic coordinates of ontology, political theology and cosmology into their own present'<sup>171</sup>, thereby creating their own place amongst the puranic narratives<sup>172</sup>. Pariti states that genealogies are the links that connect the present with the *puranic* past<sup>173</sup>. However, it is not

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<sup>167</sup> Levitt, *The Patityagramanirnaya*, p. 190.

<sup>168</sup> Levitt, *The Patityagramanirnaya*, p. 208.

<sup>169</sup> Levitt, *The Patityagramanirnaya*, p. 227.

<sup>170</sup> Daud Ali, Royal Eulogy as World History- Rethinking Copper Plate Inscriptions in Cola India, in Ronald Inden, Jonathan Walters and Daud Ali, *Querying The Medieval-Texts and The History of Practices in South Asia*, p. 179.

<sup>171</sup> Daud Ali, Royal Eulogy as World History- Rethinking Copper Plate Inscriptions in Cola India, in Ronald Inden, Jonathan Walters and Daud Ali, *Querying The Medieval*, p. 179.

<sup>172</sup> Daud Ali, Royal Eulogy as World History- Rethinking Copper Plate Inscriptions in Cola India, in Ronald Inden, Jonathan Walters and Daud Ali, *Querying The Medieval*, p.183.

<sup>173</sup> Pariti, *Genealogy, Time and Identity*, p. 14.

only the genealogies, rather political theology as well that clarifies the association appropriately. The elements of state evident in the *Skh* can be observed to have continued in the Sanskrit inscriptions of medieval Goa.

The seventh and eighth chapter of the *Uttarardha* mentions about the founder of the Kadamba dynasty, Mayuravarmma. He is introduced as a ruler belonging to *Surya vamsa*. It has been mentioned that Mayuravarmma went to Ahichchtra and brought *brahmanas* from Ahichchtra with him, to his kingdom and settled them in thirty two villages. This instance is significant on the basis of several points. Firstly, it tells about the relationship between the rulers and the *brahmanas*. The kings gave importance to the *brahmanas* and therefore made special attempts to invite them from regions outside their kingdom. It has been mentioned in the *Skh* that *brahmanas* of fallen status were residing in the kingdom ruled by Mayuravarmma. But he still goes to Ahichchtra and brings *brahmanas* of high social status with him, to his land and settled them in thirty two villages. It indicates that the social norms of the *brahmanas* were revered by the rulers, which in turn is indicative of high merit accorded to them in the state. This is in consonance with the statement of Burton Stein who argues that the *brahmanas* were the interpreters of the ideological framework that was followed by the state<sup>174</sup>.

Secondly, the instance is significant to understand that the kings followed the rituals which were continuous in the geographical region since early times. Mayurasarmma had the capital of his kingdom at Banavasi, which was earlier ruled by Chutukulananda dynasty, followed by the Pallavas. The records of these dynasties mention about the land gifts given to *brahmanas* by the rulers<sup>175</sup>. In a way, the rulers continued the political and socio-religious processes that were a trend in the region and served as a source of legitimacy for the kings. The Kadambas of Banavasi were a new dynasty that established their state with the core territory at Banavasi in Karnataka. The new rulers required to obtain validation of their authority from the people in order to strengthen the newly formed state. It was for the same reason that they gave *dana* to the *brahmanas* and settled them in *agraharas* created for them. Rao states that 'brahmanical traditions standardized the hegemony of both, the *brahmanas* and the state'<sup>176</sup>. Kulke mentions that the need for legitimacy and validation of authority, especially of local kingdoms, led to the creation of *brahmana* settlements in the post-Gupta period<sup>177</sup>. He also states that the *brahmanas*

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<sup>174</sup> Burton Stein, *Peasant, State and Society in Medieval South India*, pp. 6-9, cited in Rao, *Brahmanas of South India*, p. 201.

<sup>175</sup> For details see D C Sircar, *Successors of the Satvahanas in Lower Deccan*.

<sup>176</sup> Nagendra Rao, *Brahmanas of South India*, p. 173.

<sup>177</sup> Hermann Kulke, *The State in India*, cited in Rao, *Brahmanas of South India*, p. 201.



integrated the divergent local cults into the Sanskritic culture<sup>178</sup>. Hence, the act of settling *brahmanas* in the kingdom by the king can be understood as an act to obtain favour of the influential community, which was significant for state formation. Though Levitt doubts in believing the historical aspect of *Skh* and criticizes scholars for believing in the text for its historical facts<sup>179</sup>, but if one compares the events mentioned in *Skh* with that of epigraphic records of contemporary and previous dynasty, he can believe that the *Skh* cannot be ignored altogether<sup>180</sup>.

The text of *Skh* omits the mention of the presence of *Jains* in the region. *Jainism* and *Buddhism* had been popular in the region of Goa and surrounding regions of Maharashtra and Karnataka since before early centuries of Christian era, which is evident through the inscriptions of Asoka, Satavahanas and that of Bhojas, Konkan Mauryas, Chalukyas of Badami and Goa Kadambas. The instances of grants made to the *viharas* and *chaityas* of Buddhists and Jains by the rulers, appear in the land grant charters of the kings<sup>181</sup>. The grants to the *Jains* appear in the records of the Goa Kadambas. Evidences of *Jain basadis* in Goa and Karnataka region are also found in the inscriptions, which have been discussed in the previous chapters. However, the *Skh* does not mention the presence of *Jain basadis* amongst the residents of the geographical territory. It focusses only on establishing the status of the *brahmanas* and legitimizing their claims on the land. The struggle of the *brahmanas* against the *Jains* for gaining merit in the kingdom is evident through the text in *Skh*, as the *brahmanas* project themselves as legitimate owners of the tracts of land. It is for the same reason that the text provides a vivid description and glorifies the *teerth kshetras* present in Goa.

The text mentions about agriculture in the newly reclaimed land near the western sea coast. The chapter seven of *Uttarardha* describes the land before the reclamation of land from sea. It has been described as being full of forests, gardens and hills. It describes that the land was full of trees producing fruits, flowering plants, variety of birds and animals. Later he created land and settled *brahmanas* over there. He is mentioned to have blessed the *brahmanas* with prosperity and said that the land is very fertile and the inmates will be full of wealth and live peacefully. It is indicative of expanding agriculture in the land, which would bring prosperity to the people. The first *adhyaya* of *Chandrachura mahatmya* mentions that the river Kushavati,

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<sup>178</sup> Rao, *Brahmanas of South India*, p. 201.

<sup>179</sup> Levitt, Reflections on Sahyadrikhanda, *Studia Orientalia Electronica*, pp. 151-161.

<sup>180</sup> Nagendra Rao's statement substantiates the argument. He says that even for all the mistakes in the text of *Skh*, the text cannot be ignored for its importance

<sup>181</sup> For details, refer to the chapters 3 and 4 of this work.

which has emerged from the feet of *Brahma*, feeds the adjacent areas with water. Verses 15-16 of the chapter discuss the importance of agriculture in the region which is possible due to the presence of river Kushavati. The second *adhyaya* also mentions the significance of the rivers flowing in the *teerth ksetra* that includes the utilization of water for domestic as well as for agricultural purposes. The expansion of agriculture also indicates the increased involvement of local people who would help in agriculture.

The text also indicates towards the presence of *janapadas* and movement of people to and from the other *janapadas* to the settlements in Goa. It has been mentioned that due to the presence of *tirtha kshetras* in the coastal region, people from other *janapadas* travelled to visit the *tirtha* and paid homage to God. It is indicative of the development of the region from pre-state to state society. As argued by Kesavan Veluthat, the temple represented the 'Puranic/Agamaic religion'<sup>182</sup> and was used for legitimizing the social and political structure in Southern part of country during eighth-ninth centuries AD. As has been discussed earlier, the period of composition of *Skh* varies from fourth century AD till the sixteenth century AD. The documentation of the significance of the mentioned places of pilgrimage as well as highlighting the temples of *Shiva* and Goddess *Durga*, probably served the function of legitimizing the socio-political order during the respective period.

### **AIM OF SAHYADRIKHANDA**

*Skh* is the representation of the society of its contemporary times. It is a historical account of the concerned geographical region, right from the time of its genesis up to the sixteenth or seventeenth century of Christian era. *Konkanakhyana* is obviously a text composed later than the *Skh*, which however was completed by 1721 AD. The text has been composed with few aims in consideration. The foremost aim of *Skh* is to bring into focus the geographical region of the West coast of India, which otherwise was nowhere in the mainstream of *puranas*. The epics like *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* give references to *Shree Bhargava Rama*, who has been called the creator of Konkan region. Various *puranas* carry forward the tale of Parashurama by describing his life story in detail. However, the focus remains largely on the heroic character of Parashurama. It does not bring into light the significance of the Western coastal region, the places of pilgrimage and the people who inhabited since the time of its

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<sup>182</sup> Kesavan Veluthat, Religious Symbols in Political Legitimation: The Case of Early Medieval South India, *Social Scientist*, Vol 21, No. 1/2, Jan-Feb, 1993, pp. 22-33

creation. The *Skh* aims to promote the geographical territory of Konkana, its *teerth ksetras* and the *brahmanas* residing in the region.

It claims to be a part of *Skp* that has been categorized as a *mahapurana*. Such claims provide validity to the *sthalapurana* and boosts its significance. It is for the same reason that *Skh* is styled in demeanor of *Skp*. *Skh* being the creation of several local genius, who tried to create and claim logical link with greater *puranas* by incorporating certain themes of antiquity common to the *mahapuranas*<sup>183</sup>. R C Hazra informs that the *puranas* attempt to re-establish the norms of *varnaashramadharm*a in the society<sup>184</sup>. The eighteen mahapuranas highlight the importance of *varnashramadharm*a and associate it with blessings from God and well as sins on account of not following the norms<sup>185</sup>. The *Skh* that claims to be a part of *Skp*, also brings into focus the norms of the society. The chapters mention that the people of the land of Konkan followed the norms of *varnashramadharm*a, fulfilled each own duties while living together peacefully and happily<sup>186</sup>.

The Parashurama tradition myth has been utilized in the *Skh* as an agenda for greater purposes. Firstly it serves to provide antiquity and legitimacy to the huge importance being attached to the *sthalapurana*. Secondly, it also justifies the claims of ownership of the land by the *brahmanas*. It further caters to provide an aura of historical consciousness, to have involved the details of events and people involved in the construction of the history of the region.

Rao states<sup>187</sup> that the brahmanical texts like *Skh* and *Gramapadhdhati* attempt to claim superior social status for themselves in the larger society. Levitt states that a high ritual status does not necessarily mean dominance in the village<sup>188</sup>. The determination of the dominating status of a caste in a village depends in part on a ritual rank, as well as on their economic status and land ownership. Patil discusses the disparities between different *brahmana* groups that occur as a part of competition amongst them for higher ranking in social hierarchy<sup>189</sup>. She suggests that even within the *brahmana* community, the status varied depending upon factors like

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<sup>183</sup> Rao, *Brahmanas of South India*, p. 164

<sup>184</sup> R C Hazra, *Social Rites and Customs in the Puranas*, pp. 238-239.

<sup>185</sup> R C Hazra, *Social Rites and Customs in the Puranas*, pp. 239-241.

<sup>186</sup> J Gerson Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda, Kamakshi Mahatmya*, Chapter 1, Dialogues of Narada muni describe the social conditions of the Western coastal region.

<sup>187</sup> Rao, *Brahmanas of South India*, p. 172.

<sup>188</sup> Levitt, *The Patityagramaniraya*, p.

<sup>189</sup> Urmila Patil, Conflict, Identity and Narratives- The Brahman Communities of Western India from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries, *Unpublished PhD Thesis*, p. 6.

occupation, learned status, wealth and caste affiliations<sup>190</sup>. It shows that there were disparities within the *brahmana* community that were utilized by the members to compete against each other, so as to gain higher social status. A higher social status of *brahmanas* aided to get state sanction and thereby obtain land grants and other favours from the authorities. In other words, a higher social status ensured better economic status. The text of *Skh* helped to ascertain high social status of *brahmana* community. The text intends to lay claim of *brahmanas* over the land on the western coastal region, right from the period associated with Parashurama tradition of reclamation of land from the sea.

*Skh* mentions about the significance of *dana* of land, which is done perpetually beginning with God to sages and to the *brahmanas*. The same tradition was continued by the kings. Parashurama is said to have donated the entire earth to sage Kashyapa. Then he reclaimed land from the sea and donated some land to the *brahmanas* whom he settled on the western coast. Kings donated land to the *brahmanas*, established their settlements in their ruled territories in the form of villages and *agraharas*. It is also mentioned that some of the *brahmanas* became *patitya* in the course of their attempts to false claims over land that was proven wrong eventually, which in turn degraded the social status of the concerned *brahmanas*. The text also mentions the grants of land to the fallen *brahmanas*. The *brahmanas* are seen eager to establish their claims over lands which they did not own in reality (Chapter 12). They are also seen ready to present false information to the king in order to obtain the benefit of land as gift from king, which is evident from an event mentioned in chapter eleven of *Skh* that forms a part of *Patityagramanirnaya*. Hence the text actually attempts to justify the ownership of land by the *brahmanas*. The author of *Skh* attempts to authenticate the claims through the fabrication of puranic origins of the traditions.

*Skh* aims to preserve the traditions of the society as depicted in the texts. Traditions like the creation of land by *Parashurama*, the tradition of *brahmana* migration, traditions of *dana* and *dakshina* to the *brahmanas* are presented in the text. These traditions are continued in the inscriptions issued by the kings ruling over Goa. The rulers claim legitimacy by creating links with the traditions of antiquity enshrined in *puranic* texts like *Skh*, *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*. As stated by Rao, the traditions aid the *brahmanas* to ‘dominate fertile agrarian tracts by claiming higher social statuses<sup>191</sup>. Similar trend has been observed in the inscriptions

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<sup>190</sup> Urmila Patil, Conflict, Identity and Narratives- The Brahman Communities of Western India from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries, *Unpublished PhD Thesis*, pp. 84-87.

<sup>191</sup> Rao, *Brahmanas of South India*, p. 201.

of the kings ruling in Goa, which mention that the *brahmanas* were gifted agriculturally fertile lands<sup>192</sup>. Not only the kings, rather the ministers and rich traders also made land grants to *brahmanas* in order to achieve merit in the society. The merit in turn was validated through the association with the *puranic* text.

## THE INDEGENOUS TRADITIONS OF GOA

The traditions of Goa have their roots in the *Skh*. The text mentions about various *teerth kshetras* of Goa and the associated Gods with them. It brings to light the association of the people with the Vedic gods namely Shiva, Parvati, Durga, Vishnu among others. Although, apart from worship of Brahmanic deities, some section of Goa population also followed *Jainism* and *Buddhism* faith. The inscriptions of the Goa rulers where they make grants for *Buddhist viharas* and for *Jain basadis* and *chaityas* serve as evidence of the popularity of these faiths<sup>193</sup>. The *Gazetteer of Goa* mentions about the findings of *Buddhist* caves, a statue of *Buddha* as well as about the *Jain basadis* in Goa<sup>194</sup>. The Goa Kadamba inscriptions attest the presence of Arab merchants in the region. The charter of Jayakesideva I<sup>195</sup> of 1053 AD, states about the construction of a mosque which was provided for by the king. There is another mention of an Arab holding important post under the administration of Goa Kadambas. It indicates some influence of Islamic culture on the local traditions of Goa. However, the *Skh* is silent about the prevalence of other faiths in the region and mentions regarding the *brahmanic* deities and their importance only. Mitragotri states that *Vaishnavism*, *Shaivism* and *Shakti* worship were widespread in Goa. He also mentions about the patronage of *Buddhism* and *Jainism* by the kings and substantiates it with the findings of *Jain basadis* in Bicholim taluka and in Bandivade of Ponda taluka<sup>196</sup>. However, he has omitted the mention of Muslim worship centers, while stating about the tolerance of all religions by the rulers of Goa<sup>197</sup>.

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<sup>192</sup> The inscriptions mention the *dana* of *khajjana* lands to *brahmanas*, which has been discussed in the previous chapters.

<sup>193</sup> The inscriptions of Bhojas and Konkan Mauryas have occurrences of grants given to the *Buddhists*. The records of Goa Kadambas have instances of *Jain* grants. All these records have been discussed in chapters three and four respectively.

<sup>194</sup> For details see V T Gune, *The Gazetteer of Goa*, Part I, p. 58.

<sup>195</sup> P. Pissurlencar, Goa Charter of Jayakesideva I, Dr P Pissurlencar, *O Oriente Portugues*, No. 22, pp. 386-398.

<sup>196</sup> V R Mitragotri, *Social and Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagar period*, p. 123.

<sup>197</sup> V R Mitragotri, *Social and Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagar period*, p. 123.

## TRADITIONS MENTIONED IN SAHYADRIKHANDA AND KONKANAKHYANA

The *Skh*, *Konkanakhyana* and the inscriptions of the rulers of Goa give an insight into the traditions of the region. The *Skh* mentions the brahmanic traditions from the period of the claiming of land by Sree Bhargava Rama from the sea. The *Parashurama* tradition is the foremost tradition that has been described in several chapters of *Skh*<sup>198</sup>. It describes the genesis of the land of Konkan from the sea and the settlement of *brahmanas* in the region by Sree Bhargava Rama. The emphasis on the settlement of *brahmanas* in the Konkan region in *Skh* emphasizes the prevalence of brahmanic traditions. Since the text excludes the mention of any other faith in the region, it tries to portray the ubiquity of brahmanic faith and describes various Gods and Goddesses belonging to the faith.

Another tradition of distinction is the *pancha gauda* and *pancha dravida* tradition, enshrined in the *Uttarardha* section of *Skh*. The first chapter of *Uttarardha* that is titled *Chitpavanbrahmanotpatti*, discusses the *pancha dravida*<sup>199</sup> and *pancha gauda*<sup>200</sup> categories of *brahmanas*. It says that *Dravida*, *Tailanga*, *Karnata*, *Madhyadesa* and *Gurjara* comprise the *pancha dravida brahmanas* while *Trihotra*, *Agnivaishav*, *Kanyakubja*, *Kanojia* and *Maitrayan* comprise the *pancha gauda brahmanas*. The chapter also mentions about the *brahmanas* from Kashmir<sup>201</sup>. Madhav M Deshpande has discussed about the classification of *brahmanas* into two groups, *pancha gauda* and *pancha dravida* as found in the *Skh*<sup>202</sup>. This tradition has a significant bearing on the choice of language for the inscriptions of the kings which has been observed to be dependent on the region of origin of concerned *brahmanas*<sup>203</sup>. This aspect will be discussed subsequently.

The narration of *Skh* is in the form of dialogue between *Suta*, *Shaunaka*, *Skanda*, *Shiv*, *Ishwar* among others. The characters involved in the discussion portrays the inclination towards the dieties of brahmanic pantheon. The *Gomanchal ksetra mahatmya* starts with the conversation between *Skanda* and *Shiva*, wherein *Shiva* narrates the significance of *Gomanchal*. Lord *Shiv* states that the *brahmanas* worshipped God Mangeesh, who has been described as a form of *Shiva*<sup>204</sup>. He further elaborates on the significance of God Mangeesh and mentions that all the

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<sup>198</sup> For details see the discussion on *Parashurama* tradition discussed earlier in the chapter.

<sup>199</sup> Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda, Uttarardha*, Chapter 1, verse 2.

<sup>200</sup> Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda, Uttarardha*, Chapter 1, verse 3.

<sup>201</sup> Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda, Uttarardha*, Chapter 1, verse 9.

<sup>202</sup> Madhav M Deshpande, 2010, p. 45, cited in Levitt, *The Patityagramaniraya*, p. 46.

<sup>203</sup> The mentioned aspect has been discussed in chapter 3 and 4, where it has been mentioned that the rulers used that language in the inscriptions which could appeal the audience.

<sup>204</sup> Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda, Uttarardha*, Chapter 3, verse 3.

activities were conducted as per his wishes. This indicates the validation of brahmanic traditions by associating them with the Gods themselves. The chapter mentions the importance of *Brahma* and *Vishnu* on earth and goes on to elaborate that the *brahmanas* from Tirhut, who were settled in Gomanchal by Lord *Parashurama*, always worshipped *Shiv*. In the same chapter, it is mentioned that the *brahmanas* were settled by *Parashurama* in Kushashthali, identified as present day Cortalim in Goa<sup>205</sup>. It further states that *Parashurama* established Mahadevi Mahalakshmi Mahalsa, Shanta Durga and Nagesh. The chapter mentions about various *tirtha kshetras* present in the region namely *Chandra tirtha*, *Bhaskar tirtha*, *Indra tirtha*, *Chudamani tirth*, *Dipavati kshetra*<sup>206</sup>. They have been described as sacred places of pilgrimage. *Dipavati kshetra*, known as Divadi Island in the present time, has been described as the place where seven sages established the *Shiva linga*, which is known as *Saptakotishwara*<sup>207</sup>. The significance of worshipping Lord Shiva in the form of *Saptakotishwara* has been highlighted by stating that on visiting and worshipping *Saptakotishwara*, people receive more blessings as compared to blessings obtained on paying homage to *Kedarnath*<sup>208</sup>. It has been mentioned that *Parashurama* worshipped Lord Mahabala, a form of *Shiva*, in Gokarn, after creating the land of Konkan<sup>209</sup>.

The third part of *Skh* describes the significance of various *teerth ksetras* which comprise of different places in Goa. The *Chandrachud mahatmya* is about the *teerth* at present day Chorao Island in Goa. It discusses the significance of river Kushavati for the area and about the importance of worshipping Lord Shiva. *Nagavhya mahatmya* relates to Nagave or Nagoa, a village in Salcette that lies adjacent to Verna. The *Nagavyha mahatmya* discusses the significance of the worship of nagas, the serpents and they have been associated with Lord Shiva. The next discussion titled *Varunapurmahatmya* is about Verna, the ancient name of which was Varunapur. In the *Varunapurmahatmya*, *Parashurama* mentions the importance of worshipping Goddess *Durga*. He also mentions thirty-five names of *Durga*<sup>210</sup>. The various *mahatmyas* discuss the importance of deities like *Shanta Durga*, *Mahalsa*, *Kamakshi*, *Saptakotishwar*<sup>211</sup> and of a village in Goa named *Shankhavali*, currently known as Sancoale. Apart from these deities, the *ganas* of *Shiva* have also been mentioned. The section narrating

<sup>205</sup> Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda, Uttarardha*, Chapter 3, verse 17.

<sup>206</sup> Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda, Uttarardha*, Chapter 3, verses 21-23.

<sup>207</sup> Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda, Uttarardha*, Chapter 3, verses 24-25.

<sup>208</sup> Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda, Uttarardha*, Chapter 3, verse 26.

<sup>209</sup> Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda, Uttarardha*, Chapter 7, verse 37.

<sup>210</sup> Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda, Uttarardha*, Chapter 7, *Varunapurmahatmya*, Chapter 1.

<sup>211</sup> *Saptakotishwar* figures in the inscriptions of Goa Kadambas as their family deity.

the *Kamakshi mahatmya* states that in a village named *Rai*, there are temples of *Vishnu*, *Shiva*, *Parvati*, and *Lakshmi* in the place. Along with them, *Bhairav*, a *gana* of *Shiva* also lives there<sup>212</sup>.

The section of *Patityagramanirnaya* mentions about the worship of *Narayana*, which is an epithet of Lord *Vishnu*. However, the discussion is related to the region that lies geographically towards the South of present day Goa, which is in Karnataka<sup>213</sup>. Chapter ten introduces Lord Ganesh, with the name *Vighnaharta*, as the son of *Shambhu*<sup>214</sup>. It also mentions about Lord Vishnu who resides in a village called *Vamanala*.

Since the *Skh* narrates stories that have their origin in the *Tretayuga* and they continue in the *Kaliyuga* as well, it indicates the continuation of traditions over large periods of time. In the seventh chapter of *Uttarardha*, it has been mentioned that Lord *Parashurama* created the land of Konkan, by obtaining it from the sea and he settled some *brahmanas* in the newly created land. However, due to their incorrect behavior, he cursed them and left. Then the story of the place continues in later times of *Kaliyuga*, when a king named Mayuravarma of *Surya vamsa*, brought and settled *brahmanas* in thirty-two villages. It can also be understood that the authors of the text have tried to achieve legitimacy for the continuation of Brahmanic traditions by creating links with the *Parashurama* tradition.

The *Konkanakhyana* narrates about the various deities associated with each village and about the rituals that were followed for their worship. The *Purvardha* section contains seven chapters, which mention about the brahmanic settlements in three *desa* and their corresponding villages of Goa. It also mentions about the *gotra* and *pravar* of these *brahmanas*. The description mentions the deities that were worshipped in each village. The text classifies the deities as main or presiding deities and other deities.

In the beginning, the *akhyana* opens with veneration to Lord Ganesh, Goddess Saraswati and to the gurus. The opening *adhyaya* titled *prachin kathan*, provides the description of the Parashurama tradition in the region. It mentions that Sri Ram Bhargava created the land and settled *brahmanas* in the newly created land. These *brahmanas* consecrated the deities and

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<sup>212</sup> Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda, Kamakshi Mahatmya*, Chapter 1.

<sup>213</sup> Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda, Uttarardha*, Chapter 9, verses 28-31. It has been stated that Lord Bhargava Rama ascended the 'excellent land of Tulus' and on reaching that place, he worshipped Lord Narayana according to the rule, cited in Levitt, *The Patityagramanirnaya*, p. 165.

<sup>214</sup> Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda*, Chapter 10, verses 24-35b, cited in Levitt, *The Patityagramanirnaya*, p. 177.



worshipped them, as per the wishes of Sri Ram Bhargava. They described the importance of the *teerth ksetras*, composed *bhairav purana* and read other *puranas*.

Second *adhyaya* to the fifth *adhyaya*, the author mentions about the deities that were worshipped in each village that consisted of a main deity and several other deities. The traditions related to the deities that were in practice have also been stated. It mentions that in *Sashasthi desa*, Sri Damodar (epithet of Sri Krishna) in village Johar, Lord Baneshwar (epithet of Lord Shiva) in village Banavalli, Shantadurga, Lord Narsimha and Vijaydurga in village Shankhawali (present Sancoale), Chamunda devi and Shantadurga in Keloshi village were worshipped as the main deities. They were worshipped daily and tradition of *jagar* was practiced regularly. The *purana katha* or *Harikatha* were read and heard on a regular basis. Similar traditions were observed in the *Tiswadi desa*. It is mentioned that on Dipawadi Island, *Lord Saptakoteshwar* was the main deity and there were other deities like *Bhairav*, *Santeri Durga*, *Ganesh*, *Narayan* and *Mahalsa*. *Bhajans* were sung for each deity respectively and mainly for *Saptakoteshwar*. In the *Kudval desa*, the main deity of village Valavali was *Sri Narayan* who was worshipped with the tradition described as *Harikatha nitya jagar*, which means the tales of Hari that is Lord Vishnu were regularly sung and heard during the vigil. The deities having the tradition of *jagar* were the ones who find mention in the *Skh* as well. The only exception to it was the deity of village Ajagaon, where *Vetal* was worshipped with the tradition of *purana katha nitya jagar*.

Chapter six and seven gives the description of new villages that were formed in due course of time and the deities that got associated with each of the new villages. Chapter eight of *Purvardha* mentions about *daivat sthalantar*. It discusses the change of the location of the deities due to the attack of the muslim invaders. The invaders have been termed as *mlecchha topikar*. The effect of their invasion has been primarily described as rendering the pure region of Gomanchal as impure.

## **TRADITIONS IN INSCRIPTIONS OF GOA**

The inscriptions of the rulers of Goa are representative of the indigenous traditions of the region. Starting with the inscriptions of the Bhojas beginning in the fourth century AD to the inscriptions of the Vijaynagara Empire, the records present a partial picture of the traditions of the region. As stated earlier, the region has to its credit not only the brahmanic traditions, but

also the traditions of *Jains* and *Buddhists*. *Buddhist* and *Jain* traditions find mention in the inscriptional records of the rulers.

The inscriptions of the rulers of Goa are replete with the mentions of brahmanical traditions. Beginning with the records of the Bhojas of Chandrapur, the earliest record of Bhoja Devaraja indicates association with Brahmanism. The inscription records the gift of tolls to two *brahmanas*<sup>215</sup>. The name of the king Devaraja indicates the association with Indra<sup>216</sup> while his epithet Govinda is the byname of Vishnu<sup>217</sup>. Mitragotri informs that the names of the donee *brahmana* like Madhavarya<sup>218</sup>, name of scribes like Krishna<sup>219</sup> and Madhav<sup>220</sup> are the epithets of Lord Vishnu, which projects the inclination of people towards Vaishnavism<sup>221</sup>. Leaving aside the record of Bhoja king Asamkitaraja which mentions the grant given to the *vihara* of Buddhists, all other five inscriptions of the Bhojas record grants given to the *brahmanas*. The inscription of Maurya Anirjitavarman record a gift for a *brahmana*, while another grant of Maurya Suketuvarman mentions a grant for a temple of *Kotishwara*<sup>222</sup> that is one of the *Saptakotishwara*, a form of Lord Shiva, who was the family deity of the Goa Kadambas.

The records of the Western Chalukyas provide information about their inclination towards the deities of brahmanic pantheon. The inscriptions indicate that the Western Chalukyas were followers of both, Vaishnavism and Shaivism. They also patronized the Jains which is evident by the Meguti Jain temple, constructed during the reign of Chalukya king Pulakesi II on the Meguti hill in Aihole. The famous Aihole *prasasti* of Pulakesi II dated to 634-635 AD was composed by his court poet Ravikirti, a Jain, is located on the outer wall of Meguti Jain temple<sup>223</sup> (see figure 5.1).

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<sup>215</sup> C R Krishnamacharlu, Siroda plates of Bhoja Devaraja, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 24, p. 144.

<sup>216</sup> See *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 24, p. 144 for details.

<sup>217</sup> V R Mitragotri, *Social and Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagar period*, p. 124.

<sup>218</sup> Copper plate inscription of Bhoja Prithvimalavarman cited in V R Mitragotri, *A Social and Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagar period*, p. 124.

<sup>219</sup> Annigeri, A M. "Arga Plates of Kapalivarman" *Epigraphia Indica*, 31 (1955-56): 232- 236.

<sup>220</sup> Annigeri, A M. "Kapoli plates of Asankitavarman" *Epigraphia Indica*, 31 (1955-56): 232- 236. The name of the father of scribe Madhav is mentioned as Govinda.

<sup>221</sup> V R Mitragotri, *A Social and Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagar period*, pp. 124-125.

<sup>222</sup> Vada Inscription of Suketuvarman, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 40, pp. 50-54.

<sup>223</sup> Observed by the author on a Field trip to Aihole



Figure 5.1. Aihole Sanskrit *prasasti* of Pulakesi II by Ravikirti at the Meguti Jain Temple. *Source*: Photograph by the Author. The inscription is located on the external wall of the Jain temple on the top of Meguti hill at Aihole.

The Nerur grant of Mangalesha<sup>224</sup> states that he was a worshipper of Lord Brahma<sup>225</sup>. Another inscription from Nerur of Vikramaditya<sup>226</sup> mentions several brahmanic Gods. The grant mentions about the ‘seven mothers of mankind’<sup>227</sup> that is the *Saptamatrikas* and Kartikeya who is the son of Lord Shiva. Based on the study of Chalukyan records, Fleet mentions that the Western Chalukyas can be called to have encouraged the worship of Shiva, Brahma and Vishnu as well as that of Jinendra<sup>228</sup>. The insignia of the Chalukyas was a boar, which is considered a manifestation of Lord Vishnu (see figure 5.2).

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<sup>224</sup> J F Fleet, Nerur grant of Mangalesha, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol 7, p. 161.

<sup>225</sup> J F Fleet, Nerur grant of Mangalesha, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol 7, p. 162.

<sup>226</sup> J F Fleet, Nerur plates of Vikramaditya, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol 7, pp. 163-164.

<sup>227</sup> J F Fleet, Nerur plates of Vikramaditya, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol 7, p. 164.

<sup>228</sup> J F Fleet, Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol 9, p. 123.



Figure 5.2. The Royal insignia of the Chalukyas of Badami depicted on the wall of a temple at Aihole. *Source:* Photograph by the Author.

The religious inclination of the Chalukyas would have affected the indigenous traditions of Goa as well. Mitragotri suggests that since the Chalukyas were devoted to the worship of Vishnu, they probably influenced Narayana worship in Goa<sup>229</sup>.

The insignia of the Southern Shilaharas was *garuda*, an eagle, who is the *vahana* of Vishnu. The adoption of this insignia is indicative of the predisposition of Shilaharas towards Vaishnavism. The record of Pattanakudi plates of Avasara II venerate Shiva in the opening

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<sup>229</sup> V R Mitragotri, *A Social and Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagar period*, p. 126.

lines<sup>230</sup>. While describing the mythical origin of the Shilaharas, it is discussed that Jimutvahana served himself to the *garuda*, in order to save the life of *naga*<sup>231</sup>. It shows that the family worshipped Vishnu as well as Shiva. The Kharepattana grant of Rattaraja also mentions a grant dedicated to the worship of Lord Shiva in a temple called Avveshwara, probably constructed by Rattaraja's father, Avasara III<sup>232</sup>. Similar processes are observed under the Goa Kadambas when the God in the temples constructed by the kings and their consorts have been named after their own name<sup>233</sup>. The same grant also mentions about the patronization of Shaiva ascetics of Mattamayura clan<sup>234</sup>. The third grant of the Goa Shilaharas also venerates Shiva in the opening lines<sup>235</sup>. As mentioned by V R Mitragotri, the Shilaharas were Shiva worshippers<sup>236</sup>.

The Kadambas of Goa were the worshippers of *Saptakoteshwar*, a form of Lord Shiva. They have been called as Shaivites by scholars<sup>237</sup> and it is evident through their inscriptional records. The justification of the Goa Kadambas of being Shaivites lies in their origin myth, which states that the family of Kadambas originated from the drop of sweat of Shiva that fell from his forehead under the Kadamba tree<sup>238</sup>. Ardent Shaivism of the Kadambas is also evident through the mentions of pilgrimage of Guhalladeva to Somanath in Gujrat<sup>239</sup> as well by the grants given in favour of burning incense at the temple of Somnath. Mitragotri informs that the legend *Sri Saptakoteshwara Varavira Jayakesideva* is found inscribed on the coins issued by Goa Kadambas<sup>240</sup>.

However, they also patronized Vaishnavism as well as Jainism, which is indicated through their records. The construction of Kamala-Narayan temple at Degamve<sup>241</sup> by queen Kamaladevi of Kadamba Permadideva as well as the construction of a temple of Vishnu at Tambur<sup>242</sup> by Guhalladeva III are evidences of their faith in Vaishnavism as well. Apart from KamalaNarayan temple, queen Kamaladevi also get constructed a temple of Mahalakshmi at

<sup>230</sup> V V Mirashi, Inscriptions of Southern Shilaharas, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol 6, p. 182.

<sup>231</sup> V V Mirashi, Inscriptions of Southern Shilaharas, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol 6, p. 182.

<sup>232</sup> V V Mirashi, Inscriptions of Southern Shilaharas, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol 6, p. 185.

<sup>233</sup> This aspect of legitimacy has been discussed in Chapter 4

<sup>234</sup> V V Mirashi, Inscriptions of Southern Shilaharas, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol 6, p. 185.

<sup>235</sup> V V Mirashi, Inscriptions of Southern Shilaharas, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol 6, p. 185.

<sup>236</sup> V R Mitragotri, *A Social and Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagar period*, p. 127.

<sup>237</sup> V R Mitragotri, *A Social and Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagar period*, p. 127.

<sup>238</sup> The discussion of the origin of Kadambas has been done in chapter 4.

<sup>239</sup> P. Pissurlencar, Goa Charter of Jayakesideva, *O Oriente Portugues*, No. 22, pp. 386-395.

<sup>240</sup> V R Mitragotri, *A Social and Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagar period*, p. 143.

<sup>241</sup> Degamve Inscription of Kamaladevi, *Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol 9, Inscriptions related to Kadamba Kings of Goa, pp. 294-295

<sup>242</sup> Padigar Srinivas V, The Cult of Vishnu in Karnataka *Unpublished PhD Thesis*, pp 60-73, cited in Mitragotri, p. 127.

Degamve<sup>243</sup>. The records of the Kadambas paint a picture of Shaivism as well as Vaishnavism for the observers. Several of the records open with the veneration of Shiva<sup>244</sup>, whereas some venerate Shiva and Vishnu both. Some records like the Halsi inscription<sup>245</sup> venerate only Vishnu in the form of Lord Narsimha. Temples of Lord Narsimha have been reported from Halsi, Bangone and Banawasi<sup>246</sup> in Karnataka. Mitragotri suggests that the traditions worship of Narsimha in the villages of Goa<sup>247</sup> might have started under the influence of Narsimha worship in adjoining areas in Karnataka during the Kadamba period<sup>248</sup>. Other than Narsimha, Vishnu worship in other forms was prevalent in the region of Ponda<sup>249</sup>, which has been called the 'centre of Vaishnavism'<sup>250</sup>.

The Kadambas also made grants for temples of Goddesses like that of Arya Bhagwati<sup>251</sup>, Mahalakshmi<sup>252</sup> and Saraswati<sup>253</sup>. Priolkar has mentioned the list of Hindu temples that existed in the early sixteenth century AD before they were destroyed by the Portuguese. The name of the shrines<sup>254</sup> include several shrines of Mahalakshmi, Bhagwati, Durgadevi, Santeri, Saptamatrika, Kelbadevi, Mahadevi, Chamundeshwari, Mahishasura-Mardini, Pavan-devi, Mahalsadevi, Ajdevi, Kalikadevi and Maha Kali. The presence of the mentioned shrines indicates that they were either present or constructed under the patronage of Goa Kadamba rulers and the Vijayanagara kings. However, it is probable that the tradition of the worship of these deities existed since early centuries of the Christian era and it spread even more under the Goa Kadambas and the Vijayanagara kings, rather than the earlier rulers. The records also mention the veneration of Goddess Padmavati<sup>255</sup> and God Raameshwara in the same

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<sup>243</sup> Degamve Inscription of Kamaladevi, *Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol 9, Inscriptions related to Kadamba Kings of Goa, pp. 294-295.

<sup>244</sup> Degamve Inscription of Kamaladevi, *Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol 9, Inscriptions related to Kadamba Kings of Goa, pp. 294-295, Sadashivgad Inscription, *EI*, Vol 29, pp. 29-32, Golihalli inscription, *JBRAS*, Vol 9, Inscriptions related to Kadamba Kings of Goa, pp. 263, 296-303 are few examples of records of Goa Kadambas that mention the veneration of Shiva.

<sup>245</sup> Halsi inscription, *Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol 9, Inscriptions related to Kadamba Kings of Goa, pp. 278-280, 282-284.

<sup>246</sup> V R Mitragotri, *A Social and Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagar period*, pp. 131-132.

<sup>247</sup> Two temples of Lord Narsimha have been reported from Goa, one is from Sancoale and the other in Daugim in Tiswadi taluka. The name of these temples have been mentioned in A K Priolkar, *The Goa Inquisition*, pp. 67, 80.

<sup>248</sup> V R Mitragotri, *A Social and Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagar period*, p. 132

<sup>249</sup> For details see V R Mitragotri, *A Social and Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagar period*, p. 132.

<sup>250</sup> V R Mitragotri, *A Social and Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagar period*, p. 132.

<sup>251</sup> Sadashivgad Inscription, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 29, pp. 29-32.

<sup>252</sup> G M Moraes, Huppavalli Inscription, *KadambaKula*, pp. 401-403.

<sup>253</sup> P B Desai, Gopaka Copper plates of Guhalladeva III, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 30, pp. 71-77.

<sup>254</sup> A K Priolkar, *The Goa Inquisition*, pp. 67-68; 77-82.

<sup>255</sup> G M Moraes, Kaadrolu Inscription, *Kadamba Kula*, pp. 465-467.

inscription. The deities are the forms of Goddess Lakshmi and Shiva. Apart from the mentioned deities, the records also mention the tradition of *grama devtas*. The Maanagundi inscription<sup>256</sup> mentions Siddheswara as the *grameshwara* of Manigundage. The Goa plates of Shashthadeva III mention Goveswara as the presiding deity of Gopakapuri<sup>257</sup>. God *Sankar* associated with Arekere in Karnataka is mentioned in Narendra Inscription of Shankarlinga temple<sup>258</sup>. The information is suggestive of the tradition of *grama devtas* under the Goa Kadambas.

Madhav Mantri, the governor of Vijaynagara Empire in Goa, is said to have restored the *shivlinga* of the Saptakoteshwar temple at Divar Island, which was originally built by the Goa Kadambas. The temple was destroyed during the Muslim invasion and the *linga* was hidden inside the well. The Vijayanagara period continued the tradition of the worship of Shiva as well as Shakti worship. The inscription of Devaraya I, dated 1413 AD mentions about the grant provided for the worship of Lord Naganath and Goddess Mahalakshmi. The grant mentions elaborate arrangements for all the rituals associated the worship of the deities. The principle deity worshipped by the rulers of Vijaynagara Empire was Lord Virupaksha, an epithet of Lord Shiva. Goddess Pampa was the tutelary deity of the Vijayanagara kings. She is said to have married to Lord Virupaksha. In a way, Lord Virupaksha and Goddess Pampa represent Lord Shiva and Parvati. The Hosahalli inscription of Harihara II, dated 1384 AD, mentions about the grant given to an *agrahara* in Kamalapura near Chandragutti established by Kame, the *dandanayaka*. It mentions that the *vrittis* were given to the *brahmanas* in the presence of Lord Pampadhisa<sup>259</sup>. It indicates that the rulers of Vijayanagara Empire were followers of Shaivism. The tradition of Vaishnavism is indicated by the worship of Lord Narsimha. Other than Shaivism and Brahmanism, they also patronized Jainism. Mitragotri states that the tradition of the worship of Ravalnath, a *gana* of Lord Shiva, was initiated under the Vijayanagara rule.

The traditions mentioned in the literary texts and in the inscriptions issued by the rulers suggest a similar pattern of traditions. However, while observing the deities of the shrines in different villages and regions in Goa, it shows that several other deities, apart from the ones mentioned earlier, are worshipped by the people. The other point of interest is that several deities have been associated with the main deities of brahmanic pantheon. This process of acculturation of local deities into the brahmanical tradition is a significant part of indigenous traditions in Goa.

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<sup>256</sup> B R Gopal, *Karnataka Inscription*, Vol 5, pp. 248-250; G M Moraes, *KadambaKula*, pp. 404-417.

<sup>257</sup> J F Fleet, Goa plates of Shashthadeva III, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol 14, pp. 288-291.

<sup>258</sup> J F Fleet, Lionel D Barnett, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 13, pp. 316-326.

<sup>259</sup> Hosahalli Inscription of Harihara II, 1384 AD, *Journal of Bombay Historical Society*, Vol I.

## SANSKRITISATION OF FOLK TRADITIONS IN GOA

The local or folk traditions in Goa can be understood with the help of literature in the form of texts like *Sahyadrikhanda* and *Konkanakhyana*, inscriptions issued by the rulers of Goa and also by observation of the traditions practiced in different regions of Goa. The traditions of the region developed under the influence of ‘puranic hinduism’<sup>260</sup>. The *puranic* deities were worshipped in the early centuries of the first millennium AD. The *Skh* is the primary evidence of the worship of *puranic* gods and goddesses. It states that Parashurama created the land of Konkan, settled brahmanas in the region and then proceeded to worship Lord Mahabala of Gokarn. As discussed earlier, the text emphasizes on the significance of the worship of *Shiv linga* by the *brahmanas*. In the later of the text, there are mentions of the worship of Vishnu and Durga as well. The legends of the like of *mahishasurmardini* have been adopted in reference to the land of Konkan in the text, so as to validate the high level of significance being attached to the land. The only reference to deities other than that of brahmanic fold is that of *Bhairav*. However, some of the descriptions are suggestive of the acculturation of folk deities into the brahmanic pantheon. In the first *adhyaya* of *Nagavyha mahatmya*, it has been narrated that Lord *Shiv* is the authority over all the *bhoot* and *pret* and is called as *bhootnath*. It depicts all the *ganas* of Lord *Shiv*. The second such description occurs in the second *adhyaya* of *Nagavyha mahatmya*. It has been stated<sup>261</sup> that on a certain occasion, Goddess Bhagwati entered the anthill. Since then, the people started worshipping the ant-hill, which is also known by the name of Sateri<sup>262</sup>. Mitragotri has mentioned that Sateri and Bhauka are regarded as the *gramdevtas* and are worshipped in almost all the villages in Goa<sup>263</sup>. Alexander Henn states that every village in Goa worships the *gramadevatas*<sup>264</sup> and that the tradition of *gramadevatas* is conjoined with the ganvkari system<sup>265</sup>.

Alexander Henn has mentioned that Shantadurga, also known as Sateri and Bhumika, are worshipped not only in the temples of *brahmanas*, but also by the Gavdas and Kunbis who

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<sup>260</sup> Vijay Nath, “From ‘Brahmanism’ to ‘Hinduism’: Negotiating the Myth of the Great Tradition.” *Social Scientist*, vol. 29, no. 3/4, Social Scientist, 2001, pp. 19–50.

<sup>261</sup> Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda, Nagavyha Mahatma*, Chapter 2, verse 18.

<sup>262</sup> V R Mitragotri, *A Social and Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagar period*, p. 180.

<sup>263</sup> V R Mitragotri, *A Social and Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagar period*, p. 175.

<sup>264</sup> Henn has explained the term gramadevata as a guardian diety of the village, Alexander Henn, *In the Company of Gods*, p. 85.

<sup>265</sup> Alexander Henn, *Gods and Saints in Goa*, Aditya Malik, Anne Feldhaus, Heidrun Bruckner (eds.): *In the Company of Gods. Essays in Memory of Gunther-Dietz Sontheimer*, New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts /Manohar Publishers, 2005, pp. 83-104.



previously constituted tribal communities in Goa<sup>266</sup>. Worship of anthill is practiced in several parts of South India, as well as in Goa. The mentioned descriptions serve as evidences of the Sanskritisation of the folk deities into the brahmanical fold. Another aspect to the sanskritisation process is the role of *brahmanas* in the assimilation of folk-deities into the brahmanic tradition. The *brahmanas* fabricated links of association of the brahmanic deities like *Shiv* and *Vishnu* along with their consorts, *Parvati* and *Lakshmi*, with the folk-deities like Sateri, Bhaumika, Kelbai, Gajalakshmi, Ravalnath, Betal and Vetel. Ravalnath, Betal, Gorakhnath, Ksetrapal are worshipped as deities of Saiva domain and are considered as *gramadevtas* in Goa as well as in some other parts of South India like Maharashtra, parts of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. They are taken as forms of *Bhairav*<sup>267</sup> who appears in *Skh*. Mitragotri has informed that Ravalnath was a folk deity and was sanskritised during 14-15 century AD<sup>268</sup>. He also states that Vetel and Betal also were folk deities and are worshipped in the form of *gramadevtas*<sup>269</sup>. Vetel was the deity of Gavdas, Mundas and Sabara tribes<sup>270</sup>. It has been mentioned that Vetel has been worshipped since very early times, but it came to be sanskritised and included in brahmanic pantheon after the twelfth century AD<sup>271</sup>. The *Vetala Sahastranama*<sup>272</sup>, corresponding to *Shiv Sahastranama* and *Vishnu Sahastranama*, in Sanskrit language is the evidence of sanskritisation of this folk deity.

The Puranas served as the base of the acculturation of Vedic and folk deities. The Puranas have been composed in the Gupta and post-Gupta period. In the process, the folk deities were assimilated into the main stream of brahmanic deities and the traditions associated with them. D D Kosambi argues that *puranas* were composed between the sixth and twelfth century AD and they carried especially fabricated myths<sup>273</sup>. It can also be called the amalgamation of greater and lesser traditions that will be discussed separately. For example, it has been mentioned in *Kalikapurana* that Bhairav and Vetala were the sons of Lord Shiva<sup>274</sup> whereas the *Mahabharata* mentions Vetel as one of the spirits. Vetala has been described as a bachelor in folk traditions, however in *Kalikapurana* it is mentioned that Kamadhenu, a cow, is the wife

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<sup>266</sup> Alexander Henn, *Hindu Traditions in Goa*, p. 250.

<sup>267</sup> Bhairav is considered as the ferocious form of Shiv, Alexander Henn, *Hindu Traditions in Goa*, p. 250.

<sup>268</sup> V R Mitragotri, *A Social and Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagar period* p. 225.

<sup>269</sup> V R Mitragotri, *A Social and Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagar period* p. 225.

<sup>270</sup> V R Mitragotri, *A Social and Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagar period* p. 225.

<sup>271</sup> For details see, V R Mitragotri, *A Social and Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagar period*, pp. 240-245.

<sup>272</sup> V R Mitragotri, *A Social and Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagar period*, Appendices.

<sup>273</sup> D D Kosambi, *The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India in Historical Outline*, New Delhi, 1989, p. 49, cited in Nagendra Rao, *Brahmanas of South India*, p. 197.

<sup>274</sup> V R Mitragotri, *A Social and Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagar period*, pp. 255-256.

of *Vetal*<sup>275</sup>. This explains that the process of sanskritisation of folk deities and their eventual amalgamation into the brahmanic fold was done in the puranic age. The puranas served as authoritative texts of the elite society and thus validated the sanskritisation of folk traditions. In case of Goa it can be stated that the *Skh* presents that stage where the process of sanskritisation of the lesser or folk traditions had started, the *Konkanakhyana* represents the 'sanskritised' traditions of Goa. It narrates about all the deities of the villages that includes the Vedic and folk deities. The traditions of folk deity *Vetal* has been associated with singing of the puranic tales during *jagar*. It is a clear indication of the sanskritisation of folk deities and the traditions demonstrate the effect of brahmanic traditions on folk traditions. Other deities for whom the tradition of *jagar* was practiced were the deities that find mention in the *Skh*, which is the regional *purana* of Konkan. They include Sri Damodar, Baneshwar, Shantadurga, Sri Narsimha, Vijayadurga, Sri Narayan and Chamunda Devi. The *Konkanakhayana*, which belongs to the eighteenth century AD, does not differentiate between the folk traditions and the elite traditions. It shows that the process of sanskritisation had been completed by the time of its composition.

The purpose of the assimilation of the folk-deities into the brahmanic pantheon was multi-fold. The larger motive was the integration of tribal society, which represented the pre-state society, into the state society. The features of an organized state permeated into the realms of the pre-state society and gradually transformed it<sup>276</sup>. The most significant aspect of the assimilation was agrarian expansion. Expansion of agriculture was significant for every state in-order to expand the state economy. Temples were significant for the state economy. Kesavan Veluthat states that the social, economic and cultural activities of regions, revolved around the temple<sup>277</sup>. Nilkantha Sastri also acknowledged the significance of the institution of temple. He stated that 'the temple is historically more important as a social and economic entity than a religious institution'<sup>278</sup>. Kesavan Veluthat and M G S Narayanan have stated that the temple as an agency aided in agrarian expansion in the tribal areas as well as in extraction of surplus<sup>279</sup>. They further

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<sup>275</sup> V R Mitragotri, *A Social and Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagar period*, pp. 255-256.

<sup>276</sup> The argument is supported by the opinion of Kesavan Veluthat that will be discussed further.

<sup>277</sup> Kesavan Veluthat, *The Temple and the State: Religion and Politics in Early Medieval South India in State and Society in Pre-modern South India*, p. 96.

<sup>278</sup> K A Nilkanth Sastri, *The Pandyan Kingdom* (London, 1932), p. 231, cited in Kesavan Veluthat, *The Temple and the State: Religion and Politics in Early Medieval South India in State and Society in Pre-modern South India*, p. 97.

<sup>279</sup> Kesavan Veluthat, M G S Narayanan, *The Temple in South India*, cited in Kesavan Veluthat, *The Temple and the State: Religion and Politics in Early Medieval South India in State and Society in Pre-modern South India*, pp. 102-103.

state that ‘in the course of such extension, the temple accelerated the process of disintegration of tribal society and its reorganization as a caste society’<sup>280</sup>. Hence, the rulers attempted to bring more land under agriculture. It also served the purpose of bringing the tribal society within the state authority. Secondly, it helped the rulers to achieve legitimacy by assimilating the folk-deities into the main stream of brahmanic traditions. Since the *brahmanas* were highly revered by the state and the society, the assimilation provided higher status to the deities as well as the villagers. It can also be understood in the way that the folk traditions underwent sanskritisation under the aegis of the state. Mitragotri states that the rituals of the folk-deities were presided over by Gavda priests<sup>281</sup> and the worship rituals were simple, rather than the elaborate sanskritic rituals. Kesavan Veluthat and MGS Narayanan state that the temple became the face of social integration that helped to collaborate various classes together. It also ensured legitimacy to the state as well as assured state patronage to the temple<sup>282</sup>. An example of this can be observed in the Santa Ana copper plates of Kadamba ruler Tribhuvanmalla Guhalladeva III, issued in 1099 AD. The copper plates record a grant of 10 nishkas<sup>283</sup> to Naageshwara temple at Priol in Ponda. The record also mentions that the king himself graced the occasion and the feast was held at Bhairav temple in Priol<sup>284</sup>. Another inscription of the Vijayanagar period in 1413 AD, states that land grants were given to the Nagesh temple and Mahalakshmi temple at Bandora. This is suggestive of state patronage being provided to the temples in lieu of legitimacy to the state.

An important example of acculturation of local deities is the family god of the Goa Kadambas. The Goa Kadambas claim descent from the Early Kadambas of Banavasi<sup>285</sup> who were worshippers of Lord Shiv. The Goa Kadambas too were inherently Shaivite. However, they adopted *Saptakoteshwar*, a local deity<sup>286</sup> who is described as a form of Lord Shiv, as their family deity and got constructed a temple for *Saptakoteshwar* on Divar Island. Alexander Henn states that *Saptakoteshwar*, *Mangesh* and *Nagesh* are local deities who are worshipped as forms

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<sup>280</sup> Kesavan Veluthat, M G S Narayanan, *The Temple in South India*, cited in Kesavan Veluthat, *The Temple and the State: Religion and Politics in Early Medieval South India in State and Society in Pre-modern South India*, pp. 102-103

<sup>281</sup> V R Mitragotri, *A Social and Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagar period*, pp. 175, 176.

<sup>282</sup> Kesavan Veluthat, M G S Narayanan, *The Temple in South India*, cited in Kesavan Veluthat, *The Temple and the State: Religion and Politics in Early Medieval South India in State and Society in Pre-modern South India*, pp. 102-103.

<sup>283</sup> Nishka is the name of gold coin that is equivalent to sixteen silver *drammas*; also termed equivalent to half pagoda, D C Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 219.

<sup>284</sup> P. Pissurlencar, *Santa Ana Copper plates, O Oriente Portugues*, Vol 22, pp. 400-404.

<sup>285</sup> See Chapter 4 of this work for details.

<sup>286</sup> Alexander Henn, *Hindu Traditions in Goa*, pp. 250-251; V R Mitragotri, *A Social and Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagar period*, pp. 209, 210.

of Lord Shiv<sup>287</sup>. He argues that most of the deities who feature in *Skh* are the Sanskritised versions of local folk deities. Mitragotri gives a similar opinion by stating that *Nagesh*, who is mentioned in the *Skh* as the deity that was probably brought from Tirhut by the Saraswat *brahmanas*, is now considered as a local deity of Goa<sup>288</sup>. He also mentions that *Saptakoteshwar* is a regional deity, who originated in Karnataka, and was later sanskritised into the brahmanic fold<sup>289</sup>. The process of sanskritisation of *Saptakoteshwar* can be understood with the help of following account. It has been stated in the *Gomanchalkshetra mahatmya* of *Skh* that the *linga* of *Saptakoteshwar* was established on Divar Island by seven sages who were settled in Goa by Lord Parashurama<sup>290</sup>. These sages performed penance for several years and consecrated a metal *linga* as *Saptakoteshwar*. It has also been mentioned that the worship of *Saptakoteshwar* yields results which one cannot attain even on worship of *Kedarnath*<sup>291</sup>.

## GREATER TRADITION AND LESSER TRADITION

The cultural traditions of a society can be broadly classified into two categories, the 'Greater traditions' and 'Lesser traditions'. The term 'Greater traditions' indicates the Vedic Sanskrit traditions that are enshrined in the Vedas, Vedangas, Brahmanas and other sacred texts of the hindus. On the other hand, the lesser traditions are traditions of the tribals that were designated as the folk traditions. The lesser traditions are associated with the people who are illiterate. The folk traditions involve the worship of nature and its elements, whereas the greater traditions involve the worship of Vedic Gods and Goddesses with Vedic or Sanskritic rituals, *yajnas* and hymns<sup>292</sup>. Due to the process of continuous interaction between the two kinds of traditions, they have some impact or influence on each other. This process can be observed in all parts of the country. An important example of the assimilation of lesser traditions with the greater traditions is served in the *Skh*. It mentions that Lord Parshurama converted the local fishermen into *brahmanas* and vested them with the sacred thread. However, later he cursed them and they were considered fallen *brahmanas*.

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<sup>287</sup> Alexander Henn, Hindu Traditions in Goa, pp. 250-251.

<sup>288</sup> V R Mitragotri, *A Social and Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagar period*, p. 205.

<sup>289</sup> V R Mitragotri, *A Social and Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagar period*, p. 210.

<sup>290</sup> Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda, Uttarardha*, Chapter 3, verses 25-27.

<sup>291</sup> Da Cunha, *Sahyadrikhanda, Uttarardha*, Chapter 3, verse 26.

<sup>292</sup> Dr. Somenath Bhattacharjee, Joyshree Bora, Jushna Beypi, Interaction between great and little tradition: The dimension of Indian culture and civilization, International Journal of Research in Engineering, IT and Social Sciences, ISSN 2250-0588, Volume 6 Issue 05, May2016, Page 1-7.

Mitragotri mentions that the early farmers worshipped mother earth as it was the symbol of fertility and productivity<sup>293</sup>. Ant-hills are symbolic representation of earth and hence are venerated by the people. The festivals and rituals related to various sowing and cropping seasons are indicative of the veneration to mother goddess. The elite section of the society owned the agricultural lands and thus availed the services of the tribals for farming. The land grants given to *brahmanas* by the kings is an evidence for the same. For strengthening the state polity, the rulers required the validation of their authority from the people of all sections. The *brahmanas* helped by spreading the fame of the king among the peasants and tribals. They extended a higher status to the tribal deities. Gradually the deities worshipped by tribal sections entered the brahmanic pantheon and came to be recognized as *gramdevtas*.

The traditions of Goa also exhibit similar features. As discussed earlier, the folk traditions were sanskritised and became a part of brahmanic traditions. In other words, it can be said that the lesser traditions were absorbed into the greater traditions. The purposes of such activities have also been discussed. The ultimate purpose was to provide legitimacy to the state. The state of Goa includes the coastal region between the Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea. This region was densely vegetated, owing to the high amount of rainfall in the coastal region. The early settlers of the region were tribal people who are currently known as Kunbis and Gavdas<sup>294</sup>. With the gradual passage of time, the people belonging to other sections of the society came to inhabit the region. The tribes usually worship nature. For example, Sateri and Bhumika are representations of Mother Goddess Earth and are worshipped by the Gavdas. Worship of ant-hill as well as that of guardian spirits like Vetal and Betal are also related to worshipping the elements of nature. Tensing Rodrigues has mentioned that people belonging to Kumlbi tribe worship deities with the name *Vagro*, which refers to a tiger<sup>295</sup>. They also worship monitor lizard by the name *Sivatari*. He suggests that since this tribe occupied the uninhabited area that was surrounded by mountains and deep forests and that these animals were common to those areas. Panduranga P Phaladessai mentions that the language, customs, ritual and practices of early settlers or the tribal people of Goa were assimilated with the later settlers who came from

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<sup>293</sup> V R Mitragotri, *A Social and Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagar period*, p. 176.

<sup>294</sup> Ramendra Nath Nandi, *State Formation, Agrarian Growth and Social Change in Feudal South India c. AD 600-1200* (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers & Distributors, 2000), 195.

<sup>295</sup> Tensing Rodrigues, An Ancient Faith, Navbharat Times.

the north<sup>296</sup>. He also suggests that the social facility of agriculture that gave rise to village communities, provided the space of this assimilation.

Worship of Santeri and Ravalnath was common to almost all villages in Goa before the advent of the Portuguese in the sixteenth century<sup>297</sup>. The Konakankhyana mentions the names of the deities associated with different villages, which includes the names of Santeri, Ravalnath and ShantaDurga as common to several villages<sup>298</sup>. It shows the spread of common beliefs in the region. Various sections of the society interacted with each other on a continuous basis. The *brahmanas* and other landholders required workers for agriculture in the fields owned by them. Consequently, the tribal society transformed into a caste society. This transformation was the result of the acculturation of tribal or folk traditions into the Vedic or sanskritised traditions. The folk deities got sanskritised and became part of brahmanic pantheon. It is suggestive of the upward mobility of the masses in the social classes.

The inscriptions of the Goa Kadambas provide several instances where the share of the temple servants was fixed along with the share of the temple and its priest, in the grant made by the king. The temple servants belonged to different sections of the society. It indicates the attempts of the rulers in order to gain validation of their authority. The purpose of gaining legitimacy served as a catalyst in the process of sanskritisation of the masses.

Vijay Nath suggests that the *brahmanas* of 'doubtful origin and exhibiting prominent tribal affiliations'<sup>299</sup> probably assimilated some of their popular deities into the Sanskritic fold. He argues that rather than the sanskritisation of folk traditions, it can be called the 'tribalisation of brahmanic pantheon'<sup>300</sup> as even after their assimilation in brahmanic fold, the folk deities continue to have some of their physical features as well as their original ritual practices. He gives the example of Lord Jagannatha by mentioning that he is a tribal deity and retains its tribal features in the practice of crafting the sculpture of Lord Jagannatha in wood<sup>301</sup>. However, his argument cannot be completely accepted. The reason is that higher influence of greater traditions can be observed on the lesser traditions. The folk deities are assimilated into the

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<sup>296</sup> Panduranga P Phaladessai, *The Cultural History of Canacona Taluka of Goa, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Goa University*, p. 70.

<sup>297</sup> For details see A K Priolkar, *The Goa Inquisition*, pp. 67-82.

<sup>298</sup> Chandrakant Keni, *Konkanakhayna, Adirahasya*.

<sup>299</sup> Vijay Nath, From 'Brahmanism' to 'Hinduism': Negotiating the myth of the Great Tradition, *Social Scientist*, Vol 29, No. 3/ 4, p. 34.

<sup>300</sup> Vijay Nath, From 'Brahmanism' to 'Hinduism': Negotiating the myth of the Great Tradition, *Social Scientist*, Vol 29, No. 3/ 4, p. 34.

<sup>301</sup> Vijay Nath, From 'Brahmanism' to 'Hinduism': Negotiating the myth of the Great Tradition, *Social Scientist*, Vol 29, No. 3/ 4, p. 34.

brahmanic fold by projecting them as some form of *Shiv*, *Vishnu* and *Shakti* in the form Durga, Lakshmi, Parvati, Saraswati as their consorts. The rituals of the assimilated folk deities are influenced by the greater traditions as well. As mentioned earlier, the *Vetal sahastranama* has been composed akin to *Shiv Sahastranama* and *Vishnu Sahastranama*. In the Konkan belt, Earth is worshipped as Mother Goddess in the name of Santeri. Santeri gradually came to be identified as Shantadurga and its sculpture is similar to that of Mahishasurmardini that portrays killing of buffalo demon<sup>302</sup>. In Chicalim, Santeri is worshipped along with Narsimha, the incarnation of Vishnu. These evidences project the sanskritisation of folk traditions and their assimilation into the brahmanic pantheon. B D Chattopadhyaya suggests that ‘the assimilation and integration of local cults and folk rituals into the pantheistic supra-local structures’<sup>303</sup> by creating their links with pan-Indian religious symbols was performed in order to legitimize their authority’<sup>304</sup>. B P Sahu suggests that ‘integration and universalization of local cults was a dominant religious ideology significant to the state that was undergoing a process of change’<sup>305</sup>.

## LITERARY TRADITIONS IN GOA

The literary traditions in Goa can be divided into two phases, the pre-Portuguese phase and the Portuguese phase of sixteenth century AD. The pre-Portuguese period has brought to light the inscriptional compositions of the medieval period. The inscriptions issued by the rulers of the dynasties were composed in Sanskrit language. The inscriptional compositions that appear from the fourth century AD till the fifteenth century AD show a distinct development of the *kavyas*. It is these literary compositions that comprise the sources for studying the history of the related period. The literary traditions of pre-Portuguese Goa include the composition of *kavyas* that were especially composed for the expression of courtly narratives. In other words, the *kavyas* of pre-Portuguese period in Goa can be called as ‘courtly literature’ that was ‘intended for the royal courts’<sup>306</sup>. During the rule of Goa Kadambas, the epigraphs carry the style of Sanskrit *kavyas* and contain elaborate *prasastis* and genealogies of the rulers. The

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<sup>302</sup> Rohit Falgaonkar, "The History of Goa's Religion-Cultural Past: A study based on Iconography (AD 4 to AD 1600)", *Unpublished PhD Thesis*, Savitribai Phule University, Pune, 2015, pp. 161-162.

<sup>303</sup> B D Chattopadhyaya, Political processes and the Structure of Polity in Early Medieval India, in Hermann Kulke (ed.), *The State in India 1000-1700*, p. 214.

<sup>304</sup> B D Chattopadhyaya, Political processes and the Structure of Polity in Early Medieval India, in Hermann Kulke (ed.), *The State in India 1000-1700*, p. 214.

<sup>305</sup> B P Sahu, The State in Early India: An Overview, *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Vol 55 (1994): 88-98.

<sup>306</sup> Shonaleeka Kaul, *Imagining the Urban, Sanskrit and the City in Early India*, p. 21.

works of the period, especially the Aihole *prasasti* of Pulakesi II have been compared to the texts composed by Sanskrit poets like Kalidasa. It gives a fair idea of the literary advancement of the writers of inscriptions. The Gandevi inscription of Shashthadeva II of 1042 AD<sup>307</sup>, gives the *prasasti* of Shashthadeva II, where he is mentioned to have surpassed the valour of ancient kings like Bali, Karna, Yudhishtara among others. He is said to have conquered several kings whose kingdoms range from North India to South India. The inscription is composed using several metres of Sanskrit *kavya*. The Panaji copper plates of Jayakesideva I of 1059 AD<sup>308</sup> and Degamve Inscription of 1174 AD<sup>309</sup> are some examples of literary Sanskrit composition of the period. Other than Sanskrit works, the period also boasts of Kannada compositions under the Goa Kadambas. The Kannada poets composed several Kannada *prasastis* of the rulers wherein they make use of various motifs that compare the kings and queens to the characters of ancient Indian Sanskrit texts like *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata* and other puranic characters. Narendra Inscription of Mallikarjuna Temple, dated 1125 AD<sup>310</sup>, issued by Jayakesi II, is a Kannada composition that gives an elaborate genealogy and eulogy of the Goa Kadamba dynasty. Other than the *kavya* compositions of the inscripational records, literary compositions that served the requirements of *natyashala*<sup>311</sup> were also in vogue. The theatre probably functioned at the time of festivals associated with the temples. These works catered to the requirements of local people and were probably composed in the regional languages. The nature of such traditions cannot be estimated since the texts have not been found.

During the period of Vijayanagara rule, several literary works were composed by the poets as well as the members of the royal family. *Madura-vijayam*<sup>312</sup>, a Sanskrit text composed by Gangadevi in 1367 AD, is one such example. The work is a description of the victorious exploits of Vijayanagara prince Kumara Kampana over the Muslims of Madurai. Gangadevi has made use of *kavya* to describe the success of her consort Kumara Kampana<sup>313</sup>. The text is not only expressive of the literary skills of the author, but also gives insight into the literary traditions of the period. It mentions that several Sanskrit works were composed in the

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<sup>307</sup> A S Gadre, Gandevi Inscription of Shashthadeva II, *Important Inscriptions of Baroda State*, Vol I, pp. 64-71.

<sup>308</sup> G M Moraes, Panaji Copper Plates of Jayakesideva I, *KadambaKula*, pp. 27-39.

<sup>309</sup> J F Fleet, Degamve Inscription of 1174 AD, *Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol 9, pp. 266-271.

<sup>310</sup> J F Fleet, Lionel D Barnett, Narendra Inscription of Mallikarjuna Temple, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 13, pp. 298-316.

<sup>311</sup> The inscription of mentions the maintenance of a *natyashala*,

<sup>312</sup> GangaDevi, *Madhura Vijayam*, edited by G Harihara Shastri and V Srinivasa Shastri, Trivandrum, Sridhara power Press, 1924.

<sup>313</sup> GangaDevi, *Madhura Vijayam*, edited by G Harihara Shastri and V Srinivasa Shastri, p. iv.



Vijayanagara period and several of them are composed by female authors<sup>314</sup>. The rulers patronized scholars of Sanskrit, Kannada, Tamil as well as Telugu, though Sanskrit was the official language of the state<sup>315</sup>.

Other than the works composed in Sanskrit, few works of religious orientation have been claimed to have been composed in Konkani language prior to sixteenth century AD. Olivinho Gomes informs that some of the Konkani works that have been found at the library at Braga in Portugal were composed in the pre-Portuguese period<sup>316</sup>. The works comprise stories of Mahabharata and Ramayana and the authors of some of the works were Vishnu Das Nama and Sukha Indra<sup>317</sup>. At the turn of the sixteenth century AD, the region of Goa saw the emergence of Portuguese empire and the eventual decline of Vijayanagara Empire.

### **LITERARY TRADITIONS OF PORTUGUESE PERIOD IN SIXTEENTH CENTURY**

The sixteenth century onwards witnessed a change in the traditions of Goa. The change envisaged the literary traditions as well. The Portuguese got in touch with the *brahmanas* and the brahmanical texts that were written in Sanskrit, Marathi and Konkani languages. With the view of the establishment of a stable administrative machinery, the officials gathered information about the working of the village communities that included the knowledge about the agricultural production, dividends of the produce received by the members of village communities, temples, priests and temple servants, duties, rights and responsibilities of the *gaonkars* among other relevant information. The obtained information were laid down in the *Foral* of 1526 under the title *Foral dos Usos e Costumes dos Gaucares e Lavradores das Ilhas de Goa e Outros anexas a Ela*<sup>318</sup> that was also known as *Foral de Afonso Mexia*. The charter was the earliest literary work composed by the Portuguese and has been called the 'mapping instrument'<sup>319</sup> of state administration. It was in the form of a document that contained forty nine clauses about the *comunidades*<sup>320</sup>. The tradition of literary writings were still continuing

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<sup>314</sup> GangaDevi, *Madhura Vijayam*, edited by G Harihara Shastri and V Srinivasa Shastri, pp. i-iii.

<sup>315</sup> Shrinivas Ritti, B R Gopal, *Inscriptions of the Vijayanagara Rulers*, Vol. I, Part I, New Delhi, Indian Council of Historical Research, 2004, p. liv.

<sup>316</sup> Olivinho J F Gomes, *Old Konkani Language and Literature*, pp. 50-52.

<sup>317</sup> Olivinho J F Gomes, *Old Konkani Language and Literature*, pp. 50-52. Gomes mentions that Vishnu Das Nama, Namadeva and Parameshwaraco Sarangata Nama were the pen names of Vishnu Das Nama.

<sup>318</sup> Remy Dias, *The Socio-Economic History of Goa with Special Reference to Comunidade System: 1750-1910*, *Unpublished PhD Thesis*, Goa University, p. 76.

<sup>319</sup> Xavier and Zupanov, *Catholic Orientalism*, p. 135.

<sup>320</sup> Remy Dias, *The Socio-Economic History of Goa with Special Reference to Comunidade System: 1750-1910*, *Unpublished PhD Thesis*, Goa University, p. 76.

for the requirements of the state. As stated by Rochelle Pinto, the composition of the *Foral* indicated the formation of state<sup>321</sup>. The tradition of literary writings of the Portuguese were conducted for the requirements of the state.

Other than the composition under the aegis of the state, there were compositions that were the travelogues of Portuguese officials. *O livro do que vio and ouvio* (The Book of What I Saw and Heard) written by Duarte Barbosa in 1516 AD<sup>322</sup> and *Suma Oriental* (The Suma Oriental) written by Tome Pires in 1515 AD<sup>323</sup>, *Relação de Bisnaga* (An Account of the Vijayanagara) written by Domingo Paes in 1520 AD<sup>324</sup> and *Chronica dos Reis de Bisnaga* (the Chronicle of the Kings of Vijayanagara) written by Fernão Nunes in 1530 AD<sup>325</sup> are some of the most famous works produced in the early decades of sixteenth century AD. The works mostly catered the political and economic interests of the Portuguese. They provided the information about the local people, their customs and practices as well as geographical information of the region<sup>326</sup>. Since the primary interests of the Portuguese was trade, the works provided relevant information for the same.

As has been discussed in the Chapter four of this work, the missionaries dissuaded the locals from keeping any of the Hindu sacred books with them<sup>327</sup>. However, even after the prohibition, the learned people continued to retain the sacred literature in their memory. Xavier and Zupanov inform that epics, puranic stories and brahmanical works in Sanskrit and in vernacular languages were memorized by the people<sup>328</sup>. Xavier and Zupanov inform that though the Portugal state attempt to destroy Indian languages and spread the practice of Portuguese language among the public at Goa, they could not fully succeed<sup>329</sup>. The missionaries faced great difficulties in converting the Hindus to Christians. The evidences presented by Paul Axelrod and Michelle A Feurech in their article 'Flight of the Dieties: Hindu Resistance in Portuguese Goa'<sup>330</sup> present a clear picture of the situation. However, some of the learned people composed literature in the regional language in spite of the prohibition. The *Krishnacharita*

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<sup>321</sup> Rochelle Pinto, 'The *Foral* in the History of the Comunidades in Goa', *Journal of World History*, Vol 29, No. 2 (June 2018), pp. 185.

<sup>322</sup> Xavier and Zupanov, *Catholic Orientalism*, p. 31.

<sup>323</sup> Xavier and Zupanov, *Catholic Orientalism*, p. 31.

<sup>324</sup> Xavier and Zupanov, *Catholic Orientalism*, p. 35.

<sup>325</sup> Xavier and Zupanov, *Catholic Orientalism*, p. 35.

<sup>326</sup> Xavier and Zupanov, *Catholic Orientalism*, p. 34.

<sup>327</sup> Xavier and Zupanov, *Catholic Orientalism*, pp. 134-135.

<sup>328</sup> Xavier and Zupanov, *Catholic Orientalism*, p. 135.

<sup>329</sup> Xavier and Zupanov, *Catholic Orientalism*, p. 203.

<sup>330</sup> Paul Axelrod, Michelle A Feurech, 'Flight of the Dieties: Hindu Resistance in Portuguese Goa', *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (May 1996), pp. 387-421.

katha was composed by Krishnadas Shama in Marathi language in the sixteenth century AD (see figure 5.3).

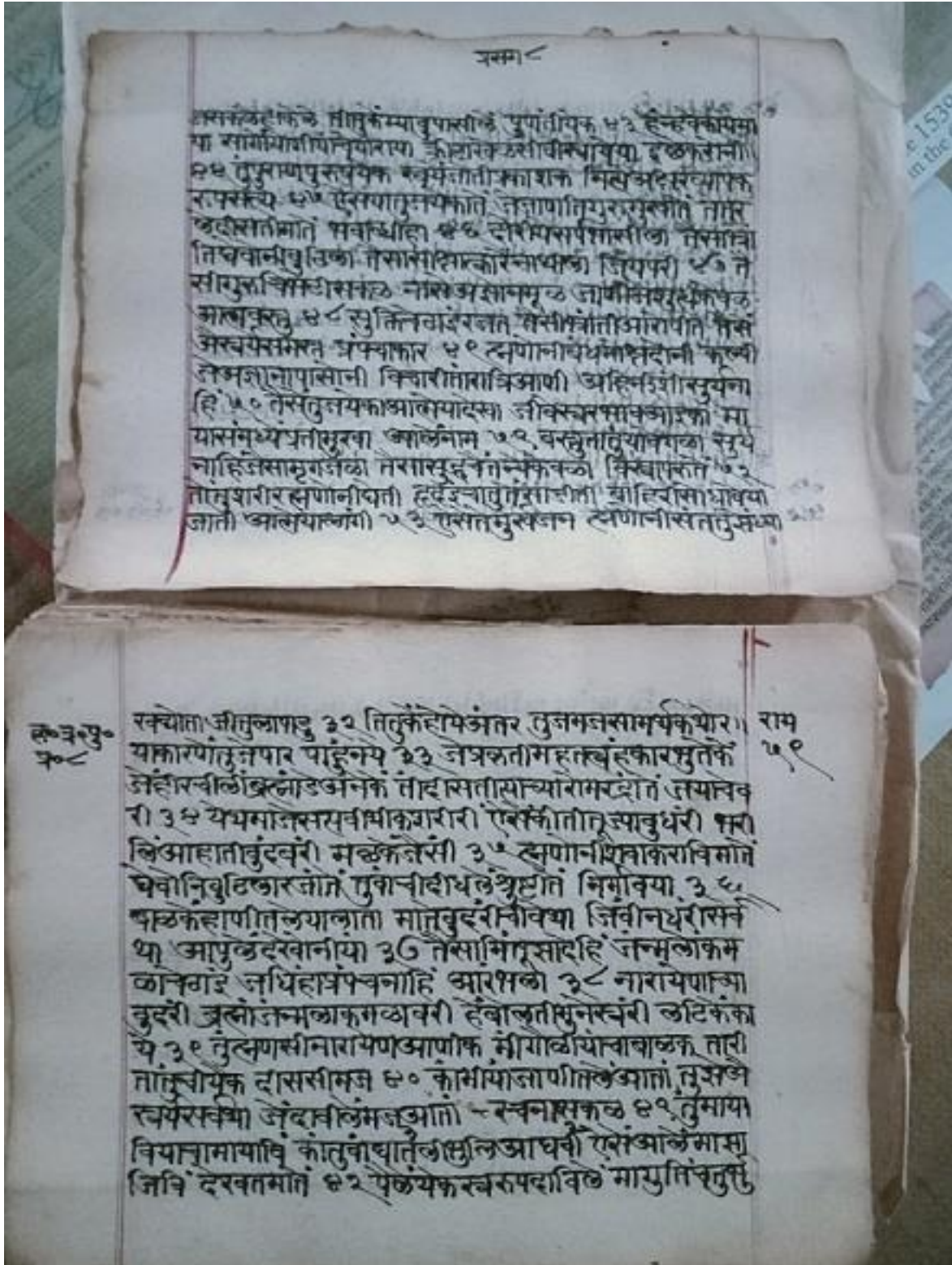


Figure 5.3. Picture of a part of *Krishna Charita Katha* composed by Krishnadas Shama. Source: Photograph by the Author. The manuscript is preserved at the Goa State Library, Panjim.

The original manuscript of the work is present in the Goa State library. Manohar Rai Sardesai informs that the work was initiated in the year 1526 AD and that it was a prose work pertaining to the *Bhagvata purana*<sup>331</sup>. The manuscript of the work in Roman script was discovered at Braga in Portugal<sup>332</sup>.

In the later part of sixteenth century, the works were aimed at translating the Konkani works in Portuguese and vice-versa, in order to expand the reach of the missionaries in the Goan society as well as aid the Portuguese administration in a better understanding of the regional matters<sup>333</sup>. Rochelle Pinto informs that Marathi and Portuguese were given the status of the official language of the state, whereas Konkani language got a chance to develop under the patronage given to it by the missionaries<sup>334</sup>. The educational institutions set up by the missionaries 1545 AD onwards taught Konkani language along with other subjects<sup>335</sup>. The introduction of printing press in Goa in 1556 AD, promoted the case of Konkani in the state even more. The Portuguese formulated the Roman script for printing of Konkani words<sup>336</sup>. Since the missionaries used the Konkani language, printed in Roman script, the printed matter mostly carried the religious content that was meant for the reading of the people of Goa. Xavier and Zupanov inform that some of the missionary writers translated Christian texts into Konkani and Tamil language<sup>337</sup>. *Paramarta kuruvina katai* is among the earliest folk lore that was composed by a Jesuit missionary<sup>338</sup>. It shows the development of a novel literary tradition wherein the regional language was employed to compose regional style of works in Roman script. Following the similar tradition of literary art, Thomas Stephens, composed *Kristapurana* that was shaped in its form through consultations of *puranas*, *Tolkappiyam*, *Nannul*, *Iru porul karakai alankaram*, sixty four arts and philosophies, *Tirukkural*, *Nalatiyar*, *Cintamani*, *Silapadikaram*, *Ramayanam* among others<sup>339</sup> (see figure 5.4).

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<sup>331</sup> Manohar Rai Sardesai, *A History of Konkani Literature: From 1500-1992*, New Delhi: Sahitya Academy, (2000): pp. 30-31.

<sup>332</sup> Manohar Rai Sardesai, *A History of Konkani Literature: From 1500-1992*, p. 31.

<sup>333</sup> Xavier and Zupanov, *Catholic Orientalism*, p. 205.

<sup>334</sup> Rochelle Pinto, *Between Empires*, p. 83.

<sup>335</sup> Rochelle Pinto, *Between Empires*, pp. 83-84.

<sup>336</sup> Olivinho J F Gomes, *Old Konkani Language and Literature*, p. 38.

<sup>337</sup> Xavier and Zupanov, *Catholic Orientalism*, p. 205.

<sup>338</sup> Xavier and Zupanov, *Catholic Orientalism*, p. 206.

<sup>339</sup> Blackburn, *Print, Folklore and Nationalism*, pp. 54-55.

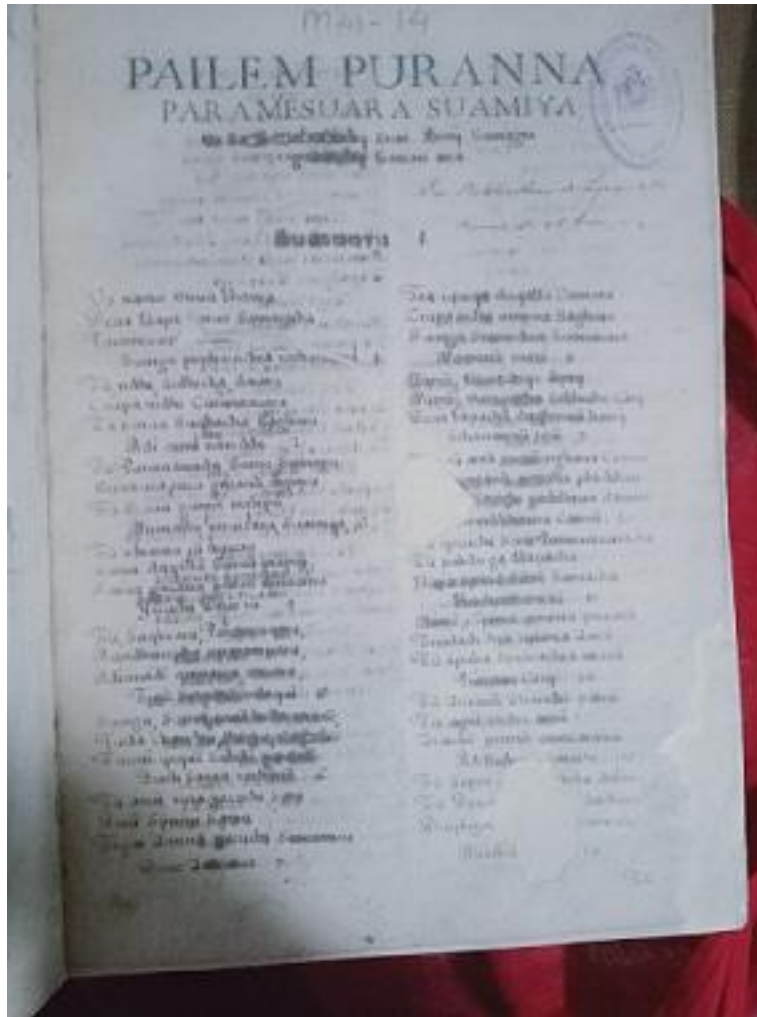


Fig 5.4. Picture showing a part of *KristaPurana* composed by Thomas Stephens in native *Canarim* language. *Source:* Photo by the Author. The original work is preserved at the Goa State Library, Panjim.

It indicates that the works composed by the missionaries were Indian in body and Christian in soul. The missionaries intended to propagate the Christian ideologies framed in the style of ancient Indian literature. Olivinho Gomes has informed that the missionaries composed various literary works in Konkani language that included treatise on Konkani grammar apart from religious poetries<sup>340</sup>. He mentions that the Indian culture along with Konkani folk culture was combined with the European concepts in the novel compositions<sup>341</sup>. Xavier and Zupanov mention that the texts that were produced in the above mentioned style communicated ‘the

<sup>340</sup> Olivinho J F Gomes, *Old Konkani Language and Literature*, pp. 6-7.

<sup>341</sup> Olivinho J F Gomes, *Old Konkani Language and Literature*, pp. 6-7.

Christian message while referring to the local literary traditions at the same time<sup>342</sup>. They add that some of the missionary compositions related to the life of Jesus Christ were incorporated into the folk literature<sup>343</sup>. It shows the amalgamation of the Christian biblical content into the folk literary traditions that eventually served to shape the ideologies of the common people. The assimilation was similar to the assimilation of Christian culture with the local traditions of the western coastal region, which created an indigenous folk culture. Gomes mentions that the Biblical concept of Virgin Mary acculturated with the concept of Mother Goddess of the folk traditions that permeated into the realms of devotional compositions<sup>344</sup>. It shaped the unique indigenous traditions of the region. However, he claims that the mentioned compositions are devoid of any Portuguese influence on them<sup>345</sup>.

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<sup>342</sup> Xavier and Zupanov, *Catholic Orientalism*, p. 230.

<sup>343</sup> Xavier and Zupanov, *Catholic Orientalism*, p. 231.

<sup>344</sup> Olivinho J F Gomes, *Old Konkani Language and Literature*, pp. 56-57.

<sup>345</sup> Olivinho J F Gomes, *Old Konkani Language and Literature*, p. 57.

## CHAPTER SIX

### SANSKRIT AND EPIGRAPHY IN GOA

The epigraphy first appeared in India through Asoka, the ruler of Mauryan dynasty and the texts were mostly written in Prakrit language<sup>1</sup> and some in Aramaic language. The relationship of the 'language of the Gods'<sup>2</sup> Sanskrit, with epigraphy developed only from the second century BC, whereas it matured only after the passage of four to five centuries, that is from third century onwards. Prior to the mentioned period, Sanskrit had been put to use only for writing sacred texts and scholarly compositions. As is the case to other developments, the adoption of Sanskrit in the field of epigraphs started from the North of India, gradually progressing towards the southern peninsula. As stated by D C Sircar, inscriptions depict the all the varied features of society and culture of the contemporary times<sup>3</sup>. He adds that the prominence of Sanskrit in the courts of the rulers in India was mainly due to Sanskrit grammarians like Panini<sup>4</sup>.

Sheldon Pollock states that Sanskrit that had long been a language exclusively utilized for religious purposes, started to be used for literary and political expressions<sup>5</sup>. He adds that once Sanskrit left its sacred domain and entered the political domain, it spread in the entire Southern Asia as the medium of expression, very quickly. It assumed the status of sole medium of expression of power by the ruling elites<sup>6</sup>. Pollock describes the function of Sanskrit as the medium of articulating politics and culture which, he says was done through *prasasti*, which is the literary expression of political selfhood<sup>7</sup>. Though Pollock describes *prasasti* as the medium of expression of politics and culture, it actually serves as the camera of erstwhile existing conditions of the society. Sanskrit being the vehicle of articulation of the complete scenario, assumes the semblance of authority. It not only presents the aesthetic aspect of literature, but also steps in as the presenter of aspects of

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<sup>1</sup> RadhaGovinda Basak, *Asokan Inscriptions*. Calcutta; Progressive Publishers, 1959; A Cunningham, *Inscriptions of Asoka, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol 1, Calcutta, 1877.; D C sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> The term 'language of the Gods' has been put to elaborate use by Sheldon Pollock in his work *Language of the Gods in the World of Men*.

<sup>3</sup> D C Sircar, *Early Indian Numismatic and Epigraphical Studies*, p. 102, cited in Salomon, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> D C Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 39.

<sup>5</sup> Sheldon Pollock, *Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, Introduction.

<sup>6</sup> Sheldon Pollock, *Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, p.12.

<sup>7</sup> Sheldon Pollock, *Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, p.14.

society, politics, culture, time and identity. The *prasastis* engraved on stones, pillars, copper plates, caves and other mediums and texts are those pieces of written history that provide insight into the bygone era.

D C Sircar states<sup>8</sup> that ‘epigraphy is the study of records that are engraved or written in ink on different mediums like stone, metal, earthen crafts, wood, cave walls, etc’. Among all the kinds of evidences of the past, namely literary, epigraphic, numismatic, archaeological and monumental records, the epigraphical evidence is the most important for the reconstruction and representation of the ancient and medieval periods of India. Epigraphs first appeared in India during the rule of Mauryan dynasty. The earliest inscriptions discovered till date were issued by King Asoka of Mauryan Empire. These were composed in Aramaic and Prakrit languages and brahmi and kharoshthi scripts<sup>9</sup>. The project of reconstruction of early Indian history through the study of epigraphs was initiated by the Europeans in the eighteenth century. James Prinsep made a breakthrough in the field of epigraphy when he deciphered brahmi script in 1837. The credit for the decipherment of early Indian inscriptions written in brahmi and kharoshthi scripts, goes to scholars like James Prinsep, Lassen, Norris and Cunningham<sup>10</sup>.

## **EPIGRAPHY IN GOA**

Several dynasties have held sway over Goa since the early centuries of the Common Era. Goa was probably under the Mauryan administration as a peripheral territory during the last centuries prior to the commencement of Christian era. It has been mentioned by R K Mookerji<sup>11</sup> that on the completion of the third Buddhist council at Pataliputra, the Buddhist monks were assigned to be sent to different regions in order to spread the message of Buddhism. Accordingly, a monk named Dhammarakkhita was assigned to Aparanta country. Goa too must have been a part of his assignment, which is supported by the finding of a Buddhist statue at Colvale<sup>12</sup>. There are

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<sup>8</sup> D C Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, Introduction.

<sup>9</sup> D C Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 39-40.

<sup>10</sup> D C Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 39-40.

<sup>11</sup> R K Mookerji, *Asoka*, pp. 32-33.

<sup>12</sup> The Buddhist statue discovered at Colvale displays Hellenic features of art. The Buddhist monk Dhammarakkhita was a Greek who is said to have converted around thirty seven thousand people to Buddhism. This shows that he probably exerted influence on Goa as well thereby resulting in the Greek influence on art.



evidences of the rule of Satvahanas, Bhojas, Konkan Mauryas, Early Chalukyas, Southern Shilaharas, Kadambas of Goa, Vijayanagar and the Bahamani Sultanate before the arrival of Portuguese in Goa<sup>13</sup>. The epigraphs first appeared in Goa region with the appearance of Bhoja dynasty in the fourth century AD. In fact, the rule of Bhoja dynasty was confirmed by the discovery of their copper plate inscriptions. The history of the dynasties that ruled over Goa begins with the Bhojas who held ancient Chandrapura as their capital. Six inscriptions of the Bhoja kings have been unearthed. The records issued by the kings, members of the royal families, ministers, traders and businessmen and others are the only evidences that help to reconstruct the history of the state in pre-Portuguese period. Apart from the inscriptions, texts like *Sahyadrikhanda*<sup>14</sup> and *Konkanakhyana*<sup>15</sup> and Portuguese sources<sup>16</sup> also provide information related to the early settlers and culture of the region.

There are around more than hundred and fifty inscriptional records extant, related to the dynasties that ruled over Goa. The inscriptions can be divided into two periods, first including the inscriptions of dynasties of Bhojas, Konkan Mauryas, Early Chalukyas and the Goa Shilaharas and second period including the Kadambas, Vijayanagar Empire and the Bahamani Sultante. The first period encompasses the fourth to tenth centuries of the Common Era and the second period ranges from the end of tenth century AD to 1565 AD<sup>17</sup>. The inscriptions have been composed in two languages, primarily Sanskrit and secondarily Kannada. The inscriptions issued between the fourth century and tenth century, by the Bhojas, Konkan Mauryas, Early Chalukyas and Goa Shilaharas are exclusively composed in Sanskrit language. The early inscriptions of the Bhojas are found to include selected Prakrit expressions woven in Sanskrit fabric<sup>18</sup>. The later inscriptions of the Bhojas and those of the rulers of other dynasties however, present a homogeneity in the adoption of Sanskrit language for their official records and are indicative of the suppression of Prakrit language from the royal courts in South India. Similar pattern has been observed in the inscriptions of the

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<sup>13</sup> For details see V T Gune, *The Gazetteer of Goa, Daman and Diu*, Volume I; Refer to chapter 3 and 4 of this work for details of dynasties ruling over Goa in pre-Portuguese period.

<sup>14</sup> *Sahyadrikhanda* has been composed in Sanskrit by an unknown author and it claims to be a part of *Skandapurana*.

<sup>15</sup> The author of Marathi composition, *Konkankhayana* is unknown and the date of its composition is 1721 AD, Chandrakant Keni (ed.), *Konkanakhyana*.

<sup>16</sup> The Portuguese sources include the Foral of 1526 by Afonso Mexia as well as Foral of 1567 that provide valuable information about the society of the sixteenth century AD Goa.

<sup>17</sup> 1565 AD is the year that is considered as the time when the Vijayanagar Empire fell and got destroyed.

<sup>18</sup> C Krishnamacharlu, Siroda Plates of Devaraja, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 24, pp. 143-144.

Pallavas<sup>19</sup>. There are about twenty inscriptions discovered till date that belong to dynasties of Goa in the first millennium of Common Era.

The Kadambas established their supremacy by the middle of tenth century AD. The geographical territory held by the Kadambas of Goa included regions of Konkan<sup>20</sup> as well as that of Karnataka. They ruled for a period of almost four centuries, after which the Vijayanagar Empire dominated the region. The records of Kadambas and the Vijayanagar kings are found in both languages, Sanskrit and Kannada. The records of Vijayanagar rulers are found in Telugu and Tamil languages as well. However, further inquiry will manifest the background in which the language in particular was implemented. The point of interest here is that the records of the dynasties that were addressed to the people of Goa were found to be in Sanskrit language and few records of fifteenth century AD in Marathi language. In a way it can be said that the study of the epigraphs of Goa is directly related to the study of Sanskrit engaged with the administrative and political front of the ruling dynasties.

Daud Ali considers<sup>21</sup> that the inscriptions should preferably be viewed as texts that were a part of an ‘integrated discursive practice’<sup>22</sup> rather than as individual documents of contemporary political and social conditions. He explains that the records should not just be considered as sources for reframing the dynastic histories, but as being history themselves<sup>23</sup>. By saying this, he meant to convey that starting from the kings’ order for a political action, making a grant of land for example, to the engraving of copper-plates with the composition of the order, it was quite a complex process that in itself created history. Hence the epigraphs issued by the royalty must be understood as deed of significance. It not only portrays the facets of a royal state through its contents, but also paint the historicity in itself.

Around two hundred epigraphs of the dynasties of Goa present a distinguishing relationship with Sanskrit. The language depicts the different strands of the period in an aesthetic way. Daud Ali

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<sup>19</sup> See D C Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy* for details

<sup>20</sup> The regions of Konkan include Goa, regions northern to Goa now lying in Maharashtra state and some regions of North Kanara.

<sup>21</sup> Daud Ali, *Royal Eulogy as World History* in *Querying The Medieval*, p. 175

<sup>22</sup> The phrase has been mentioned by Daud Ali in his work, *Royal Eulogy as World History* in *Querying The Medieval*, p. 175.

<sup>23</sup> Daud Ali in his work, *Royal Eulogy as World History* in *Querying The Medieval*, p. 175.

states<sup>24</sup> that the copper-plates written in Prakrit in South India during early Pallava times are devoid of elaborate eulogies and significant mentions of Puranic stories, whereas the Sanskrit charters of dynasties like Chalukyas, Paramars and others, distinctly relate with the Puranic texts. The Prakrit records of the Pallavas contain the genealogies of the early Pallava kings, but they do not contain the *prasastis* of the rulers<sup>25</sup>. This relates to the ideological approach, adopted in the epigraphic compositions in order to provide recognition and status in society, in order to legitimize their authority<sup>26</sup>. According to Aruna Pariti, the inscriptions provide a structure to study the elaborate genealogies mentioned in them in order to understand the concepts of thoughts and perceptions as held by the ruling elites of the past. She<sup>27</sup> strongly argues that the records are representatives of the historical consciousness that existed in the past as opposed to the argument of the British writers who proposed that India lacked a sense of history as found in the West<sup>28</sup>. Romila Thapar mentions that genealogies contained in *puranas*, not only provide information regarding chronology of generations and measurement of time of a dynasty, but also functions as a mirror of other aspects of society, like migration of people in time, geographical location, social groups with high social and political status, religious preceptors and priests, social system of succession of posts and property, origin myths, among others for which it provided legitimacy<sup>29</sup>. The mentioned aspects are true in the case of genealogies contained in the inscriptions as well. The most important evidence of historical consciousness among Indians is the composition of land grants in the royal courts that contained the ancestral history, the genealogy or *vamsavali*, of the ruling king and dynasty. The grants were made permanently marked in the history by forming them as a text composition that was finally engraved on a medium in order to make it eternal. The texts not only conveyed the royal order, but also presented the aesthetic use of Sanskrit in its formation, done by specially appointed *brahmana* ministers. It is observed that genealogies are a part of Sanskrit records, the *puranas* as well as Sanskrit inscriptions, whereas it is not present in Prakrit inscriptions.

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<sup>24</sup> Daud Ali in his work, Royal Eulogy as World History in *Querying The Medieval*, p. 175.

<sup>25</sup> R Gopalan, *History of the Pallavas of Kanchi*, pp. 32-35.

<sup>26</sup> See Aruna Pariti, *Genealogy, Time and Identity*, Introduction

<sup>27</sup> Aruna Pariti, *Genealogy, Time and Identity*, p. 7.

<sup>28</sup> Aruna Pariti, *Genealogy, Time and Identity*, p.7.

<sup>29</sup> Romila Thapar, *Ancient Indian Social History- Some Interpretations*, pp. 326-328.

The inscriptions are have three main features, (1) the audience, (2) the contents and (3) the purpose of the record. The audience are the people to whom the record is addressed and the ones for whom the record has been composed. It denotes the *brahmanas* who are usually addressed for the land grants, grants for the *brahmapuris*, the religious authorities including the authorities of brahmanical temples, Jain temples and Buddhist viharas, the soldiers of the royal defence, state officials and other dignitaries. The second front denotes the essentialities of the record that it intends to convey to the audience, the genealogy, the statement of transaction, the identity and legitimation of authority and the notions of time. Finally is the purpose of the record that is projected in the inscription. The purpose is not only pertaining to the transactional part, rather it also includes the social, cultural and ideological aspects. The purpose of the record has to be assessed based on the many features mentioned. These three features together form the text of the record.

As Daud Ali puts it<sup>30</sup> in the case of Chola records, the inscriptions encode an entire political procedure. The kings' order was initially written on a palm leaf, checked by officials, edited and then entered in the permanent record books and/or sent as communication to the relevant local authorities. The royal order was regarded as the king himself by the public. It becomes obvious that the audience regarded the order of the king as sacred. The rulers in Goa too issued their orders in the sacred language. The Narendra Inscription of Shankarlinga temple was issued by Jayakesi II of Goa. The inscription voices five dates beginning in 1123 AD and the last date falling in 1126 AD. The object of the document is to register a series of grants issued for the sanctuary of Lord Shiva of Arikere, situated at Kundur. The inscription on a stone tablet brings together all the previous acts and recites them in the text of the record. As mentioned by Daud Ali<sup>31</sup>, the earlier grants must have been recorded in royal registers of fiscal transactions most probably on palm leaves. After a certain period, probably at the time of some new construction or repair in the temple premises, all the grants were permanently engraved on the stone tablet and displayed in the temple. The grants were brought together in a Sanskrit text that also comprised the description of the king and his chief consort in an aesthetic fashion.

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<sup>30</sup> Daud Ali, Royal Eulogy as World History, in *Querying The Medieval*, p.173.

<sup>31</sup> Daud Ali, Royal Eulogy as world History, in *Querying the Medieval*, pp. 173-174.

Starting from the Bhojas of Chandrapur in Goa, with their roots probably in fourth century AD, the inscriptions are in Sanskrit language. They followed the trend of the period when the language for administrative affairs was changing from Prakrit to Sanskrit. Since the composers of the texts, that contained the royal orders along with other important details, were usually *brahmanas*, it almost became a rule to communicate administrative purposes in Sanskrit. It has been already mentioned in the previous chapters that the transactions that appear in the epigraphs were usually *brahmadeyas* and *devadanas*. The status and role of *brahmanas* for the kings and state formation and legitimization<sup>32</sup> has also been made clear. Hence, it can be understood that the texts were both, composed by and intended for the social class that was highly learned and associated with the sacred language. This is one of the answers the query as to why the royal houses selected Sanskrit for communicating their ordinances.

The epigraphs of the Bhojas of Goa have been addressed to the local authorities *Bhojakas*, *Ayuktas* and *Sthayins*, who were entrusted with the responsibility of execution and enforcement of the royal deed. The royal orders comprised land grants to *Brahmanas* as well as to Buddhist *Viharas*. The record of Konkan Mauryas Anirjitavarman<sup>33</sup> is addressed to the inhabitants of a village in addition to the local authorities. The records of the Chalukyas are addressed to the donee *brahmanas*. The audience of the inscriptions issued by the Silaharas of Goa include *brahmanas* as well as some merchants<sup>34</sup>. The Kadambas records are communicated to *Brahmanas*, merchants, religious authorities, both brahmanical and non-brahmanical, as well as to common public in some cases. Accordingly, the audience of the royal orders was not uniform, rather, it was a varied audience comprising various social and economic classes.

## **SANSKRIT AS MEDIUM OF COMMUNICATION**

MacDonell states<sup>35</sup> that in the second century BC, Sanskrit was spoken in the whole country by the *brahmanas* and people of high rank or social status whereas the local dialect was spoken by

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<sup>32</sup> See chapter 3 and 4 for details.

<sup>33</sup> G S Gai, Bandora Pates of Maurya Anirjitavarman, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 33, pp.293-296.

<sup>34</sup> The merchants mentioned in the Silahara inscriptions includes Muslim merchants and as a result it becomes a depiction of Muslims in Sanskrit texts. B D Chattopadhyay has descriptively mentioned this aspect in *Representing the Other? Muslims in Sanskrit Texts*.

<sup>35</sup> Arthur Macdonell, A History of Sanskrit literature, pp. 23-24.

common folk. He adds that even if the common people did not speak Sanskrit, it is highly certain that they understood it. E J Rapson<sup>36</sup> supports the argument by confidently stating that Panini himself has called Sanskrit as the *laukika* language<sup>37</sup>. He says that the grammarians from Yaska to Patanjali apply the term *bhasa* for speech, explaining that the root *bhas* means ‘to speak’- a term that cannot be applied to a dead language<sup>38</sup>. The erection of Kadamba Shashthadeva’s Gandevi inscription at *mandapika* supports the view. The said inscription has been composed in Sanskrit and was originally displayed at the market place constructed by Shashthadeva at Gandevi port in Gujarat. The record’s importance is viable mostly when it can be read and understood by the common public attending the place. In this respect, it holds similarity with Asoka’s inscriptions composed in Prakrit and were located at strategic points in his territory from where they could be accessible to the countrymen<sup>39</sup>. In fact, the provenance of the Asokan edicts confirm the extent of his territory and his influence over vast regions<sup>40</sup>. It was required to spread the message of *dhamma* in addition to display king’s authority and confirming legitimacy of his rule even in far flung regions. Romila Thapar also attests the positioning of inscriptions on trade routes since much early times of the Mauryas<sup>41</sup>. Sahu states<sup>42</sup> that location of inscriptions at significant routes and places in the kingdom adds to their significance for the state. Legitimacy cannot be fully accomplished in the absence of a comfortable communication between the royalty and the public. It is this communication which in the form of epigraphs reached out to the people.

Sheldon Pollock has stated<sup>43</sup> that Sanskrit probably never functioned as an everyday medium of communication anywhere in South Asia. He further says that besides being used as inscriptional language which have a larger purpose, it is improbable that it was used as the language for practical purposes. However, the evidences available in the inscriptions point in the other direction. The

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<sup>36</sup> E J Rapson, In What Degree was Sanskrit a Spoken Language? An Essay on the Development of Sanskrit Language, *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (Jul. 1904), pp. 435-456; accessed on Jstor.org on 14/07/2021

<sup>37</sup> *Laukika* means belonging to this world

<sup>38</sup> By calling it a dead language, Rapson probably wanted to convey a language that is not used for communication and is devoid of development

<sup>39</sup> B P Sahu, Legitimation, Ideology and State in Early India, *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Vol 64 (2003), pp. 51-52.

<sup>40</sup> For details see R. K. Mookerji, *Asoka*, p. 15.

<sup>41</sup> Romila Thapar, *The Penguin History of India-From the Origins to AD 1300*, p. 222.

<sup>42</sup> B P Sahu, Legitimation, Ideology and State in Early India, *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Vol. 64 (2003), pp. 44-76.

<sup>43</sup> Pollock, *Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, p.14

audience of the inscriptions being mixed audience do not conform Pollock's statements. The evidence shows that not only the *brahmanas*, but also people belonging to other social and economic classes were also interacting in Sanskrit. The presence of local forms of communicative language cannot be eliminated, but one also cannot rule out the possibility of communication in Sanskrit language.

It has been stated<sup>44</sup> that though Sanskrit grammar is immense and difficult as well, but its rules are well- defined and fixed according to logical system and have been carefully taught since antiquity. Sanskrit has been taught as language in schools since ancient times. It has also been the medium of teaching and learning the subjects<sup>45</sup> taught at *agraharas* and *brahmapuris* all over India<sup>46</sup>. The same was followed under the administration of dynasties ruling over Goa which is attested by the inscriptions<sup>47</sup>. Many of the inscriptions of Goa Kadambas have been issued with the purpose of establishment of *agraharas* and *brahmapuris* that were the centers of education for the public. Education was probably available to most of the classes of the society. This argument is supported by the fact that the holy thread ceremony, which marked the onset of education of the Hindus, was permitted for the social classes of *brahmanas*, Kshatriyas as well as the Vaishyas. Gune has mentioned that the *brahmanas*, *kshatriyas* and *vaishyas* were granted education in the mathas, *agraharas* and *brahmapuris* in Goa<sup>48</sup>. He states that primary education as well as higher education was provided in the subjects related to *Vedas*, *Shastras* and *Puranas* along with mathematics, astrology, medicine, philosophy, Sanskrit literature and grammar<sup>49</sup>. Christopher De Souza has mentioned<sup>50</sup> that the tradesmen like goldsmiths, blacksmiths and weavers also performed the thread ceremony and were familiar with Sanskrit and *shilpa* texts. Vijaya Ramaswamy has argued<sup>51</sup> for the presence of literacy among the craftsmen community. It indicates that all the mentioned groups of people received education in the prevalent medium of instruction, which was

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<sup>44</sup> J Filliozat, Sanskrit as a language of Communication, *ABORI*, Vol 36, No. ¾ (July-Oct, 1955), pp. 179-189.

<sup>45</sup> The subjects taught at the educational institutions were the Vedic subjects comprising study of Vedas, astronomy, mathematics among other subjects. See Chapter 4 of this work for details.

<sup>46</sup> For details see R K Mookerji, *Education in Ancient India*.

<sup>47</sup> Refer to Moraes, *KadambaKula*; Kadamb, *Sources of the History of The Kadambas of Goa* for details.

<sup>48</sup> V T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu*, Part I, Education and Culture, p. 687.

<sup>49</sup> V T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu*, Part I, Education and Culture, p. 687.

<sup>50</sup> Christopher D'Souza, *Craftsmen in Goa, 1000 AD – 1700 AD, Unpublished PhD Thesis*, Goa University, 2021.

<sup>51</sup> Vijaya Ramaswamy, *Textiles and Weavers in Medieval South India*, cited in D'Souza, *Craftsmen in Goa*

Sanskrit. Owing to the mentioned conditions, Sanskrit proves quite suitable for communication between scholars.

The argument is supported by another event of importance. The gospel of Buddha was preached to the people in the language of the people rather than in the language of the learned, with the motive to be understood by all. The Buddhist literature was also composed in the common language of the masses. The case with the Jains is also similar. In fact, the reason behind the adoption of the language of the common people was to remove the ill-effects of the caste system that accorded social privileges only to restricted classes. However, in the later centuries, it is seen that the Jains and the Buddhists not only gain the knowledge of Sanskrit, but also implement it in their literatures as well as in theological discussions<sup>52</sup>, a fact that has been attested by the Chinese pilgrim Hieun Tsang<sup>53</sup>. The Aihole *prasasti* of Chalukya king Pulakesi II<sup>54</sup> is one of the examples from the first millennium of Christian era. The *prasasti* that is written in Sanskrit language has been composed by Ravikirti, who was a Jain<sup>55</sup>. The composition involves use of several metres of Sanskrit grammar. The example of *Buddhacarita*<sup>56</sup>, *Dvayashraya*<sup>57</sup>, a Sanskrit composition by Jain preceptor, has already been cited in earlier chapters. In fact, scholars like John Brough, A Wayman, and Franklin Edgerton<sup>58</sup> have studied the Buddhist Sanskrit texts and attempted to distinguish Buddhist Sanskrit from Classical Sanskrit. Buddhists and Jainas, who advocated the use of language of the common people, understood the advantages of using Sanskrit in their discourse. It helped them to impress the intellectuals as well as other elite audience. It proves that Sanskrit permeated the vertical as well as horizontal levels of public to quite an extent and was not limited to the elite classes.

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<sup>52</sup> MacDonell, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp.24-26.

<sup>53</sup> Cited in MacDonell, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*.

<sup>54</sup> F Keilhorn, Aihole Inscription of Pulakesi II, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 6, p. 1.

<sup>55</sup> F Keilhorn, Aihole Inscription of Pulakesi II, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 6, p.2.

<sup>56</sup> It is Sanskrit composition written by Asvaghosa that elaborates the life of Buddha in stories, refer to chapter 2 and 3 for details.

<sup>57</sup> *Dvayashraya* is a Sanskrit composition written by a Jain monk in the courts of Chalukyas of Gujarat, refer to Chapter 3 for more details

<sup>58</sup> Franklin Edgerton has composed a dictionary of Buddhist Sanskrit words titled *Buddhist Hybrid Grammar and Dictionary* and a book titled *Buddhist Hybrid Grammar Reader*, cited in John Brough, *The Language of the Buddhist Sanskrit Texts*, *Bulletin of School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol 16, No. 2 (1954), pp. 351-375



## GENEALOGY AND ALLIED TOOLS IN INSCRIPTIONS OF GOA

The practice of gifting lands to *brahmanas* related to religious institutions and educational institutions has continued with every dynasty that acclaimed power in the region. As Max Muller has penned it, the *danastutis* or panegyrics formed significant part of the Vedas<sup>59</sup>, the inscriptions issued by the rulers of the ruling dynasties comprise of similar *danastutis*. This feature confirms the fact that the Indian compositions throw back on the comprehensive and final authority called Vedas. Veda in India is quoted as the last and highest authority<sup>60</sup>. The inscriptions issued by kings of Goa are no exception in being replete with panegyrics and *puranic* references. It forms an important part of the text. The other contents comprise genealogy of the rulers and in some cases that of the donee *brahmanas* as well, statement of the deed, notions of time and identity as well as the measures of legitimacy. Genealogy can be equated with *vamsavali* in Sanskrit. Genealogy can be understood as a branching tree representing the ancestral origins of a family. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines<sup>61</sup> genealogy as descent traced continuously from an ancestor. The anthropologists understand genealogy as something modelled on biological relations that underlie the socio-cultural product called kinship<sup>62</sup>. According to Thapar<sup>63</sup>, mythology, genealogy and historical narrative are the three main constituents of historical tradition with genealogy forming the central portion. She describes<sup>64</sup> genealogy as records of the past where the description of the lineages of the family are maintained systematically. She maintains that genealogies were essential for performance of marriages and for succession to office and property rights<sup>65</sup>. The mention of *gotra* and *vamsa* in the brahmanical texts was important for the same reason. Pargiter contests that genealogies were preserved originally in Prakrit and when re-written in the Puranas, they were translated into Sanskrit<sup>66</sup>. Levitt has mentioned that all the *puranas* essentially deal with the

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<sup>59</sup> Max Muller, History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 493.

<sup>60</sup> Max Muller, History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p.9.

<sup>61</sup> Fowler and Fowler, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*, p.411.

<sup>62</sup> Mary Bouquet, Family trees and their affinities: The visual imperative of the Genealogical Diagram, JRAI, Vol. 2, No. 1, p.44, cited in Pariti, *Genealogy, Time and Identity*, p. 4.

<sup>63</sup> Romila Thapar, Genealogy as a Source of Social History, *Ancient Indian Social History- Some Interpretations*, p. 238.

<sup>64</sup> Romila Thapar, Genealogy as a Source of Social History, *Ancient Indian Social History- Some Interpretations*, p. 286.

<sup>65</sup> Romila Thapar, Genealogy as a Source of Social History, *Ancient Indian Social History- Some Interpretations*, p. 286.

<sup>66</sup> As cited in Thapar, *Ancient Indian Social History- Some Interpretations*, p. 287.

*pancalakshanas*, the five topics of which one is the genealogy of Gods and patriarchs<sup>67</sup>. In this way, the inclusion of genealogy in inscriptions, is in itself communicative of the inclusion of *puranic* element in the inscriptional records.

### **GENEALOGY IN INSCRIPTIONS OF PRE-KADAMBA PERIOD**

In view of the inscriptions of Goa, the inscriptions of the Bhojas of Chandrapur are seen to be devoid of genealogical portion. The compositions are in Sanskrit language with the regular dictions like *dhittam*<sup>68</sup>, the Prakrit equivalent of Sanskrit *drishtam*, meaning 'to be seen'. The inscriptions directly introduce the ruling king without any mention of his family and ancestral details. The composition does not try to gain legitimacy for the ruling king through the means of genealogy, though they do mention the name and *gotra* of the composer of the text. The six records of the Bhojas mention the names of five different rulers, but are devoid of details about their inter-relationship as well as about that of their origin and ancestors. They also do not indicate the presence of any overlords of the Bhojas, which shows that they independent rulers. The period of their rule stretches from the fourth century AD till the seventh century AD. Thapar mentions<sup>69</sup> that families claiming royal status would need far more genealogical validation than a politically more diffuse system such as government by oligarchy or rudimentary republics. This can be one of the reasons that can explain the absence of genealogy in the Bhoja inscriptions. It proves to be yet another evidence in favour of the earlier stated argument that the Bhojas of Chandrapur had a republican form of government<sup>70</sup>. The records of the Konkan Mauryas do not provide any genealogical details of the rulers as well.

The inscriptions of the Chalukyas provide elaborate genealogy of the Chalukyas starting from *Hariti* as their originator. It also mentions their *gotra* as *Manavya* which was also the *gotra* claimed by the Early Kadambas as well as the Kadambas of Goa. The records of the Chutukulaananda dynasty also mention the rulers to belong to *Hariti* lineage and *Manavya gotra*<sup>71</sup>. In this way, the Chalukyan records claimed acquaintance with the Puranic texts which mention Harita as a sage

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<sup>67</sup> S H Levitt, *The Patityagramanirnaya*, p. 24

<sup>68</sup> A M Annigeri, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 33, Two grants of Bhoja Prithvimallavarman, pp. 232-236.

<sup>69</sup> Romila Thapar, Genealogy as a Source of Social History, *Ancient Indian Social History-Some Interpretations*, pp. 326-360.

<sup>70</sup> The argument has been discussed in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

<sup>71</sup> D C Sircar, *Successors of The Satavahanas in Lower Deccan*, p. 221.

from whom the originators of various dynasties emerged. More elaborate discussion on the Puranic link of *Hariti* will be done while discussing the Goa Kadambas. The ancestral genealogy of the Chalukyas of Badami began with Pulakesi I who is mentioned as the performer of *asvamedha yajna*<sup>72</sup>. The inscription especially mentions that donor king belonged to the family of the Chalukyas who had ancient Vatapi as their capital<sup>73</sup>. It provides information regarding the geographical region related with the dynasty. The records of the Chalukyas mention the *gotra* of the donee *brahmanas*. *Gotra* was significant for the establishment of the identity of concerned donee.

Pargiter mentions<sup>74</sup> three classes among *brahmanas* out of which the sages or the ascetic devotee have the highest status and the priest or spiritual guide of the kings, nobles and people are accorded with the next level of status. The authorship of the Puranas has been attributed to sages and Puranas were the authoritative texts of the pasts<sup>75</sup>. Consequently, the fabrication of genealogies of the royal dynasties in the fashion to represent themselves as descendants of sages helped them to create association with the *puranas* that helped to gain authority and legitimacy. This construction of descent was done in Sanskrit language which was the language of *puranas* used by the ascetics or devotees. On that account Sanskrit language proved to be a major aid in state formation for the ruling dynasties<sup>76</sup>.

## **GENEALOGY IN INSCRIPTIONS OF GOA KADAMBAS AND LATER PERIOD**

The genealogy of Kadambas of Goa was also fashioned in a similar pattern. The records of the Goa Kadambas are abounding with intricate genealogies. They refer to themselves as the stock belonging to the early Kadambas of Banavasi by phrases like *banavasi-pura-adhishwara*<sup>77</sup>. The genealogy of the Goa Kadambas has been constructed with the puranic events forming the base of

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<sup>72</sup> J F Fleet, Nerur grant of Mangalesha, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol 7, p.161.

<sup>73</sup> J F Fleet, Nerur grant of Mangalesha, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol 7, p.161.

<sup>74</sup> F E Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 62-63.

<sup>75</sup> Thapar, *Ancient Indian Social History-Some Interpretations*, p. 242.

<sup>76</sup> Thapar has mentioned that the linear descent of the Ikshavaku lineage may indicate a stable political system probably based on a developed agrarian economy, existence of a state and an established monarchical system, *AISH*, pp. 326-360.

<sup>77</sup> The phrase is common in the inscriptions of the Kadambas of Goa

their origin. The genealogy begins<sup>78</sup> with the mention of the *gotra* Manavya of Kadambas. It says that they were the descendants from the family of sage *Harita*<sup>79</sup>. The origin of *Harita* is mentioned in the puranic sources<sup>80</sup>. It is mentioned that *Harita* was the son of Yuvanasha of the solar race who descended from Ikshvaku of the north. The sons of *Harita* were adopted by Angiras who was of spiritual lineage. The Vedas mention of the members of Angiras lineage as Gods. This association between the two suggests that the *gotras* emerging from the Angiras were considered as one of the oldest<sup>81</sup>. The same descent is mentioned in the genealogies of the Chalukyas<sup>82</sup>. It can be understood that the descent of Kadambas as *Haritiputras* suggests a mythical past that is associated with Gods themselves.

The genealogy of the Chutukulaanandas, Banavasi Kadambas, Chalukyas of Badami, Goa Kadambas and the Western Chalukyas is mentioned from *Hariti* and are stated to belong to Manavya *gotra* in their records<sup>83</sup>. It is observed from the records of the Chutu Satkarnis that they ruled over the region of Banavasi from the third century AD. This region was later occupied by the Kadambas of Banavasi after the mid-fourth century AD. The Kadambas of Banavasi were the overlords of the Chalukyas of Badami who were established in the sixth century AD. The Badami Chalukyas split into Western Chalukyas and Eastern Chalukyas in the seventh century AD, which shows that the Western Chalukyas belonged to the same stock as the Chalukyas of Badami<sup>84</sup>. The Goa Kadambas who established in tenth century AD also claim their origin from the family of the Banavasi Kadambas. It can be seen that the original homes of the mentioned dynasties occupied the same geographical region. This shows that the genealogical claims of the dynasties is related to the geographical region occupied by them which is required for the identity of the dynasty. Romila Thapar mentions that 'genealogical record is not based on region, but on the distribution

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<sup>78</sup> The genealogy mentioned here has been taken from the description given in the Gandevi Inscription of Shashthadeva, Important Inscriptions of Baroda State, pp. 64-71, Halsi Inscription, part 2 in *Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol 9, pp.280-286.

<sup>79</sup> *Hariti* is indicative of matronymic descent. According to D C Sircar, the epithet *Haritiputra* refers to sons of *Hariti* or the lady of *Harita gotra* which is a family matronymic and not a personal one, cited in Pariti, *Genealogy, Time and Identity*, p. 98.

<sup>80</sup> The puranic sources mentioning about *Harita* include *Vayu* and *Linga Purana*, cited in Pariti, *Genealogy, Time and Identity*, p.70.

<sup>81</sup> John Brough, The early History of the Gotras, *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, 1946, parts 1 and 2, cited in Pariti, *Genealogy, Time and Identity*, p.70.

<sup>82</sup> See Pariti, *Genealogy, Time and Identity*, p. 70.

<sup>83</sup> For details see D C Sircar, *Successors of the Satavahanas in Lower Deccan*.

<sup>84</sup> Aruna Pariti states that the inscriptions of the Chalukyan families mention *Hariti* and Manavya as the originators of their dynasties, *Genealogy, Time and Identity*, p. 65.

of lineage, which may or may not coincide with geographical region'<sup>85</sup>. However, in the case discussed here, it is seen that genealogical record appears related to the geographical region<sup>86</sup>. It indicates the attempt of the ruling dynasties to create and legitimize their identities through claims of antiquity related to the geographical region.

Aruna Pariti states that imbibing the mythical genealogies of the earlier powerful dynasties like Kadambas was helpful for the successful establishment of Chalukya dynasty<sup>87</sup>. Though she claims that the dynasties claimed their origin from the same lineage as of earlier dynasty in power in the same region as their attempt to associate themselves with the *brahma-ksatra* identity<sup>88</sup>, it is rather associated with superior identity formation of the Chalukyas. The mythical genealogy not only provided antiquity to the origin of the lineage, but also gave legitimacy to the newly established rulers. Subbarayalu mentions that after the Cholas became a powerful dynasty in the tenth century AD, they projected a mythical genealogy in their records in order to create links with the puranic traditions of North India and thereby gain legitimacy for the state<sup>89</sup>. He adds that they patronized the *brahmanas* and Saivite temples of pan-Indian character in order to substantiate their genealogical claims<sup>90</sup>.

The records mention<sup>91</sup> that the Kadambas arose from the three eyed, four armed Kadamba, known as *Trilochana*<sup>92</sup> Kadamba. He sprang into being from a drop of sweat from the forehead of Lord Shiva that fell on the ground under a Kadamba tree, while fighting the demon named Tripura. Trilochana, the mighty armed came to this earth to spread prosperity and to make the regions destitute of warriors. It continues by stating that in his pure race, king Shashthadeva of the Goa Kadambas was born, who firmly protected the earth<sup>93</sup>. This description of the origin and descent of Kadambas from a mythological figure and the link of their origin to Lord Shiva, called

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<sup>85</sup> Romila Thapar, 'Genealogy as a Source of Social History', in *Ancient Indian Social History-Some Interpretations*, p. 327.

<sup>86</sup> D C Sircar, *Successors of the Satavahanas in Lower Deccan*, p. 155.

<sup>87</sup> Aruna Pariti, *Genealogy, Time and Identity*, p. 72.

<sup>88</sup> For greater details on *brahma-ksatra* identity, see Aruna Pariti, *Genealogy, Time and Identity*, pp. 71-73.

<sup>89</sup> Y Subbarayalu, *South India under the Cholas*, p. 208.

<sup>90</sup> Y Subbarayalu, *South India under the Cholas*, p. 208.

<sup>91</sup> Almost all the inscriptions issued by Goa Kadambas mention the same story of the originator of their race, for example Curtorim Inscription of Viravarmadeva, 1049 AD; Goa Charter of Jayakesideva I, 1053 AD; Narendra Inscription of Jayakesi II, 1125 AD.

<sup>92</sup> *Trilochana* is a Sanskrit word that means- having three eyes

<sup>93</sup> The description has been given in *Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol 9, pp.280-286.

*trayambaka* in the records, is recurrent in all the Kadamba records. The Kadambas do not claim acquaintance with solar race or lunar race directly<sup>94</sup>, which are explicitly mentioned in the Puranas. Rather, they claim to be kings of much higher status and success over kings belonging to both the races. Beyond the mentions of the mythological genealogy, there is mention of historical genealogy<sup>95</sup> as well in the records wherein the ancestors of the rulers can be traced back to some generations. The records mention the father and fore-fathers of the ruling kings. The historical genealogy as mentioned in the epigraphs is traced up to *Guhalladeva* who is mentioned as the progenitor of the Goa Kadamba house<sup>96</sup>. In this way, the genealogy of Kadambas can be called a combination of mythological and historical genealogy<sup>97</sup>.

### ALLIED TOOLS OF LEGITIMACY IN EPIGRAPHS OF GOA

Apart from the details of origin, the texts of Kadambas mention distinct Puranic allusions. Daud Ali mentions<sup>98</sup> that the bards of Rashtrakutas, Paramaras, Chalukyas, Cholas and other dynasties, build upon the world histories of the Puranas to tell the genealogies of their kings. He adds that the Sanskrit inscriptions of the post-Gupta period explicitly relate themselves to the Puranic texts<sup>99</sup>. Daud Ali states that ‘the acts of kings-conquests of the quarters, *mahadanas*, and shower-baths were highly textualised articulation of and responses to prescriptions and ontologies located in Puranas, Agamas, Sastras and their own previous inscriptions’<sup>100</sup>.

The inscriptions of Kadambas attest the performance of eighteen horse sacrifices, *Asvamedha yajnas*<sup>101</sup> by Kadamba kings. They also mention the performance of *hiranya dana*<sup>102</sup>, *tula-purusha*

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<sup>94</sup> Indirectly, the Kadambas claim descent from solar race by mentioning their lineage from *Hariti*. See Pariti, *Genealogy, Time and Identity* for detail discussion.

<sup>95</sup> Refer to Pariti, *Genealogy, Time and Identity* for details on types of genealogy, pp. 21, 63.

<sup>96</sup> Refer to Moraes, *KadambaKula*, S G Kadamba, *The Kadambas of Goa and Their Inscriptions*, S L Shantakumari, *The Kadambas of Goa and their Inscriptions*

<sup>97</sup> Aruna Pariti in, *Genealogy, Time and Identity*, mentions details about three kinds of Genealogies, mythical, semi-historical and historical genealogy, p. 63-65.

<sup>98</sup> Daud Ali, *Royal Eulogy as World History, Querying the Medieval*, pp. 182-183.

<sup>99</sup> Daud Ali, *Royal Eulogy as World History, Querying the Medieval*, p.183.

<sup>100</sup> Daud Ali, *Royal Eulogy as World History, Querying the Medieval*, p.184.

<sup>101</sup> The performance of Asvamedha yajna is mentioned in the genealogies of several inscriptions of Goa Kadambas.

<sup>102</sup> Curtorim inscription, *Newsletter of Historical Archives of Goa*, Vol I, No. I, pp.55-58; 61-64.

*dana*<sup>103</sup>, *brahmadeya* and *devadana*. Daud Ali states<sup>104</sup> that since Vedic times, horse sacrifice had been the liturgical act for articulating an imperial order through combat. A king's performance of *asvamedha yajna* was a political challenge to other ruling kings. In the *Manavadharmasastras*, it has been mentioned<sup>105</sup> that after a victory has been gained by a king, he should honour righteous *brahmanas* and further, grant them exemptions. This explains that the *danas* given to the *brahmanas* was in accordance with the sacred *puranic* texts. About the *hiranyagarbha* ceremony, also called the 'golden embryo' ceremony, he states that it was not a Vedic sacrifice, rather was one of the sixteen 'great gifts' elaborated in the Puranas. Of the sixteen Puranic great gifts, the *hiranyagarbha* and *tulabhara* or *tula-purusha* were the chief *danas*. Romila Thapar mentions<sup>106</sup> that *dana* and *dakshina* are commonly used words in the Vedic texts. The Kadambas of Goa are seen conducting the Vedic sacrifices as well as following the Puranic texts. It presents the authority and impact of the Sanskritic texts and culture on the rulers and society. The Sanskritic texts being the sacred texts, provided the authoritarianism to the kings in the state that was required especially to gain legitimacy. The sacred texts comprising Puranas, Brahmanas, Laws of Manu, Ramayana, Mahabharata and others constitute the Sanskritic Dharmasastras<sup>107</sup>. Through the processes of presenting oneself as the guardian of *dharma*, by patronizing and following *dharmasastras*, a 'self-image of royalty'<sup>108</sup> was formed that helped substantiate the authority of dynasties over the state.

The inscriptional texts of Kadambas provide instances and comparisons with the events mentioned in the sacred books and the *dharmasastras*. The Panajanakhani inscription, a hero-stone, mentions of a warrior who is compared with *Bhima* from the text of *Mahabharata*. The marriage of Jayakesideva II and Mailalamahadevi, the daughter of Chalukya Vikramaditya, has been correlated with of Lord Rama and Janaki<sup>109</sup>. The rulers styled themselves as *Dharmamaharajas*, *paschimasamudra-adhiswara* and *Konkana Chakravarti*. Declaration of paramount overlordship

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<sup>103</sup> Lionel D Barnett, Narendra Inscription of Mallikarjuna Temple, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 13, pp. 298-316.

<sup>104</sup> Daud Ali, Royal Eulogy as World History, *Querying the Medieval*, p. 186.

<sup>105</sup> *Manavadharmasastra*, XIII, 4.62, cited in Aloka Parasher-Sen, Perceptions of Time, Cultural Boundaries and 'Region' in Early Indian Texts, *IHR*, p. 199.

<sup>106</sup> Romila Thapar, Dana and Dakshina as forms of Exchange, *Ancient Indian Social History- Some Interpretations*, pp. 105-121.

<sup>107</sup> Romila Thapar, *Ancient Indian Social History- Some Interpretations*, pp. 43-44.

<sup>108</sup> The phrase is owed to Kesavan Veluthat in his work, Self Image of Royalty, in *Political Structure in Early Medieval South India*, pp. 47-85.

<sup>109</sup> J F Fleet, Degamve Inscription of 1174 AD, *Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 9, pp.266-271; 272-277.

is indicative of a highly ordered hierarchy, the idea that has roots in the oldest book on statecraft, the *Arthashastra*<sup>110</sup>. It is said that most kings in ancient India were actuated by the idea of the *Chakravartin*<sup>111</sup>. The *Arthashastra* of Kautilya defines<sup>112</sup> the *Chaktavarti-ksetra* as the land, which extended north to south from the Himalayas to the seas and measured a thousand *yojanas*<sup>113</sup>. Employing Sanskrit for declaration of *chakravartin* status of the king, can be called the most appropriate methodology, for a pan-Indian status is most suitably expressed in a pan-Indian language.

By infusing the inscriptional texts with the Puranic elements, the rulers in a way tried to place the regional social structure within the ambit of a pan Indian context. Pariti states<sup>114</sup> that the epigraphic as well as the literary texts use the *Itihasa-Purana* tradition extensively. Ronald Inden notes that regional or local histories play an important role in order to understand various social formations. The epigraphs are particularly relevant in the settings of regional history<sup>115</sup>. However, the events in reference to the *Itihasa-Purana* texts are narrated in the inscriptions with such style that would be appropriate to their immediate dynasty.

## MUSLIMS IN SANSKRIT RECORDS OF GOA

The epigraphs in Sanskrit are not only articulate on the hindu sacred texts, the *dharmasatras* and the role they play in state formation, they are also representative of the people of Muslim community who formed a significant part of society from the period of Rashtrakutas and are seen in the period of Goa Kadambas also. Pius Malekandathil informs that Arabs were present on the Western coast in Goa from the eighth century AD onwards<sup>116</sup>. The Sanskrit inscriptions of Goa Silaharas and the Goa Kadambas present the scenarios where the Arab Muslims are represented as merchants as well as holding posts of significance in the state administration. The trade guild of

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<sup>110</sup> Daud Ali, Royal Eulogy as World History, *Querying the Medieval*, p. 185.

<sup>111</sup> Aloka, Parasher- Sen, Perceptions of Time, Cultural Boundaries and 'Region' in Early Indian Texts, *Indian Historical Review*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (2009), pp. 183-207.

<sup>112</sup> Cited in Aloka, Parasher- Sen, Perceptions of Time, Cultural Boundaries and 'Region' in Early Indian Texts, *Indian Historical Review*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (2009), pp. 183-207.

<sup>113</sup> Name of a measure of distance; a distance of about nine miles, D C Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 386.

<sup>114</sup> Aruna Pariti, *Genealogy, Time and Identity*, p. 14.

<sup>115</sup> Ronald Inden, *Querying the Medieval*, Introduction.

<sup>116</sup> Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India- Trade, Religion and Polity in Indian Ocean*, p. 25.



Arab merchants are represented in the Goa Silahara inscription as *Hanjamana*<sup>117</sup>. Ranabir Chakravarty has mentioned<sup>118</sup> that an Arab from *Taji* has been referred to as a local governor in one of the inscriptions of the Rashtrakutas. The name of the Arab appears in the *sanskritised* form as *Madhumati* whereas the original name was Muhammad. He adds that similar instances of Sanskritisation of Arab names in some other inscriptions of the Rashtrakutas. Similar instance of the Sanskritisation of the name of an Arab, who was a *Taji*<sup>119</sup>, appears in the Goa Charter and the Panjim plates of Jayakesideva I. Here the Arab's name was Sadhana<sup>120</sup>, his father's name appears as *Aaliya*, the sanskritised form of Aaliyama or Ali and his grandfather's name appears as *Madhumad* which has also been explained as the Sanskritisation of Muhammad<sup>121</sup>. The inscription provides the details in Sanskrit and mentions the Arab as the governor of Gopakpattana under the Goa Kadambas. This aspect of Sanskrit inscriptions representing the Muslims has been discussed by B D Chattopadhyay<sup>122</sup> where he states that the Muslims were represented in the Sanskrit records of India in a sanskritised form<sup>123</sup>. The inscriptions of Vijayanagar rulers mention *Turuskas* while referring to the Muslims<sup>124</sup>.

### **'FEATURES OF TIME' AS REPRESENTED IN INSCRIPTIONS OF GOA**

The epigraphical texts are eloquent of the notions of time. The time is mentioned in the records in the form of *tithi*, *paksha*, *maasa*, *samvatsara*, *nakshatra* and *yuga*. It is mentioned that the specifications of time aided to place the dynasties more specifically in the time<sup>125</sup>. Time is also manifested in the mentions of generations of the rulers of a dynasty. The lineages give the idea of time that has elapsed during the rule of a dynasty in the inscriptions. The genealogy not only

<sup>117</sup> V V Mirashi, 'Kharepattana grant of Rattaraja, 1008 AD', *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol 6, pp. 183-192.

<sup>118</sup> Ranabir Chakravarty, *An Emergent Coastal Polity: The Konkan Coast under the Silaharas (tenth to thirteenth centuries AD)*, *Studies in People's History*, 3, 2, (2016), pp. 128-137.

<sup>119</sup> *Taji* or *Tajjika* means belonging to a place called Taji in Arab.

<sup>120</sup> The name of the merchant appears as Sadano, his father's name as Aliyama and the grandfather's name as Muhammada, in *The KadambaKula* of G M Moraes, pp. 171-172

<sup>121</sup> B D Chattopadhyaya, 'Political processes in Early Medieval polity' in *The State in India, 1000-1700*, edited by Hermann Kulke.

<sup>122</sup> B D Chattopadhyaya, *Representing the Other? Sanskrit Sources and Muslims*, pp. 26-28 Delhi, 1998.

<sup>123</sup> Also discussed by Cynthia Talbot, *Inscribing the Other, Inscribing the Self: Hindu- Muslim Identities in Pre-Colonial India*, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol 37, No. 4, 1995, pp. 692-722.

<sup>124</sup> B D Chattopadhyaya, *Representing the Other? Sanskrit Sources and Muslims*, p. 56.

<sup>125</sup> Romila Thapar, *Time as a Metaphor of History*, p. 32.

provides information regarding the past and present rulers of a royal family, but also delves into the realm of the years and centuries that have passed under their rule via chronological succession. It indicates that the learned *brahmanas* calculated the astrological time and clearly made its mention while composing the records. The mentions of time in the records increases the significance of the compositions as it gives a fair idea of the period of rule of the king and his dynasty as well as indicates the importance of science of astrology in the mentioned period. The mention of astrology as a subject of study in the *agraharas* and *brahmapuris* corroborates with the statement.

Of the six records of the Bhojas of Chandrapur, four records are dated while two are undated. None of the dated records mention of any era in which the inscriptions were issued. The mentions of *Saka* era as well as *kaliyuga* are not found in the records. The Siroda plates of Bhoja Devaraja mention the cyclic year of the issue of inscription as *Rajya samvatsare* as the year when the record has been issued. It mentions the month as *Magha* and the day as *Bahula dvadasyam*, which corresponds to the twelfth day of the fortnight. The grants of Bhoja Prithvimallavarma mention the cyclic year as *Vardhaman Samvatsare prathme*. The record also mentions *jyestha* as the month, *Sukla paksha* as the fortnight and *Trayodasham* (13<sup>th</sup> day) as the day when the record was issued. The other grants also mention the cyclic year as well as the month, fortnight and day of issuing the grant. The records of Konkan Mauryas also present similar aspects of time that are mentioned in the records. The inscriptions mention the names of the months, fortnight and day along with the regnal year of the ruler. However, they do not mention any linear time in the form of eras.

The records of the Chalukyas of Badami present a mixed picture in terms of 'representation of time' in the inscriptions. Most of the records of the Chalukyas do not mention the era in which the records have been issued. However, there are a few exceptions where linear time in the form of *Saka* era and *Kaliyuga* is mentioned. The records of the Chalukyas begin with the genealogy as *Manavya sagotram Hariti putranam Chalikyanam vamso sambhutih*<sup>126</sup>. In the Nerur grant of Mangalesha, the genealogy continues with the mention of the regnal year of the king as the cyclic year, name of month (*Kartika*) and the day (*dvadasyam*) that corresponds to the twelfth day of the fortnight, when the record was issued. The Aihole Inscription<sup>127</sup> is one of the few records of the

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<sup>126</sup> J F Fleet, Nerur grant of Mangalesha, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol 7, p. 162.

<sup>127</sup> F Keilhorn, Aihole Inscription, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 6, pp. 1-12.

Chalukyas of Badami where linear time has been mentioned along with the cyclic time. The record mentions the year of issuing the record as the expired year 3735 of *Kaliyuga* and the expired year 556 of *Saka-samvat*<sup>128</sup>. The records of the Goa Shilaharas<sup>129</sup> mention the linear year as well as the cyclic year. The records mention the *Saka* year and the corresponding cyclic year. It further mentions the *tithi* that corresponds to the day, *paksha* that corresponds to the fortnight and the month when the record was issued by the ruler. However, the records do not contain the mention of *Kaliyuga*. Along with the above details, the records also mention the weekday on which the record was issued. It is mentioned in the grant of Avasara II of Saka 910, that the record was issued on *Somavaar*<sup>130</sup>. The Balipattana grant of Rattaraja of Saka 932 was issued on *Ravivara*<sup>131</sup>. The mention of weekday was not present in the records issued by the dynasties ruling in Goa prior to the Goa Shilaharas.

The records of Goa Kadambas mention the *Saka* year as well as *Kaliyuga*<sup>132</sup> along with the name of month, fortnight and the day of the fortnight when the record was issued. The records combined the linear concepts of time along with the cyclic time in order to specify their inscriptions in contemporary times. Some inscriptions of Goa Kadambas record the linear year as *Chalukya Vikrama year*<sup>133</sup>. However, the mention of *Chalukya Vikrama year* appears in the records of Goa Kadambas that have been issued in the region of Karnataka where the Western Chalukyas were ruling supreme. The *Chalukya Vikrama era* was initiated by Vikramaditya VI of the Kalyani Chalukyas, upon acceding the throne in 1076 AD, which is referred to as year 1 of the era<sup>134</sup>. Romila Thapar states that the use of era associated with dynastic names served as ‘status symbols’<sup>135</sup> for the rulers of the dynasty. Aruna Pariti suggests that the rulers used personal connotations for specifying the time in order to enhance their supremacy and create a distinct identity for themselves<sup>136</sup>. Some inscriptions additionally mention about *dakshinayan*

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<sup>128</sup> F Keilhorn, Aihole Inscription, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 6, p. 2.

<sup>129</sup> V V Mirashi, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol 6, pp. 178-199.

<sup>130</sup> V V Mirashi, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol 6, p. 181.

<sup>131</sup> V V Mirashi, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol 6, p. 196.

<sup>132</sup> J F Fleet, Halsi Inscription Of 1172 AD, *Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol 9, pp. 284-286.

<sup>133</sup> Prince of Wales Museum Inscription of 1079 AD, *ASR*, 1936-37, pp. 99; Tegur Inscription of 1082 AD, *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol 11, pp. 149-150; Kaadaroli Inscription, *Kadambakula*, pp. 465-467.

<sup>134</sup> Richard Salomon, *Indian Epigraphy*, p.191.

<sup>135</sup> Romila Thapar, *Time as a Metaphor of History*, p. 33.

<sup>136</sup> Aruna Pariti, *Genealogy, Time and Identity*, p. 92.

*samkranti*<sup>137</sup> (southward movement) of the sun, *Uttarayana samkranti*<sup>138</sup>(northward movement) of the sun as well as about solar eclipse<sup>139</sup>. It shows how time was reckoned in the medieval period<sup>140</sup>. The coins of the Kadambas mention the cyclic years as the dates of issuing the coins. The coins issued during the rule of Jayakesi I have *angira* as the cyclic year that is inscribed on them<sup>141</sup>. Similarly *Pramoda*, *Vijaya*, *Durmati* are some of the cyclic years that find mention on the coins of the Kadambas<sup>142</sup>.

## SANSKRIT AND THE REGIONAL LANGUAGES

The inscriptional records of the dynasties of Goa convey the popularity of Sanskrit language for the administrative, social, economic as well as religious purposes of the state. The records from the first millennium AD have been found to be exclusively in Sanskrit language, though they are interspersed with few words from other languages like Prakrit<sup>143</sup>, Kannada<sup>144</sup> and Marathi<sup>145</sup>. Marathi, Kannada and Telugu had been identified as part of the sixteen *desabhashas* in 779 AD<sup>146</sup>. Marathi language marked its presence in the Balipattana grant of Silahara king Rattaraja belonging to 1010 AD<sup>147</sup>. The record has been written in Sanskrit language with few Marathi words in between. It marked the presence of a regional language that made its entry into the textual records. However, even before the use of Marathi in the inscriptions of Silaharas, Kannada language was utilized for the purpose<sup>148</sup>. The earliest available Kannada inscription belongs to fifth century AD. Manu Devadevan mentions that the Mallohalli grant of Ganga king Avinita has been composed in

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<sup>137</sup> Narendra Inscription of Shankaralinga Temple, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 13, pp. 316-326; Siddapur Inscription, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol 11, pp. 273-274.

<sup>138</sup> Narendra Inscription of Shankaralinga Temple, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 13, pp. 316-326.

<sup>139</sup> Asoge Copper plates, *Epigraphia Indica*, pp. 304-309.

<sup>140</sup> Romila Thapar, *Time as a Metaphor of History*, p. 9-10.

<sup>141</sup> B D Chattopadhyaya, *Coins and Currency Systems in South India, c. AD 225-1300*, p. 42.

<sup>142</sup> B D Chattopadhyaya, *Coins and Currency Systems in South India, c. AD 225-1300*, p. 42.

<sup>143</sup> The records of the Bhojas of Chandrapur mention few words of Prakrit. This aspect has been discussed in Chapter 3.

<sup>144</sup> The word 'panga' in the records of the Bhojas is a Kannada word. See P B Desai, Gopaka Copper Plates of Guhalladeva III, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 30, pp. 71-77. He has discussed that the word 'panga' that appears in the Sanskrit records of Goa Kadambas, was a word of Kannada origin related to Kannada expression 'pangu' that means obligation or indebtedness. The word is also used in Marathi language.

<sup>145</sup> The records of the Goa Silaharas contain Marathi words. Discussed in Chapter 3 of the present work.

<sup>146</sup> Manu Devadevan, *The Early Medieval Origins of India*, p. 281.

<sup>147</sup> V V Mirashi, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol 6, 193-199.

<sup>148</sup> V V Mirashi, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol 6, Introduction.

Sanskrit language, but contains some portion in Kannada language as well<sup>149</sup>. As Pollock has mentioned<sup>150</sup> that when the regional languages first started appearing in written form from the second half of first millennium, they were used only as ‘documentary idiom’<sup>151</sup> and were adopted as vehicles of political expression in the last few centuries of the first millennium, which is evident through the use of Kannada in the records of the Rashtrakutas<sup>152</sup>. He adds in the case of Kannada language that it appeared in the records of the Kadambas probably in the fifth century AD, in that of Badami Chalukyas probably before the beginning of ninth century AD and later in the later ninth century and early tenth century AD, it appeared in the records of Rashtrakutas of Manyakheta<sup>153</sup>. Pollock argues that the above stated developments caused the depreciative use of Sanskrit subsequently in courtly purposes. He says that the cases were similar with Telugu and Marathi language<sup>154</sup>. However, the case of Konkani has not been discussed by Pollock.

In the study of Marathi Inscriptions, Alfred Master states<sup>155</sup> that the earliest inscriptions are modelled upon preceding Sanskrit inscriptions. They were inspired from Kannada inscriptions that started appearing from the fifth century AD, freely using Sanskrit formulae, *tatsamas* and semi-*tatsamas*, often with a complete change of meaning. Accordingly, Kannada also influenced Marathi. Master states that in the inscriptions and the texts<sup>156</sup>, Sanskrit has been much used, as formulae, phrases or individual words which are sometimes correct and often corrupt. It has also been said that Marathi language developed as a result of convergence between Marathi Prakrit and a local Prakrit pidgin<sup>157</sup> creole<sup>158</sup> along with the influence of Dravidian languages like Telugu and

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<sup>149</sup> Manu Devadevan, *The ‘Early Medieval’ Origins of India*, p. 281.

<sup>150</sup> Pollock, *Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, p.288.

<sup>151</sup> Pollock, *Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, p.288.

<sup>152</sup> Few Kannada inscriptions were issued under the Chalukyas of Badami, while the Rashtrakutas issued Kannada records from the ninth century onwards. For details, see Sheldon Pollock, *Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, p. 288.

<sup>153</sup> Pollock, *Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, p. 288.

<sup>154</sup> See Pollock, *Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, pp. 288-290 for detailed discussion.

<sup>155</sup> Alfred Master, Some Marathi Inscriptions- 1060 AD- 1300 AD, *Bulletin of School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 1/3, 1957, pp. 417-435.

<sup>156</sup> Master refers to the texts composed by Jnandevara, namely *Jnaneswari* and *Bhavartha-Dipika* (1296 AD) and that of Mukundaraja (1190 AD).

<sup>157</sup> Pidgin language has been described as vehicular language that develop using the elements of at least two language systems; they were always a second language for their speakers and they answered the communication needs of speakers who had no other language in common, C. Jourdan, *Pidgins and Creoles: The Blurring of Categories*, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 20, pp. 187-209.

<sup>158</sup> Creoles are described as those pidgins who have developed native speakers over time, C. Jourdan, *Pidgins and Creoles: The Blurring of Categories*, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 20, pp. 187-209.

Kannada<sup>159</sup>. D C Sircar has categorized Marathi as a *neo* Indo-Aryan language<sup>160</sup>. Panse<sup>161</sup> has called *Jnaneswari* as the revolutionary attempt of bringing Marathi language into limelight. It is argued to be the means of facilitating the non-Sanskrit educated masses to the most sacred literature of their religion which was till then open only to the Sanskrit-educated members of society. He adds that his referred manuscript of *Jnaneswari* employs 12030 vocables in all, out of which 7641 are Sanskrit loan words<sup>162</sup>. However scholars suggest the influence of Prakrit language on Marathi language than direct Sanskrit influence. The impact of Sanskrit on Marathi is rather indirect as Prakrit is said to be the *apbramsha* of Sanskrit and Marathi language is said to have developed from Marathi Prakrit and the local dialects. The given table of comparison between Sanskrit and Marathi can clarify the argument. Some words like *Omkaara*, *Omtatsat* have been retained in their Sanskrit forms.

**Table 6.1**

Comparison of Selected Marathi words with Sanskrit words

WORD	MARATHI	SANSKRIT
Insect	Kida	Kitaka
Ass/donkey	Gadhava	Gardabha/ khara
Flower	Campa	Campaka
Tongue	Jibha	Jihva
Earth	Bhomija	Bhumi
Ant	Mumgi	Pipilika
Bridegroom	Vohara	Vadhuvara
Hand	Hata	Hasta
	Ati-karisya	Ati-karsya

<sup>159</sup> Sonal Kulkarni Ghosh, Language Evidence and the pidgin origin of Marathi- Another look at Arguments and Evidence, *Bulletin of Deccan College Post Graduate Research Institute*, Vol 72/73 (2012-2013).

<sup>160</sup> D C Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 53.

<sup>161</sup> M G Panse, Linguistic Peculiarities of *Jnaneswari*, *Bulletin of Deccan College Post Graduate Research Institute*, Vol. 10, No.2, pp. 115-294.

<sup>162</sup> M G Panse, Linguistic Peculiarities of *Jnaneswari*, *Bulletin of Deccan College Post Graduate Research Institute*, Vol. 10, No.2, pp. 115-294.

Bad name	Apaisa	Apayasa
Ill-behaviour	Duhavevara	Durvyavahara
Village	Gamva	Grama
Part/ members/aspect	Aveva	Avayava
Mouthful	Ghamsa	Grasa
Foot	Paya	Pada
King	Raya	Raja
Stream/water current	Vogha	Ogha
Snake	Sapa	Sarpa
	Ghari	Ghara
On the breast	Thani	Stanya
I	Ahmi	Asme
You	Tuhmi	Tusme
Red	Tambdi	Tamra
Eatable/ Eating	Khaje	Khadya
Gooseberry	Avala	Amalaka
Crow	Kaula	Kaka
Black	Kala	Kala
Saltish	Kharata	Ksara
Son-in-law	Javai	Jamatr
Shrub	Jhada	Jhata
Porch	Dara	Dvara
Twelve (12)	Bara	Dvadasa
Outsider	Baheri	Bahira
Blackness	Saula	Syamala
Loss	Hani	Hani
Laugh	Hamse	Hasya

Konkani language has taken its name from the geographical region of western sea-coast of India which is known as Konkana from time and tradition of Parashurama. Da Cunha states<sup>163</sup> that at least a population of a million and a half speak the Konkani language. Master states that there is no distinction appearing between Marathi and Konkani and it is unlikely that Konkani was separately recognized prior to sixteenth century AD when Portuguese found it to be the most suitable medium for their work<sup>164</sup>. However, the statement is refuted by the presence of *Konkani-Ramayan* that is argued to belong to pre-sixteenth century AD<sup>165</sup>. It has been stated<sup>166</sup> that prior to the advent and settlement of Portuguese on the soil of Goa, *Konkani-Ramayana* had already been composed, which suggests that the language had already developed a grammar of its own. Gomes says that by the tenth century AD, Konkani had emerged as a supple medium of literary expression, with a strong Sanskrit base and grammatical structure, aligned to the Indo-Aryan family of languages<sup>167</sup>. In fact, Konkani was called the ‘first-born daughter’ of Sanskrit written in Konkani as *Sanskruta mhalgoddhi dhuv*<sup>168</sup> and the second is Marathi<sup>169</sup>. Supporting the argument is the statement that says that Konkani bears the stamp of a peculiar Brahmanical influence with several Sanskrit words being in common popular use<sup>170</sup>. Cunha also discusses some examples of Sanskrit words that have been used as it is and some words with slight transformation in Konkani language<sup>171</sup>. M V Kamath informs that the development of Konkani language was probably influenced by Kannada and Marathi, apart from other languages<sup>172</sup>.

The earliest use of Konkani can be cited in examples from the inscriptions belonging to early twelfth century AD. The Sravanbelegola inscription of 1116 AD- 1117 AD in Karnataka includes a word *karaviyalem* that means ‘caused to be made’. The term is said to be an authentic Konkani word<sup>173</sup>. Similarly, Someswara III’s *Manasollasa*, composed in Maharashtri Prakrit, and is claimed

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<sup>163</sup> J Gerson Da Cunha, *The Konkani Language and Literature*, p. 1.

<sup>164</sup> Master, Some Marathi Inscriptions.

<sup>165</sup> Olivinho J F Gomes, *A Scholarly World of Culture*, p.29.

<sup>166</sup> Olivinho J F Gomes, *A Scholarly World of Culture*, p.29.

<sup>167</sup> Olivinho J F Gomes, *A Scholarly World of Culture*, p. 46.

<sup>168</sup> The expression means ‘first born daughter of Sanskrit’. It is mentioned in the work of Olivinho J F Gomes, *A Scholarly World of Culture*, p. 46.

<sup>169</sup> Olivinho J F Gomes, *A Scholarly World of Culture*, p.47.

<sup>170</sup> J Gerson Da Cunha, *The Konkani Language and Literature*, p.4.

<sup>171</sup> J Gerson Da Cunha, *The Konkani Language and Literature*, pp. 17-18.

<sup>172</sup> M V Kamath, *My Mother Tongue-Konkani*, Bastora-Goa, Seperata do Boletim do Instituto Menezes Braganza, No. 130,1982, pp. 10-11.

<sup>173</sup> Olivinho J F Gomes, *Old Konkani Language and Literature-The Portuguese Role*, Chandor-Goa, Konkani Sorospot Prakashan, 1999, pp. 32-33.



to certain couplet that contains words of Konkani origin<sup>174</sup>. Some of the early Marathi works like the *Lila Charitra*<sup>175</sup> and *Jnyaneswari*<sup>176</sup> carry several Konkani words and phrases in the compositions.

Katre<sup>177</sup> suggests that Konkani's phonology and morphology is derived from the South-Western Prakrit. It also shares quite a large number of Old Marathi and Gujarati vocables which place Konkani geographically between Gujarati and Marathi. He specially mentions the role of caste system and guild system of Goa and Kanarese in the formation of several distinct dialects of Konkani. He also suggests the role of Portuguese in the development of a Konkani dialect. Katre suggests that the speakers of Konkani followed polyglottism that resulted in the incursion of a large number of vocables from Marathi, Kannada as well as Malabar region in Konkani language<sup>178</sup>. Apart from the role of the Dravidian languages, the effect of Sanskrit language on the vocables of Konkani can be easily judged by comparison of words from both languages. Sanskrit has a direct as well as indirect influence on Konkani.

Here it is significant to take into consideration that Sanskrit was the court language of the ruling dynasties in Goa as well as that of neighbouring contemporary states like Chalukyas, Rashtrakutas, Western Gangas and others, though the adoption of language was dependent upon the audience in the respective regions<sup>179</sup>. It has already been stated that Sanskrit was studied and put into practice by the majority of the social classes who consisted of the priestly class, the administrative ministers and personnel, the Kshatriyas or the ruling class, the traders and businessmen as well as the tradesmen and craftsmen. The development of Konkani occurred with the involvement of the mentioned classes who were educated, with the uneducated classes. Such social phenomenon led to the formation and development of Konkani language. This explains why the grammar of Konkani is based upon Sanskrit grammar. It also explains the inclusion of Sanskrit vocables in Konkani language. The table given below portrays the effect of Sanskrit on Konkani quite

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<sup>174</sup> Olivinho J F Gomes, *A Scholarly World of Culture*, p.47; Olivinho J F Gomes, *Old Konkani Language and Literature-The Portuguese Role*, p. 32.

<sup>175</sup> Composed by Shri Chakradhar Swami

<sup>176</sup> Composed by Jnaneswar, it is a commentary on Gita

<sup>177</sup> S M Katre, *The Formation of Konkani*, pp. 152-153.

<sup>178</sup> S M Katre, *The Formation of Konkani*, p. 155.

<sup>179</sup> The argument that the language adopted by the rulers for issuing inscriptional records was dependent upon the audience has been discussed in previous chapters of this work, namely chapter 2, 3 and 4.

distinctly with the employment of some examples. Some of the words are direct loan words from Sanskrit whereas some are gradually grown through a process of changes and adaptations.

**Table 6.2<sup>180</sup>**

Comparison of Sanskrit with Konkani words

WORD	SANSKRIT	PRAKRIT	MTH/GUJ/KAN	KONKANI
Bar/Latch/Bolt	Argala	Aggala		Agalu
Furnace	Agnisthikam	Aggithayam		Aguste
Village	agraharah			Agrara
A Number	Ankah	Anko		Anko
A pigment	Anjanam	Anjanam		Anjana
Network of bamboo in ceiling used as depository	Attalika	Attalaka		Atliga
Sunday	Adityavarah			Aitvaru
Time/interval	Avakasah			Aukas
	Angam	Angam	Amg	Anga
Courtyard	Anganam	Anganam	Amgan	Angina
Testicle	Andam	Andam	Amd	Anda
Darkness/obscurity	Andhkarah	Andhaara		Andor
Excessive	Adhika			Adik/ odik/ odhik
Mucous	Amah	Ama		Av
Drake	Hamsah	Hamsa	Has	As

<sup>180</sup> The impact of Sanskrit language on Konkani has been discussed by various scholars like Gerson Da Cunha in *The Konkani Language and Literature*, S M Katre in *The Formation of Konkani*, V P Chavan in *Konkan and the Konkani Language*, Shenoji Goembab, Madhavi Sardesai in her PhD thesis titled 'A Comparative Linguistic and Cultural Study of Lexical Influences on Konkani, 2006.

Unbroken/ whole	Aksata	Akkhata		Ake
Fire	Agnih	Aggi		Ag
Topmost lock of hair	Agravalavah		Agol/ agval	Agval/ agol/ aggolu
Towel	Angonchah/ angonchanam			Amgso
Taboo	Acarah			Acaru
Today	Adya	Ajja	Aj	Aj
Seeker after experience	Anubhavarthin			Anbavarti
Promise/ oath	Ajna		Ana/anna	Ana
Rising/ lift	Utkalita/ Utkaliti	Ukkirai		Ukkalta
Asafoetida	Himguh			Himgu/ img
Live coal	Angarah/ingarah	Ingara		Imglo
Hammock	Hindolaha			Imdlo/ Imdulo
Moral battle/ Crusade	Dharmayudh			Dharmadud
A Charitable rest house	Dharmasala		Dharmasala	Dharmasal
Thumb	Angusthah	Anguttha		Umgtto
Alone	Ekala	Ekkalla		Eklo
Difficult	Kathina			Kathina/ Kathin
Grain	Kanah	Kana		Kanu
Bark garment	Kantha		Kantha	Kantilu
Almirah	Kapata			Kapata/ Kayad
To Do	Karati/ Karoti	Karoti/ karci/ Karai		Karumk

Cowrie	Kapardakah/ Kapardika	Kavadda/ Kavaddia	Kavdi	Kavdi
Agriculture/ Cultivation	Krsih			Kasi
Plough	Krsati			Kasta
Bud	Kalika/ Kalakah		Kala/ kali	Kalo/ Kolo/ Kalo
Onion	Kandaka		Kaad	Kando
Bangle	Kanakanm		Kakan	Kankana
Thorn	Kantakah	Kantaa	Kata	Kanto
Ear	Karnah	Kanna	Kan	Kanu
Cloth	Karpata	Kappada	Kapad	Kappada
Insect	Kitakah	Kidaa	Kida/ kido (G)	Kido
Eating	Khadanam	Khaanam	Khan(M)/ Khana (G)	Khana
Salt	Ksarah	Khara		Kharu
Armpit	Kaksah/ kaksu	Kakkhu	Kakh	Khakko
Drudges/ Shakes	Gholayati	Gholei	Gholne	Gholta
Rubs/ polishes	Gharsati/ Ghrsate			Ghasta
Clarified butter	Ghrtam	Ghaa/ Ghia	Ghi	Ghi
Adhesive	Cikkana			Cikkana
Mud/ Mire	Cikhalla			Cikkolu
Muskmelon	Cirbhata/ Cirbhatika	Cibbhada		Cibbada
Lime	Curnaka/ Curna			Cunao/ Curan
Fever	Jvarah	Jara		Jaro/ Zar
Leech	Jalauka/ Jaluka	Jaluga	Jalu	Jalu
Thigh	Jangha	Jangha		Janga
Jasmine	Jati/ Jatih	Jai		Jayi

Win	Jita	Jiakka		Jitka
Tongue	Jihva	Jibbha	Jibh	Jib
Life	Jivah	Jiva	Jiv	Jivu
Chief	Thakurah	Thakkura	Thakur	Thakur
Camp	Sthanam	Thana	Than	Thana
Grass	Tinam	Tina		Tana
Throat	Taluka			Talo
Crown of head	Taluka		Talku	Talu
Fat/ Big	Sthaura			Thoru
Festival of lights	Dipavali	Divali		Divali
Hurts	Duhkhati/ Duh khayati	Dukkhai		Dukta
Weak	Durbala	Dubbala		Dublo
Rope	Davara/ Doru	Davara		Dora
Bath	Snanam	Nhana		Nhana
Fifth day of lunar month	Pancami	Pancami		Pancami
Holds	Dharati	Dharai	Dharne	Dhar
Far	Dura	Dura		Dhura
Salutation	Namaskara			Namaskara
Thin	Patralah		Patal	Pattala
Mountain	Parvata			Parvat
Sprout/ Bud	Pallavah	Pallava	Pala	Pallo
Ball of rice offered to manes	Pindah			Pinda
But/ Also	Punar	Puna/ Una	Pan	Puni/ pana/ pun
Priest	Purohita			Puraitu
All/ Entire	Purakah	Puraa		Pura

Son	Putrah	Putta		Putu
Betelnut	Pugaphala	Puapphali		Phoppala
Good	Vara/ Varaka			Bare/ bari
Ox	Vrsabha	Vasaha	Basava (Ka.)	Basavu
Strength	Balam	Bala	Bal	Bal
Intelligence	Buddhi			Buddhi
Devotional song	Bhajana			Bhajan
Priest	Bhatta		Bhatt	Bhattu
Obscene	Bhanda			Bhanda
Week	Sapta		Hapta (Pers.)	Hapto
Jaw	Hanu	Hanu		Hanu
Bone	Hadda	Hadda		Hada
Dream	Swapna			Soppana
Turmeric	Haridra	Haladda		Haladi
Beauty	Sundara			Sumdar
Lion	Simha			Simhu
Dry ginger	Sunthih	Sunthi		Sunti
Worldly life	Samsara			Samsara
Moves	Sarati	Sarai		Sarta
Heaven	Svarga			Sarg
The goddess of Learning	Sarasvati			Saraspat
To offer	Samarpayati			Samarpunik
Equal	Sama			Sama
Regret	Samtapa			Samtap
Always	Sada			Sadonc
Good person	Sajjana			Sajjanu
Field	Ksetra	Chetta/ khetta		Keta
Chain	Srnkhala	Sankhala		Samkali/ Samkal

Morning/ Dawn	Sakalyam			Sakali
Every	Sakala			Sakal
	Sri			Sri
Bride	Vahukula/ Vahukkala			Vhokkala
Open/ Loose	Visakala			Viskal/ Iskal
Forgetfulness/ Loss of memory	Vismara		Visar	Visar
Pierces	Vindhati	Vindhai		Vindta
Year	Varsa			Varasa
Thing	Vastu			Vast
Greed	Lobha			Lob
Shame	Lajja	Lajja	Laj	Laj
Iron	Lohakhanda		Lokhan	Lokhan
Sealing wax	Laksa/ Lakha	Lakkha	Lakh	Laka
Garlic	Lasunam	Lasuna/ Lasana		Lasuna
Humility	Lina			Linpon
Time/ Juncture	Lagna			Lagn
Body hair	Roman		Rom	Roma
Forest	Aranyam	Arannam		Rana
Night	Ratri	Ratti		Rati
Queen	Rajni	Ranni	Rani	Rani
Thick rope	Rajju/rajjuka			Rajju/raju
Debt	Rnam	Rna	Rin	Rina
Envious	Matsarin			Motsari
Understanding	Matih		Mat	Mot/ Mat

Sacred thread ceremony/ thread itself	Maunji		Mnji	Munji
Man	Manusya			Manis
Eight (8)	Astah/asta	Attah	Ath	At/ Ath
Eighteen (18)	Astadasa	Attharasa		Athra
Twenty eight(28)	Astdvimsatih	Atthavisam		Atthavisa
Thirty eight (38)	Astrimsat		Adtis	Attisa/athtisa
Sixty eight (68)	Astasastih	Adhasatthim		Atsasti
Seventy eight (78)	Astasaptatih	Atthahattarim		Atyastari
Eighty eight (88)	Atthasiih			Atthaisi
Ninety eight (98)	Astnavasih	Atthanavam		Atthyanavi
Five (5)	Panca	Panca		Panca
Thirteen (13)	Trayodasa	Terasa	Tera	Tera
Fifty one (51)	Ekapancasat	Ekkavannam		Ekkavanna
Fifty nine (59)	ekonsastih			Ekunsati
Sixty five (65)	Pancasastih	Panasatthi		Pancsasti
One hundred thousand (100,000)	Laksa	Lakkha	Lakh	Laksa/laka/lak/lakhya



Sardessai<sup>181</sup> has mentioned that Konkani has picked up some words directly from Marathi language. She gives the examples of *pathya-pustak* (textbook), *vimaantal* (aerodrome), *raktagal* (blood group), *manoranjan* (entertainment), *rugnavahika* (ambulance), *pramanikaran* (standardization), *shitapeti* (cold storage), *jivasatvam* (vitamin). She also adds that over the time Konkani has added some words from pan-Indian language through the means of Marathi. The examples include *aykar* (income-tax), *rastragit* (national anthem), *vacanalay* (library). However, the Sanskrit vocables of the given words demonstrate that they are derived either directly or modified from Sanskrit words, which have been adapted both in Konkani and Marathi language. The Sanskrit vocables for the mentioned words are as follows:

**Table 6.3**

Comparison of Sanskrit words and Marathi-Konkani words

WORDS	SANSKRIT	MARATHI/ KONKANI
Text-Book	Pathya-pustakam	Pathya-pustak
Aerodrome	Vimana-pattana	Vimanatal
Blood group	Rakta varg	Rakta gal
Entertainment	Manoranjana	Manoranjan
Ambulance	Rugnavahika	Rugnavahika
Standardization/ certification	Pramanan	Pramanikaran
Cold Storage	Sitagrha	Sitapeti
Vitamin	Jivasatvam	Jivasatvam
IncomeTax	Ayakarah	Aykar
National Anthem	Rastragan	Rastragit

The analysis of the mentioned vocables demonstrates a significant impact of Sanskrit on the formation of Konkani vocables. Suniti Kumar Chatterji<sup>182</sup> has shown the involvement of Sanskrit even in compound words of Konkani, for example, *karsa-pana* (a coin of monetary value), where

<sup>181</sup> Madhavi Sardessai "A Comparative Linguistic and Cultural Study of Lexical Influences on Konkani." *Unpublished PhD Thesis*. Goa University, 2006, Chapter 3.

<sup>182</sup> Madhavi Sardessai "A Comparative Linguistic and Cultural Study of Lexical Influences on Konkani." *Unpublished PhD Thesis*. Goa University, 2006.

*karsa* is a Persian word and *pana* is a word of Sanskrit origin. Another example is *Sali-hotra* (horse) wherein *Sali* has been said to be of Austric origin and *hotra* being a Sanskrit word. It can be argued that Konkani language has developed with the contribution of several neighbouring as well as pan-Indian languages. In the words of Shenoji Goembab<sup>183</sup>, *Just because Sanskrit is our grandmother, we need not rob her every now and then*. While describing Konkani grammar Goembab has adopted Sanskrit terminology like *swar* (vowel), *vyanjan* (consonants), *aksar* (syllable), *ling* (gender), *vacan* (number), *kal* (tense)<sup>184</sup>. Marathi language can be said to have a major impression of Prakrit language along with some direct as well as indirect influence of Sanskrit language. Marathi grammar has been directly borrowed from the classical language.

## **BHAKTI MOVEMENT- ITS IMPACT ON VERNACULARS AND VERNACULARISATION**

Bhakti movement is said to have initiated around fifth-sixth century AD in the Tamil land with the first *bhakti* poem dedicated to Lord *Murugan* being composed in Tamil language<sup>185</sup>. Later the poems were composed for Lord Shiva and Vishnu as well. Ramanujan argues that the reason why the *bhakti* movements started in Tamil is because till that period, Tamil was the only regional language that had a developed grammar that could be used for the creation of devotional writings. Though, Sanskrit was a developed language, it was not used for composing *bhakti* poems in the Tamil land since the audience of the *bhakti* poems comprised people from all classes, educated as well as uneducated. The regional language being known by all people, served as a better medium of communication. Starting from Tamil to Kannada to Marathi to Hindi and so on, *Bhakti* spread from region to region and from language to language gradually with the regional dialects assuming literary forms<sup>186</sup>. Hence the devotional texts could be composed only from the tenth century onwards when the grammar of the vernaculars was developed. As has been mentioned by Pollock, the vernacular texts started making appearances from the ninth century onwards and with the

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<sup>183</sup> Shenoji Goembab, *Yewkar Adhyakshamlem Ulowp*, 1945.

<sup>184</sup> Shenoji Goembab, cited in Madhavi Sardesai "A Comparative Linguistic and Cultural Study of Lexical Influences on Konkani." *Unpublished PhD Thesis*. Goa University, 2006.

<sup>185</sup> A K Ramanujan, Talking to God in the Mother Tongue, *India International Centre Quarterly*, Vol 19, No. 4 (1992), pp. 53-64.

<sup>186</sup> A K Ramanujan, Talking to God in the Mother Tongue, *India International Centre Quarterly*, Vol 19, No. 4 (1992), pp. 53-64.

starting of the second millennium, the vernaculars strongly contested with Sanskrit as the courtly language<sup>187</sup>. However, Tamil region did not follow this pattern. It can be understood that the uprising of the *bhakti* movement is coeval with the growth of vernaculars, both horizontally among the masses and vertically, in the system of administration. Thus, the question arises that whether *bhakti* movement caused vernacularisation in the royal courts or did it at all work as a catalyst for vernacularisation in the medieval period. Ramanujan mentions an important point that the early *bhakti*s belonged to higher social class being *brahmanas*, merchants and kings and soon people from all classes and occupations joined in<sup>188</sup>. Kesavan Veluthat states that *bhakti* movement found its patrons in the rulers of ‘newly established dynasties’<sup>189</sup> that aided its ideology against the Jainas especially for state patronage<sup>190</sup>.

*Bhakti* is understood in two ways, as a social movement as well as a personal devotion<sup>191</sup>. However, in order to understand its impact on vernaculars, we need to assess the social movement aspect of it. With so much impetus on the regional languages, *bhakti* movement can also be considered a literary movement. The second millennium is witness to several texts being produced in the vernacular languages, both in South as well as North India. *Jñaneswari*, a commentary on *Bhagwad Gita*, is Marathi text was composed by Jñaneswar in thirteenth century. *Vachana Sahitya* in Kannada language was composed by Basava, a *brahmana* by birth, in the twelfth century. An important feature of the *Bhakti* saints is that they composed texts not only in the vernacular language, but also in Sanskrit language. Ramanuja and Ramanada are examples of such saints. Kulashekhara Alvar was one of the twelve Vaishnava saints from South India, who authored *Perumal Tirumoli* in Tamil and *Mukundamala*, a Sanskrit devotional poem<sup>192</sup>. He is also credited to be a patron of Sanskrit theatre and promoted Sanskrit drama, *Mattavilasa* and *Bhagavadajjukiya* namely<sup>193</sup>. Several others who composed texts in vernacular language were Sanskrit educated as

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<sup>187</sup> See Pollock, *Language of the Gods in the World of Men* for detail discussion, pp. 294-298.

<sup>188</sup> A K Ramanujan, Talking to God in the Mother Tongue, *India International Centre Quarterly*, Vol 19, No. 4 (1992), pp. 53-64.

<sup>189</sup> Kesavan Veluthat, *The Early Medieval in South India*, p. 66.

<sup>190</sup> Kesavan Veluthat, *The Early Medieval in South India*, p. 66; Manu Devadevan, pp. 306-310.

<sup>191</sup> Novetzke, Christian Lee. “Bhakti and Its Public.” *International Journal of Hindu Studies*, vol. 11, no. 3, 2007, pp. 255–272.

<sup>192</sup> Kesavan Veluthat, The Socio-Political background of Kulashekhara Alvar’s of Bhakti, *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Vol. 38, 1977, pp. 137-145.

<sup>193</sup> Kesavan Veluthat, The Socio-Political background of Kulashekhara Alvar’s of Bhakti, *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Vol. 38, 1977, pp. 137-145, these drama are said to be anti-Buddhist and anti-Jaina, that were staged commonly in Kerala.

well and read and understood the essence of the sacred brahmanical texts. However, the movement reached its peak in the early modern period. The reasons behind the parallel Sanskrit compositions by the *bhakti* saints lie embedded in what has been called by scholars as the illusion of the movement<sup>194</sup>. The saints propagated the puranic ideology and composed literature in Sanskrit as well as in regional languages so as to cater the requirements of the audience from all classes.

*Bhakti* movement spread in Karnataka in the twelfth century AD and in Maharashtra in late thirteenth century AD. During the period of the Kadambas who held regions of Karnataka and Goa, the movement had already initiated. However, the inscriptions of the Goa Kadambas appear in Kannada language from the first half of eleventh century AD. The inscriptions continue to be composed both in Sanskrit and Kannada in the eleventh century, twelfth century and thirteenth century AD under the Goa Kadamba rule. Similar pattern is observed in the records of the Vijayanagara rulers of Karnataka. The inscriptions issued by the Vijayanagara rulers in the region of Goa are found to be in Sanskrit and Marathi languages, whereas they are seen to issue Kannada inscriptions in Karnataka, Telugu inscriptions in the Andhra region and Tamil inscriptions in the region of Tamil land. Depending upon the correlation between the languages used by rulers for issuing their records, it can be understood that the use of regional languages in the inscriptions of Goa, Maharashtra and Karnataka cannot be credited to *bhakti* movement. The movement made use of the vernacular in order to ensure equal involvement of the uneducated population of the region who did not have the knowledge of the cosmopolitan language. Preaching the essence of devotion was thought most relevant in the common tongue of the people. *Bhakti* intended to simplify the meaning of devotion and worship for the people and thus sought to spread the ideology in the simplest vocables. In this manner, the ideology behind the movement is similar to that of Buddhism and Jainism as the monks made use of local language to teach the locals who did not understand Sanskrit. The argument is supported by Rekha Pande who states<sup>195</sup> that the scenario of the rise of Bhakti movement was similar to that at the time of rise of Buddhism and Jainism. It is also observed in the case of missionaries that they made use of local language for reaching out to the

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<sup>194</sup> Kesavan Veluthat, *The Early Medieval in South India*, p. 68.

<sup>195</sup> Rekha Pande "The Bhakti Movement—An Interpretation." *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Vol. 48, 1987, pp. 214–221.

common people<sup>196</sup>. The religious books were translated into regional languages. It has been informed that before the invention of printing in 1450 AD, around thirty-three translations of Bible were available which reached to seventy- one by 1800 AD<sup>197</sup>. William Carey took the help of *brahmanas* and translated the Bible to Sanskrit<sup>198</sup>. The need of using suitable language was to obtain legitimacy from the elite section as well as common people<sup>199</sup>.

Though there is not much observable effect of *bhakti* on the language of epigraphy, it did impact the state. The rulers of medieval period sought legitimacy through the means of *dharma* and adhering to brahmanical rituals. Veluthat states that the movement created an illusion of breaking the barriers of the caste, rather it brought about the widespread acceptance of *varnaashramadhara* among all the classes of society<sup>200</sup>. He claims that the rulers of the ruling dynasties made use of religious symbols enshrined in the puranic texts in order to claim higher social status and thereby legitimacy to their authority<sup>201</sup>. R Champakalakshmi states that the *bhakti* movement caused the spread of the puranic religion<sup>202</sup>. The significance of adherence to the puranic symbols as the means for validation of authority have been discussed in chapter three and four. Since the *bhakti* movement was temple based, the patronage given by the rulers to the temples represents the use of the *bhakti* ideology for the validation of their authority. The kings were equated with God and the priests were equated with devotee. The state adhered to the mentioned religious and social aspects in order to seek validation from the dominated population that increased the status of the king and ascertained continuous support for his authority.

The analysis of Kadamba inscriptions exhibits that texts were composed in Sanskrit language for audience in Goa and in Kannada language for the audience in Karnataka. Vernacular language was employed depending upon the people, the royal order focused upon. It needs to be remembered

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<sup>196</sup> The Bible was translated into Tamil and other regional languages to provide a better understanding to the common people. For details see Mariasusai Dhavamony, 'The Lord's Prayer in the Sanskrit Bible', *Gregorianum*, Vol. 68, No. 3/ 4, (1987): 639-670.

<sup>197</sup> Mariasusai Dhavamony, 'The Lord's Prayer in the Sanskrit Bible', *Gregorianum*, Vol. 68, No. 3/ 4, (1987): 639.

<sup>198</sup> Mariasusai Dhavamony, 'The Lord's Prayer in the Sanskrit Bible', *Gregorianum*, Vol. 68, No. 3/ 4, (1987): 640.

<sup>199</sup> Mariasusai Dhavamony, 'The Lord's Prayer in the Sanskrit Bible', *Gregorianum*, Vol. 68, No. 3/ 4, (1987): 641.

<sup>200</sup> Kesavan Veluthat, *The Early Medieval in South India*, pp. 67-68.

<sup>201</sup> Kesavan Veluthat, *The Early Medieval in South India*, pp.68-70. The rulers claimed their origin from *suryavamsa* or *chandravamsa*. Some rulers like the Pallvas, Kadambas, Chalukyas who claimed to be *brahma-ksatra*, claimed their origins from sages like Bharadwaj, Harita and Angiras. These genealogical claims provided legitimacy to the rulers.

<sup>202</sup> R Champakalakshmi, 'Religion and Social Change in Tamil Nadu (c. AD 600-1300)', in *Medieval Bhakti Movements in India: Sri Caitanya Quincentenary Volume*, edited by N N Bhattacharya, 1989, Manohar Publishers.

that the composers of vernacular texts were highly educated and well informed of Sanskrit texts as well. The knowledge of Sanskrit texts was employed in the vernacular compositions in respect of grammar, style, vocabulary. The adaptation probably aimed to provide a pan-Indian platform to the vernacular exactly like their cosmopolitan counterpart.

## INSCRIPTIONS VERSUS LITERARY TEXTS

The writing of sacred brahmanical texts has been done in Sanskrit language since time immemorial. The Vedas were composed in Sanskrit and have most probably been transmitted for generations through oral tradition. Any manuscripts dating to 1500 BC- 1000 BC, if ever used for writing Vedic texts, were never found. This makes one wonder how the vast texts could be transmitted in complete originality through oral tradition only. Kunal Chakrabarti argues regarding the tradition of writing ancient texts and the oral tradition of transmission of these texts, that the texts have an absence presence<sup>203</sup>. D R Bhandarkar, Shyamaji Krishnavarma, R B Bishnu Swarup, A C Das, R C Majumdar, V M Apte are some of the scholars who have proven with evidence, the existence of the knowledge of writing in the *Rig Vedic* age<sup>204</sup>. What is intended to be conveyed here is that Sanskrit was initially utilized for composing texts and the inscriptions started getting composed in Sanskrit at a much later stage. Works like Panini's book of Sanskrit grammar *Ashtadhyayi*, *Yoga Sutras* of Patanjali, *Shulba Sutras* of mathematics, *Brahmanas* and *Upanishads*, *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata*, *Panchatantra* by Vishnusharma, *Vishnupurana*, *Manusmriti* are some of the examples of Sanskrit texts that were composed in the centuries BCE. Numerous Sanskrit texts were composed in the early centuries of the Common Era, out of which several have been lost. Whereas the earliest Sanskrit inscription dates to second century BCE<sup>205</sup>. The appearance of Sanskrit inscriptions geared pace only from the third century AD onwards.

Prior to the commencement of writing Sanskrit inscriptions, the composers had various Sanskrit literature texts at their disposal. Inscriptional evidence presents a range of issues that are both similar to and different from other kinds of historical evidence, in particular written and oral data.

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<sup>203</sup> This was mentioned in an interview of Kunal Chakrabarti with Kanad Sinha titled *Literature and Languages- Kunal Chakrabarti on RamKatha* on you tube.

<sup>204</sup> V M Apte, The 'Spoken Word' in Sanskrit Literature, *Bulletin of Deccan College Post Graduate Research Institute*, Vol 4, No. 4, 1943, pp. 269-280.

<sup>205</sup> The earliest Sanskrit inscription dating to second century BC has been discussed in Chapter 2 of this work.

The distinction between inscriptions and literary texts can be made out by Daud Ali's argument that the inscriptions should be viewed as historical texts and not just like 'documents' that form parts of sources for reconstituting India's past. The literary texts like Puranas are said to be much beyond simple 'documents' while the inscriptions have been said to still being considered as mere sources of dynastic chronologies<sup>206</sup>. He explains that the inscriptions depict the activities that happen in the royal courts and are representations of active state affairs, rather than that of simple historical events<sup>207</sup>. D C Sircar mentions that the transmitted traditions can be verified with the help of the inscriptional contents since the inscriptions convey the contemporary events in relation to past happenings<sup>208</sup>. Richard Salomon agrees with the opinion of D C Sircar<sup>209</sup>. The opinion of Daud Ali gets projected in the argument put forward by Patil that the texts should be regarded as active narratives that were read, interpreted and used in various contexts by the intended audience<sup>210</sup>. It suggests that the inscriptional records present the state activities and events that were important for the people and they were connected to the court through the means of royal records that were conveyed to them. Richard Salomon states that inscriptions provide most of the information till the period of 1000 AD<sup>211</sup>. He adds that the information is not limited to political history, rather includes the arts, literature, religion, language, geography and other aspects of culture<sup>212</sup>.

There are several aspects which need to be considered while distinguishing between Sanskrit of inscriptional texts and Sanskrit of literary texts. While discussing the literary texts and the inscriptions, the perceptible use of Sanskrit language can be distinguished by taking into consideration, the length of the composition, the content of the composition that has several facets to consider, the style of writing the texts, intended audience of the text, the standard of language used and the aim of the text. The mentioned points are important individually as well as in relation

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<sup>206</sup> Daud Ali, Royal Eulogy as World History, *Querying The Medieval*, p.166.

<sup>207</sup> Daud Ali, Royal Eulogy as World History, *Querying The Medieval*, p.166.

<sup>208</sup> D C Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 17-18.

<sup>209</sup> Richard Salomon, *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 234-238.

<sup>210</sup> Urmila Patil, Conflict, Identity and Narratives: The Brahman Communities of Western India from the Seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries, *Unpublished PhD Thesis*. University of Texas at Austin, Austin, 2010.

<sup>211</sup> Richard Salomon, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 3.

<sup>212</sup> Richard Salomon, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 3.

to each other. It can be stated that the composition of a text, whether inscriptional or literary, is dependent upon the above stated aspects.

The length of a composition is not a finite entity enshrined in any rules of writing. It is rather a comparative aspect. However, a broad distinction can be made between the two types of compositions by keeping in mind the general length of the extant available texts. The literary texts like the *Puranas*, *Brahmanas*, *Ashtadhyayi* and others are much bigger compositions than the inscriptional texts. In order to understand in the perspective of Goa, the length of *Sahyadrikhanda* of *Skandapurana* is much larger as compared to any of the inscriptions of the dynasties of Goa. The literary texts have the freedom to record the intended details elaborately. The *Sahyadrikhanda* mentions in detail the genesis of Konkan region and the different lines of *brahmanas*. The inscriptions on the other hand mention specific required details in a much concise manner. The inscriptions usually produce texts related to property and fiscal grants. Additionally, they provide the genealogical details of the donors and donees and their achievements as well. In order to meet the desirable requirements of the texts, the language is accordingly modified. Sanskrit employed in the inscriptions is much condensed so as to convey the royal orders in limited spaces. The epigraphs are engraved on stone, temple walls or metal plates. The language is in brief so as to exude the transactional details along with the attributes of the donor and donees. In case the donor was a king, the inscription also carried the genealogical specifics of his dynasty.

Another aspect of importance of the inscriptions and the texts is the style of the composition. The texts were either prose or poetry, i.e. *kavya*. *Ramayana* is said to be the earliest *kavya*. Regarding the inscriptions, the first *kavya* style of composition was used in the *Mora well inscription* of Mathura<sup>213</sup> which is said to belong to first century BC. The inscription is said to have been composed in artificial poetry with *bhujangavijrimbhita* metre which was later found in other Sanskrit compositions<sup>214</sup> as well. The composition of *kavyas* required higher skill in Sanskrit language so as to employ Sanskrit metres. The inscriptions of Goa Kadambas are in prose as well as in *kavya* form. Some are a mix of prose and poetry. Gandevi Inscription of Shashthadeva II has been composed in the form of *kavya* using various metres, Panaji inscription of Jayakesideva I is composed using various metres including *anustubh* and *arya* metres. Some of the inscriptions are

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<sup>213</sup> Seven Brahmi Inscriptions from Mathura, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 24, p. 194.

<sup>214</sup> For example, it was used in Kumarlata's *Kalapanamanditika*, Seven Brahmi Inscriptions from Mathura, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 24, p.199.



a combination of both prose and poetry, where the initial and ending lines concerning the invocation of God are poetry and the main content regarding royal business is in prose. The inscriptions make use of decorative language in order to describe the donors and their qualities. The genealogies of the royal dynasties are depicted making use of higher level of vocabulary. In the Gaadivore grant of Shashthadeva III, while mentioning about Kadamba king Vijayaditya, the record states *vani vibhushan odagra guna nama maahipati Vijayaditya ity=aasit=khyatas=tatr=anujo bhuvi*. It means ‘there was a king Vijayaditya, having good speech and full of virtues, whose fame walked with him’<sup>215</sup>. In the same grant, the marriage of Jayakesi II with Mailamahadevi, the daughter of Chalukya Permadi has been compared to that of *Janakim=iva Raghavah*, which means ‘Sita and Ram’, the lead characters of *Ramayana*.

*Sahyadrikhanda* and *Konkanakhayana* have been composed in the form of poetry, like other earlier epics. Patil states that in order to enhance the acceptability within the audience, the authors chose certain narrative features and formats over the others. The texts were cast in genres and formats akin to that of Sanskrit scriptures in order to be understood as legitimate scriptures. They were composed in a distinct style as compared to that of folk-lore, which had a popular appeal, but lacked the authority of the sacred texts<sup>216</sup>. Since none other literary texts composed in Goa during ancient and medieval periods are surviving, it is difficult to know about their nature of composition. *Sahyadrikhanda* has been composed in *sloka* meter, though there are instances of use of other metres like *Giti*, *Upendravajra* and *Upajati* metre<sup>217</sup> in some of the verses. Levitt mentions that composition of *Sahyadrikhanda* involves the use of simple declarative sentences in Sanskrit with few verses in lengthy hyperbole<sup>218</sup>. As mentioned by various scholars<sup>219</sup>, the entire text of *Sahyadrikhanda* has not been composed in the same time-period. Different manuscripts of the composition indicate that it has been composed by several distinct people at different times and that the text in its current form has been compiled later. Keeping this in mind, it is easier to

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<sup>215</sup> The translations are mine.

<sup>216</sup> Urmila Patil, Conflict, Identity and Narratives: The Brahman Communities of Western India from the Seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries, *Unpublished PhD Thesis*. University of Texas at Austin, Austin, 2010, pp. 36-42.

<sup>217</sup> S H Levitt, *The Patityagramanirnaya*, p.106

<sup>218</sup> S H Levitt, The Sahyadrikhanda: Style and Context as Indices of Authorship in the Patityagramanirnaya, *Purana*, Vol 24, No. 1, pp. 128- 145

<sup>219</sup> S H Levitt has described the aspect vividly in ‘The Reflections of the Sahyadrikhanda’s Uttarardha’, *Studia Orientalia Electronica*, Vol 5 (2017): 151-161.

understand the differences in metres used in its formation. Whereas the inscriptional text is composed by one person within a limited time depending upon the royal command, who is mentioned in the inscriptions as the composer of the order. The Asoge copper plates of Jayakesi II was composed by a *brahmana* named Somadeva, belonging to Upamanyu *gotra*<sup>220</sup>. The Gaadivore grant of Shashthadeva III is mentioned to be composed by a highly learned person named Padmanaabh.

The circulation of inscriptional records was different from that of texts. The inscriptions usually consist of royal orders while some also comprise individual donations made by traders. The royal orders are the matters of administrative purposes where the king makes grants to *brahmanas* or religious institutions. Hence the records aim for the targeted audience and the concerned people that usually involve the king, the ministers, the village or town officials, *brahmanas* or the related villagers. The records are worded in an authoritative demeanour that help to convey the administrative procedure to the related people. The inscriptions include the invocation of God, story of origin of dynasty, royal *vamsavali*, the details of transaction and the details of the donee. In addition, the composition essentially mentioned the repercussions of overruling the royal command in the form of incurring sins and getting punished according to the laws of *dharmasastras*. Over the period of time, the inscriptions were styled in a manner to include genesis, genealogical and ritualistic details that would be the weapon of ascertaining legitimate authority of the ruler. It was this aid that placed the dynasty within the space of the *dharmasastras* and the characters<sup>221</sup> were represented as playing the role sanctioned for them in the *puranas*. The details were communicated to the relevant people who propagated the inscriptional details amongst the common public. It was the cognizance of *dharma* and *dharmasastric* laws that enabled the rulers to maintain lawfulness in the state.

The literary texts are written with distinct aims. Regarding the *puranas*, it can be stated that they extend the space of the earlier sacred books of *dharma*. By making *Sahyadrikhanada* as a part of *Skandapurana*, helped place it within the larger space of *Skandapurana*. Similar practice can be seen in *Gramapddhati* where it is claimed to be a part of *Skandapurana*<sup>222</sup>. It helped establish the authenticity of the text which otherwise would not hold authority of the degree of a *purana*. The

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<sup>220</sup> Asoge Copper plates of Jayakesi II, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 26, pp. 304-309.

<sup>221</sup> The royal establishment including the king, queen, *brahmanas* and the state administration.

<sup>222</sup> B A Saletore, *Ancient Karnataka*, Vol I, p. 116; cited in Levitt, *The Patityagramaniraya*, p. 34.

*puranas* had the *brahmanas*, the rulers as well as the learned people of other classes as their audience. All those who had the knowledge and understanding of Sanskrit could read the text. The scope of such texts was much elaborate as compared to that of inscriptions. It was intended that the scriptures be read by the learned class and be spread by the means of oral tradition as well, so that the narratives are able to reach out to the uneducated sections as well. This served the dual purposes of spreading the knowledge of the text among the people as well as creating awareness of the socio-political order that was also conveyed through the inscriptions. The audience was unknown and unspecified, with a broader scope of readers, whereas the audience of the inscriptions was specified and thus known. The records of the Bhojas of Chandrapur were addressed to village officials who were in-charge of the concerned villages in the grant. An inscription of Konkan Mauryas was addressed to merchants who were directed to pay certain items and amount to the royal treasury every year. The inscriptions of Kadambas mention certain officials to whom the protection and maintenance of an institution was entrusted. Along with them the *dandanayakas* of the concerned place were also notified. This shows that the inscriptions were aimed for a restricted group of people, related to concerned political order.

The contents of the mentioned compositions have the basic difference of the presence and the absence of a royal command. As discussed earlier, inscriptions are composed and engraved after the king's command, whereas the literary texts are written by learned people on their own wish or sometimes on the wishes of the royal family. On studying the *Sahyadrikhanda* and the *Konkanakhyana*, it is known that they were composed in order to preserve and transfer through the generations the information about the genesis of Konkan region as well as the genesis of the different sub-castes of *brahmanas* who reside in the region. Da Cunha has titled his edition as the 'mythological, historical and geographical account of Western India'<sup>223</sup>. Shastri and Gui have described it as 'the sacred places of pilgrimage in the Sahyadri or Western Ghats and along the Godavari river'<sup>224</sup>. Levitt disagrees with these descriptions and states that depending upon the colophons attached at the end of each chapter, only a part of *adirahasya* and the *uttarardha* of *Sahyadrikhanda* can be described as a mythological, historical and geographical account of

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<sup>223</sup> J Gerson Da Cunha, *Skandapurana antargatam Sahyadrikhanda*, Title page.

<sup>224</sup> Hrishikesa Shastri and Siva Chandra Gui, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the Calcutta Sanskrit College*, Vol. 4, p. 148. Calcutta, Banerjee Press, 1902.

Western India<sup>225</sup>. He claims that the contents of some of the chapters carry a broader perspective, rather than being limited to only local accounts of Western India<sup>226</sup>. Agreeing to the argument of a regional narrative, Patil mentions<sup>227</sup> that *Sahyadrikhanda* is a *sthalapurana*, which is a text that narrates the traditions of a *sthal* or region. Levitt adds that *Sahyadrikhanda* carries forward the tradition of the *puranas* of essentially describing the five main topics, the *pancalakshanas* that are treated by most of the extant *puranas*. The topics are creation of the universe, its destruction and renovation, the genealogy of Gods and patriarchs, the reign of the *manus* and the history of the solar and lunar races<sup>228</sup>. *Sahyadrikhanda* begins the first topic with the title *brahmandotpattih* that means ‘origin of the universe’. Sanskrit has been employed to hand down the mentioned tradition in the literary texts of the same *genre*. It has been discussed that the scholars hold the opinion that the text has been composed by distinct people in different time-periods. The involvement of several unknown people does not help in determining the expertise status of the authors in using the grammar of Sanskrit for the composition. Though it can be mentioned that being a *sthalapurana*, the language used is more domesticated, much simpler in the use of vocables. Levitt points out several errors in the *Sahyadrikhanda*. He mentions that some chapters that are contained in the manuscripts of *Skh*<sup>229</sup>, have not been included by Gerson Da Cunha in his edition, which leads to discrepancies and incomplete understanding of the text<sup>230</sup>. He has pointed out some grammatical errors as well in Da Cunha edition of *Skh*. He states that some of the words have been used in improper manner in the sentences, which do not make any sense on translation<sup>231</sup>. He mentions that at some places, entire sentences contain several grammatical errors due to which the sentences

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<sup>225</sup> S H Levitt, *The patityagramanirnaya*, pp.23-24.

<sup>226</sup> For a detailed analysis of the contents of chapters in Adirahasya and Uttarardha, see Levitt, *Patityagramanirnaya*, pp. 23-27.

<sup>227</sup> Urmila Patil, Conflict, Identity and Narratives: The Brahman Communities of Western India from the Seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries, *Unpublished PhD Thesis*. University of Texas at Austin, Austin, 2010, pp. 36-42.

<sup>228</sup> Urmila Patil, Conflict, Identity and Narratives: The Brahman Communities of Western India from the Seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries, *Unpublished PhD Thesis*. University of Texas at Austin, Austin, 2010, pp. 36-42.

<sup>229</sup> The chapters include *Mayuravarmakhyana*, *Vanavasikshetramahatmya*, *Ramakshetramahatmya*, *Mangishamahatmya*, *Shambhugirimahatmya*, *Amalakigramamahatmya*, *Kesarakshetramahatmya*, among others. Levitt, *Patityagramanirnaya*, pp.31-34.

<sup>230</sup> Levitt, *The Patityagramanirnaya*, p. 31.

<sup>231</sup> Levitt, *The Patityagramanirnaya*, p. 21.

cannot be translated<sup>232</sup>. While giving several examples of incorrect Sanskrit usage, he states that the edition has not been edited, that does not allow it to be fully translated<sup>233</sup>.

The content of the inscriptions can be divided into three broad categories<sup>234</sup>, the preamble, the notification and the conclusion. The preamble consists of invocatory verses, place of issue of grant, address in respect of the grant and the genealogy of the royal dynasty. The notification consists of specification of gift, name of donee, occasion and purpose of the grant and the boundaries of the gift grant. The concluding part consists of exhortation of the grant, the officials responsible for the preparation of the document and the date and authentication of the record.

The inscriptions are composed by people of varied learned status as well as mastery of language and skill who were employed as the court poets of the state. The Sanskrit inscriptions were initiated in Goa with the Bhojas of Chandrapur. The compositions of the early period differ from those of the later period in several aspects. The inscriptions of the Kadambas of Goa can be seen to have been composed in *kavya* style that cannot be found in the inscriptions issued by earlier dynasties. The use of Sanskrit in order to include the puranic and dharmasatric content in the context of the record is observed in inscriptions of the later period. The inscriptional records frequently equate the kings with the characters of *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata*, *Puranas*, Gods and Goddesses while making use of decorative Sanskrit language. A court poet would intend to create an interplay of the Puranas and sacred texts with the achievements and state craft of the royals, along with showing his own skills in *Sanskritic* compositions. The job of the poets was to highlight the achievements of the kings and his ancestors and depict them as representations of *Puranic* legends, thereby creating a cosmopolitan scenario of the royal dynasty and the ruler. Sanskrit vocables were used accordingly to fulfill the purpose.

The aim of the content of the inscriptions was multifold. The genealogical portion claimed to assert the authority of the king by regularly giving description of the lawful and able rulers of the dynasty. The transactional part was supposed to carry out the administrative orders of the state and the projection of the maintenance of *dharma* aided to maintain discipline and prevent lawlessness in

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<sup>232</sup> Levitt, *The Patityagramanirnaya*, p. 22.

<sup>233</sup> Levitt, *The Patityagramanirnaya*, pp. 22-23.

<sup>234</sup> D C Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 126; cited in Pariti, *Genealogy, Time and Identity*, p. 13.

the state. The rules of *dharmasastras* were conveyed to the public so as to enshrine a fear of sin and the resulting punishment to the defaulters.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### RECAPITULATION AND CONCLUSION

#### CONCLUSION

This chapter will present the findings of the research depending upon the discussion done in the previous chapters. The study has analysed the relationship of Sanskrit with the state and its role as a tool of legitimacy for the state. The analysis of the records of dynasties that ruled over Goa, namely Bhojas, Konkan Mauryas, Western Chalukyas, Southern Shilaharas, Goa Kadambas and the Vijayanagar Empire was helpful in ascertaining the relationship between them. The study of the texts like *Sahyadrikhanda* and *Konkanakhyana* helped in the assessment of the role of Sanskrit in the *sthalapuranas*. The texts are a useful source of understanding the indigenous traditions of Goa and the effect of Sanskrit on it. Most importantly, inscriptions have been studied to show the relationship between language and state formation.

In the first chapter, we discussed the background of Goa that is required for understanding the social and cultural history of the region. The geographical setting of the state are significant in the determination of the factors that influence state formation in the region. Goa being a coastal state with the boundary of Arabian Sea in the west and high altitude of Ghats towards its east, was not easily accessible to the ruling groups. However, it was occupied owing to its strategic importance for sea-borne trade that was significant for the ruling elites of the neighboring regions like Maharashtra and Karnataka. The significance of Goa for trade is obvious through the writings of foreign travelers like Pliny, Ptolemy and Ibn Batuta. The chapter then discusses the aims based on which the study progresses. They include the significance of Sanskrit in state administration, to analyse the relationship between Sanskrit and the legitimacy of state. The study has investigated the effect of Sanskrit on socio-cultural aspects of Goa. It has been done by the study and analysis of *Sahyadrikhanda* and *Konkanakhyana* along with the inscriptions issued by the state.

The next part of the chapter discusses about the terms of significance in the study. They include Sanskrit, concept of state formation that includes pre-state and fully formed state, vertical and horizontal legitimacy and genealogy. The sources of study of the research topic includes more than

hundred and fifty inscriptions of the kings of Goa ranging from 400 AD to 1565 AD. The texts namely *Shaydrikhanda* and the *Konkanakhyana* have also been analysed for the same. The review of literature in the next section discusses the works of various scholars who have been referred to during the course of this research. The works are imperative in building of the argument of the thesis. The last section of the chapter gives a brief description of the plan of content in the chapters.

The second chapter titled SANSKRIT IN INDIA is the discussion about the position of Sanskrit in the pan-Indian situation. The chapter introduces the Sanskrit inscriptions from the earliest times, which are found to exist from the first century BC. The earliest Sanskrit inscription is the Hathi Bada inscription at Nagari, dated to the beginning of the first century BC. It was issued by a ruler of the Kanva dynasty and it mentioned about the construction of an enclosure wall around the object of worship. The next Sanskrit inscription was the Ayodhya inscription of Dhanadeva, a descendant of the Sungas. The inscription mentions about the *asvamedha yajnas* performed by Pushyamitra Sunga which inform about his brahmanic inclinations. The Mora well inscription of Mathura, dated to the century before the beginning of Christian era informs of the development of *kavya* genre in Sanskrit. It was issued by Mahakshatrapa Rujuvāla's son Sodasa. It indicates about the inclination of the non-Indian rulers to adopt popular means of legitimization of their authority. Scholars have called the Junagadh inscription of Rudradaman dated to 152/ 153 AD as the first fine piece of Sanskrit literature composed until the second century AD. However, scholars like Kesavan Veluthat have omitted the Mora Well inscription that was written as a *kavya*. In the second century itself, Sanskrit works like *Buddhacarita* and *Soundarananda* were composed by Asvaghosa under the patronization of Kanishka, the Kushana ruler who was a follower of Buddhist faith. Sheldon Pollock and Madhav M Deshpande have discussed that some of the *brahmana* converts to Buddhism requested Buddha to grant permission to preach his sermon in Sanskrit language, which he refused. However, from the second century AD onwards, the Buddhist discourse adopted Sanskrit language and abandoned their 'resistance' towards it. In the words of Pollock 'the value of a language resides, in part at least, in the social value of those who speak it'. This asserts that the Sanskrit language was adopted by the rulers in due course of the growing influence of the *brahmanas* in the kingdom and was done to appeal to the audience. The discussion of the earliest inscriptions results in the findings that the rulers started inclining towards the adoption of Sanskrit for inscriptional purpose immediately after the fall of the Mauryan Empire.



The *prasasti* of the restoration of the Sudarshana Lake by Mahakshatrapa Rudradaman is not just an exemplary Sanskrit *kavya* poetry composition of the early age, but also symbolizes the relationship that Sanskrit has had with the states. The record specially mentions that Rudradaman was proficient in language and composed grammatically correct and beautiful prose as well as poetry. It portrays the inclination of the kings towards Sanskrit language by mentioning about his proficiency in it. The Western Kshatras, in order to gain legitimacy from the residents of their territories, proclaimed to belong to a brahmanic gotra, Brihatphala or Brihatphalayana. They had marital relations with the Satvahanas. The last of the Satvahana ruler Vijaya Satakarni issued a Sanskrit inscription in 207 AD, the Chebrolu inscription. It is evident from the inscriptions of the Satvahanas that they employed Sanskrit language for the records related to the *brahmanas*, which clarifies that appeasing the audience was the factor that led to the choice of a language in inscriptions. The influence of the Western Kshatras on the Satvahanas is one of the reasons of the change of language of Satvahanas from Prakrit to Sanskrit. Other than inscriptions, literary texts like *Suhrilekha*, *Yugapurana* and *Katantra grammar* were composed in Sanskrit in the Satvahana patronage. The findings prove that the rulers adopted various symbols of Brahmanism in order to gain legitimization their authority from the elite section. Most of the records of the Satvahanas have been composed in Prakrit language since the economy of the state was dependent on the traders and the mercantile community who were followers of Buddhist faith. A huge number of Prakrit inscriptions of the Satvahanas have been issued by the ladies of the royal family, who projected patronage to Buddhism, while the kings staged adherence to brahmanic rituals through the performance of Vaidika rites. However, it was the motive of seeking legitimacy from the powerful elite section of the traders that caused the choice of Prakrit language. Gradually, as the prominence of the *brahmanas* rose in the sources of economy, the inclination of the rulers towards Sanskrit as the language for recording inscriptions also is found to have risen.

The Satvahanas were followed by the Ikshavakus in the Andhra region. The records of the Ikshvakus suggest that they used Prakrit language while issuing inscriptions related to the Buddhists while the four Sanskrit records were meant for brahmanic purposes. The first king of Ikshavakus, Santamula I is said to have followed Vaidika-dharma. It is known from the inscriptions that Santamula I performed the *Asvamedha yajna*, *agnishtoma*, *vajapeya* and *bahusuvrnaka yajna*. The position of Sanskrit can be rightfully compared with that of *Asvamedha* sacrifice. The *Asvamedha yajna* is said to have been revived by the Gupta emperor Samudragupta.

However, the epigraphic evidences reveal that *Asvamedha* was performed twice by Pushyamitra Sunga, once by Parasriputra Gajayana Sarvatata, twice by Vedisri Satakarni, ten times by the Bharasivas, four times by the Vakataka Pravarsena I, once by Ikshavaku Vashishthiputra Shantamula I and also by Vishnudeva in around 150 BCE.

Sanskrit has always played a significant role in state formation. The rulers though did not employ Sanskrit for the composition of inscriptions and other texts, they continuously employed it for performing Vedic sacrifices and other Brahmanic rituals, which is evident from the inscribed texts of the ruling dynasties. Satvahana dynasty serves as the example for the above statement. The performance of Vedic rituals was a tool employed for gaining legitimacy in the kingdom and also for proclaiming their rightful kingship in the areas beyond their territories. Individuals and groups wielding power and wishing to continue in that position, make use of religious ideas, symbols and traditions to cohere the fragmented identities in the realm and consolidate and validate their status. Kings displayed support for religious institutions, their representatives and a wide range of other strategies to strengthen their authority.

The Vakatakas inscriptions range from third century AD up to the eighth century AD and all their inscriptions with the exception of one, are in Sanskrit language. The inscriptions contain the name and *gotra* of the donees. No instance of use of regional language such as Kannada and Marathi for inscriptional or textual purpose under the Satvahanas and Vakatakas has come to picture. Sanskrit became the official language of administration of the Vakatakas. The proclamations of Brahmanical rites and rituals, sacrifices like *Asvamedha*, *Agnistoma*, *Aptoryama*, *Ukthya*, *Shodasin*, *Atiratra*, *Vajapeya* and *Brihaspati-sava* were the sources of legitimacy of the Vakataka kings. They mentioned the name of their *gotras* with their names in the inscriptions so as to validate their Brahmana status. Based on the evidences, the Vakataka period can be rightfully called the period of Sanskrit revival.

Under the Vakatakas the inscriptions which were dedicated for the Buddhist monks, have also been composed in Sanskrit language. This makes it evident that the Buddhists too learnt Sanskrit language eventually. Unlike the Vakatakas, the Gupta clan was non-brahmanical. Even though Guptas were non-brahmanical, they patronized Sanskrit, thus showing the utility of Sanskrit to achieve legitimacy. Several *prasastis* were composed in Sanskrit during the period of their rule. The Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta is a fine example of the *prasastis* of Gupta

period. The poets were highly respected and appreciated and also were appointed to senior administrative posts. Poets were considered masters of diction which added to the charm of the panegyric or the political document. This probably was the reason why the poets were appointed as the *sandhivigrahikas*. Samudragupta himself has been called *kaviraja* in the Allahabad pillar inscription. Sanskrit has been employed in the *prasastis* to dramatically personify the fame of the Gupta kings. In a manner similar to Kalidasa's *Raghuvamsa*, the poets explain that the fame of the Gupta kings spread beyond the limits of the earth and went up to the abode of Indra.

The Pallavas are credited with introduction of Sanskrit in the South as the Vakatakas did in the North, with the exception of a solitary Sanskrit record of Vijaya Satakarni of the Satvahana dynasty issued in 207 AD. The Pallavas claim to be *brahmanas* in their origin as per their records and pursued to become Kshatriyas eventually. Skandavarman is also claimed to have performed the brahmanical rituals of *Agnistoma*, *Vajapeya* as well as *Asvamedha yajna*. The Pallavas probably took to the tradition of the day which was becoming common in the northern part of the country. They gave up the use of Prakrit for their inscriptions and resorted to the use of Sanskrit. By the fourth century AD, the dynasties ruling in the northern India and in Deccan regions were also issuing their political will in Sanskrit language. Sanskrit emerged as the language for all the functions of the state, religious, social, administrative as well as political. During this period, Sanskrit also started showing its capacities as the cosmopolitan language which was qualified for communication intra and inter-dynastically.

The Gangas of Talakad were located in between the territories of Kadambas and the Pallavas, in the present day Karnataka region. This dynasty emerged by the close of the fourth century. The Gangas proclaim to have performed the *hiranyagarbha* and *asvamedha yajna* which in accordance with the *dharmic* laws was necessary to claim Kshatriya status. It is especially important for the states undergoing transition from pre-state to state society. Not only they gave land grants to the *brahmanas*, but also employed them at important positions in their courts. *Brahmanas* held the post of privy councillor i.e. *sarvarahasyadhikrita* and the same person is also seen functioning as scribes for the king. The *brahmanas* were indispensable for state formation.

The third chapter is titled SANSKRIT AND STATE FORMATION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO GOA- BHOJAS-SHILAHARAS. The role of Sanskrit language in state formation of the dynasties who ruled over Goa has been presented in the chapter. The chapter

highlights the social, economic and political aspects of state formation in relation to Sanskrit. In the situation of Goa, the inscriptions start appearing from 400 AD onwards. The period is marked with the rule of the Bhojas with their nucleus of their territory at Chandrapur. All the six inscriptions of the Bhojas are composed in Sanskrit language. Five records refer to grants given to the *brahmanas* while one grant is a grant for a Buddhist *vihara*. The grant of the *vihara* shows that the Buddhists formed part of the elite society during the Bhojas, due to which the rulers sought legitimation from them. The kingdom indicates the features of pre-state. A Bhoja king is titled as *dharma-maharaja*. The records have mentions of the *dharmic* laws that the kings used to protect the gift given to *brahmanas* from trespassing. The records do not contain genealogies of the kings and their dynasty. One record mentions the name of the brother and mother of the ruler, who are given credit of the grant to the *brahmanas*. The charters narrate the description of donee *brahmanas* with the specification of their *gotras* in order to express their identity and ancestral links. It shows that the rulers followed the trend that was current in the rest of the country as well. The early records of the Bhojas represent the change of language of inscriptions from Prakrit to Sanskrit that was common to other states as well. The title of *dharma-maharaja* indicates the attempt of the rulers to attain a pan-India status. The title along with the practice of the traditions of *dana* was the measure of achieving validation of the authority. Sanskrit inscription for the *vihara* and been composed by a person of Buddhist faith strengthens the argument that Sanskrit was learnt and known by people of all faiths and its role in the state was important for state legitimation. The discussion in the chapter brings to conclusion that the Bhojas of Chandrapur elected the most suitable person for the position of King. The records do not reflect any relationship amongst any of the rulers mentioned in the inscriptions.

The next section pertains to the dynasties who controlled Goa post-Bhojas. The Konkan Mauryas exerted their control over Goa in fifth-sixth centuries AD. Two records of Konkan Mauryas have been found and both are composed in Sanskrit language. One inscription records a gift of *khajjana* and forest land for agriculture and a residential land to a *brahmana* of *hariti gotra* while the other records a gift of land to a Buddhist *vihara*. The Konkan Mauryas exerted their hold on inland as well as sea trade. Another Sanskrit charter of Konkan Mauryas from Thana in Maharashtra, mentions about their relations with the Bhojas and records a gift of land for a temple dedicated to Lord Shiva as *Kotishwara*. The Chalukyas of Badami banished the Konkan Mauryas and established their control over Goa. The records of the Chalukyas show that they were ardent

followers of Brahmanism and *dharma*. They claim to belong to *Manavya gotra*. In Goa, the presence of the Chalukyas is marked by the finding of eight copperplate grants, out of which one is said to be found within the boundaries of Goa while the rest have been found near Nerur, located at the northern border of Goa in Ratnagiri district.

The Chalukyas followed the path of *dana* and *dakshina* to the brahmanas, so as to win over their loyalty and create their own state agents in the region. The Nerur grants of the Chalukyas state the donations of land with libations of water to the brahmanas, whose *gotras* were mentioned in the grant. The land was gifted for the purpose of agriculture, residence as well as for providing for their cattle. It was protected by specially mentioning about the fear of sins for those who try to take away the privileges of the done and bliss for those who maintain the decree. The record is marked with adherence of the Brahmanic laws and *dharma* and the sins against the brahmanas were equated with sins against God himself. In a way, the king is portrayed as the protector of the ideal social order. The act of giving donations and protection of the decree was significant for creating state agents of Chalukyas in the coastal region. These agents that comprised of *brahmanas* composed the elite section of the society who served to increase and spread the fame of the king. They also were allotted duties to collect the taxes from other people while they themselves were free from any kind of revenue payment. They became a part of political as well as economic expansion which lies in the horizontal spread of rural agrarian settlements.

The inscriptions contain elaborate genealogies of the kings beginning with the name of Pulakesi I. He has been projected as the performer of *Asvamedha*, *Agnishtoma*, *Vajapeya* and *Paundarika yajnas* and is also said to have the knowledge of *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata* and the *Laws of Manu*. The grants clearly state the pride the kings take in keeping with the *dharma* and also in giving donations to learned brahmanas. The Chalukyas of Badami were reduced by the Rashtrakutas of Malkhed in the second half of eighth century AD.

The last part of the chapter discusses about the rule of Rashtrakutas on Goa through their feudatories Southern Shilaharas. Three records of the Shilaharas have been found in Goa and they have been composed in Sanskrit language. The Shilaharas owed allegiance to the Rashtrakutas and later to the Western Chalukyas, which is evident from the genealogies in their records. The Rashtrakutas had active trade with Persia and they held Goa to have an absolute control on the sea-borne trade. The three records of the Shilaharas record the grants of three different occasions. One

grant has been made by some merchants to the king in order to gain hereditary rights of trade. The next grant has been made by the king to a Shaivite ascetic of Mattamayura clan, along with the provision of temple servants and units of gold coins with every ship arriving from foreign countries, while the third grant has been made to a *brahmana*. The findings indicate an active trade through the coastal region of Goa and a rise in the mercantile community in the region. The elite section now comprised of the elite traders along with the revered *brahmanas*.

The rulers seek legitimacy through their mythological descent from a mythological prince *Jimutvahana*. They show allegiance to *dharmic* laws and seek validation of their authority through grants to ascetics and brahmanas. The patronage to Mattamayura clan depicts the intentions of the rulers to legitimize their authority and appeal to pan-Indian situation beyond the boundaries of Konkan coastal area. These factors caused the rulers to select Sanskrit language for issuing records. Sanskrit was the common language of inscriptions issued by states across India. It was the trend of the times to legitimize the authority through the use of Sanskrit and by adhering to the brahmanic rituals. The symbols of Brahmanism like the performance of *yajnas*, land grants to *brahmanas*, statement of Vedic education of the donees, titles like *dharma-maharaja* became the symbols of validation of authority and were fully utilized by rulers. In the early eleventh century AD, the Rashtrakutas were crushed by the Western Chalukyas, who regained power and caused the end of Southern Shilahara rule in Goa.

The fourth chapter is titled SANSKRIT AND STATE FORMATION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO GOA- KADAMBAS AND VIJAYNAGAR EMPIRE. The period of study in the chapter ranges from tenth century AD with the rise of Goa Kadambas 1565 AD when the Vijayanagara Empire disintegrated. The chapter is divided into two sections wherein the first deals with the discussion of Kadamba period. The second section deals with the overlapping rule of the Vijaynagar rulers, the Bahamani and the Adil Shahi Sultanate and finally the arrival of Portuguese and the establishment of the Portuguese rule. The Goa Kadambas were an off-shoot of the Banavasi Kadambas who ruled in the early medieval period. The origin myth in the records of the Goa Kadambas reiterates their link with the Banavasi Kadambas through the description of their mythological descent from Trilochana Kadamba, though there is no mention of a direct link of Goa Kadambas with Banavasi Kadambas in the genealogy of Goa Kadambas in their records. The trend of mythological origin discussed in the inscriptions was a means of projecting the puranic or

Vedic link of the family through the connection with some God like Shiva or Vishnu. The *brahmanas* fabricated mythical origins for the kings so as to generate reverence for the ruling dynasty among the masses. It formed the part of their extended genealogies. The origin of the Kadambas has been fabricated to the drop of Siva that fell under a Kadamba tree.

Another fabrication of antiquity of the Kadambas is the connection of Mayurasarmma in the *sthalapurana* of Konkan region, the *Sahyadrikhanda*. It is mentioned in the *Skh* that in the Kaliyuga, Mayurasarmma, a king of the solar race, brought and settled *brahmanas* from Ahichchtra in thirty two villages of his kingdom. The traditions in *Skh* state that in the Tretayuga, Lord Parashurama created the land of Konkan and brought and settled *brahmanas* from the North in the newly created land. The Kadambas drew legitimacy by drawing similar accounts of *brahmana* settlements as that of Parashurama. It infused the puranic elements in the antiquity of the Kadambas. The genealogy of the Goa Kadambas begins with Kanatakacharya as the first king of Goa Kadamba house. The Goa Kadambas indicate their origin from the Banavasi Kadambas through the repetition of the origin myth as well as by the mention of same Manavya *gotra* and *Hariti* lineage.

It was found that during the rule of Jayakesi II, the Goa Kadamba kingdom was on its zenith and the territories comprised Konkana-900, Palasige-12000 (present Khanapur, Chikodi, Sampagaon talukas of Belagavi district), Unkal-30, Shabi-30 (part of Dharwar and Hubli talukas), Kontkulli-30, Hangal-500, Utsugrame and Kadaravalli-30, Palagunde-30, Velugrame-70 (present Belagavi), Haive-500 (part of North Kanara) and Kavadivipa- Savalakha. The hundred and thirty five inscriptions issued by the Goa Kadmbas, on the medium of copper plates and stones, can be broadly classified into two sections, the Sanskrit inscriptions and the Kannada inscriptions. The Sanskrit inscriptions have been issued in the region of Goa, while the Kannada inscriptions have been issued in the regions of Karnataka, the Kannada speaking land. Few hero-stones found in Goa are in Kannada language, since they pertain to the kingdom's army, wherein the soldiers were Kannada speaking people. Few inscriptions issued in Karnataka are in both the languages, Sanskrit as well as Kannada, for the facility of all the *brahmana* groups, the natives as well as those from outside. It shows that the rulers employed appropriate language in the records depending upon the audience of the records. The audience in Goa was familiar with Sanskrit and hence the rulers issued Sanskrit records for them. The Kannada audience was comfortable in Kannada language that

caused the rulers to issue inscriptions in Kannada. The Goa Kadambas too belonged to Karnataka, but they employed Sanskrit for appeasing the people of Goa. This clarifies the argument that Sanskrit was the source of legitimacy for the rulers in Goa and was imperative for state formation.

Before discussing the impact of Sanskrit on the state machinery, the question of vernacularisation has been addressed to in the next section of the chapter. The change of language of inscriptions occurred from Prakrit to Sanskrit and from Sanskrit to regional languages. The Sanskrit inscriptions emerged as few drops in the sea of Prakrit inscriptions and gradually eradicated the use of Prakrit for records and literary texts. Similar pattern was followed by the regional languages. Several Kannada inscriptions appeared amongst the huge volume of Sanskrit records in the first millennium AD. By the end of the first millennium, the regional languages replaced Sanskrit for the purpose of records. However they shared spaces for the composition of literary texts.

However, Kannada language was employed by the Goa Kadambas only for issuing inscriptions in the land of Kannada speaking people, while they continued to issue Sanskrit inscriptions for the people in Goa. Similar trend is found in the records issued by the Vijaynagara kings. The records issued by them were composed in Sanskrit language and later in Marathi language for the audience of Goa, while they chose Kannada for their inscriptions issued in Karnataka region. This makes it evident that the choice of language was dependent upon the audience of the records. The grants were given to *brahmanas*, *agraharas*, establishment of brahmapuris and temples so as to accrue merit to the ruling dynasty. It functioned as the medium of sanctioning their authority. The language became the suited medium of conveying the patronage of the kings offered to the elite community. The argument of Sheldon Pollock that due to vernacularisation, the use of Sanskrit language faded, holds no base. He mentions vernacularisation as the cause of the waning popularity of Sanskrit. However, the study clarifies that the employment of regional language was done in order to appeal to the people of the region. The major motive of the rulers while issuing grants in the inscriptions was to legitimise their authority. Hence they selected language that was most suitable to the people for whom the inscription was intended. It is for the same reason that Tamil language was used in the Tamil region since the Sangam period and the Rashtrakutas employed Kannada language so as to appease the major population. Marathi language was employed in the inscriptions of the Vijaynagara kings in Goa region as Marathi had gained popularity in the land by the fifteenth century AD, which is substantiated by the finding of village



community records of Goa in Marathi language. The Goa Kadambas issued Sanskrit inscriptions in Goa and in Gujarat and Kannada inscriptions in Karnataka. At the same time, a few inscriptions issued in Karnataka are in Sanskrit as they addressed the audience that needed the use of Sanskrit language. For example, when *brahmanas* migrated from an outside region and settled in Karnataka, they were given land grants issued in Sanskrit language. Large number of Kannada inscriptions have been issued in Karnataka region, by Rashtrakutas, Chalukyas, Alupas, who were local to the region. Sanskrit was used by trans-regional dynasties. This elucidates the argument of the study that Sanskrit functioned as a tool of legitimacy for state formation in Goa.

The next section of the chapter discusses the state formation of the Goa Kadambas. It pertains to the social, economic and political aspect of the state that are vital for determining the nature of state. Firstly the epithets of Goa Kadambas as *Mahamandaleshwaras* state that they were the feudatories of the Western Chalukyas. However, the Goa Kadambas attempt to claim sovereignty by claiming titles like *Konkana Chakravartin* and function as a fully independent kingdom. The study of social, economic and political aspects help to determine that the Goa Kadambas were a state polity, functioning under the aegis of the Western Chalukyas.

Like the contemporary and predecessor rulers, the Goa Kadambas sought validation in a variety of ways like giving patronage to religious institutions and *brahmanas*, *brahmadeyas* and *devadanas*, through the genealogies in the inscriptions, portraying the kings as the protector of *dharma* the socio-political order, delegation of authority to the elites by dissemination of resources and more such acts. The inscriptions issued by the Kadambas bear testimony to the measures undertaken to validate the authority. The kings of Goa Kadambas bore the epithet *banavasi-pura adhiswara* meaning the ‘lords of Banavasi’. It was a strategy to validate their origin and use their ancestral links in order to gain prestige in the current scenario. In some of the records, the Kadambas adopted a *ksatriya* title of *varma*, in place of *sarma* that indicated brahmanic origin. The change was according to the dharmic laws, according to which the ksatriyas were supposed to be the rulers, using arms and safeguarding the kingdom, whereas the *brahmanas* should be the possessors of knowledge of Vedas and other scriptures.

*Dharma* was the source of legitimacy to the rulers and the *brahmana* functioned as the agent and interpreter of *dharma*. The King’s duty was to protect the ideal social order as well as physically protect the ‘guardians’ of *dharma*, which led to the formulation of titles like *dharma-*

*maharajadhiraja*. The Goa Kadamba kings patronized the brahmanas who reciprocated by constructing an advantageous environment for the rulers to authenticate their rule. The Brahmanas made use of appropriate language, figures of speech, mythological legends and tales to contrive the origin, genealogy and actions of the kings for them to gain support of the audience for the establishing state society. The performance of Vedic sacrifices by early members of the dynasty, had trans-generational impact that elevated the status of subsequent rulers. These images sanctified the ruler's claim to rule. These requirements made it imperative for the *brahmanas* and Sanskrit to be incorporated as the primary vehicle for state legitimation. Legitimation was sought from all the elites of the society, the *brahmanas* as well as the trading and mercantile community that comprised the Jains as well. It was the reason of the patronage provided to the Jains by the Goa Kadambas in the form of grants given to the Jain temples.

The economic processes of the Kadamba state portray the economic prosperity of the region under the Goa Kadambas. The records of Goa Kadambas describe grants of virgin lands given to *brahmanas* for the purpose of agrarian expansion. The agricultural lands benefitted the *brahmanas* as well as the state by addition of resources through the accumulation of surplus. The knowledge of Sanskrit utilized in the study of astronomy of the *brahmanas* aided in the prediction in yields on the basis of seasonal sowing and cropping patterns, as well as effective management of water resources. The trade and commerce of Kadamba state were in full bloom which can be assessed by the mentions of inland as well as sea-borne foreign trade in the charters of Goa Kadambas. The records of Goa Kadambas mention about an extensive fleet of ships of the dynasty that were used for trading purpose. An established taxation system of the sea-trade functioned that added to the resources of the state. The possession of a naval fleet by the Goa Kadambas creates the image of a well-protected state. The state being prosperous, the kings gave *tula-purusha dana* to the *brahmanas*. The significance of Sanskrit can be estimated in the Sanskritisation of the names of Arab merchants and minister in the inscriptions of Goa Kadambas. A market place was constructed by a Goa Kadamba king at Gandevi port in Gujarat and was recorded in a Sanskrit inscription. The instances of foreign trade, taxation system in the form of a variety of gold coins recorded in the inscriptions clarify the functioning of money economy under the Goa Kadambas. Several guilds like *Hanajamana*, *nagara*, *Ayyavole 500*, *aruvattokkalus*, *Tambuliga-setti-sasirvaru*, *gavaregaru* were functioning under the state.

The inscriptions of Goa Kadambas reveal significant information about the political processes of the state. The rulers held titles like *Konkanadhipati*, *Konkana Chakravarti*, *Mahamaheswara*, *Paschimsamudradhiswara* and *Raayalalaatta*. Though the Kadambas bear epithets of *Mahamandaleshwara* in some of the records, none of the inscriptions eulogize their overlords, the Western Chalukyas. The state of Goa Kadambas represented only symbolic subjugation to the Chalukyas. The rulers had matrimonial relationships with other contemporary dynasties as a part of their political processes. The matrimonial alliances gained support for the reigning kings and would have been helpful in the establishment of an independent kingdom as well as in the enhancement of their status on pan-India basis. Such alliances also ensured no further encroachment upon the territory of the Kadambas by the respective kingdoms. The military and political strength, along with the support of allies through matrimonial alliances, paved the way for the enlargement of Goa Kadamba's territories. This is also suggestive of the establishment of state polity of the Kadambas.

The administration of Goa Kadambas divided the kingdom into *vishaya*, *desa* and *grama* and these units of administration were managed by a body of officials. Inscriptions record the hereditary offices held by various *brahmanas* namely *pauranika*, astrologer, *dharmadhikari*, *purohita*, *preceptor*, educational instructors and *yajnika-pravare*. The statecraft was in accordance with the prescribed rules mentioned in Kautilya's Arthshastra. In the light of the stated arguments, it can be said that the political processes of the Kadambas of Goa were carried on with the integration of local chiefs, matrimonial alliances, administrative and military arrangements as tools. The understanding of political processes is based on the social and economic processes as an integral part of political process. It substantiates the argument of the author that the nature of Goa Kadambas kingdom was that of a developed state as well as refutes the claim of B D Chattopadhyaya who doubts in calling the Kadambas a state polity.

The Kadambas of Goa were subdued by the Yadavas of Devagiri, who appointed his governor to check the attacks of other rulers like Hoyasalas on Goa. The Yadavas were subdued and eventually destroyed by the forces of All-ud-din Khilji. The last known inscription of Kamadeva belongs to 1312 AD after which he is not heard of. The capital of Goa Kadambas shifted from Gopakapattana back to the fortified city of Chandrapura after the Muhammadan invasion. However, Chandrapura was also attacked in 1328 AD by the agents of Delhi Sultans and the Kadambas remained unheard

of after that till 1379 AD. The Kadambas rebelled against the Vijayanagara rulers in 1379 AD, but were crushed by the son of Madhava, Bachappa.

The last section of the fourth chapter discusses the situation of Goa post-Kadambas. The Vijayanagara rulers held Goa as their peripheral territory, especially to continue obtaining horses from Arab merchants. In the fourteenth and fifteenth century AD, the region saw the constant struggle of power between the Bahamanis and the Vijayanagar Empire. The Vijayanagar Empire consolidated their hold on Goa in 1379 AD with Madhavamantri as the governor of Goa Gutti kingdom. The inscriptions issued by the Vijayanagar rulers were composed in Sanskrit, Marathi, Kannada and Telugu. In Goa, they issued inscriptions in Sanskrit and Marathi, used Kannada in Karnataka region and Telugu inscriptions in the Andhra region. Several poems and prose were composed under the patronization of Vijayanagara rulers. The argument of the author that the language plays a significant role in legitimization of state authority and state formation is proven through the instance of the Vijayanagara rulers as well. It also negates the theory of vernacularisation. The same kingdom issues inscriptions in different language in different regions proves that the rulers used language as a tool of legitimacy and thereby employed it accordingly. The Vijayanagara rulers also employed the use of titles inspired from Persian language like *Hinduraya Suratrana* and *Bhavadur*, in order to seek validation of their authority from the muslim population in their kingdom. Vijayanagara rulers controlled Goa through local ministers till the mid-fourteenth century AD. Goa was significant to Vijayanagara kings especially to obtain the horses from Ormuz as their cavalry depended on them.

The administration of Goa continued with the help of local chieftains after 1450 AD till the Adil Shahi rulers captured it in 1472 AD who struggled for the control of Goa owing to its significance in trade that had grown many folds. Similar to their counterparts of Vijayanagar Empire, the Adil Shahi rulers adopted the Hindu title of *Maharaja* in their records. A stone inscription of 1326 AD described the king as *Maharajadhiraja Sri Suratrana Rajya tatpada padmopa jeevi*. It suggests that the Muslim rulers adopted suitable means to validate their authority in the Hindu region. Language was a powerful tool to reach out to the *brahmanas* and masses. They gained legitimacy by employing titles suited to the conditions. The rule of the Muslim kings has been mentioned in the Marathi text *Konkanakhyana* as well. Finally the chapter discusses about the relationship of Sanskrit and regional languages during the early decades of the Portuguese rule in Goa. It is found

that the missionaries not only studied the ancient Hindu scriptures and *puranas* in the languages of Sanskrit, Konkani and Marathi, but also utilized them for the composition of biblical texts like *Kristapurana*.

The fifth chapter titled SANSKRIT, SAHYADRIKHANDA AND INDEGENOUS TRADITIONS has been divided into two main sections. The first section discusses the texts *Sahyadrikhanda* and *Konkanakhyana* and the next section discusses the Indigenous traditions and the effect of Sanskrit and sanskritisation on the traditions. In the first section, a brief introduction of the texts have been provided. The historiography of the texts reveals that the *sthalapurana* is significant to understand the traditions of the natives of Konkan region. The discussions of Stephen Hillyer Levitt, Urmila Patil, B A Saletore on the different versions of *Skh* show that in spite of the various errors in the language of the text, it is a narration of significant importance for the history of the region. The next topic covers the Contents, author and period of composition of *Skh*. We have been able to infer that *Skh* consists of *Purvardha* and *Uttarardha* and several *mahatmyas* that attach high importance to the local places of interest. The author of the text have not been mentioned in the work. Considering the narratives in the text regarding the *brahmana* community, it can be stated that some parts of the text have been composed by a member of Saraswat *brahmana* community. The period of composition of *Skh* ranges from fourth century AD to sixteenth century AD. The topic 'Language of *Skh*' discusses the reasons of selecting Sanskrit language for the composition of the *sthalapurana*. The *Skh* claims to be a part of *Skandapurana* and to legitimately confirm as a part of *Skp*, it adopted the Sanskrit language. Sanskrit was required for the regional text to be accepted as legitimate text of the brahmanic traditions. The Sanskrit *Skh* has been compared to the Kannada *Sahyadrikhanda*. In order to understand the affiliation of Kadamba dynasty to the puranic mythology, the Parashurama tradition has been discussed in the next section. The Parashurama tradition of *Skh* has been compared with the tradition mentioned in *Brahmanda Purana* and Mahabharata as well as compared to the Parashurama tradition mentioned in different chapters of the *Uttarardha* of *Skh*. The next section compares the stories discussed in the *Skh* and the *Konkankhyana*. The next part discusses the elements of state and legitimacy present in *Skh* that sanction the role of the text in the region. Elements such as existence of *janapadas*, mention of agriculture with irrigation through rivers, land grants to *brahmanas*, worshipping of Gods, *teerth kshetras* and their *mahatmyas* are important symbols that symbolize state formation and the role of *brahmanas* in the same.

The second section of the chapter discusses about traditions of Goa. The analysis of the traditions has been divided into three parts. The first part discusses the traditions mentioned in the *Skh* and in *Konkanakhyana*. It has been argued that the *Skh* represents the initiation of the Sanskritisation of folk traditions in the Western coastal region, whereas the *Konkanakhyana* represents the completed process of Sanskritisation. The traditions mentioned in the *Skh* depict the Sanskritisation of local deities whose worship prevailed in the region. The deities like Mahalsa, Shantadurga, Saptakoteshwar were local deities and they were Sanskritised to join the greater traditions in the *purana*. The text is suggestive of folk deities like Sateri who is worshipped in the form of anthill in the several regions of the South India. It tells about the worship of *Bhairav* in the local region. It also informs about the traditions of the worship of Vishnu in different forms. Some folk deities are sanskritised into the brahmanic fold by fabricating them as some form of the incarnations of Vishnu. It explains the worship of Narsimha in the village of Sancoale in Goa. The text also has elaborate descriptions of the significance of several places designated as *teerth ksetras*. The *Konkanakhyana* gives the names of the deities associated with the villages of Goa. It mentions about the main deities and subsidiary deities and also the traditions linked with the deities. It mentions the regular reading of puranic scriptures, daily worship and the tradition of *jagor* for the presiding village deities.

The second part discusses the elements of traditions that are depicted through the inscriptions found in Goa. The records mention several names of deities worshipped in Goa. Several deities were originally folk deities and were Sanskritised by the *brahmanas* into the brahmanic fold. Several forms of *bhairav* are known through the records that are worshipped in the villages of Goa. It is known that the temple of the main deity of the village was located at a prominent location in the village, whereas the temples of the subsidiary deities were located towards the village boundaries, especially that of *gramdevtas* who protected the villages.

The next part of the section discusses the causes and significance of the sanskritisation of the folk deities into the brahmanic pantheon. It was found that the folk deities were sanskritised in the due process of agrarian expansion that brought the tribal regions within the ambit of the state administration. Sanskritisation of the deities was done for dual benefits. The foremost was gaining legitimacy from the masses through the enhancement of the status of their deities and secondly the temples were provided state patronage that benefitted the community. It led to the integration of

the tribal society that represented the pre-state society into the state society. The features of an organized state permeated into the realms of the pre-state society and gradually transformed it. It was found that the Sanskritisation of the folk deities was done in the *puranas*. The finding substantiates the argument that *Sahyadrikhanda* represents the beginning of sanskritisation of folk deities. Some of the folk deities were sanskritised between the eleventh and fifteenth century AD. The *Konkanakhyana* that was composed in 1721 AD represents the completed phase of sanskritisation in Goa.

The chapter discusses the greater traditions and the lesser traditions. It discusses the Vedic sanskritic traditions and the folk or tribal traditions in Goa and also the impact of the traditions on each other. It is found that the Sanskritic traditions have a greater influence on the folk traditions, due to which they are incorporated into the brahmanic pantheon. Due to the effect of sanskritisation, the folk traditions are influenced by the brahmanic rituals. The composition of *Vetal Sahastranama* is a fine example of the permeation of greater traditions into the lesser traditions. However, the final aim of the process is the legitimisation of the ruling authority through the legitimation of indigenous traditions. Sanskrit is found to play a significant role in the process. The last part of the chapter discusses the literary traditions of Goa. The study finds that the literature composed in the pre-Portuguese period in Goa comprised the *kavyas* composed for the inscriptional records and *prasastis* of the rulers. The text was mostly composed for the purpose of courtly activities. However, in the Portuguese period, a new *genre* of writing emerged, where the structure of the composition was Indian whereas the content was influenced by the biblical narratives. The new style of writings was spread into several vernacular languages like Konkani, Tamil, Kannada apart from Sanskrit. The compositions were a part of the political ideologies of the state in order to gain legitimacy from the dominated people.

The sixth chapter titled SANSKRIT AND EPIGRAPHY IN GOA is the discussion of the use of Sanskrit language in depicting various aspects of epigraphy. Sanskrit is used in creating genealogies for recording in the inscriptions. The Sanskrit records mention elaborate eulogies, which link to the Puranic texts, a practice that is not found in the Prakrit charters. This relates to the ideological approach, adopted in the epigraphic compositions in order to provide recognition and status in society, in other words to legitimize their authority. The presence of genealogy represents the historical consciousness among the writers of the pre-colonial period. It was found

that the inscriptions consists of three main parts, the audience, the content and the purpose of the record, which together form the text of the inscription. The inscriptions should be understood as the representative of the king and his state policy. It gives a clear picture of the court procedures and state administration.

The next section of the chapter argues in favour of Sanskrit being used as a medium of communication. The evidence shows that not only the *brahmanas*, but also people belonging to other social and economic classes were also interacting in Sanskrit. The presence of local forms of communicative language cannot be eliminated, but one also cannot rule out the possibility of communication in Sanskrit language. The erection of inscriptions at public places for the royal message to be visible and available for reading to common people proves that the language was understood by majority of the people. The location of inscriptions at nodal points and important communication routes, with easy visibility, invests them with political significance. Legitimacy cannot be fully accomplished in the absence of a comfortable communication between the royalty and the public. It is this communication which in the form of epigraphs reached out to the people.

Apart from this, the education of Sanskrit language was provided to all including the *brahmanas*, ksatriyas as well as the vaishyas that were the trading community. The craftsmen and tradesmen also had the knowledge of Sanskrit. It proves that Sanskrit was feasible as the medium of communication amongst the people. From the second century AD onwards, the Buddhists and the Jains also used Sanskrit for composition of the texts as well as to preach the religious sermons. The discussions prove that Sanskrit cannot be called the language restricted only to the elites, it permeated amongst the common people and functioned as the medium of communication.

The next section discusses the genealogy and time in the inscriptions of the dynasties of Goa. It was found that the records of the Bhojas and the Konkan Mauryas were devoid of genealogies, though they have been composed in Sanskrit language. The inscriptions issued by the Western Chalukyas, Shilaharas, Goa Kadambas and the Vijaynagar rulers contain genealogies. They mention the *gotra* and *vamsa* of the dynasties, which includes the puranic element in the description. The genealogies of the Chalukyas and the Kadambas are found to contain historical as well as mythological genealogy. The historical genealogy traces the descent of the rulers from their ancestors up to some generations. It includes their descent from some sages that form their *gotras*. The mythological genealogy traces the origin of the dynasty from some mythological



figure that is linked to some God like *Shiva* or *Vishnu*. The genealogy is traced from the solar or the lunar races that are mentioned in the *puranas*. However, the Kadambas do not show allegiance to any of the races in their inscriptions. But the Sanskrit text *Skh* mentions the origin of Mayurasamma, the founder king of Kadamba dynasty from solar race. Hence, this component of their origin cannot be conclusively ascertained. By infusing the inscriptional texts with the Puranic elements, the rulers in a way tried to place the regional social structure within the ambit of a pan Indian context. The features of time that are employed in the inscriptions of Goa have also been discussed.

The effect of Sanskrit on the regional languages like Marathi and Konkani have been discussed in the next part of the chapter. It has been found that there are several loan words of Sanskrit in both the languages. Several words of Konkani are influenced by Sanskrit and have similar vocables. Some words of Marathi language are also influenced by Sanskrit, though it exhibits a greater influence of Prakrit language. Some of the words with their counterparts in Konkani and Marathi have been tabulated and presented for better understanding of the influence of Sanskrit. The impact of Bhakti movement of South India on the vernacular languages and vernacularisation has been discussed in another section. It was found that Sanskrit texts were composed during the Bhakti movement. The growth of vernacular languages was not dependent on the Bhakti movement, rather the vernacular languages were used to connect to the lowest section of the society. However, the proponents of the movement were the elites like Basava and there was no distinction of language for the movement. The last part of the chapter elaborates the difference between the inscriptional records and the literary texts. While discussing the literary texts and the inscriptions, the perceptible use of Sanskrit language can be distinguished by taking into consideration, the length of the composition, the content of the composition that has several facets to consider, the style of writing the texts, intended audience of the text, the standard of language used and the aim of the text. It was found that the composition of the Sanskrit texts began at a much earlier age than the composition of Sanskrit inscriptions. The length of the texts is much longer owing to the extensive detail they furnish. On the other hand, the inscriptions are meant for specific purpose only and are therefore shorter in length compared to the texts. The literary text like *Skh* is composed by using *sloka* meter, whereas the inscriptions of the kings include the use of several meters of Sanskrit grammar. The circulation of the records aim for the targeted audience and the concerned people that usually involve the king, the ministers, the village or town officials, affected *brahmanas* or

the related villagers. The records are worded in an authoritative demeanour that help to convey the administrative procedure to the related people. The scope of literary texts was much elaborate as compared to that of inscriptions. It was intended that the scriptures be read by the learned class and be spread by the means of oral tradition as well, so that the narratives are able to reach out to the uneducated sections as well. This served the dual purposes of spreading the knowledge of the text among the people as well as creating awareness of the socio-political order that was also conveyed through the inscriptions. The audience was unknown and unspecified, with a broader scope of readers, whereas the audience of the inscriptions was specified and thus known. The content of the inscriptions and the texts are found to be different from each other. The inscriptions consist of the preamble, the notification and the conclusion pertaining to the administrative activity of the kingdom. However, the literary text consisted of the bigger scenario of the world that included the description of the creation and destruction of the universe, life on earth and its continuity and the reformation after the destruction.

## **MAIN FINDINGS OF THE STUDY**

The main findings of the study are enlisted as follows:

1. Language functioned as an important tool of legitimacy for the dynasties undergoing state formation as well those that functioned as mature state systems.
2. The Bhojas of Chandrapur were a pre-state polity. Sanskrit and land grants to *brahmanas* were the main sources of their legitimacy. The Konkan Mauryas were a pre-state polity who issued Sanskrit charters in order to gain support from the local elites.
3. The Chalukyas of Badami were a developed state that held the control of Goa as a peripheral territory. The records of the Badami Chalukyas were issued in Sanskrit language in the region of Goa and Maharashtra, whereas Sanskrit and Kannada languages were used in the inscriptions issued in Karnataka. The Sanskrit records of Goa contained genealogies of the kings, that were absent in the records of Bhojas and Konkan Mauryas. Genealogy was an important source of legitimacy for the rulers.
4. The Goa Shilaharas were a coastal polity that showed features of an early state. They issued Sanskrit inscriptions with few Marathi and Kannada terms interspersed in the records.

5. The Goa Kadambas transitioned from a pre-state polity to a state society. They issued inscriptions in Sanskrit language mostly in Goa and few in Karnataka region, depending upon the requirement of the audience. They issued Kannada inscriptions mostly in the region of Karnataka. The rulers of Goa Kadambas were of Kannada origin. However, they used language appropriately in order to gain legitimacy for their state.
6. The rulers of the Vijayanagara Empire issued Sanskrit and Marathi records in Goa, while they issued Kannada, Telugu and Tamil records in other regions of their Empire. Appropriate language was utilized by the rulers to gain legitimacy from the people belonging to different regions. Sanskrit works were composed by the members of the royal family as well as by poets under their patronage.
7. The Chalukyas of Badami, Goa Kadambas and the Vijayanagara Empire were trans-regional states that utilized the language of the specific region to compose inscriptions for the audience of that region.
8. The Portuguese adopted *Canarim*, the local language of Goa, in order to understand the local society and culture and to gain support of the local elites. *Krista-Purana*, a local text containing stories from the Bible, was composed by Father Thomas Stephens in Konkani language, in order to gain legitimacy from the local people.

The motive behind the research of the topic SANSKRIT, STATE AND LEGITIMACY was to bring out the relationship between Sanskrit and state with respect to legitimacy of the ruling authority, effectively. The research is placed in the situation of Goa. It is first of the kind of research that attempts and clarifies the role of Sanskrit in state polity in Goa. The findings are significant as it brings to light the importance of Sanskrit in Goa since early medieval period till the sixteenth century. Overall the study has brought to notice that Sanskrit effected the state formation in Goa just like the counterparts in other regions of the country. It especially brings to light the relationship of state with the native language of the region. The exclusive use of inscriptions for the purpose of the study brings to light that inscriptions are important texts that present the past before us in a unique fashion. They cannot be considered as separate entities, rather they should be observed as a complete narration of the state administration and courtly practices that throw light on its different aspects. The study also brings to focus that language as a tool of legitimacy for state

formation has not been studied by any scholar previously. This study brings to light the role played by language in the process of state formation. It shows that language is a distinguished tool of legitimacy.

Sanskrit has had a vital role in the validation of ruling authorities and was employed on different levels by the kings. The judicious use of Sanskrit and Sanskritic culture elevated the status of the ruling dynasty. The study shows that the kings possessed the knowledge of various languages that were of significance within their territory and they utilized it to earn validation of their authority from the people.

## APPENDIX

Appendix 1: The chapter 3 of the *Uttarardha* of the *Sahyadrikhanda* (Da Cunha Version) has been translated from Sanskrit and presented here in the appendix. The translation has been done by the author.

*Skandapurana antargatam Sahyadrikhanda- Uttardha*

Chapter 3

*Gomanchalkshetra mahatmya*

The chapter is in the form of conversation between Skanda and Ishwar. Skanda asks Ishwar to describe in detail the story of Mangireesh and its *mahatmya*. Ishwar says that it is an ancient story. The *brahmanas* of Trihotra, from the eastern part of the country, consecrated a Shiv *linga* atop the Mangereesh Mountain that attained fame in the entire world, in the name of Mangeesh. He further adds that all activities of the world are performed according to his own wishes.

He mentions that Lord *Brahma* accepted the acceptable half and left the rest. Later, Vishnu also joined in at Vishnupuri. Then Brahma performed penance of Lord Shiv (Mangeesh). Lord Mangeesh was pleased by his penance and granted that now onwards, people will get rewarded according to their *karma*. The way a chariot cannot be driven on a single wheel, similarly, God cannot be pleased without efforts. Destiny alone cannot help if efforts are not put in. Lord Vishnu has made it clear that in *Kaliyuga*, everything will happen according to *karma*.

He says that when the earth was created, the *brahmanas* consecrated the Mangeesh *linga* on the mountain. The *brahmanas* who belonged to ten different *gotras* and were of the lineage of the sages, were settled in the region by the king. In return, they thanked him and promised to continue worshipping Lord Mangeesh till the time the Sun and the Moon are extant. Lord Parashurama, of the lineage of sage Bhragu, brought and settled *brahmanas* at Kushashthali in Gomantak region, for the purpose of the propagation of the lineage of the *brahmanas*.

Ishwar says that Mahalakshmi Mahadevi Mhalsa removes all the obstacles of her devotees, simply by remembering her. Lord Parashurama consecrated Shanta Durga, Mhalsa and Nagesh in the

Gomantak region. The *brahmanas* from Tirhut established the *Chandra teerth*, *Bhaskar teerth*, *Padma teerth*, *Vayu teerth*, *Indra teerth* and *Chudamani kshetra*. The *Chudamani kshetra* is a blessed region. *Dipavati kshetra*, which is located in the heart of river Ganga, is spread across two *kosa*. It is a highly sacred place where seven *rishis* consecrated the *Shiv linga*, known by the name of *Saptakoteshwara*. The consecrated holy *Shiv linga* was made of metal and the entire region is very pleasing and auspicious. The virtue of *Saptakoteshwara* is such the people get free of their sins, simply by visiting the place and obtain salvation upon touching him. Such salvation cannot be obtained even upon visiting *Kedarnath*. Lord *Saptakoteshwara* fulfills the wishes of the devotees and Lord *Shiva* himself resides in the region.

He further tells the story of the daughter of a *brahmana* who had turned into an adulteress and the people had eventually abandoned her. She became a devotee of Lord *Shiva* and practiced singing and dancing in his temple as a form of worship. Lord *Shiva* was pleased with her devotion and she attained salvation by his blessings. The place is always filled with sounds of music.

*Ishwar* says that these tales are highly meritorious and auspicious such that people attain immense pleasure and merit on hearing of the stories, which is not available even to *devtas*.

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