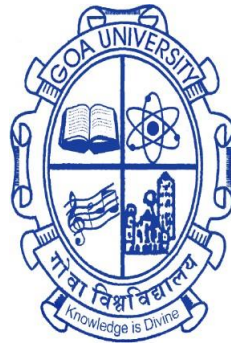


Image Worship of the Puranic Deities in Goa: A Critical Study

A Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment for the Degree
of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

D. D. Kosambi School of Social Sciences and Behavioural
Studies
History
Goa University



By

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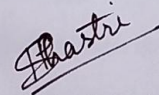
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DECLARATION

I, Indra Prakash Prabhushastri, 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.

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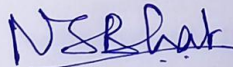
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I/We hereby certify that the work was carried out under my/our supervision and may be placed for evaluation.



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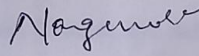
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Acknowledgement

I express my deepest gratitude to my research guide, Dr. N. Shyam Bhat, Former Professor and Head, D. D. Kosambi School of Social Sciences and Behavioural Studies, History, Goa University, for accepting me as a student and for guiding me through this academic journey. His knowledge and expertise allowed me to sail through the rough path in a smoother way. I am extremely grateful to Dr. Nagendra Rao, Professor of History, Goa University and my Co-guide, for his advice and suggestions, which helped in the expansion of the ideas for this thesis. I express my indebtedness to Dr. Joanna P. Coelho, Associate Professor of Sociology, Goa University, and member of the Departmental Research Committee for the valuable advice and suggestions provided during the course of this programme.

This endeavour would not have been possible without the support of Dr. Varsha V. Kamat, Professor, Department of History, PES's Ravi S. Naik College of Arts & Science, Ponda-Goa, and member of the Departmental Research Committee. Her guidance and moral support helped me in the completion of this thesis.

I thank the Authorities of Goa University, and all members of the teaching and non-teaching staff at the D. D. Kosambi School of Social Sciences and Behavioural Studies, History, Goa University, for their generous support. I am grateful to the Authorities of the Directorate of Museums, Government of Goa, for the support extended to me during the course of my Doctoral programme. I am indebted to Shri. Ramkrishna alias Sudin Dhavlikar, Minister for Power and M.L.A. of Marcaim Constituency for his support. I extend my sincere thanks to Smt. Upasana Mazgaonkar, Director, Directorate of Museums, Government of Goa, Panaji, and to the former Directors, Smt. Radha Bhave,

Shri Parag Nagargekar and Shri Pundalik Khorjuvekar for encouraging me and for granting study leave which really helped me in the completion of this task.

I thank Shri Laxman Pitre, Former Director, Directorate of Museums, Government of Goa, for introducing me to the subject of iconography and inspiring me to take it up for further study.

I am extremely grateful to Prof. V. P. Kamat, Former Registrar, Goa University, for encouraging me to carry out the work.

I am deeply indebted to Shri. Ramachandra Naik and Shri. Nayan Naik, Retired Officials of Directorate of Archives and Archaeology, Panaji, Goa, Smt. Lalan Kolwalkar, Former Curator, and Shri. Rohidas Naik, Retired Staff of Goa State Museum, Panaji, Goa, for sharing their practical knowledge, experience and providing guidance in the field of archaeology and museums in Goa, and helping me in better understanding of the subject, and practical documentation of the primary sources.

My special thanks to all my colleagues in the Goa State Museum, especially Shri Sandip Majik, Smt. Piolina Fernandes, Shri. Sadashiv Parab (retd.), Shri. Rushikesh G. Halarnekar, Shri Laxmikant Gaus Gaonkar (retd.), Shri Kabir Phadte, Shri Yogesh Gaude, Shri Kundan Naik and Shri Anand Naik for their constant encouragement and assistance in the documentation of the primary sources.

I extend my sincere thanks to the Librarian and staff of Goa University Library and Krishnadas Shyama State Central Library, especially Smt. Maria Ana Paiva and Smt. Sneha S. P. Malkarnekar for their practical support. I am also grateful to the library staff, particularly, Smt. Aruna Iyer and Smt. Suchita Save of the Jawaharlal Nehru Library, University of Mumbai, and library staff of Karnatak University, Dharwad, and Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal, Pune, for allowing me to use their resources.

I am indebted to the staff of the Directorate of Archives and Archaeology, Government of Goa, Panaji, especially, Smt. Blossom Medeira, Shri Vasu Usapkar, Shri Varad Sabnis, Smt. Sandya Bhandankar and their library staff.

I am also thankful to Smt. Paulina Fernandes and Shri. Isidore Fernandes (Former M.L.A., Canacona Constituency), Late Laxmikant Jalmi, Shri. Somnath Kamat Dhakankar, Shri. Rajiv Kudke and his son Shri. Shubham Kudke, Shri. Sarvesh Madkaikar from Madkai, Shri. Kalu Shiva Bhagat from Amona, Shri. Shailesh Abhishekhi from Mangeshi, Shri. Madan Bhat from Mardol, Shri. Prashant Naik from Adpai, Late Jairam Tengse and his son Shri. Jayendra Tengse and Shri. Pramod Prabhudesai from Loliem, Shri. Suhas Desai from Ponda, Shri Bhalchandra Abhishekhi from Keri, Shri Abhay Totekar from Priol, Smt. Radha Krishnanath Sahakari and Shri. Vardhan Sahakari from Shiroda, Shri. Harish Dhond and Shri. Datta Dhond from Margao, Shri. Subhash G. Kamat from Panaji and Shri. Babu Naik from Savoi Verem for sharing their in-depth knowledge during the interviews with them and assisting in the photo documentation of the objects and collection of data from the field.

I extend my deepest gratitude to my photographer friends - Shri. Sanjeev Sardesai, Shri Dattaram Prabhudesai and Shri. Vaman Khandeparkar for allowing me to use their photographs in this thesis.

I thank Ms Aditi Shukla, Research Scholar in History, for her support.

I am grateful to the support staff at the AR-PG Section, Goa University, for their service.

This endeavour would not have been possible without support from my dearest friends, Balaji Shenvi, Siddesh Kamulkar, Poornima Naik, Gita Maverkar and all her family members, who constantly encouraged me to carry out this work.

I thank Smt. Shweta Dayekar, Smt. Bina Walawalkar, Shri Uday Walawalkar, Smt. Sabrina Gomes Smt. Latha Menon, Smt. Veda Salgaonkar and Ms. Divya Khandeparkar for extending their help during the course of this programme.

I extend my deepest thanks to my aunts, Late Neela Telang and Smt. Kiran Mahambre for helping me understand certain concepts and translations of Konkani sources.

Lastly, I thank my parents, Smt. Rashmi Prakash Prabhu Shastri and Late Prakash R. Prabhu Shastri; my brother, Shri. Parth P. Prabhu Shastri; my husband, Shri. Amol S. Nevrekar; and my son, Kanaad Nevrekar, whose care and unstinted support made my dream a reality.

Dedicated
to
Pappa,
Mamma,
Kanaad
(My Son),
and
Varsha Ma'am
(My teacher)
for teaching me to believe in dreams

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Glossary

<i>Abhaya mudra</i>	:	the gesture of reassurance or safety.
<i>Abhicharaka</i>	:	one who is skilled in, practices and performs black magic; a sorcerer.
<i>Abhishek-Patra</i>	:	a special pot used for ritualistic bathing of the deity.
<i>Achala</i>	:	immovable image.
<i>Agrahara</i>	:	a grant of land and royal income obtained from it was granted to the Brahmanas by a king or a noble family for religious purposes, especially, to maintain temples or pilgrimage sites and to sustain the families of the Brahmanas.
<i>Ajyasthali</i>	:	a vessel or dish to hold clarified butter.
<i>Akshamala</i>	:	a garland of beads or rosary, especially used for praying.
<i>Alingana murti</i>	:	embracing image.
<i>Amrita patra</i>	:	a vessel containing elixir.
<i>Anjali mudra</i>	:	a gesture of adoration.
<i>Ankush</i>	:	elephant goad.
<i>Antarala</i>	:	antechamber in front of <i>the sanctum sanctorum of the temple</i> , usually linking <i>it with the porch</i> .
<i>Aradhya</i>	:	the object of adoration.
<i>Arati</i>	:	lights with wicks soaked in ghee or oil are lit and offered to one or more deities accompanied by ritualistic chants.
<i>Arca</i>	:	the image of God.

<i>Ardha-mandap</i>	:	literally means half pavilion. It is generally found in front of the vestibule or in place of a vestibule.
<i>Artha</i>	:	wealth.
<i>Asana</i>	:	seating posture; a seat.
<i>Ashtabhuja</i>	:	the one with eight arms.
<i>Ashtopacharas</i>	:	eight types of homage and services.
<i>Asura</i>	:	demon.
<i>Atibhanga</i>	:	posture with many bends.
<i>Avyanga</i>	:	upper garment mentioned for Surya.
<i>Ayudhas</i>	:	attributes, weapons.
<i>Baan</i>	:	arrow.
<i>Bali Bera</i>	:	image used for daily worship.
<i>Bel-fruit</i>	:	fruit of <i>Aegle marmelos</i> .
<i>Bera</i>	:	image.
<i>Bhoga</i>	:	enjoyment, consumption, and sexual pleasure.
<i>Bhuja bhushanas</i>	:	armlets.
<i>Bhushandi</i>	:	a weapon in the hands of Mahakali.
<i>Bija</i>	:	seed.
<i>Bijapuraka</i>	:	a citron fruit.
<i>Brahmapuri</i>	:	a place inhabited by learned and ascetic Brahmans.
<i>Brahma-sutra</i>	:	vertical lines on the <i>linga</i> .
<i>Chafo</i>	:	<i>plumeria rubra</i> tree.
<i>Chakra</i>	:	discus.
<i>Chala</i>	:	portable.
<i>Chalachala</i>	:	movable as well as immovable image.

<i>Chamara</i>	:	fly whisk.
<i>Chari</i>	:	carpenter.
<i>Chaturbhuja</i>	:	one with four arms.
<i>Chauri</i>	:	fly whisk.
<i>Chauri-dharini</i>	:	fly-whisk bearer.
<i>Chhatra</i>	:	umbrella.
<i>Chin mudra</i>	:	the gesture of teaching.
<i>Choru</i>	:	a folk ritual.
<i>Comunidades</i>	:	land associations of Goa.
<i>Daitya</i>	:	demon.
<i>Damaru</i>	:	hour-glass shaped drum.
<i>Danda</i>	:	a weapon in the form of a staff.
<i>Darpana</i>	:	mirror.
<i>Dashabhuja</i>	:	one with ten arms.
<i>Dashavataras</i>	:	the ten incarnations of Vishnu.
<i>Deepasthamba</i>	:	lamp post.
<i>Dehudacharan</i>	:	standing posture with one foot overlapping the other.
<i>Devaspana</i>	:	ritualistic worship of the deity, especially done in local form.
<i>Devasthan</i>	:	the place in a village considered to be sacred or a temple.
<i>Dhal</i>	:	shield.
<i>Dhanushya</i>	:	bow.
<i>Dhoti</i>	:	lower garment.
<i>Dhvajasthamba</i>	:	flag post.
<i>Dvibhanga</i>	:	a posture in which the body has two bends.

<i>Dvibhuja</i>	:	one with two hands.
<i>Dwarpalas</i>	:	gatekeepers.
<i>Gada</i>	:	mace.
<i>Gana</i>	:	attendants of Shiva or Ganesha.
<i>Gaonkar</i>	:	villager.
<i>Gaonpan</i>	:	a committee of village elders.
<i>Garane</i>	:	invocation.
<i>Garbagriha</i>	:	sanctum sanctorum.
<i>Garuda</i>	:	eagle. Vishnu's vehicle.
<i>Ghanta</i>	:	bell.
<i>Ghumti</i>	:	a small shrine.
<i>Gramadeva</i>	:	the protector deity of the village.
<i>Gramadevata</i>	:	the chief deity of the village.
<i>Gurava</i>	:	the priest of folk deities, especially Betal and Ravalnath.
<i>Haar</i>	:	necklace.
<i>Hala</i>	:	plough.
<i>Jatamandala</i>	:	a top knot of matted hair.
<i>Jatamukuta</i>	:	crown of matted hair.
<i>Jholi</i>	:	beggar's pouch or wallet.
<i>Jnana-amlaka</i>	:	the fruit of knowledge or <i>Matulunga</i> .
<i>Kadas</i>	:	thick bangles or anklets.
<i>Kalasha</i>	:	a metal pot with a large base and small mouth, used in Hindu rites, in which it is filled with water, coin, grain, etc. and generally topped with coconut or the pointed dome at the top of the temple.

<i>Kalvant</i>	:	adulteress.
<i>Kama</i>	:	love, desire or pleasure.
<i>Kamandalu</i>	:	water pot.
<i>Kankala</i>	:	skeleton.
<i>Kapala</i>	:	skull cup.
<i>Karanda mukuta</i>	:	a crown which looks like a basket.
<i>Kataka hasta</i>	:	a pose of the hand wherein the tips of the fingers are loosely applied to the thumb so as to form a ring.
<i>Kathi</i>	:	stick.
<i>Kati hasta</i>	:	the posture in which the hand is placed on the waist, indicating ease.
<i>Katiga mudra</i>	:	the posture in which the arm is placed on the waist.
<i>Katisutra</i>	:	waist cord.
<i>Kaumodaki</i>	:	Vishnu's mace.
<i>Kautaka Bera</i>	:	image used for occasional worship.
<i>Keyuras</i>	:	armlets.
<i>Khadga</i>	:	a long and thick sword.
<i>Khajjana</i>	:	waterlogged salt marshes converted to fields.
<i>Khatvang</i>	:	skull mace.
<i>Khetaka</i>	:	shield.
<i>Kirit mukuta</i>	:	a conical crown encrusted with a jewel or in elaborate design.
<i>Kirtimukha</i>	:	the grimacing face of a lion placed on doorways or on <i>prabhavali</i> .

<i>Koupina</i>	:	strip of cloth tied to a waist cord to cover the private parts.
<i>Kuchabandha</i>	:	upper garment of the female deity.
<i>Kukkuta</i>	:	rooster.
<i>Kuladevata</i>	:	tutelar family deity.
<i>Kundala</i>	:	earrings.
<i>Kundalini shakti</i>	:	is the energy in the form of a coiled serpent remaining latent in the <i>mūlādhārā</i> roused by yogic exercise.
<i>Kundika</i>	:	water pot.
<i>Kurcha</i>	:	an attribute made of the sacred grass (<i>Desmostachya bipinnata</i>) used for religious ceremonies. Also known as <i>kusa</i> .
<i>Kurmapitha</i>	:	a pedestal with the design of a tortoise.
<i>Kusa</i>	:	a sacred grass (<i>Desmostachya bipinnata</i>) used for religious ceremonies, also known as Kush or Darbha.
<i>Ladoos</i>	:	a kind of sweet.
<i>Lalitasana</i>	:	a sitting posture denoting relaxation.
<i>Lanchana</i>	:	insignia.
<i>Lolahastamudra</i>	:	moving or restless hand pose.
<i>Maan</i>	:	annual offering to the deity.
<i>Madhupatra</i>	:	honey pot.
<i>Mahouts</i>	:	elephant riders.
<i>Makara</i>	:	crocodile.
<i>Makara torana</i>	:	an arch coming from the mouth of a crocodile.
<i>Mala</i>	:	garland.

<i>Mandap</i>	:	pavilion.
<i>Mantra</i>	:	ritualistic chant.
<i>Mastaka</i>	:	head.
<i>Math</i>	:	monastery.
<i>Matrikas</i>	:	mothers.
<i>Matulunga</i>	:	a citron fruit.
<i>Mazantias</i>	:	members of the temple committee.
<i>Mekhela</i>	:	girdle.
<i>Modak</i>	:	a sweet specially prepared for Ganesha.
<i>Moolak kanda</i>	:	radish.
<i>Mooshaka</i>	:	mouse.
<i>Mudra</i>	:	hand gesture.
<i>Mudrika</i>	:	finger rings.
<i>Mukhe</i>	:	golden mask put for an image.
<i>Muladhara</i>	:	one of the seven primary centres of spiritual power in the human body.
<i>Munda</i>	:	severed head.
<i>Mundmala</i>	:	a garland of severed heads.
<i>Murti</i>	:	image.
<i>Musala</i>	:	a weapon in the form of a pestle-shaped club.
<i>Nagakanya</i>	:	daughter of serpents.
<i>Nagas</i>	:	serpents.
<i>Nagavalaya</i>	:	serpent-shaped bracelet.
<i>Nara rundas</i>	:	the severed head of a man.
<i>Nararundamala</i>	:	garland of the severed heads of men.

<i>Nauvari</i>	:	nine-yard saree.
<i>Nilotpala</i>	:	blue lotus.
<i>Nirguna</i>	:	formless.
<i>Nishkas</i>	:	gold coins.
<i>Nupur</i>	:	anklets.
<i>Padma</i>	:	lotus.
<i>Padmapitha</i>	:	lotus pedestal.
<i>Padmasana</i>	:	lotus posture.
<i>Padukas</i>	:	wooden footwear.
<i>Palkhi</i>	:	palanquin.
<i>Panchadev upasana</i>	:	worship of five deities.
<i>Panchadhatu</i>	:	an alloy of five precious metals.
<i>Panchayatana</i>	:	affiliated deities or an architectural style with a total of five shrines.
<i>Parangana</i>	:	temple courtyard.
<i>Parashu</i>	:	battle axe.
<i>Parigh</i>	:	a club studded with iron.
<i>Parivar-devatas</i>	:	deities affiliated with the chief deity of the village.
<i>Parsva-sutra</i>	:	a cord encircling the <i>linga</i> .
<i>Pasha</i>	:	noose.
<i>Patra</i>	:	vessel.
<i>Patra kundalas</i>	:	leaf- shaped earrings.
<i>Phaladivya</i>	:	trial by ordeal.
<i>Pitha</i>	:	pedestal.
<i>Prabhamandala</i>	:	aureole.

<i>Prabhavali</i>	:	decorative background behind an image.
<i>Prakara</i>	:	surrounding wall of a temple or the precincts of a temple.
<i>Prashasti</i>	:	eulogy or in praise of.
<i>Pratapasutradhari</i>	:	the principal architect
<i>Pratima</i>	:	image.
<i>Preta</i>	:	corpse used as vehicle by Chamunda.
<i>Puja</i>	:	worship.
<i>Purusa</i>	:	man.
<i>Pustaka</i>	:	book or manuscript.
<i>Rajas</i>	:	innate tendency or quality that drives motion, energy and activity.
<i>Ratna kundalas</i>	:	earrings embedded with precious stones.
<i>Rundamala</i>	:	a garland of skulls.
<i>Rupa</i>	:	form.
<i>Saguna</i>	:	enriched with qualities.
<i>Samabhanga</i>	:	erect posture without flexion of body.
<i>Saptamatrikas</i>	:	the seven mothers/ goddesses.
<i>Saptarishis</i>	:	the seven sages.
<i>Sarpakundalas</i>	:	earrings with snake motifs.
<i>Sasay</i>	:	essence.
<i>Sattva</i>	:	the quality of goodness, positivity, truth, serenity, balance, peacefulness, and virtuousness.
<i>Saumya</i>	:	calm.
<i>Sesha</i>	:	the primordial snake, couch of Vishnu.
<i>Shakti</i>	:	power; spear or javelin.

<i>Shaligrama shila</i>	:	stone with ammonite markings.
<i>Shankha</i>	:	conch.
<i>Shayana</i>	:	sleeping.
<i>Shikhara</i>	:	spire.
<i>Shirshchakra</i>	:	a disk attached to the crown.
<i>Shula</i>	:	spear.
<i>Shwan</i>	:	dog.
<i>Simhakarna mudra</i>	:	same as <i>kataka hasta</i> .
<i>Skanda-abhushana</i>	:	shoulder ornaments.
<i>Snapa Bera</i>	:	image used for ritual baths.
<i>Sruk</i>	:	rectangular sacrificial spoon.
<i>Sruva</i>	:	round sacrificial spoon.
<i>Sthanaka</i>	:	standing posture.
<i>Sthapiti</i>	:	architect.
<i>Sudarshan chakra</i>	:	discus of Vishnu.
<i>Sukhasana</i>	:	the sitting posture of ease.
<i>Sutas</i>	:	bards.
<i>Sutradhari</i>	:	the architect or thread-holder.
<i>Tali</i>	:	temple tank.
<i>Tamas</i>	:	is the quality of inertia, inactivity, dullness, or lethargy.
<i>Tanu</i>	:	body.
<i>Tribhang</i>	:	a posture in which the body has three bends.
<i>Trikutachala</i>	:	a temple with three <i>garbagriha</i> on one platform.
<i>Tripundra</i>	:	a horizontal mark made of sacred ash by <i>Shaivas</i> .
<i>Trishula</i>	:	trident, three-pronged spear, the weapon of Shiva.

<i>Tulsi Vrindavan</i>	:	raised stone or brick structure in front of a temple or a house for the Holy Basil plant.
<i>Udarbandha</i>	:	belt or cloth tied around the belly.
<i>Ugra</i>	:	ferocious.
<i>Uparne</i>	:	an unstitched upper garment for male deities.
<i>Utkutikasana</i>	:	the sitting posture in which the heels are kept close to the bottom with back slightly curved.
<i>Utsav Bera</i>	:	image used for processions.
<i>Uttariya</i>	:	unstitched upper garment.
<i>Vado</i>	:	ward.
<i>Vahana</i>	:	vehicle.
<i>Vaijayantimala</i>	:	long garland reaching up to the knees peculiar to Lord Vishnu.
<i>Vaingana</i>	:	a field of Kharif crop.
<i>Vajra</i>	:	thunderbolt; Indra's weapon.
<i>Valayas</i>	:	bracelets.
<i>Varada mudra</i>	:	boon conferring gesture.
<i>Vastupurusha</i>	:	the presiding deity of the ground.
<i>Vastupurushamandala</i>	:	geometrical diagram in the shape of a square, symbolising a stable form which serves as a basic form in Indian architecture.
<i>Vedi</i>	:	Vedic altar.
<i>Veena</i>	:	a musical instrument.
<i>Vidhyadharas</i>	:	garland bearers.
<i>Vidi</i>	:	country cigar.

<i>Vigraha</i>	:	image.
<i>Vira</i>	:	hero; heroic.
<i>Viyanga</i>	:	an upper garment for Surya, as mentioned in <i>Brihat Samhita</i> .
<i>Vyakhyana</i>	:	lecture, discourse.
<i>Yajnasutra</i>	:	sacred thread.
<i>Yajnopavita</i>	:	sacred thread especially ornamented.
<i>Yakshas</i>	:	male semi-divine beings.
<i>Yakshi</i>	:	female semi-divine beings.
<i>Yali</i>	:	a mythical lion-faced animal.
<i>Yantra</i>	:	a geometrical diagram believed to possess mystical powers.
<i>Yoga</i>	:	meditation; refers to one of the four categories of the subject matter of the Āgamas.
<i>Yogis</i>	:	the practitioners of yoga.
<i>Yoni</i>	:	a round pedestal accompanying a linga.

List of Abbreviations

ASI	-	Archaeological Survey of India.
CSMV	-	Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Vastu Sangrahalaya, Mumbai.
RV	-	Rig Veda.
TU	-	Taittiriya Upanishad

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The present thesis entitled "Image Worship of the Puranic Deities in Goa: A Critical Study" is a comprehensive, historical and critical analysis of the iconographic features of the sculptures which belong to the Puranic pantheon in Goa. The main deities analysed in this thesis include Brahma, Vishnu, Shiva and the *Devis* like Durga, Lakshmi, Parvati and Saraswati. The study covers the evolution of the images of the deities over many centuries, from the pre-Portuguese period to the current period in the history of Goa. The pre-Portuguese period was important in the growth of image worship and iconography in Goa. The thesis covers the impact of the Portuguese religious and cultural policies and programmes on the Hindu religious institutions like temples, monasteries, *agraharas* and the Hindu iconographic details. The post-colonial developments and changes in the worship of the deities and their iconographic features are discussed. Besides the transformation of folk deities into Puranic deities is analysed. The significant changes in the system of worship over a period of time resulted in the coexistence of worship of nature and the images of Puranic deities. The impact of the various religious philosophies and dynasties that ruled the region of Goa on the image are considered.

1.1 Iconology and Iconography:

1.1.1 Meaning:

The study of the disciplines of iconology and iconography is very relevant to the study of image worship. Iconology is the study of sculptures, their symbolism and their interpretation in social and political terms. Iconography is a systematic discipline that deals with the study of icons. The term icon is derived from the Greek word *eikon*, meaning an image representing the deity specifically designed to be worshipped. It finds its Indian counterparts in the words such as *arca*, *bera* or *vighraha*. These terms are used to describe the forms, also known as *tanu* or *rupa*, of gods in the Indian texts. They can be anthropomorphic, theriomorphic or symbolic in character. The images serve as a visual narrative of the philosophies observed in the religious practices during a particular period on a regional basis. Hence, the study of images is useful in understanding the gradual change in religious practices leading to changes in the nature of society over a period of time.¹ This special branch of the study of art history helps us to interpret the religious and cultural beliefs of the people resulting in an in-depth understanding of the society. As J. N. Banerjea puts it, "the ever-increasing pantheon of a particular cult and the constant increase in mythological stories associated with it will find a ready illustration in the iconographic representations, which will throw very interesting sidelight on these transformations."²

¹ Jitendra Nath Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, 1985, pp. 1-2.

² *Ibid*, p. 3.

A. C. Moore, in his *Iconography of Religions- An Introduction*, describes iconography as "a patient work of describing, classifying and relating motifs. It may seem a very circumscribed discipline."³ Champakalaxmi describes iconography as the "tangible expression of religious symbolism... provides an important tool for the interpretation of socio-economic changes occurring at the macro and the micro levels."⁴ Thus the study of iconography is not merely the study of icons, but also the social and cultural study of the people. As Archana Verma stated, "the study of iconography hence is not only the study of the evolution of images, but the iconosation process is the process which makes the image an 'icon'".⁵

1.1.2 Importance of Iconography:

The study of iconography helps in interpreting the religious art of man, in turn, in understanding the nature of changing religious practices. The study of images gives us not only the nature of the society but also the presence of rivalry and jealousy among the various sects, which in turn led to their reconciliation at a different point in time, leading to the concept of *panchadev upasana* or *panchayatana* puja. The study of sculptures aids in shedding political life and socio-cultural history. It gives an insight into the inner workings of the human mind. It provides an in-depth view of the gradual evolution of art and the making of sculptures.⁶

³ Moore, Albert C. *Iconography of Religions- An Introduction*, 1977, p. 19.

⁴ R. Champakalakshmi, *Vaishnava Iconography in the Tamil Country*, 1981, p. 1.

⁵ Archana Verma, *Temple Imagery from Early Mediaeval Peninsular India*, 2012, pp. 1-3.

⁶ Jitendra Nath Banerjea, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 2-10.

1.2 Evolution of Image Worship in India:

1.2.1 Palaeolithic and Neolithic Age:

The Indian sub-continent has witnessed thousands of years of human settlement. The earliest corpora of Indian art are found in the dwellings of the people of the Middle and late Stone Ages, where a plethora of cave paintings and rock art have been found. The methods used for creating the motifs on the dwellings were painting using the 'crayoning' technique and the rock carvings were done using the style of 'rock-bruising'. The stones, bones, shells and harder materials were used to produce sculptures in this period. The graphics of animals in the vicinity of the man, such as elephants, antelopes, lions, monkeys, peacocks and bovine animals, were abundant. The 'x-ray' technique was also popular, where the animal's internal organs were in linear form. An example from Raisen, near Bhopal, shows an outline form of a pregnant cow where the calf in the stomach is shown in a linear and solid form. The focus is on the importance of multiplicity and fertility grasped by early man might have paved the way for these concepts getting adopted in the religion of the land in the later period. It cannot be ascertained whether these concepts formed the basis of the concepts of births and rebirths in the period of the Upanishads. However, the relation between the popularity of the bovine animals in the rock shelters can be associated with the later acceptance of these animals in the religious perspective of the region.⁷

The findings of wheel-formed pottery with geometric and abstract motifs are the contributions of the Neolithic period. The animal and vegetal forms found on the

⁷ Susan Huntington, John C. Huntington, *The Art of Ancient India: Buddhist, Hindu, Jain*, 1985, pp. 3-

pottery give us an idea that the symbols used in that period survive in modern iconography. The pipal leaf motif is revered in modern-day symbolism. The antiquities of the Neolithic age have various female terracotta figures, often identified as the mother-goddess, which also gives an idea of continuity. The bull sculptures acquired a special place in the Neolithic period.⁸

1.2.2 The Indus Valley Civilisation:

The Indus Valley Civilisation has sculptures in stone, metal and terracotta. There is evidence of the existence of wooden sculptures, which have long perished due to the ravages of time. Though the sculptures are considerably small, there is considerable variation in the types of stone used for making sculptures for their quality rather than availability. Though many intricate and artistically mature sculptures are found, it is unknown if they were made for religious purposes. But the similarities between the Harappan sculptures and the later Indian sculptures cannot be denied.⁹

A large number of terracotta figures of the females suggest the continuity of the pre-Harappan motif being associated with the mother goddess and the cult of procreation and fertility later associated with the Indian concept of venerating the mother goddess. Many long stones associated with the *linga* and the ring stones associated with the *yoni* have also been found, suggesting the existence of fertility prevalent in the Harappan culture as in many early agricultural societies. Many seals with the representation of the bull also suggest that the bull is the symbol of fertility in many cultures.¹⁰

⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 5-8.

⁹ Susan Huntington, John C. Huntington, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 9-25.

¹⁰ *Ibid*.

The seals form a major part of the antiquities found in the Harappan culture. There are many seals of steatite, coated with alkali fired to get a shimmering white surface. They are small seals having elaborate designs of various plants, animals and geometric designs. Most of them have writings, and some of them have figures of humans. Some of the seals have a seated human figure in a yogic posture, wearing a horned headgear and surrounded by animals identified as proto-Shiva or Pashupati by historians. The later association of a bull with Shiva suggests that there may have been a continuity of the culture of the beliefs and practices of the people.¹¹

Many of the seals contain the motifs of humans wearing headgear having bull horns, seated in yogic posture surrounded by animals indigenous to the sub-continent, pipal leaf motifs, anthropomorphs, zoomorphs and Swastik which probably point to the continuation of the culture. The motifs of animals, reptiles, anthropomorphs, and zoomorphs also raise the obvious question of whether they were the predecessors of the Puranic deities like the *Matsya*, *Kurma*, *Varaha*, and *Narasimha*.¹²

1.2.3 The Vedic Period:

The Western scholars, especially Max Muller, believed that the Vedic Culture was sacrificial. The lack of archaeological evidence also strengthened the belief that there was no image worship during the Vedic period. However, it cannot be denied that there was image worship in the Vedic period, as the hymns in the Vedas refer to the deities in human-like forms being revered by the worshipper.¹³

¹¹ N. P. Joshi, *Bharatiya Murtishastra*, 2013, pp. 17-18.

¹² Susan Huntington, John C. Huntington, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 9-25.

¹³ Mahadev Shastry Joshi, *Bharatachi Murtikala*, 1980, p. 2.

A hymn in the Rig Veda describes *Varuna* as having golden hands, wearing golden armour and being surrounded by his spies. Another hymn in the Rig Veda says that no one can purchase Indra even with ten cows.¹⁴

The concept of idol worship is known to have existed from the start of the Common Era, as there is no evidence to prove otherwise. However, it does not mean there was no image worship before that. The *lingodbhava murti* from North Lucknow is believed to have dated to the 2nd century B.C.E. The inscription of Kharavela at Hattigumpha mentions that he erected an image of *Kalingajina* or the *Jina* of Kalinga during the 12th year of his reign. This inscription dates to 175 B.C.E. It is believed that the images dating to the Vedic period may be found in future excavations.¹⁵

The images from the Vedic period are not found in abundance. There are many references to image worship in literary works. The *Adbhuta Brahmana*, a part of *Panchavimsa Mahabrahmana* and a *Vedanga*, mention different rites for removing the evil effects of certain omens in the temples or with regards to the divine image, and these may point to the existence of image worship.¹⁶ The *Taittiriya Samhita* (1.7.12) and *Atharva Veda* (7.31) mention that there were two types of deities, the physical and the imaginary. The *Shulka Yajur Veda* also provides references to the images. The *Aitareya Aranyaka* refers to the making of the body of *Indra*. The *Taittiriya Aranyaka* refers to the seven sculptures of *Surya*. This reference suggests the existence of image worship during the Vedic period, even though archaeological data is still unavailable.¹⁷

¹⁴ G. H. Khare, *Murtividnyan*, 2012, p. 25.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 21.

¹⁶ J. N. Banerjea, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 68-69.

¹⁷ Mahadev Shastry Joshi, *Op. Cit.*, p. 2.

The *Mahabhashya* of Patanjali, dating to 150 B.C.E. mentions the sculptures of Shiva, Skanda, Vishakha, Kashyapaprakritikriti, Dirghanasiki, and Tunganasiki. Kautilya's *Arthashastra* mentions that the temples of invincible gods and gods of prosperity should be built in the centre of the cities. Panini also mentions that the images of gods should not be sold. With these references, it may be believed that image worship was prevalent during the Vedic times. The *Vana Parva* of *Mahabharata* also refers to the images of Mahakala, Dhumavati, Trishulapani, Shankhakarneshwar, Vaman, Aditya, Chandra and others. There is also a reference to the images of Dronacharya and Bheem being made. Hence, it is believed that the concept of image worship was prevalent during the Mahabharata period.¹⁸

The *Manusmriti* mentions the norms for the worship of the deity. It refers to the shadow of the deity. It is impossible to assume a shadow of the deity without the image. Other texts that mention the existence of images are *Gautamadharmasutra*, *Baudhayana Grahyasheshasutra*, *Ashwalayana Grahyasutra*, *Kaushikasutra* of *Atharvaveda*, *Shadavisha Brahmana*, *Gahyapatyagara*, *Shankhayana Brahmana*, *Taittiriya Brahmana*, *Aitareya Aranyaka*, *Kathaka Samhita*, *Maitrayani Samhita*, *Vajaseynihi Samhita* and *Taittiriya Samhita*.¹⁹ The *sutras* also refer to the shrines of the gods as *devagriha*, *devayatana* and *devakula*.²⁰

¹⁸ G. H. Khare, *Op. Cit.*, p. 22.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 23-25.

²⁰ J. N. Banerjea, *Op. Cit.*, p. 69.

1.3 The Deification of Images:

The concept of *Bhakti* is incomplete without images, and the *Upanishads* are credited with the introduction to the traditions of *Bhakti*. The *Upanishads* have given more importance to the *Nirguna* form of worship in pursuit of self-realisation. But still, there are certain *Upanishads* which focus on the *saguna* worship, the one with attributes or form. They refer to Rudra, Mahadev and Shiva, who are to be worshipped in the *saguna* form. Most people who adhere to the *Saguna* form of worship prefer to choose idol worship, where they see the idol in the form of their *aradhya devata*. The *Saguna* form of worship adheres to performing the *puja*. The different steps for performing the *Puja* comprise *abhigamana* which includes going to the temple with all the concentration focused on the deity, *Upadana* or collecting the things needed while performing the *puja*, *Ijya* or worshipping the deity, *Swadhyaya* or rendering of the *mantras* and lastly *Yoga* or meditation. These rituals had to be performed by following all the steps with utter devotion to get the benefits of meditation.²¹

There are clear references to image worship in *Khilasutra*, *Shadavisha Brahmana* and *Grihyasutra*. Panini has referred to three different types of images; the ones which are set up on squares, households and kept in the shops for sale. He also refers to the images of Vasudeva, Arjun, Maharaj and others. Kautilya's *Aathashastra* also mentions the images and existence of image worship. He said that going to the temple was one of the daily rituals of the public. He described the placement of the different temples in the different parts of the cities. The importance of image worship is also found in the *Manusmriti*. Rules like not stepping on the shadow of the image or the punishment to

²¹ Mahadev Shastry Joshi, *Op. Cit.*, p. 3.

the destroyer of the image are laid down there. The *Mahabharata* also refers to the different deities, their temples, and their images. It also mentions the different pilgrimage sites which were considered holy. The concept of *Panchayatana-puja* was introduced by Shankaracharya. The major cult deities like Shiva, Vishnu, Surya, Devi and Ganapati were worshipped together. These deities were worshipped by the Vedic mantras, and Shiva and Vishnu emerged as the major among these deities. The images emerged as having multiple heads and hands to show the power that the deities possessed. The concept of image worship gained popularity during the Puranic period. Different types of sculptures were made during this period.²²

The sculptures made before the *Agamas*, *Shilpas* and *Tantras* were exquisite. During that time, the idol maker used to study nature to make sculptures. Things started to change when the *tantras* and the *agamas* were written down. The rules started to be laid down for the making of sculptures. The number of arms and weapons of the deities came to be specified. The *asanas* and the *mudras* were specified to each deity. The rules of iconography had to be followed while making the sculptures of the deities after this period.²³ The *Agamas* classify the images into *Chala* (portable), *Achala* (immovable) and *Chalachala* (both). The *Chala* images are further classified into *Kautaka Bera* (for occasional worship), *Utsav Bera* (for processions), *Bali Bera* (daily worship) and *Snapa Bera* (for ritual baths). The *Achala* images are categorised into *Sthanaka* (standing), *Asana* (seated) or *Shayana* (sleeping), having either *Ugra* (ferocious) or *Saumya* (calm) persona.²⁴

²² *Ibid*, pp. 4-6.

²³ G. H. Khare, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 25-27.

²⁴ T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, 1997, pp. 17-18.

1.4 Sources:

The sources for the study of image worship can be broadly categorised into archaeological and literary.

1.4.1 Archaeological Sources:

The archaeological sources include sculptures, inscriptions, seals, coins and monuments. The various kinds of sources used are duly acknowledged in different chapters of this thesis.

The study of iconography is the study of images. Hence, sculptures form a major corpus of this study. Apart from the religious significance, the images are a great piece of art which help in understanding the creative accomplishments of the society besides political and socio-cultural history. Further, the sculptures in the sanctum-sanctorum and the different sculptures carved on the various parts of the temple are also important in studying iconography.

The inscriptions consist of stone and copper-plate inscriptions. The records give information about the erection of shrines and their deities. They enable our understanding of religious cults and their developments over a period of time. Some inscriptions even contain the different sculptures, their iconographic details and the *Dhyana Mantras* of the deities revered by the issuing authority.

The seals are an important archaeological source for the study of iconography as they provide information about the religious beliefs of the ruling dynasties. Most of the seals in Goa are found on the epigraphs. The seals contain emblems and inscriptions of the

ruling dynasty that aids in the reconstruction of the past. The emblem is most often a religious symbol used and represents the religious inclinations of the ruling class.

Coins are also a source for the study of iconography as they sometimes have images of the deities or inscriptions engraved on them, showing the religious preference of the issuing authority.

1.4.2 Literary Sources:

The literary sources may be divided into two categories; primary and secondary. The primary sources useful for the study of image worship are the Vedas, the Epics, the Puranas and the Shilpa Shastras. The secondary sources include large number of published and unpublished works.

The Vedas form the most important kind of literature in Hinduism. They are divided into a collection of hymns, a collection of sacrificial formulae, and a collection of songs, known as *Rig Veda*, *Yajur Veda*, *Sama Veda* and *Atharva Veda*. The hymns are known as *Samhitas*, and the *Brahmanas* are the treatises explaining the ritual and *mantras* and performance of the sacrifices. *Aitreya* and *Kaushitaki Brahmanas* are related to the Rig Veda. *Shatapatha Brahmana* is related to *Yajur Veda*. *Jaiminiya* and *Tandaya* are related to *Sama Veda* and *Gopath* to *Atharva Veda*. They throw light on various issues, but from the iconographic point of view the *Shathapatha Brahmana* is more important. The other two important parts of Vedic literature are *Aranyaka* and *Upanishad*. But as they are more philosophical, they do not have any iconographic details. Vedic literature also has *Shrauta Sutras* to different Vedas. Though there is a vast amount of Vedic Literature, it deals mostly with sacrifices and does not have much to do with image worship. Hence, we cannot take them as reference material for the study of image

worship. But it is important because there are many references to gods such as Vishnu, Rudra, and Gajanan.

The Epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* are useful in understanding the evolution of image worship. However, the information in these Epics is scattered and they have to be collated systematically. They provide useful information for the study of early sculptures, especially of the Kushana period. *Khilaparva* and *Hari Vamsha* in the *Mahabharata* are the most important sources for the study of iconography.

The Puranic literature is vast, comprising eighteen main *Puranas*, eighteen *Upa-Puranas* and many *Sthala Puranas*. They were popularised by the *Sutas*. They constitute the most important sources for the study of iconography. The *Matsya Purana* and the *Agni Purana* have detailed descriptions of *Pratima Lakshana* and *Devata Pratishtapana*. The *Talamana* or iconometry is described in great detail in the *Vishnudharmottara Purana*. It throws light on the image of different gods, their weapons, the *asanas*, the *talamana* for the painting of gods and the art of painting.

Some *Puranas* focus on a particular deity, for example, *Mudgal* and *Ganesh Purana* deal in a great detail about Lord Ganesh. *Devi Bhagvat* and *Markandeya Purana* inform much about the Shakti Cult. *Linga*, *Vayu*, *Vamana*, *Kurma* and *Shiva Purana* deal with the Shaiva cult. The *Samba Purana* focuses on Surya, whereas *Shrimad Bhagwad*, *Vishnu Purana*, and *Brahma Purana* tell us more about Lord Vishnu. The *Padma Purana* and *Skanda Purana* are the compilation of various sects. Thus the *Puranas* meticulously and critically studied furnish considerable data in understanding the religious history of India in general and iconography in particular.

The *Shilpa Shastras* form a branch of literature that deals with various aspects of iconography and sculpting. They provide more information than any other literature. *Yukta Kalpataru* and *Samarangana Sutradhara* of Samrat Bhoja, *Rupamandana* by Shilpakara Mandana, *Mayamata* of Maya, *Shilpa Ratna* of Shri Kumara, *Manasara* of Prasanna Kumar Acharya, *Kashyapa Shilpa* of Kashyapa, *Devamurti Prakranam* of Mandana are some of the valuable texts.

Besides these, other texts like Panini's *Ashtaadhyayi*, Patanjali's *Bhashya*, and Varahamihira's *Brihat Samhita* are also important for the study of iconography.²⁵

1.5 Historiographical Survey:

Several scholars and researchers have worked and published on the subject of iconography. Their works provide useful data related to the iconographic history of India and Goa. The notable works in this regard are considered here.

T. A. Gopinatha Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography*²⁶ is a pioneering work in the field of iconography. This book is divided into two volumes and each volume has two parts. These volumes deal with the deities of the major and minor cults in India. These volumes are considered as exhaustive works on Hindu iconography. The Volume I, Part I of this book has a general introduction to the evolution of image worship in India and a description of the technical concepts and terms in iconography. The subsequent chapters deal with Hindu gods, Ganesh, Vishnu and his *parivar devatas*. The second part of the first volume deals with the *Adityas* and the *Navagrahas*, the Devi and her

²⁵ N. P. Joshi, *Op. Cit.*, 2013, pp. 3-12.

²⁶ T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Op. Cit.*

parivar devatas and the technical details of image making. Part I of the second volume deals with the introduction of the popularisation of the cult of Shiva and his different forms. Part II of this volume deals with the *parivar devatas* of Shiva and other minor gods with particular iconographic importance in Indian imagery. This book is also an important source for students of iconography as several Sanskrit texts, unpublished then, were included in the appendices.

H. Krishna Sastry, in his work - *Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*²⁷ provides very useful insights regarding the basic principles of Hindu iconography in India. Though it does not deal with Goa, it provides vital data to the present study and enables an understanding of the technical terms used in the study of iconography.

Ananda K. Coomaraswamy was a prominent art historian who devoted his life to the subject. His work includes many essays and books on Indian art. He tried to understand the symbolism of Indian art rather than going for an empirical approach. His book - *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*²⁸ was first published in 1927. It describes in great detail the history of art in India from the pre-Mauryan to the medieval period. He tries to understand the meaning of the symbols, which give the sculptures uniformity throughout the Indian subcontinent. Though it deals with a symbolic approach to Indian art, it lacks an idea of the philosophy of the religious cults associated with iconography.

Stella Kramrisch, in her book *Indian Sculpture: Ancient, Classical and Mediaeval*²⁹, elaborates on the art of India from a historical perspective. This book looks at the

²⁷ H. Krishna Sastry, *Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*, 2003.

²⁸ Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, 1972.

²⁹ Stella Kramrisch, *Indian Sculpture: Ancient, Classical and Mediaeval*, 2013.

evolution of sculptures from 3000 B.C., roughly from the Indus Valley civilisation to the medieval period. The sculptures are stylistically as well as regionally analysed. The sculptures are also looked at from the point of view of the sculptor, which resulted in naturalistic art.³⁰

G. H. Khare, in his book *Murtividnyan*³¹ gives an introduction to the concepts of iconography in Marathi. It explains all the technical details of iconography in the local language, making it easier to understand as certain words used in Sanskrit have no synonyms to describe them in English. The pronunciation of different words in Marathi is also closer to Sanskrit which facilitates better understanding of the topic.

D. D. Kosambi³² analysed the evolution of deities, rituals and beliefs from a Marxist point of view. He emphasised the primitive origins of the Puranic gods and how they were subsequently incorporated into the *Puranas* to gain the acceptance of the people who worshipped them. The religious leaders controlled the masses by fear, citing that the gods were unhappy with the lack of religious rituals being performed. He observed that the inept nature of the rituals made it hard for the masses to follow them. It resulted in the common people alienating themselves from the religion. He concluded that this made the leaders powerful and the gods unreachable to the commoners.

³⁰ The author often uses the word “naturalism” while referring to the Indian sculptures.

³¹ G. H. Khare, *Op. Cit*, 2012.

³² D. D. Kosambi, *Myth and Reality: Studies in Formation of Indian Culture*, 2005.

*Bharatiya Murtishastra*³³ by N. P. Joshi was originally published in 1979 and is a detailed analysis of Indian iconography in Marathi. It cites many local examples from Maharashtra while providing illustrations of the sculptures.

R. S. Gupte's *Iconography of the Hindus, Buddhists and Jains*³⁴ is considered as a handbook for students of Indian iconography due to the several sketches provided in it. It includes tables and illustrations, making identification of the symbols easier. The compact size of the book also makes it easier to be carried to the sites for classifying and describing the sculptures in detail.

Mahadev Shastry Joshi's³⁵ *Bharatiya Sanskritikosh* is like an encyclopaedia on Indian culture, and is published in Marathi in 10 volumes. It is a guide for the study of different deities found in Indian culture. These volumes examine the evolution of cults, popularity, legends, beliefs, practices and the folk deities. His book, *Bharatachi Murtikala*³⁶ is a guide to understand the history of image making and the features of images. *Gazti Daivate*³⁷ by Joshi examines the concept of the evolution of Goa and the popular deities worshipped in India.

³³ N. P. Joshi, *Op. Cit.* , 2013.

³⁴ R. S. Gupte, *Iconography of the Hindus, Buddhist and Jains*, 1980.

³⁵ Mahadev Shastry Joshi (ed.), *Bharatiya Sanskritikosh*, 2010.

³⁶ Mahadev Shastry Joshi, *Bharatachi Murtikala*, 1980.

³⁷ Mahadev Shastry Joshi, *Gazti Daivate*, 1995.

R. Champakalakshmi³⁸ opined that the sculptures provide an excellent source for studying socio-economic changes at the macro and micro levels. She interpreted sculptures as an authentic representation of the development of various cults based on the sequential stages in the growth of religious ideas. She observed that geographical factors played a major role in the popularity of a deity and the uniqueness of sculptures at regional levels.

J. N. Banerjea, in his book - *The Development of Hindu Iconography*³⁹ tried to fill in the gap in T. A. Gopinath Rao's work. Banerjea analysed the development of the popular gods through the ages along with the general principles of iconography and iconometry.

The Art of Ancient India; Buddhist, Hindu, Jain,⁴⁰ by Susan Huntington and John C. Huntington is a survey of the art history of ancient India and South Asia from the pre-historic times to the 12th century A. D. on a region-to-region basis. It enables understanding of the regional differences in art based on dynastic variations.

*Myth and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*⁴¹ by Heinrich Zimmer is a collection of essays published posthumously. He used a psycho-analytical approach in assessing

³⁸ R. Champakalakshmi, *Religion, Tradition and Ideology: Pre-colonial South India*, 2011.

—, *Vaishnava Iconography in the Tamil Country*, 1981.

³⁹ Jitendra Nath Banerjea, *Op. Cit.*, 1985.

⁴⁰ Susan Huntington, John C. Huntington, *Op. Cit.*, 1985.

⁴¹ Heinrich Zimmer, *Myth and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*, Ed. Joseph Campbell, 1990.

the Indian symbols. He observed that the symbols serve as a representation of ideas leading to the identity formation of the culture of the people.

A few scholars in Goa have researched and published on the cultural history of Goa with some reference to the iconographic details.

*Ancient Shrines of Goa: A Pictorial Survey*⁴² was compiled by V.T. Gune. It is a photographic catalogue of images across Goa. It begins with a small chapter detailing Goan history, followed by an introduction giving details about the different sects in Goa. This is a pioneering work which photo-documents the ancient sculptures of Goa.

Rui Gomes Pereira, in his book *Goa: Hindu Temples and Deities*⁴³ Vol. I, analysed the role of *Mazanias* and the *Comunidades* in the set-up of the village community. This work is useful in this context as it enlists the temples destroyed by the Portuguese and the surviving temples in the different villages of the Old Conquests and the New Conquests.

V.R. Mitragotri's *Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijaynagara*⁴⁴ is a detailed work on the pre-Portuguese history of Goa based on archaeological and literary sources. In this book, a chapter is devoted to iconography and some of the images relating to Goa's cultural history are discussed. However, there is much more scope to discuss the topic in greater detail.

⁴² V. T. Gune, *Ancient Shrines of Goa: A Pictorial Survey*, 1965.

⁴³ Rui Gomes Pereira, *Goa: Hindu Temples and Deities*. Vol. 1. 1979.

⁴⁴ V. R. Mitragotri, *Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to Vijaynagara*, 1999.

Vinayak Khedekar has worked tremendously on the ethno-cultural history of Goa. Some of his works are important for this study. His book *Loksarita*⁴⁵ is a comprehensive study of the lifestyle, culture, caste, food habits, deities, festivals, beliefs, practices, language, literature, folk dances, songs, dramas and music relating to Goa. Another work of Khedekar, *Eco-Culture Goa Paradigm*⁴⁶ is a study of the ecological and cultural nature of the worship of the people of Goa. *Goa Devmandal: Unnayan Ani Sthalantar*⁴⁷ by Khedekar is a Marathi book that focuses on the evolution of worship and migration of the deities from an ethno-cultural perspective.

V. Gopala Rao's thesis on *Temples of Goa: An Architectural Study*⁴⁸ is a comprehensive guide on the architectural study of temples in Goa. Chapter VII of this work discusses the iconographic features of the temples considered for case study by its author. Chapter VIII of this work focuses on the iconography of local gods and goddesses, both folk and Puranic. However, this work does not elaborate on the significance of the socio-cultural aspects of the deities and cultic worship in the region. Further this work is mostly based on the archaeological sources.

Pandurang Phaldesai's unpublished thesis titled 'A Cultural History of the Canacona Taluka of Goa'⁴⁹ and Padmaja Kamat's unpublished thesis 'Ponda: A History of

⁴⁵ Vinayak Vishnu Khedekar, *Loksarita: Gomantkiya Janjeevanacha Samagra Abhyas*, 1993.

⁴⁶ Vinayak Vishnu Khedekar, *Eco-Culture Goa Paradigm*, 2013.

⁴⁷ Vinayak Vishnu Khedekar, *Goa Devmandal: Unnayan Ani Sthalantar*, 2018.

⁴⁸ Gopala V. Rao, 'Temples of Goa: An Architectural Study', Unpublished Thesis, 2003.

⁴⁹ Pandurang R. Phaldesai, 'A Cultural History of the Canacona Taluka of Goa', Unpublished Thesis, 2003.

Temples⁵⁰ are micro-level studies of two culturally rich talukas of Goa. Both studies discuss the religious and cultural implications on the society of these talukas. Important sculptures and their iconography are discussed in different chapters of these works.

Rohit R. Phalgaonkar's *The History of Goa's Religion Cultural Past: A Study Based on Iconography (A.D. 4 To AD 1600)*⁵¹ is a comprehensive work on the iconography of different sculptures found in Goa. The study elaborates on the iconographic details of *Sanskritic* as well as folk deities on the basis of sculptures. Other iconographic sources such as seals and coins are not taken for the study. The historical development of iconography in different cults is not included. Further, the study ends in 1600 A.D. leaving much scope for further analysis of the development of image worship and the changing nature of worship during the Portuguese and the post-liberation period.

All the works discussed above are useful for the present study as they provide much useful historical data on India and Goa. They also furnish the perspective needed for this kind of study on iconography in Goa. Besides, these works enable the understanding of the topic in a larger historical context by drawing examples from other parts of India.

⁵⁰ Padmaja Vijay Kamat, 'Ponda: A History of Temples', Unpublished Thesis, 2011.

⁵¹ Rohit R. Phalgaonkar, *The History of Goa's Religion-Cultural Past: A Study Based on Iconography*

AD 4 to AD 1600. Unpublished Thesis, 2015,

<http://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in:8080/jspui/handle/10603/305734#>.

1.6 Area of Study:

The area of modern-day Goa lies in between the Latitudes -15°48'00"N to 14°53'54"N and Longitudes - 74°20'13"E to 73°40'33"E.⁵² The total area is 3702 Sq. Kms⁵³ with a width of 60 kilometres from east to west and a length of 105 kilometres from north to south.⁵⁴ With the Western Ghats flanking its eastern borders and the Arabian Sea touching its western shores, it is like an Emerald of India encrusted with Golden shores. The states of Maharashtra to the north and Karnataka to the east and south are the boundaries of the political state. This beautiful place finds a special mention in the *Puranas* and attributes its creation to Lord Parashurama, an incarnation of Vishnu. The word Goa is derived from the word *Gowa*, *Gova* or *Goem* of the vernacular language, which are in turn derived from the Sanskrit word *go* meaning a cow.⁵⁵ Goa is described by different names in various texts. The names like *Guva*, *Goparashtra*, *Gorashtra*, *Gomantak*, *Gomant*, *Goubhat*, *Aparanta*, *et al.*⁵⁶ can be found to refer to the land of south Konkan, which comprises the modern-day Goa.

The creation of Goa is mentioned in the *Sahyadri Khanda* of the *Skanda Purana*.⁵⁷ It ascribes the origin of Goa to Lord Parashurama, the sixth incarnation of lord Vishnu.

⁵² <https://www.mapsofindia.com/maps/goa/goalocation.htm>

⁵³ Directorate of Planning Statistics and Evaluation (ed.), *Statistical Handbook of Goa 2019-20*. Government of Goa, <http://goadpse.gov.in/Statistical%20Hand%20Book%202019-20.pdf>

⁵⁴ Pratima Kamat, "Historical Geography and Natural Resources." *Goa through the Ages : An Economic History*, edited by Teotonio R De'souza, vol. II, 1999, pp. 1–54.

⁵⁵ V. T. Gune, ed. *Gazetteer of the Union Territory Goa, Daman and Diu, Part I*, 1979, p 1.

⁵⁶ V. R. Mitragotri, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 12-14.

⁵⁷ G. Gaitonde (ed), *Sahyadrikhand*, 1971.

The legend states that after the annihilation of the *Kshatriyas* and his huge *Ashwamedha* sacrifice, Parashurama donated all the land to the Brahmanas. After the sacrifice, his guru told Parashurama that he could not live on the land that had already donated. Hence Parashurama went to the top of the *Sahyadri* and looked at the huge sea crashing on its foothills. He asked the sea for some land. The sea told him it would abide by his will and appealed to the Lord to mark the land by throwing the *Parashu* in its water. *Parashurama* fired arrows into the sea to mark the lands he wanted. The sea receded, and a new piece of land known as the *Parashurama Kshetra* emerged at the foothills of the *Sahyadri*. It ran parallel to the ranges from Nasik to Kanyakumari. This land was given by the creator to the Brahmins he had brought from Tirhut.⁵⁸ The legend is a reminder of the geological fact that Goa was formed due to the receding of the Arabian sea.⁵⁹

Another legend associated with Goa is that of Krishna. When Krishna killed his uncle Kamsa, he was attacked by Kamsa's father-in-law Jarasanda. Jarasanda, in order to take revenge, attacked Krishna eighteen times but met with defeat each time. Seeing the people suffer due to the constant wars, Krishna and his brother ran towards the south. In the south, they met Parashurama, who told them to go to the *Gomant Parvat*.⁶⁰ The mountain was like a fort with a waterfall atop it. After that, a vicious war followed in

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 144-151.

⁵⁹ O. A. Fernandes, "The Evolving Coast of Goa: A Geological Perspective." *Natural Resources of Goa: A Geological Perspective*, 2009, pp. 25–27.

⁶⁰ Shivaji Sawant, *Yugandhar*, 2000 reprint. pp. 137-144; Fonseca, Jose. *An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa*, 1986. p. 115; Varde Valaulikar, Shantaram (ed.), *Samagra Shenoji Goembab*, vol. 2, 2003, pp. 11-13.

which Krishna was able to vanquish Jarasanda. The *Gomant Parvat* is identified as the mountain near the *Dudhsagar* waterfalls. The beauty of the mountain is clearly described in the *Harivamsha Purana*.⁶¹

The state of Goa has undergone tremendous political, economic, social, religious and cultural changes through the centuries from the ancient times to the modern. Goa is a rich repository of cultural heritage, and this thesis studies the image worship of the Puranic deities in Goa in a historical and critical manner.

1.7 Methodology:

The methodology employed in this thesis is both empirical and analytical. The study is based largely on primary sources. They are used to document, analyse and evaluate Puranic deities in Goa. Besides a large number of secondary sources like books, articles, gazetteers, unpublished thesis and others are used to gather data and have a broader historical and critical perspective. Further fieldwork and interviews are conducted to collect more details relating to the temples, images of gods and goddesses and their iconographic features. This work fills in the noticeable gap that exists in the iconographic history of Goa. It adds to the historiography of the socio-cultural history of Goa in terms of content and understanding by following the combined method of history.

⁶¹ *Shri Harivamsa Purana, Vishnu Parva, Adhyaya 39-43, pp.386-416.*

1.8 Hypothesis:

The present study seeks to verify the following hypotheses:

- 1 The aniconic and iconic sculptures of the Puranic deities are the most popular form of worship in Goa, even if the mode of worship may differ.
- 2 The image worship of Puranic deities is an inseparable part of nature worship.

1.9 Chapterisation:

This thesis consists of six chapters. The first two chapters are a prelude to the main topic and introduce the subject of iconography, iconology, and a brief religious history of Goa. The three subsequent chapters are the main sections of the thesis. The sixth chapter includes the conclusions of this study.

Chapter - I: Introduction

This chapter contains an introduction to the thesis and elaborates on the meaning and importance of iconology and iconography, evolution of image worship in India, deification of images, sources for the study, historiographical survey of India and Goa relating to iconography, area of study, methodology used for the thesis, hypotheses and chapterisation.

Chapter - II: Goa: Past and Present

This chapter is an introduction to the religious history of Goa. The epigraphical records and their seals are used to analyse the pre-Portuguese religious history of Goa. The inscriptions give evidence of the different cults that existed and prospered during the pre-Portuguese period. The grants also mention the genealogy of the kings, the

Brahmanical epithets adopted by them, the sacrifices they performed, the donations given to Brahmanas for their knowledge and services, the construction and maintenance of temples and religious institutions, and the religious affiliations of the issuing authority. The major dynasties which ruled over Goa claimed to have a Puranic origin. The epigraphs and religious literature serve as major primary sources for the religious history of Goa from the Bhoja to the Vijaynagara period.

The persecution of the Hindus during the ruling period of Bahamani Sultans and Adil Shah led to the migration of various families to territories outside Goa. In the Portuguese period, there was a mass conversion of Hindus to Christianity under the Franciscan friars in 1515 C.E. . There was a ban on the worship of idols and preaching by Brahmanas. The mass despoliation of idols and temples led to the people shifting the gods to the areas under the rule of local rulers. The establishment of the Inquisition in 1560 C.E. led to the creation of laws against the religious ceremonies and the priests of the Hindus. The result was that the Hindu population and their deities migrated to the territories under the rule of the local rulers. New temples were built outside the territories of Portuguese control. These temples resulted from the amalgamation of Hindu, Christian and Islamic architecture and decorative motifs.

Goa, after its Liberation from the Portuguese colonial rule in 1961, saw the emergence of new shrines dedicated to Gods such as Krishna, Hanuman, Ganesh, Vishnu, Shiva and Durga. This period also introduced new cults to Hinduism, such as Sai Baba, Santoshi Mata and Dattatreya. The renovations of old temples and the building of new temples took place with donations from the people. Various festivals such as *Ganesh Chaturthi*, *Saraswati pujan*, *Nagpanchami* and *Navratri* are celebrated on a major scale with the installation of clay images which are later immersed in the water at the culmination of the festivities.

Chapter - III: Image Worship of the Puranic Deities

The chapter focuses on the concepts of *puja*, the importance and symbolism of temples as an image and the aniconic and iconic images of Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva. The image is perceived as a visual symbol of the deity, and the deity is invoked with the help of *mantras* and rituals known as *puja*. The image helps the devotee to develop concentration, leading to the spiritual development of the devotee.

The temple is perceived as an image of the deity. The temple is built on the concept of *Vastupurushmandala*. It is a geometrical design that is essentially in the form of a square. The *devalaya* (temple) is divided into different parts: the *mandap*, *ardha-mandap*, *antarala* and *garbagriha*. The main deity is placed in the *garbagriha* adorned by a *shikhara* with a *kalash*. The temple was built by the chief architect called *Sthapiti*. The Mahadev temple at Chandor and Kurdi are built in the elemental form of a square.

Brahma is the creator of the universe. He had a major cult following during the pre-Vedic period. The chapter focuses on the evolution, development and dissolution of the cult of Brahma. The worship of Brahma was discontinued after a particular age, but the reminiscence of the philosophies of the cult can still be found in other cults. This chapter attempts to find out the reasons for the disbandment of the once popular cult and the remnants of the philosophies of the cult and to describe the five images of Brahma found in different parts of Goa. The concept of ancestor worship in the aniconic form of *Brahmo* also exists in Goa. The chapter assesses the relationship between the Puranic Brahma and the popular *Brahmo* in Goa.

Vaishnavism is one of the most popular cults in Goa. Vishnu is perceived as the preserver of the universe in the *Puranas*. The image worship of Vishnu gained popularity during the Gupta period in India, and different types of images are mentioned

for Vishnu in the scriptures. There are different types of sculptures of Vishnu found in Goa. The sculptures of Vishnu exist in both aniconic and iconic forms in the temples of Goa. The chapter tries to classify and document the different sculptures of Vishnu in Goa and elaborate on the social context of the sculptures worshipped in Goa.

Shiva is perceived as the destroyer. Shiva is worshipped in Goa by names such as Mangesh, Nagesh, Mallikarjun, Shivnath, Chandranath, Bhutnath, Somnath and Saptakotishwar. The popular form of worship of Shiva is the aniconic form of *linga*. The earliest *linga* is dated to the 5th century C.E. There are a few sculptures of Shiva in his iconic form. They are *Chaturmukhi Shiva*, *Kalbhairav*, *Malhar*, *Bhikshatanamurti* and *Uma-Maheshwar murtis*. The chapter tries to document, classify and analyse the different sculptures of Shiva worshipped in Goa and their importance in the social context.

Chapter - IV: Devi: The Ultimate Source of the Universe

The *Puranas* describe the goddess as the Devi, the creator, nurturer and destroyer of the universe. The prototypes of Devi can be found in Goa from pre-historic times. Her iconic as well as aniconic forms of worship are popular in Goa. The aniconic worship of Devi is found in the form of pots and anthills in temples of Goa. The popular iconic worship of the Devi in Goa is in the forms of Mahishasuramardini, Mahalakshmi, Saraswati, Matrika, Saptamatrika, Chamunda, Gajalakshmi, Shantadurga (not as Mahishasuramardini) and Mahalasa Narayani.

Chapter - V: Affiliate Deities

The affiliate deities are the deities affiliated with the main temple of the village. Each temple has its number of affiliate deities, and they are invoked by the priests of the temple during the *garane* (invocation). The temple has a *panchayatana* under which

the affiliated deities are included in the village *devaspana* (worship) set-up. The term *panchayatana* indicates five deities, however, in Goa they can be five, seven, nine or twelve. This chapter tries to document, classify and analyse the main affiliate deities worshipped in Goa. The three major Puranic deities worshipped in Goa as affiliate deities are Ganesha, Surya and Kartikeya. The oldest sculptures of Ganesha found in Goa belong to the Chalukya period. The antiquity of Surya worship in Goa can be dated back to the 5th century C.E. Surya is worshipped as a *linga* with a circular top in the Harvalem caves of Goa, dated 5th century C.E. The worship of Kartikeya is also found in Goa in aniconic and iconic forms. He is worshipped in the *panchayatana* of Kamaleshwar temple at Pernem.

Betal is one of the affiliate deities in Goa. He is a popular folk deity assimilated into the Puranic pantheon. In the Puranic pantheon, he is perceived as one of the Bhairavas. The sculptures of Betal can be found in stone, wood and metal. Ravalnath is also one of the affiliated deities in Goa. He is a folk deity assimilated into the Puranic pantheon. He is perceived as a form of Shiva in the Puranic pantheon. The iconography of Ravalnath has syncretic elements of Surya and Shiva.

Bhutnath is an epithet of Shiva and is revered in the form of Bhairava in Goa. He is worshipped in aniconic form as a menhir and considered the general of ghosts and spirits. In North Goa he is associated with Ravalnath whereas in South Goa he is associated with Chandreshwar.

Chapter - VI: Conclusion

The concluding chapter consists of the conclusions of this study. The nature of worship of the Puranic deities changed from time to time. The temples were an integral part of the village life in Goa. The temples were set up before the setting up of new villages.

The placement of the temples was according to the places described in the scriptures. The temples were placed either in the centre of the village or in places of ecological importance. The temples dedicated to *Saumya* (calm) deities were located in central places with easy access to the people. The temple dedicated to the *Ugra* (ferocious) deities were in isolated places or on the village boundaries.

After the Liberation of Goa in 1961, the old temples were renovated, and new temples were built. The temples destroyed by the Portuguese were rebuilt at the original sites. New temples came according to the cultic beliefs of the people. The temples dedicated to Sai Baba, Dattatreya and Santoshi Mata were built in different places. These temples follow the Puranic pattern of worship. The rituals of the Puranic deities are getting popular in the non-Puranic pantheon as a Brahmana is employed for daily worship. There were different types of idols worshipped in Goa. The types of materials used for making idols depended on the availability of the raw material and the idols changed over the ages. It is observed that nature formed an inevitable part of the image worship of deities in Goa.

Chapter 2

GOA: PAST AND PRESENT

This chapter provides a brief historical background to the present study. It deals with the image worship of the Puranic deities in Goa from the earliest to the contemporary period with the help of epigraphic sources, stone and copper-plate inscriptions, found in and around Goa. The epigraphs and seals, particularly from Bhojas to Bahamanis, have been re-assessed to understand the religious history of the period. Some later inscriptions which are relevant to the study have also been included. They provide information about the religion of the donor, the donee, their *gotras* and the religious cults which they followed. Some inscriptions mention their writer and executor, and provide information about their religious beliefs as their names often are epithets of the presiding deity of the cults they follow. The sculptures are not taken as a primary source for the study in this chapter, as they will be elaborated on in the subsequent chapters, forming the major part of the study.

2.1 The Bhojas:

The earliest known dynasty of Goa is the Bhojas. The earliest reference to the Bhojas is found in the Girnar rock-cut edict of Ashoka as semi-independent rulers of the southern borders of his empire. The 13th Edict mentions them as the followers of the policy of *Dhamma*.¹ The 2nd century C.E. saw the rise of the Shungas in the north and

¹ V. T. Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory Goa, Daman and Diu District Gazetteer Part I: Goa*, p.

the Satvahanas in the south. Simuka Satakarni was the founder of the Satavahana dynasty. His brother, Krishna Satakarni, annexed Konkan by the end of the 2nd century C.E. He was known as Mallakarna. The village Malkarne in Sanguem taluka must have derived its name from him. The Bhojas were their feudatories but were only limited to the periphery. The coast may have been directly ruled by the Satavahanas themselves for the lucrative overseas trade.²

However, the earliest record from Goa is the Shiroda Plates of Devaraja Bhoja, dating to the 4th century C.E. The king Devaraja was identified as belonging to the *Gomins* dynasty ruling from the prosperous Chandrapura. It was later identified that the word *Gomins* was incorrectly deciphered and that the actual word was to be read as Bhoja. Hence it was clear that Devaraja belonged to the Bhoja and not the *Gomin* dynasty.³ Eight grants issued by five Bhoja Kings have been found to date.

2.1.1 Shiroda Plates of Devaraja dated to the 4th century C.E.

The inscription is a set of three copper-plates written in Sanskrit, secured with a ring having a circular seal.⁴ These plates provide the first epigraphic evidence of the existence of Vaishnavism in Goa as the name of the donee, Govinda, is an epithet of Vishnu and the surname of the person sanctioning the gifts is Prabhu. The title Prabhu is used even in contemporary times by the Vaishnavas. It may also indicate the

² *Ibid*, pp.69-70.

³ N. Lakshminarayan Rao, "A Note on Shiroda Plates of (Bhoja) Devaraja", *Epigraphia Indica*, vol XXVI, pp.337-340.

⁴ C. R. Krishnamacharlu, "Shiroda Plates of Devaraja", *Epigraphia Indica*, vol XXIV, p.143.

existence of the Saurya cult in Goa, as the name of the scribe, namely, Prabhakara⁵, is an epithet of Surya.

The figure on the seal of the Shiroda plates of Devaraja is obscure. It is identified by C. R. Krishnamacharlu as a swan whereas P. S. S. Pisurlencar identified it as a peacock and V. V. Mirashi identified it as a lion.⁶ Symbols like swans, peacocks and lions are special in the Puranic literature as they are associated with the Gods and Goddesses. These plates start with a spiral symbol which denotes *Shri*.⁷ They also provide the oldest epigraphical reference to the existence of Brahmanas in Goa.

2.1.2 Hiregutti Copper-plates of Asankitaraja

These copper-plates were found at Hiregutti in Kumta taluka. This set consisted of three plates bound together with a copper ring. The seal bears the figure of a miniature elephant facing the right. On palaeographical grounds, the inscription is dated to the end of the 5th or beginning of the 6th century C.E. The document is a record of the gift of the village Sundarika in Dipaka *vishaya* by the king to the Buddhist *Vihara* situated in the same region at the behest of chief Kottipeggili of the Kaikeyas of *Nandipalli*.⁸

This inscription is important as it is the first epigraphic evidence of the existence of Buddhism, especially the existence of the *Arya Sangha* in the Bhoja period. It gives a geographical demarcation of the grant. The emblem on the seal is a miniature figure of

⁵ C. R. Krishnamacharlu, *Op. Cit.* pp.143-145.

⁶ V. V. Mirashi, "The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānapura." *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, vol. 25, no. 1/3, Nov. 1944, p. 43. n. 4, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41688547>.

⁷ C. R. Krishnamacharlu, *Op. Cit.* p. 145, footnote 2; *Epigraphia Indica*, vol XXIV, p. 352.

⁸ P. B. Desai, "Hiregutti Plates of Bhoja Asankita." *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XXVIII, pp.70–75.

an elephant facing right, which could not be identified in the case of the Shiroda plate. The name *Dipika vishaya* mentioned on the plate seems to have originated from *dwipa* or island. It may be identified with either Anjadiv or Diwar islands of Goa. The island of Diwar is referred to as Dipavati in *Skanda Purana*.⁹

2.1.3 Kapoli Copper-plate inscriptions of Asankitavarman

The plates were found at Kapoli in Khanapur near Belgaum. The charter is a record of the grant of the village of Vamsavataka in Sollundutaka-seventy in Palasika *Vishaya*. The chief Elakella of the Kaikeya lineage made the grant with the approval of Maharaja Asankitavarman of the Bhoja dynasty to Nagasarman of the Harita *gotra* for his remarkable merits as a Brahmana. The record is dated to the 5th regnal year of the king. The king is referred to as a great devotee of Shiva. The set consists of three plates bound together with an oval copper ring bearing the seal of an elephant. The other side of the third plate has Diwakara incised on it. Palaeographical dating of the script leads to the 6th or 7th century C.E.¹⁰

These plates are important as they constitute the earliest epigraphic evidence mentioning the king as a devotee of Shiva. The name of the scribe of the plate was Madhava, and his father was Govinda. These names are epithets of Vishnu. The mention of the name Diwakara incised on the plate is also suggestive of the existence of the Saurya cult in the region. It also mentions Nagasarman, the donee who had remarkable merits of a Brahmana, pointing out that the Brahmanical cult was honoured in the region.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ A. M. Annigeri, "Two Grants of Bhoja Kings", *Epigraphia Indica*, vol XXXI, pp. 234-236.

2.1.4 Arga Copper-plate inscriptions of Kapalivarman dated to the 6th century C.E.

These plates were worshipped in a temple in Arga near Karwar. The charter is a grant of land named *Pukkolli-khajjana* belonging to Aditya Shrishti, in the village of Shivapuraka, to be donated to Svamikaraja for religious purposes by the king. It is a set of two plates bound in a ring, but the seal is missing. The plates are dated to the 6th century C.E. on palaeographic grounds. The charter refers to the places *Pukolli-khajjana*, *Shivapuraka-grama*, *Shivapura-vishaya* and *Pamasakhetaka*. Of these *Shivapuraka-grama* may either be Shivapur in Supa *Petha* or Shivapur in Haliyal taluka of Karwar District.¹¹

The village name mentioned in the grant is *Shivapuraka*, or the town of Shiva. The land originally belonged to Aditya-Shrishti. Aditya is an epithet of the Sun. It mentions that the recipient belonged to Kaundinya gotra. The name of the writer of the grant is Krishna, an epithet of Vishnu and the executor is mentioned as Nandaka Talvara, the sword of Vishnu. Whether Nandaka Talvara was the name of the official or whether the grant was executed by the grace of Vishnu need to be ascertained. The finding of the plates in the temple is suggestive of the fact that the temple might have been in existence even during the 6th century C.E.

¹¹ *Ibid*, pp.232-234.

2.1.5 Four Copper-plate grants of Bhoja king Prithvimallavarman

Four copper-plate grants of the Bhoja king Prithvimallavarman have been found so far. One of them was found at Bandora in Ponda taluka.¹² This charter was issued by the king from *Vrishabhini-kheta*. It is a grant of a field in the village of *Bhagala-pallika*. The charter was issued in the first regnal year of the king and dates to the latter half of the 6th or the first half of the 7th century C. E.¹³

A charter was issued in the 25th year of the king's regime from *Prithviparvata*. The charter records the grant of the field *Kapoti-Khajjana*, situated in the village of *Malara*, included in the *Kupalakata-desa* by the king to gain merit for himself. The field was surrounded by rocks in the east, a rocky path in the south, the locality of *Vesimika* in the west and a river in the north. It was donated to Damarya, also known as Agnivesha, of the *Bharadvaja gotra*.¹⁴

The next charter was issued from *Prithviparvata* by Maharaja Prithvimallavaraman in the 31st year of his reign. The inscription dates to the late 6th century C.E. or the early 7th century C.E. on palaeographic grounds. The charter is a land grant by the king to the *Brahmana* Shivaryya of the *Kaundinya-sagotra*. The gifted lands were situated in the village of *Vanyaputtaka* in *Svastika-hara*.¹⁵

The final inscription of the king also dates to the 31st regnal year of the king. This charter was also issued from *Prithviparvata*, and the king is referred to as Maharaja of

¹² V. T. Gune, *Op. Cit.* p.66.

¹³ G. S. Gai, "Two Grants of Bhoja Prithvimallavarman", *Epigraphia Indica*, vol XXXIII, pp. 61-63.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 63-64.

¹⁵ K. V. Ramesh, "Two Grants of Bhoja Prithvimallavarman, Year 31", *Epigraphia Indica*, vol XL, pp.141-144.

the Bhoja dynasty. The charter records the grants of a *viraja* field to a *brahmana* named Shivaryya of the *Kaundinya gotra*, referred to as *sah-adh-yeta*. Nidhivara is the executor and the writer is Siridama, as is referred to in the earlier charter.¹⁶

The first grant was to Madhvarya of Agniveshya gotra and the second was issued to Damaarya, also known as Agnivesha, belonging to Bharadwaj gotra. Both these people may have been masters of Yoga and Ayurveda, as Agnivesha is considered to be one of the composers of Ayurveda.¹⁷ The word Dama means restraining the external sense organs, considered one of the six virtues of Jnana Yoga.¹⁸ Hence it can be assumed that the king patronised the teachers of Ayurveda and Yoga. The second plate also mentions a place named with the prefix Swastika, a holy symbol in Hinduism. The two grants given in the 31st regnal year may have belonged to the same person as the grants were to Shivaryya of *Kaundinya gotra* and the fact that both the copper-plates were found in possession of one person.¹⁹

The Bhojas ruled over parts of Goa- Belgaum-Uttara Kanada from the 4th to the 7th century C.E.

The inscriptions give us the names of five different Bhoja rulers without a mention of their lineage. Hence, it can be safely assumed that they did not belong to one family and could have been chosen representatives of the state, as mentioned in the *Aitareya*

¹⁶ *Ibid*, pp.144-146.

¹⁷ G. S. Gai, *Op. Cit.* pp. 61-63.

¹⁸ <https://www.yogapedia.com/definition/11471/dama> visited on 21st September 2021.

¹⁹ K. V. Ramesh, "Two Grants of Bhoja Prithvimallavarman, Year 31", *Epigraphia Indica*, vol XL, p.141.

Brahmana.²⁰ The rulers used various titles like *Raja*, *Dharmamaharaja* and *Maharaja*. Hiregutti plates refer to Asankita as *Raja*, Arga plates refer to Kapalivarman as *Dharmamaharaja* and the title of *Maharaja* is used by Prithvimallavarman in the 31st year of his reign. Interestingly, he does not use it in the 1st and 25th years of his reign.

The Brahmanas were honoured for their knowledge and received grants of fields, which meant that the Bhojas had a fairly prosperous kingdom. The Brahmanas received grants, not just in the physical form of land, but also in the form of proceeds, which included the rent, the import and the export duties derived from the land.²¹ It can also be observed that they adhered to *Brahmanical* religion as only one charter of Asankitaraja speaks of a grant to the Buddhist *vihara*. It can also be noted that *Brahmanical* religion was popular in the region as most of the grantees and officials have names of *Brahmanical* origin. N. B. Naik, in his article, mentioned that the temple of Shri Kapileshwar at Kapileshwari in Ponda taluka was built by Kapalivarman to commemorate his coronation ceremony. Still, he does not give valid references for the same.²² The language of all the inscriptions is Sanskrit, meaning there was a strong *Brahmanical* influence on the literature of the period. There are also no references found in the plates about the settlement of the migrated Brahmanas from the other parts of India, which suggests that they might have already settled in Goa.²³ The places mentioned in the inscriptions have prefixes of Shiva and *Swastika*. The names of the Brahmanas and the

²⁰ P. B. Desai, "Hiregutti Plates of Bhoja Asankita." *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XXVIII, p.72.

²¹ G. M. Moraes, "Notes on the Pre-Kadamba History of Goa", Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Vol. 5 (1941), <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44304712>, p.165. Accessed on 28th March 2019.

²² Asha Ashok Mangutkar, *N. B. Naik Lekhasangraha*, p. 57.

²³ G. M. Moraes, *Op. Cit.* pp.155-156.

officials were the epithets of Shiva, Vishnu and Surya, suggesting that the Vaishnava, Shaiva and Surya cults were popular and co-existing in Goa right from the Bhoja period. Two stone inscriptions dating to the 5th century C.E. have also been found in Goa. One of them is the Arvalem cave inscription. It is a single-line inscription in the Southern character's style and Sanskrit language. The inscription is engraved on a pillar having a circular base and octagonal stem of shrine number 3 of cave number three at Harvalem Caves in Bicholim taluka. The inscription mentions *Sambalura-Vasi Ravih* translated as Ravi, the resident of *Sambalurav*. The pillar is identified as a representation of Surya, and hence Ravi, mentioned in the inscription, is identified with Surya. *Sambalura* is suggested as the ancient name of Harvalem. This inscription is the first archaeological



Figure 2.1: Nunem Inscription of Simharaja, currently in the Goa State Museum.

evidence of the Saurya cult prevalent in Goa during the Bhoja period, confirmed by the other copper-plate inscriptions.²⁴

The second inscription dating to the 5th Century C.E. is the Nunem stone inscription of Simharaja (figure 2.1), found on the stone slab lying outside the Mahamaya temple in the Nunem village of Sanguem taluka which is currently in the Goa State Museum. This inscription is in the southern characters of Brahmi script and Sanskrit language. The record mentions the grant of one *dvara* (gateway) to the deity Parvati-Svamini and one *panasaka-kshetra* (a grove of jackfruit trees) and

²⁴ K. V. Ramesh, "Four Stone Inscriptions from Goa." *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. 37, no. 6, pp.282–283.

gateway to the God Elavamin. Simharaja is mentioned without titles and is identified as a local chieftain and a subordinate of the Bhojas.²⁵

2.2 Mauryas of Konkan

The Mauryas of Konkan were the feudatories of the Kalachuris. Two copper plate grants of the Maurya kings were found in Goa. They are the Shivpur plates of Chandravarman and the Bandora plate of Anirjitavarman.

The Shivpur plates refer to the grant of lands to the *Mahavihara* situated in Shivpur. The place Shivpur is identified with Shiroda in Ponda taluka. The king is referred to as *Nana-samasta-manu-marichibhir-acharita-padapadma*, whose lotus-like feet were sprinkled by the Sun's rays in the form of many feudatory chiefs.²⁶

The Bandora Plates of Maurya Anirjitavarman were issued in the 29th year of his reign from *Kumaradvipa* and are dated to the 6th to 7th century C. E. The plates were found in Bandora in Ponda taluka. The king registers the grant of one *hala* of *Khajjana* land and a piece of land, including a site for a house, a garden, and a tank, belonging to a *Rashtrakuta*. The land was donated by the king and three others, namely Nagapadda, Malladatta and Achala to Hastyarya of the *Harita gotra*, referred to as *ukta-niyoga* or an appointed person and *grihita-sahasra* to describe that he was learned in all the thousand branches of Sama Veda. It also mentions that the Brahmana should enjoy the produce of the land by constructing a bund to prevent salt water from entering the field and that no one should stop it. The text is in prose. The charter is addressed to the

²⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 283-284.

²⁶ V. T. Gune, *Op. Cit.* pp.71-72.

inhabitants of the twelve-villages *desha* and the present and future officials of the king.²⁷

The first copper-plate mentions a grant to the *Mahavihara*, the place in which it was situated was known after Shiva, namely Shivpur. The second plate mentions grants to the Brahmana, a master of Sama Veda. These evidences suggest that the Mauryas of Konkan venerated the Brahmanical cult.

2.3 Chalukyas of Badami

The first known major dynasty to rule over Goa was the Chalukyas of Badami. The Chalukyas claimed a Puranic origin and are referred to have belonged to the *Manavya Gotra*, descendants of *Harita* or *Haritiputra*, nurtured by the *Saptamatrikas*, protected by *Kartikeya*, *Narayana* and *Varahalanchana* (the boar insignia). Their banner was known as *Palidhvaja* or flag, comprising a series of flags. The legend that states their origin mentions that the Chalukyas were born from the hollows of the palms (*chulak*) of *Hariti Panchashikha*, the son of Brahma, when he was giving ablutions to the Gods. These salutations are mentioned in the invocations of their inscriptions.²⁸ Their inscriptions provide an insight into the religious beliefs of that period.

²⁷ G. S. Gai, “Bandora Plates of Maurya Anirjitavarman, Year 29”, *Epigraphia Indica*, vol XXXIII, pp. 293-294. The copper-plate reads *desha dvadashagramya* deciphered by Gai as twelve-village *desha* (2nd line of the text, p. 295). The grant may have been addressed to the residents of the district of twelve villages (<https://www.wisdomlib.org/definition/desha> visited on 2nd October 2021).

²⁸ J. F. Fleet, “The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency: From the Earliest Historical Times to the Musalman Conquest of A.D. 1318.” *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, edited by James M Campbell, vol. I Part II, pp. 337-339.

With the Chalukyas, the history of Goa enters into a more definitive period of history as the inscriptions are dated in the *Shake* era. There are eight records of the Chalukyas, one was found in Goa and the others were found in Nerur in Kudal taluka in the Sindhudurg district of Maharashtra.

2.3.1 Undated Nerur Grant of Mangalesha

The earliest of the record is an undated Nerur grant of Mangalesha. The record mentions the grant of the village *Kundiwataka* from the *Konkan Vishaya*.²⁹ The grant mentions the name of the dynasty as “Chalikya”, and the first king mentioned therein is Pulakeshi I succeeded by his son Mangalesha. The grant mentions Pulakeshi I praying at the feet of Svami-Mahasena and is well-conversant in the codes of laws of Manu, the *Puranas*, the Epics and that his knowledge is equal to Brihaspati. He is also mentioned as having performed various sacrifices such as *Agnistoma*, *Vajapeya*, *Paundarika* and *Ashwamedha*. Mangalesha is mentioned as *Param Brahmanyali* and *Param Bhagvat*, and having worshipped the God Vishnu, granted the village Kundivataka, with a libation of water to the Brahman Priyaswami.³⁰ Kundiwataka is identified with the village of Kudnem in Bicholim taluka, and *Revatidvipa* is identified with Redi in the Sindhudurg district of Maharashtra.³¹

²⁹ J. F. Fleet, “Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions, No. XL.” *The Indian Antiquary*, vol 7, p.161.

³⁰ *Ibid*, pp.161-162.

³¹ V. T. Gune, *Op. Cit.* p.73.

2.3.2 Goa Grant of Satyasharya Dhruvaraja Indravarman

The Goa grant of *Satyasharya Dhruvaraja Indravarman*, stationed in *Vijayarevati Dvipa*,³² records the grant of the village of *Karellika* in the *Khetahara desha* to a Brahman Shivaraya. The *Khetahara desha* is being identified with Khed taluka of the Ratnagiri district, and the village of *Karellika* is identified as Karel in Rajapur. The record is dated to the full-moon day of *Magha, Shake Samvat 532*, corresponding to 15th January 610 or 5th January 611. This record dates to the twentieth year of *Satyasharya Dhruvaraja Indravarman* and is dated to the reign of Pulakeshi II.³³

2.3.3 Nerur Grant of Pulakeshi II

An undated grant of Pulakeshi II was found in Nerur. He is called Satyasraya Pulakeshi-Vallabha in this inscription. This is a grant issued by the king to a Brahmana, a great gift of *Kuvalalahasu* and a field of twenty-five *Nivartanas* by the royal measure.³⁴ The last line of the grant speaks of Vatapi, the capital of the king.³⁵

2.3.4 The Nerur Grant of Vijayabhatarika

The Nerur grant and the Kochrem grant were issued by Vijayabhatarika, also known as Vijayamahadevi, wife of Chandraditya, the elder brother of Vikramaditya I. The grant mentions Chandraditya, the favourite of the world and as *Maharaja*, whose

³² Kashinath Trimbak Telang, "A New Chalukya Copperplate; with Remarks." *The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society 1871-1874*, vol. X, no. XXX, 1875, pp. 365-366.

³³ J. F. Fleet, *Op. Cit.* pp. 355-356.

³⁴ J. F. Fleet, "Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions, No. LII." *The Indian Antiquary*, vol 8, pp. 43-44.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

beloved queen Vijayabhattacharika, in the fifth year of her reign, granted the village of *Narakagahara* and some fields... to the south of Paliyamapathadigirika to the Brahman Aryasvami Dikshit, the son of Svami Chaturveda and the grandson of Grihapati of the *Vatsya gotra*.³⁶ The village Parishvasu can be identified with Parcem village in Pernem taluka.³⁷

2.3.5 Kochrem Grant of Vijayabhattacharika or Vijayamahadevi

The Kochrem grant mentions the donation of Khajjanas or salt marshes named Vakulakachchha-Kshetra in the village of Kochchuraka was bestowed on Khekha...vagolasvamin of the *Vatsya gotra*. The grant suggests that Vijayabhattacharika reigned after the death of her husband, probably as a regent to her son, who subsequently died, leading to the accession of Vikramaditya I.³⁸ Chandraditya is mentioned as *Maharajadhiraja*, but his subordination to Vikramaditya is suggested in the record.

2.3.6 Three Copper Plate Grants of the Emperor Vijayaditya

Three copper plate grants of Emperor Vijayaditya have been found in the village of Nerur. The grant of *Shake* 622 mentions that in the fourth year of his reign, the king granted the village of Nerur, between the village of Ballavalli and Sahamyapura on the

³⁶ J. F. Fleet, "Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions, No. XLI." *Ibid*, vol 7, pp.163-164. The author has used three dots in the text indicating that the content could not be deciphered.

³⁷ V. T. Gune, *Op. Cit.* p.79.

³⁸ J. F. Fleet, "Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions, No. LIII." *Op. Cit.*, vol 8, pp.44-47. The author has used three dots in the text indicating that the content could not be deciphered.

banks of the river Vihige, in the Iridige Vishaya. There is a village named Walawal near Nerur, which can be identified as Ballavalli.³⁹ The Vihige River mentioned may be identified with the Karli River, and Sahamayapura may be identified with Sonarwada or Sarambal village.⁴⁰

The Nerur grant of *Shake 627* records that in the tenth year of his reign Vijayaditya granted a village to eight Brahmans.⁴¹ V. T. Gune opines that a *brahmapuri* was established at Hikulamba by Vijayaditya.⁴²

The undated grant of Nerur is a record of the grant by Vikramaditya II, the son of Vijayaditya, of the village named Malavura to Sarvaditya Dikshita of the Kaundinya gotra, son of Bammandaswami.⁴³

The above mentioned eight inscriptions of the Chalukyas mention grants to the Brahmanas in different areas of their kingdom. These inscriptions mention Kartikeya, also as Swami Mahasena, Vishnu, Ganga, Yamuna, Soma, Brahma, Gauri, and Saptamatrikas, leading to a progression of worship of Puranic deities in epigraphic records. They also provide the proper genealogical record of a dynasty in the case of the history of Goa. They also speak of Pulakeshi I performing the *agnishtoma*,

³⁹ J. F. Fleet, "Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions, No. LXXVII." *Ibid*, vol 9, pp. 125-130; John F. Fleet, *Op. Cit.*, pp.371-372.

⁴⁰The identification is made based on google maps (<https://www.google.com/maps/@16.0335336,73.608444,13.5z> visited on 2nd October 2021). The author feels that the the identification of Sahamayapura with Sonarwada may be more appropriate as the village of Nerur is situated between modern Sonarwada and Walawal.

⁴¹ J. F. Fleet, "Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions, No. LXXVIII." *Ibid*, vol 9, pp. 130-132.

⁴² V. T. Gune, *Op. Cit.* p. 81.

⁴³ J. F. Fleet, "Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions, No. LXXIX." *Ibid*, vol 9, pp. 132-135.

agnichayana, vajapeya, paundarika, bahusuvarna and *ashvamedha* sacrifices. J. F. Fleet believed that the family deity of the Chalukyas was Vishnu, but they also patronised Jainism and Shaivism.⁴⁴ Religious freedom was observed during the period. Mangalesha assumed the epithet of *Parama-Bhagvat*, whereas Pulakeshi II and his son Vikramaditya I assumed the titles of *Parama-Maheshvara*.⁴⁵

The Kauthem grant and Samangad grant of Khadgavaloka Dantidurga affirmed the decline of Badami Chalukyas to the defeat of Kirtivarman II at the hands of the Rashtrakuta king Dantidurga.⁴⁶ The Kalyani Chalukyas overthrew the Rashtrakutas in the year 980 C.E.. The Konkan area was considered a feudatory province during the rule of the Rashtrakutas and the Later Chalukyas and was governed by their feudatories, Shilaharas and the Kadambas.

2.4 The Shilaharas of South-Konkan

The South Konkan Shilaharas ruled over Goa and parts of Ratnagiri district in Maharashtra for about 260 years, from 765 to 1024 C.E. There were three families of the Shilaharas; the Shilaharas of North Konkan, South Konkan and Kolhapur. They were distinguished based on the regions that they ruled. The Shilaharas were the feudatories of the Rashtrakutas and the Later Chalukyas and ruled in the name of their sovereigns. The Shilaharas of South Konkan were also known as the Goa Shilaharas as they rose to power from Goa. The downfall of the Chalukyas of Badami led to small kingdoms being established under the Rashtrakuta patronage. Shanafulla, the founder

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 346-364.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, p. 378.

of the Shilaharas of South-Konkan, obtained his principality in favour of Rashtrakuta king Krishna I who ruled from C.E. 758 to 773.⁴⁷ The territory of South-Konkan was known as *Sapta-Konkan* and comprised of Goa and the Ratnagiri and Sindhudurga districts of Maharashtra. It comprised 900 villages which consisted of the *Iridige Vishaya* of the Chalukyas. The family rose to power in Goa with Chandrapura as its capital which was later shifted to Balipattana, identified as Kharepatan in Ratnagiri district.⁴⁸ There are only three records of this branch of the family. These are the Pattankudi Plate of Avasara III dated *Shake* 910, Kharepatan Plates of Rattaraja dated *Shake* 930 and Balipattana Plates of Rattaraja dated *Shake* 932. The latter two plates are issued by the same king. The records give us the detailed genealogy of the Shilaharas, starting with their claim to have a Puranic origin in the legend of the *Vidhyadhara* prince Jimutavahana. There is a discrepancy in the genealogy records of Avasara III and Rattaraja. The genealogy of the Rashtrakutas is also mentioned in all three records, even though they were issued after the fall of the great empire and taken over by the Later Chalukyas. This shows their affection for their erstwhile suzerain. The Kharepatan Grant also eulogises Tailapa and Satyasraya, showing their allegiance to their Suzerain.⁴⁹

The three families of the Shilaharas trace their descent to Jimutavahana, a *Vidhyadhara* prince who offered to sacrifice himself to Garuda to rescue a *Naga* named Shankhachuda. The family is supposed to have gotten its name from "food on a slab", as Jimutavahana is supposed to have sat on the stone slab where the food for Garuda

⁴⁷ Vasudev Vishnu Mirashi, editor. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Inscriptions of the Silaharas*, p. xxii.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, pp. ii-iv.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, pp. xxiii-xxiv.

was being served. The grant of Chhadveideva, of the branch of North Shilaharas, describes another legend of the founder of the family. The legend says that Shilahara was the warrior who saved the Western Ocean from the arrow of Parashurama. The family is supposed to have derived its name from these two legends.⁵⁰

The founder of the Goa Shilaharas is supposed to have ruled from Chandrapur, in Goa which was called Simhala in the inscriptions of Rattaraja. His son, Dhammiyara, founded Balipattana, which was identified with modern Kharapatan. The records of Rattaraja mention that he was the ninth descendant of the founder Shanaphulla and the last known ruler of the Goa branch of the Shilaharas.⁵¹

2.4.1 Pattanakudi Plates of Avasara III, *Shake* 910

The earliest found record of this branch is the Pattanakudi Plates of Avasara III, dated to *Shake* year 910. The seal bearing on the ring has a Garuda in human form with two arms depicted in *Anjali Mudra*, wearing *Karanda-mukuta* shown standing to the right. His raptorial features are seen in the form of his beak and big fluttering wings. The inscription begins with invocatory verses for the victory of people, king, cows and Brahmanas in the reign of Silara King Avasara II, followed by the genealogy of the Rashtrakuta and Shilahara kings. The genealogy of the Shilahara starts with the legend of Jimutavahana's sacrifice to Garuda. The inscription dates to the expired *Shake* year 910, corresponding to 988 C.E.. The places mentioned in the record are the capital of

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p. iii.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, pp.xxii- xxiv.

the King, Balipattan or probably modern Kharepatan, Chandramandala or modern Chandor.⁵²

2.4.2 Kharepatan Plates of Rattaraja, *Shake 930*

Kharepatan Plates of Rattaraja dated to *Shake 930*. There are four copper-plates bound by a ring having the seal of squatting Garuda represented in anthropomorphic form with hands clasped on his chest and a serpent under his left wing. The writing in Nagari characters and Sanskrit language in the form of prosimetrum. The invocatory verse is dedicated to Shiva. The record gives the genealogy of Rashtrakutas, the erstwhile lord of Shilaharas. The inscription further gives us the genealogy of Shilaharas to the reigning king Rattaraja who is called *Mandalika*. The object of the record is to grant the three villages of Kushmandi, Asanavira and Vadangula his learned preceptor Atreya, the disciple of Ambhojasambhu, a Shaiva ascetic from the Karkaroni branch of the Mattamayura clan. The purpose of the grant is the worship of the God Avveshvara with five-fold offerings and to keep his temple in proper condition with annual repairs, providing food to ascetics, people employed in temple service, devotees, learned men and disciples. The boundaries of Kushmandi are stated as Manigramma, Vaparavata and Sachandalakapitta. The *jivaloka* at the village of Devalakshmi and *chakantara* at Vyangurla and *juhaka* at Sayyapali is given in the grant. The additional grants are mentioned as *gadayana* of gold coming from foreign ships, *dharan* of gold coming from every ship from Kandalamulya except that of Chemulya and Chandrapura and the settlement of families of the persons dedicated in the service of the temple are discussed

⁵² B. R. Gopal, V. S. Subrahmanyam "Pattanakudi Plates of Shilahara Avasara (II), Saka 910."

Epigraphia Indica, vol. 37, Part V, no. April, 1964, pp. 56–60.

in detail in the record. The record is dated to the *poornima* of Jyestha of the *Shake* year 930 in the cyclic year of *Kalika*.⁵³ The temple might have been located in the fortified city of Balipattana and was probably built by Avasara III, father of the reigning king. The record also describes this branch of the family as *Simhaleshwara* or the foremost royal family of Simhala.⁵⁴ Hence it might be assumed that the Shilaharas probably had their home in Goa. The Karkaroni branch has not been traceable, but Mattamayura was an important centre of the Pashupata School of Shaivism. Of the localities mentioned, Simhala is identified as the islands of Goa, Chandrapur, the chief town of Chandramandala as modern Chandor, Chemulya as Chaul in Kolaba district, Balipattana as modern Kharepatan, Gavhana as Gavhane in Devgad taluka and Vyangurla as modern Vengurle in Ratnagiri District.⁵⁵

2.4.3 Balipattan Plates of Rattaraja, *Shake* 932

The Balipattan Plates are dated to the *Shake* year 932 and consist of three plates bound with the Garuda seal similar to the Kharepatan plates. This grant records two gifts: one is to Sankamaiya, son of Brahmana *Senavai* Nagamaiya, which is the donation of a rice field (*Vaingana*) in the rice village of *Kalvala*. The second is a donation of the areca-nut orchard as a means of livelihood in the hamlet of *Avadi*, situated to the west of the *agrahara* village Palaure, to Chhathavaiya Kumavaraiya, grandson of the Brahmana Sanjahiya. The boundaries of the village are described as having a stone temple in the

⁵³ Vasudev Vishnu Mirashi, *Op. Cit.* pp.183-193.

⁵⁴ V. T. Gune, *Op. Cit.* p. 83.

⁵⁵ Vasudev Vishnu Mirashi, *Op. Cit.* pp.183-193.

east, on the south the river, on the west is the sea near *Boribhatha*, and on the north the village of *Gavoma*.⁵⁶

The three records of the Shilaharas of South Konkan, in correspondence to the numerous records of the other two branches, give us an overview of the religious perspective of the family. The old Vedic practices faded away and *Smritis* were appraised in this period. The Shilaharas considered themselves Kshatriyas and followed the "*pancha-maha-yajnas*" mentioned in the *Smritis*. Puranic Hinduism was still a popular religion even though Jainism and Buddhism were also given due respect. Most of the grants state the building of the temples, its maintenance of day-to-day activities, the services of people employed in the maintenance of the temple and the devotees, and the educational institutions in the precincts of the temple. The Shilahara followed Shaivism. Their records include references to Shiva, Vishnu, Aditya, Brahma, Mahalakshmi, Jogeshwari and Bhagvati. Shiva was one of the most important deities. The records start with obeisance to Shiva. Most of the grants were also made for the worship of Shiva. References to Ganapati, Vishnu, especially the Varaha avatar, and Mahalakshmi can be found in the records of the Shilaharas of North Konkan and Kolhapur. The worship of Brahma started to retrograde during this period. Brahma was

⁵⁶ Haran Chandra Chakladar. "Valipattana Plates of Silara Rattaraja, Saka-Samvat 932." *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. 4, no. 2, pp. 203–220. Based on the description of the plate, it may be assumed that *Kalvala* may be *Kavale* village in Ponda taluka, which has numerous *vaingans* (bi-annual rice fields). *Avadi* may be a *Wadi*, a hamlet in *Talauli* village (a part of erstwhile Quela village and came under the Quela *comunidade* during Portuguese rule). The modern hamlet of *Wadi* is surrounded by a creek and the Zuari, which runs from the place Bori and is locally known as *Darya* or sea due to its saline water. The village *Gavoma* can be identified with modern Gaunem in Ponda taluka.

worshipped during the beginning of any rituals, his images found a place only in the niches of the temples.⁵⁷ The Shiva temple at Curdi, the Mahalakshmi temple at Netravali and the Saptakotishwar temple at Opa seem to have been built during this period. The Kharepatan Grant of Rattaraja helps us explain the temple institutions' functioning.⁵⁸

2.5 Kadambas of Goa

As mentioned earlier, Jayasimha had suppressed his feudatory Rattaraja and handed over his territories probably to Kolhapur Shilaharas. Taking advantage of the conflict between the Kolhapur Shilaharas and the Thane Shilaharas, Shashtadeva II of the Goa Kadambas annexed the territories of the Goa Shilaharas to his kingdom. The Narendra inscription of Jayakeshi II gives us details about Shashtadeva II's expedition to the North.⁵⁹ The Kadambas rule in Goa lasted about 292 years, from 1008 to 1300 C.E.. They ruled as the feudatories of the Chalukyas of Kalyani and later the Yadavas of Devgiri.⁶⁰

The Kadambas find their origin in the Kadambas of Banavasi. From their political slumber of three hundred years, they rose to power in the concluding part of the 10th century C.E.⁶¹ The earliest chieftain from this family was Kantakacharya, well known for his wealth and heroism. His son Nagavarmma was considered to be learned in the

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, pp.xlvii-xlix.

⁵⁸ V. T. Gune, *Op. Cit.* p. 91.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p. 96.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p. 91.

⁶¹ G. M. George, *The Kadamba Kula: A History of Ancient and Mediaeval Karnataka.* p.7.

Vedas and state-craft. He was followed by Guhalladeva I, who was more successful in valour and fortune than his predecessors. Guhalladeva I was followed by his son Shashtadeva I, also known as *Chaturbhuj*a of the inscriptions.⁶² They were the overlords of *Palasige 1200* before finding their foothold in the *Chandramandala*. Chandrapur served as their capital during their augmentation of territories in the Konkan. The capital was shifted to Gopakapattan, modern Goa Velha, with time by Viravarmadeva and his brother Jayakeshi I in about 1049 C.E., having a strong navy for the protection of the same.⁶³

The Kadambas of Goa claimed to have descended from the legendary three-eyed, four-armed Jayanta, also known as *Trilochana Kadamba*, believed to be born from drop of sweat which fell from the forehead of Shiva at the foot of the Kadamba tree when he defeated the demon *Tripurasura*. Hence, they worshipped Shiva in the form of Saptakotishwar and the goddess Chamunda as their family deity.⁶⁴ They carried the title of *Banavasipuradhishvare*, or the supreme lord to Banavasi, as the title in memory of their primaeval capital. They used the *Simhalanchana*, or emblem of the lion, on their coins and seals. They carried the *Vanaradhvaja*, the monkey banner and were heralded by the musical instrument called *Peramatti*.⁶⁵

⁶² *Ibid*, pp. 167-169.

⁶³ V. T. Gune, *Op. Cit.* p. 92.

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p. 92.

⁶⁵ V. T. Gune, "Kudtari Copperplate Grant of Kadamba King Viravarmadeva Saka 971 (AD 1049)."

Newsletter of Historical Archives of Goa, vol. I, no. I, 1977, p. 56.

2.5.1 Curdi Stone Inscription of Shashtadeva II (Figure 2.2)

The earliest dated inscription of the Goa Kadambas is dated to the middle of the 10th century C.E. and is inscribed on a piece of a stone slab of the door jamb of the Mahadev temple of Curdi in Sanguem taluka of Goa. The temple has been transferred to the



Figure 2.2: Curdi stone inscription of Shashtadeva, currently displayed in Goa State Museum.

precincts of the Salaulim dam to protect it from submerging in the water and the inscription is transferred to the Goa State Museum. It refers to *Rayana Shashthadeva* with epithets such as *Parameshvara*, *Paramabhataraka*, and *Prachanda-danda-mandala*, which points to the fact that he might have established

himself as an independent ruler of Chandramandala, which included the

modern talukas of Sanguem and Ponda.⁶⁶ This inscription gives us evidence of the existence of the temple during the early Kadamba period.

2.5.2 Savoi-Verem Grant or Marcella Plates of Guhalladeva II dated *Shake* 960

This inscription was found at Tivare in Ponda taluka by Shastri Bhavani Shankar Sukhtankar and was translated by him. It is in Nagari script and Sanskrit language. This was issued by Guhalladeva in the capacity of Yuvraj in 1038 C.E.⁶⁷ The record is a grant of a village Savoi from the Ponda taluka to the family preceptor, Narayan Bhatta

⁶⁶ V. T. Gune, *Op. Cit.* p. 94.

⁶⁷ S. G. Kadamb, *Sources of History of the Kadambas of Goa: Inscriptions*, pp. 52-55.

Patvardhan, on the recommendations of his elder brother Govinda Bhatta. The latter was the Minister of Religion in the council of the king.⁶⁸ The places mentioned in the grant are *Verak*, *Sahavai*, and *Betagi*. There are references to the God of Gokarna, Bhagvati, Mahalakshmi of Kolhapur, and Someshwar beyond the seas.⁶⁹ The names of places where the temples of the deities are located have been mentioned in the grant, except that of Arya Bhagvati. Arya is also known as Aaja in the vernacular language. Hence, the Bhagvati may be identified as the Goddess of Aajadweepa or Aryadurga of Aajadiv, an island on the coast of Karwar in Karnataka.⁷⁰ The deity was later shifted to Ankola during the Portuguese religious persecution.

2.5.3 Ganadevi Inscription of Shashtadeva II, *Shake* Year 964

The Ganadevi lithic record was found at a Shiva temple at Ganadevi in the Surat District of Gujarat. It is important an evidence of the pilgrimage of Shashtadeva II to the temple of Somnath, also found in the later inscriptions.⁷¹ This record also mentions his arrival at Prabhasa by a fleet.⁷²

2.5.4 Mugad Stone Inscription of Shasthadeva II *Shake* 966

The inscription was carved on a slab of stone on the tank. It is in the old Kannada language and script. The inscription records the construction of the theatre attached to

⁶⁸ V. T. Gune, *Op. Cit.* pp. 97-98.

⁶⁹ G. M. Moraes, *Op. Cit.* pp. 387-393

⁷⁰ S. G. Kadamb, *Op. Cit.* pp. 67-68.

⁷¹ V. T. Gune, *Op. Cit.* p. 97.

⁷² A. S. Gadre, *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State*, p. 66.

the temple by Mahasamanta Martandaya, his grandson. The inscription contains a long list of Jaina spiritual preachers of the Kumudi-Gana. It mentions the reign of Trailokyamalla Ahavamalladeva or Someshwara I and his Mahamandaleshwara Chattayyadeva of the Kadamba family governing Palasige Twelve Thousand and Konkan Nine Hundred.⁷³

2.5.5 Kudtari Copper-plate Grant of Viravarmadeva dated *Shake* 971 (Figure 2.3)



Figure 2.3: Kudtari copper-plate grant of Kadamba king Viravarmadeva dated to Shake 971, currently displayed in the Goa State Museum

The copper-plate grant of the Kadamba King Viravarmadeva was found at Curtorim in Salcete-Goa. The set consists of three plates bound with a ring with a round seal. The seal is carved with the figure of the lion facing the front with its right leg raised, the royal emblem of the Kadambas of Goa, with the inscription of "Shri Malege Bhairava"

⁷³ *Ibid*, pp. 92-98.

in the Nagari script. The record consists of forty-two lines in Nagari script and Sanskrit language. The grant starts with the symbol 'Om' and 'Swasthi' and the legend of *Trilochana Kadamba*. It traces the genealogy of the Kadambas from Guhalladeva to Shashtadeva II and then his son Viravarmadeva. The copper-plate records the grant of a piece of land named Tundukapur, situated in the Kudatarika-grahara and the Desh or country named Chhatsathi, that is, modern Salcete or Sashti taluka, made by Viravarmadeva, while he was ruling from his capital at Gopak. The grant was made to the learned Brahman Madhavarya, son of Shashtadeva and grandson of Madhav, belonging to Kaushik gotra. The grant was made in the presence of the God Malege Bhairava and his council of ministers, which comprised Narayana Purohit, the chief priest of the king, two Pradhans or ministers, namely Govinda and Madhavarya and Malaparya, the minister for war and peace. The geographical places mentioned in the grant are Gopaka, modern Goa-Velha, Kudatarika-grahara or the *agrahara* at Kudtari or Curtorim and Chhatsathi or Salcete. The modern *vado* of Tambeti in Curtorim may be identified with Tundukapur mentioned in the grant. This grant suggests that there may have been an *agrahara* in Kudtari to which the learned Brahman Madhavarya belonged.⁷⁴ The king mentions his obedience to Shiva in the form of Malege Bhairava, but the names of the Brahmans and the officials mentioned in the grant suggest they may have belonged to the Vaishnava sect. The composer of the grant is also the chief priest of the king and may also have belonged to the Vaishnava cult.

⁷⁴ V. T. Gune, "Kudtari Copperplate Grant of Kadamba King Viravarmadeva Saka 971 (AD 1049)". pp.

2.5.6 Goa Charter of Jayakeshi I dated to *Shake 975*

Jayakeshi I issued the charter from Gopakapattan in 1053 C.E. The inscription mentioned the incident of the pilgrimage of Guhalladeva to Somanath when the main mast of his ship broke. Thus, he had to take shelter at Gopakapattana, where a rich Arab merchant named Madhumad rescued him and repaired his ship. Madhumad's grandson Sadhan was appointed as minister by Jayakeshi I, who built a *Mijiguiti* or mosque at Gopakapattan in 1053 C.E. In response to the Minister's request Jayakeshi I introduced a special tax for all the ships and commercial vessels entering the harbour at Gopakapattana to maintain the mosque. The responsibility for the collection of tax rested on the authorities of the Mosque. The Mosque not only functioned as a religious institution but also as a charitable institution. It is stated in the charter that if a person dies without any heir, then his property would be transferred to the Mosque, and the responsibility of the Mosque is to perform his funeral with due observance. Madhumad is the Indic version of Mohmmad.⁷⁵

2.5.7 Panjanakhani Inscription of Jayakeshi I dated to *Shake 976*

The inscription was engraved on a slab lying in the square of the convent of Francis of Assisi in Old Goa. The slab consists of three sculptured panels below, each of which the inscription is engraved in three sections. The inscription of twenty-five lines is in Kannada script and language of the 11th century C.E. The inscription goes on to give a long list of epithets of Annayya, the *dharma-mantri* of Pamjanakhani. The section containing the purpose of the grant is lost due to the broken part. The inscription

⁷⁵ S. G. Kadamb, *Op. Cit.* pp. 28-51.

mentions Annayya dwelling at the feet of the illustrious Viravarmadeva. It further states that Annaya is being lauded for defending the city of Chandrapur, one of the capital cities of the Kadambas. The epithets bestowed on Annayya are of historical interest and his designation resembles that of the *dharmamahamatras* of Ashok, even though the nature of his duties is not known. Pamjanakhani is modern Panaji.⁷⁶

2.5.8 Amminabhavi Stone Inscription of Jaykeshi I, *Shake* 993

The inscription is on the ceiling of the central shrine of the Jaina *Basti* at Amminabhavi in the Dharwad district. The inscription mentions *Tribhuvanamalladeva*, also known as Vikramaditya VI and refers to his Mahamandaleshwara Jayakeshideva, who governed over Konkan Nine Hundred, Palasige Twelve Thousand and Kundur Five Hundred, from his capital at Govage (Goa). The inscription records the foundation of a Shiva temple and the gift of rice for offering by Machiyanna and others at Ammayanabhavi, an *agrahara* in Kundur-Nadu.⁷⁷

The inscription indicates an *Agrahara* at Amminabhavi during the Kadamba period. It is mentioned in the inscription that there were 400 *Mahajans* in that *Agrahara* who were perfect in *Yama, Niyama, Dhyana, Japa, Mauna, Swaadhyaya and Samadhi*.⁷⁸

They needed to be perfect in all the disciplines mentioned above besides being proficient in the Vedas, Vedangas, Puranas, Smritis, Music, Dialectics, Vatsayana *Sutra* and the knowledge of the language. This is the second inscription where the existence of *Agrahara* is recorded.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ K. V. Ramesh, "Four Stone Inscriptions from Goa." *Epigraphia Indica* 37(6): pp. 284–287.

⁷⁷ S. G. Kadamb, *Op. Cit.* pp. 102-106.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, p. 102.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p.103.

2.5.9 Panaji Copper-plates of Jayakeshi I, *Shake 981*

It records the grant of the village called *Laghumorambika* in Goa by Jayakeshi to an Arab named Chhadama, who had migrated from Chemulya. The seal attached to the copper-plates has the royal emblem of *Simhalanchana*, with the Sun and the moon and the engraving of "Shri Malege Bhairava" written in *Nagari* script. The inscription starts with the salutation to *Mahavaraha* and describes Vishnu as Varaha. Guhalladeva is described as Varaha incarnate, who supports the earth.

The names of gods such as Durga, Girija, Girish, Padma-the goddess of wealth, the goddess of speech and the goddess of victory, have been used to describe the qualities of the king and the donee.⁸⁰

2.5.10 Mugad Stone Inscription (No. 211) of Guhalladeva III

This inscription does not bear any date or record of the gift but mentions itself to the reign of Tribhuvanmalladeva and his Mahamandaleshwara Guhalladeva. This inscription introduces the *Prashasti* of *Saptakotishwara-deva-labdha-vara-prasad* for the first time.⁸¹

2.5.11 Tegur Inscription dated to Chalukya-Vikrama Year 7 1082 C.E.

This inscription mentions the grant of land for the worship, repairs and daily offerings for the temple of Kalidevaswamin by Jayadeva-Gavunda on Uttarayana-Sankranti.⁸²

⁸⁰ G. M. Moraes, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 394-400

⁸¹ S. G. Kadamb, *Op. Cit.* pp. 146-148.

⁸² *Ibid*, pp. 149-151.

2.5.12 Kadroli Inscription of Guhalladeva III dated to 1098-99 C.E.

This inscription is a grant of a piece of a paddy-land for the service of God Rameshwara. Guhalladeva is mentioned to have obtained a boon from Padmavati.⁸³

2.5.13 Santa Ana Copper-plates dated *Shake* 1021

It was found in the Santa Ana village in Goa and is dated to *Shake* 1021. The inscription consists of three copper-plates. The inscription records the grant of ten *Nishkas* to the temple of Nageshwara at Priol in Ponda taluka. The donation was given by Nagadevaraya, who was an expert in scriptures and medicine. It mentions that the occasion was graced by King Tribhuvanamalla and the feast was held at Bhairava temple in Priol along with his chief minister and Purohit.⁸⁴

2.5.14 Gopaka Copper-plates of Guhalladeva III dated *Shake* 1028

The inscription is a set of three copper-plates having a seal bearing the emblem of Kadambas. The inscription starts with an invocation to Vishnu, followed by the legend and the genealogy of the Kadambas. The inscription bore the grant by Kelima, bearing the title of *Gandagopala*. The inscription records the setting up of a charitable institution, a tank also called *Gandagopala* and the establishment of a *Brahmapuri* where he invited twelve families of Brahmanas from various parts of the country. The grant further describes the purchase of various properties by Kelima for the alimantation of the Brahmanas and that the share was equally distributed among them.

⁸³ G. M. Moraes, *Op. Cit.* pp. 465-467.

⁸⁴ S. G. Kadamb, *Op. Cit.* pp. 159-165.

The inscription also mentions the temple of Bharati or Vagdevi (Saraswati, the Goddess of Speech) and the provision made for discourse. A piece of land was granted to the goddess and her worshipper received a house. The inscription further mentions the fines levied on the Brahmins if they try to sell or misuse their share if they leave the settlement.⁸⁵

2.5.15 Nigadi Stone Inscription dated 1111 C.E.

The inscription is found on a slab of stone on the wall of the tank in front of the Kamakeshwara temple at Nigadi in Dharwar. It records the grant of land and a monastery made to Tejorashi- Pandit by Chavunda-Gavunda of Nigade.⁸⁶

2.5.16 Narendra Inscription (A) of Jayakeshi II dated to *Shake* 1047

The record is inscribed on a stone tablet situated in a field, on the right side of the Mallikarjun temple in Kumbapur, in Narendra, in the Dharwar taluka of Karnataka. The inscription starts with the carvings of *linga* in a shrine with an *abhishek-patra* hung above it. A priest is offering oblation to the deity. On the right is a cow with a calf and a scimitar above them. On the left is Nandi kneeling to the *linga*. The cow and Nandi have a lampstand behind them and the inscription is flanked by the motifs of the Sun and Moon on both sides of the shrine. The language and script used is old Kannada and is in prosimetrum form. The inscription is a record of the land grant made by Jayakeshi II and his queen Mailala-devi, the daughter of his suzerain Vikramaditya VI of

⁸⁵ P. B. Desai, "Copper-Plate Grant of Kadamba Tribhuvanamalla Saka 1028." *Epigraphia Indica* XXX: pp.71–77.

⁸⁶ S. G. Kadamb, *Op. Cit.*, pp.178-180.

Chalukyas, for the Shiva temple founded by his *dandanayaka*, Singarasa. The temple was built in honour of his father and was named Lakshmaneshvara.⁸⁷

2.5.17 Narendra Inscription (B) in Shankaralinga Temple of Jayakeshi II dated to *Shake* 1047

This inscription is on the stone ceiling of the Shankarlinga temple at Narendra in Dharwar, Karnataka. The inscription is a series of grants to the temple of Shankara of Arakere situated in the town of Kundur by Jayakeshi II and others, including his wife, Mailaladevi and his brother Udayaramadeva. The inscription refers to three various grants given on five dates for the restoration of services and the daily rituals and restoration of the temple. The God is referred to by the names of Bhava and Sadashiva in the inscription.⁸⁸

2.5.18 Kanakur Inscription dated 1104 C.E.

This inscription is found on a pillar in the temple of Kanakamma at Kanakur in Dharwar, Karnataka. The inscription records the gift of the village of Kanakapura in Kundur Five-Hundred, to burn incense in the temple of Somanathadeva of Saurashtra by Mahamandaleshwara Jayakeshi at the time of his marriage under the direction of his

⁸⁷ L. D. Barnett, "Inscriptions at Narendra A - Of the Time of Vikramaditya VI and the Kadamba Jayakeshin: A.D. 1125." *Epigraphia Indica* XIII (1915–16): pp. 298–316.

⁸⁸ L. D. Barnett, "Inscriptions at Narendra B - Of the Time of Vikramaditya VI and the Kadamba Jayakeshin: A.D. 1126." *Epigraphia Indica* XIII (1915–16): pp. 316–326.

king *Tribhuvanamalla* Vikramaditya VI. Another gift is mentioned in the record, given to Vamana Bhttopadhyaya of Kanakapura *Agrahara*.⁸⁹

2.5.19 Gugikatti Inscription dated 1124 C.E.

This inscription is on the pedestal of the image of Keshava in Gugikatti in Dharwar, Karnataka. It states that the image of Keshava was installed by someone, probably Mailaladevi, the daughter of Vikramaditya VI and the wife of Jayakeshi II.⁹⁰

2.5.20 Asoge Copper-plates dated to *Shake* 1055

The record is a grant by Kadamba king Jayakeshi II of Goa, the village Kupattoggarika, to Shivashakti for the worship, repairs of the temple and the for following the rituals on the occasion of *Chaitra, Pavitra* of deity Galagesvara. Shivashakti is referred to as *Taponishta-gharithasya*, meaning 'store of penance'. The benedictory verses in this inscription are dedicated to Hari, in the body of Varaha, and to Shiva.⁹¹

2.5.21 Siddhapur Inscription of Vijayaditya II dated *Shake* 1080

This inscription lies on a stone tablet in the precincts of a Shiva temple at Siddhapur in Karnataka. It is in the old Kannada language and script. The inscription records the grant to the God Prabhulinga of Hasavalala near Kittur by the people of the surrounding

⁸⁹ S. G. Kadamb, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 219-222.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 223-224.

⁹¹ G. H. Khare, "Asoge Plate of Kadamba Jayakeshin (II): Saka 1055." *Epigraphia Indica* XXVI (1941–42): pp. 304–309.

villages for the daily rituals and repairs of the temple. This inscription mentions Vijayaditya II as *Yuvraja*.⁹²

2.5.22 Golihalli Inscription dated 1173 C.E.

The inscription is on a stone tablet in front of the temple of Basava outside the village of Golihalli in Khanapur, Belgavi, Karnataka. The inscription is a record of three grants made on three different dates during the reign of Shivachitta Paramadideva. The first grant was by his *Dandanayaka* Bavayya for having erected a temple of Hemeshwaradeva at Kirusapangadi and for the maintenance of its daily ritualistic activities, also for a *Matha* to the south of the God, for a house of the potter who makes the vessels for the ceremonial purpose of the temple and the oil mills for lighting the lamp in the temple. The second grant was given in the 17th ruling year of the king. The merchants and people of various villages gave the grant to Shaktideva, the Acharya of the temple of Hemmeshwara, for the variously mentioned oblations of the deity on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. The inscription mentions that the endowment was given under a copper-plate grant. This grant corresponds to 1163-64 C.E. The third grant was given in the 26th regnal year of the king. The merchants of four towns of Kirusapangadi gave a toll, free from all contraction, for the worship of the God Hemmeshwara. The date corresponds to 1173 C.E..⁹³

⁹² K. B. Pathak, "A Kadamba Inscription at Siddapur." *The Indian Antiquary* XI (1882): pp. 273–274.

⁹³ J. F. Fleet, "Some Further Inscriptions Relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa." *Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society* IX (1870): pp. 296–303.

2.5.23 Halsi Inscription (Part 1) 1169-70 C.E.

The stone bearing the inscription is ten feet high and three feet broad, covered with sculptures of Narsimha, Lakshmi and other figures above the inscription. The inscription records the grant in the 23rd year of the reign of Shivachitta. The king, under the guidance of his mother, prime minister and councillors, in the presence of scholars and after due reverence to his chief priest, performed the rite of *tribhoga* and donated the village of Sindavalli in the territory of Kalagiri in the Palasi district for the oblations of the holy Narsimha. The temple was established by Matayogi, who was proficient in yoga. The village was free from all taxation. The worship of the deity was to be conducted by the disciple of Matayogi and his successors.⁹⁴

2.5.24 Halsi Inscription (2nd Part) 1170 C.E. and 1172 C.E.

This stone inscription is in the Narsimha temple in Halsi in Khanapur taluka of Belagavi District. This is a record of two grants made by Shivachitta and Vishnuchitta in the twenty-third and twenty-fifth year of their joint reign, in 1170 C.E. and 1172 C.E., respectively. This inscription records the grant of *tribhog* rights of the village called Bhalakaa from Kaalagiri Kampana of the Palasi Vishaya to God Shri Narshimha for *Ashtopacharas* of the God, made by Vishnuchitta. The inscription also mentions how king Jayakeshi II solved the problem of the theft of the ornaments of God Narsimha during his reign. Amongst the share was one share belonging to lord Narsimha, which was five hundred *Nishkas*. This share was used to buy the ornaments deposited in the house of the Vaishnava Padmanabha and was stolen by him. When Jayakeshi found it,

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 278-280.

the equivalent of the stolen ornaments was recovered by selling his property. Vishnuchitta is said to be devoted to Hara and Hari in this inscription. It also mentions that the temple was set up by the sage Matayogi. The inscription also mentions grants made by various people for the regular service of God.⁹⁵

2.5.25 Degamve Inscription of 1174 C.E.

There are two inscriptions on the pillars of the Kamalanarayana temple at Degamve, Dharwar, Karnataka. The inscription mentions that Kamaladevi, the chief queen of Shivachitta Paramadideva, having heard the brilliance of the Brahmanas and having heard about the virtues of donation of lands described in the *Puranas* and the *Dharmashastras* assembled the Brahmanas who were well-versed in different disciplines such as Vedas, Vedangas, the eight systems in Hindu philosophies, obligations of the Brahmanas, approached her husband-the king in his assembly to make a wish to grant the village of Degamve and establish an *Agrahara*. Having taken the counsel of his mother and his ministers and tested the calibre of each of the Brahmanas, the king decided to set up the *Agrahara*. In his 28th regnal year, on a solar eclipse, after paying homage to God Saptakotishwar, the king donated the village of Degamve to the Brahmanas. He set up the *Agrahara* free of taxes and enjoyed all the wealth within its boundaries. The shares of each of the Brahmanas are specified in the inscription. The shares of the temples of Kamleshwara, Kamalanarayana and Mahalakshmi are also specified. The donation for the upkeep of the tank at Devingere is also mentioned. It is also mentioned that the merchants were supposed to

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 280-286.

provide for the sacrificial and conservatory rites of the deities. It mentions that having made this grant by his queen, the king gave this tablet as a means of prevailing the grant.⁹⁶

2.5.26 Undated Degamve Inscription of Kamaladevi

This undated inscription of Kamaladevi, Chief Queen of Shivachitta Paramadideva, is on the pillars of the temple at Degamve. The inscription records that by order of Kamaladevi, Tippoja, the *sutradhari* or the architect, of Bankeshwaradeva, the son of Holoja, the *sutradhari* of Huvinabage, who was skilled in the peculiarities of the formation of shrines and images, and his son Bagoja, the *pratapasutradhari* or the principal architect, built the temples of Kamalanarayana and Mahalakshmin the village of Degamve which had been eternally granted to the Brahmanas and *Agrahara*. The inscription ends with reverence to *Ganadhipati*.⁹⁷

This inscription furnishes information about the employment of highly skilled architects to construct the temple.

2.5.27 Sadashivgad (Chittakula) Inscription dated to *Shake 1102*

The grant records a gift of the *Aruvige* village to the Goddess Arya-Bhagvati by King Vijayaditya II. The grant starts with an invocation to Shiva. The beneficiary of the gift was a Brahmana named Govinda of the *Bharadvaja gotra*, proficient in the science of astronomy and astrology. The gifted property was within the borders of the village of

⁹⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 266-277.

⁹⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 294-295.

Aruvige, comprising the stretch of *Marruvattugadalu*. The village of *Aruvige* may be identified as the modern village of Arage, four miles from Sadashivgad. *Marruvattugadalu* means "in the Arabian Sea". Hence, the goddess Arya-Bhagvati may be identified with the goddess Aryadurga, whose temple was in Anjadiv, locally known as *Aajadweepa* or the island of Goddess Aja. The temple of the goddess was shifted to Ankola after its persecution at the hands of Arabs in the year 1312.⁹⁸ This inscription is the only inscription which mentions Vijayaditya II as an independent ruler. All the other inscriptions mention the individual rule of Paramadideva or the joint rule of Vijayaditya II with Paramadideva. The reason might have been that Paramadideva was deceased at the time of the grant. The seal of the inscription describes Vijayaditya II as *Vishnudasa* (servant of Vishnu). The Halsi inscription refers to Vijayaditya II as *Vishnuchitta*, whereas this inscription refers to him as *Vishnudasa*.⁹⁹

2.5.28 Chatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Vastusangrahalaya Inscription of Jayakeshi III dated 1186-87 C.E.

This inscription is the earliest known record of Jayakeshi III. It records the grant of land measuring eight *mattars* to Shri Shrinigeshwara by the *Mahajans* of the place, with the consent of *Kurimba Senigas* or the basket makers of Navilur in Chaugaum on the occasion of *Uttarayana Sankramana*. The grant of the land was for the performances of various rituals like *Agabhoga*, *Rangabhoga* and *Chaitapavitra*. Another piece of land measuring 26 hands long and 21 hands broad was donated in the purlieu of the

⁹⁸ R. P. Bhat, *Gramadeivta Shri Keshav Dev Loliem Canacona: Itihas* (Marathi), p. 25.

⁹⁹ P. B. Desai, "Sadashivgad Plates of Kadamba Vijayaditya Saka 1102." *Epigraphia Indica* XXIX (1951-52): pp. 29-32.

temple of God Shringeshwara to construct the school building. It was made with the consent of *Kuriba Shrinigas* or the basket-makers guild of Naviluru in Chougamve.¹⁰⁰

2.5.29 Kirihalasige Inscription of Jayakeshi III dated to Kaliyuga 4288, (1186-87 C.E.)

This inscription is the large copper-plate inscription found in a field in the village of Kirihalasige in the Belgavi District of Karnataka. The seal has the motif of *Narasimha* and the words "Shri Vira Jayakeshi Malavara Mari" are engraved on it. The inscription mentions that the king erected an image of Varaha in front of the Narsimha in the centre of the village of Palasika and conferred the village of Kirihalasige, of which the boundaries and details of disbursement are discussed in detail in the central portion of the inscription.¹⁰¹

2.5.30 Kittur Inscription of Jayakeshi III dated to Kaliyuga 4289 (1187-88 C.E.)

This lithic inscription is found in the temple of Basava at Kittur. It is a record of trial by ordeal known as *Phaladivya* in the dispute of the possession of a piece of land. The dispute was between Shivashakti, the *Acharya* of the Kaleshwar temple at Attibavi in Kittur and Kalyanshakti, the *Acharya* of *Mulashthanadeva* or the original God of the place. The dispute was for the proprietorship over the field of *Alakolanakeyi*. The case was referred to Ishwara Dandanayaka, who gave them the trial by ordeal in the presence of the bankers of the village of Degave in front of the temple of Mallikarjuna. The trial

¹⁰⁰ G. M. Moraes, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 467-474.

¹⁰¹ J. F. Fleet. "On Some Sanskrit Copper-plates Found in Belgaum Collectorate." *Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society* IX(1870): pp. 229–249.

took place on the specified day and Shivashakti was declared the winner. The inscription further states that Santananayaka erected the temple of Kaleshwara of Attibavi and gave the grant of a wet-crop land called *Alakolana* and other uncultivable lands for the fulfilment of the religious obligations of the deity. The gardeners, reapers and others mentioned in the inscription were supposed to give the mentioned shares on the occasion of *Chaitra* and *Pavitra*.¹⁰²

2.5.31 Managudi (A) Inscription of Jayakeshi III dated to Kaliyuga 4289, (1187-88 C.E.)

This stone tablet was found in Managudi in Dharwar taluka and is currently in the Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar. Section A includes four grants. It records a series of grants given to Chandrabhushanadeva, the guru of Jayakeshi III. These grants were for the observances of the holy *Chaitra*, *Parva*, and *Sokali*.

The second is dated the 36th regnal year of Vira-Jayakeshi. Kala-Mahadevi, in compliance with her religious vow, granted a paddy field of the income of four cart-loads to Narsimha Pattavardhana. The *Acharya* also received from Chandrabhushanadeva, the worshipper of the deity Grameshvara of Manigundage, a sum of *Lokkiya priyaraheya gadyana* of fifty-two granted to purchase the gift to the deity Grameshvara some land and the house with a promise to present and future income with all its increased value.

The third record speaks about the land and a house obtained by Ishvarabhatta from the prosperous king of Bommanhalli, which was purchased by Chandrabhushanadeva

¹⁰² J. F. Fleet, 1870. "Some Further Inscriptions Relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa." *Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society* IX (1870): pp. 304-309.

having paid for present and future incomes and also its accomplishments, the purchase money of which was the advance out of charity by one Kuriyaggana and Hulugula Kallamma.

The fourth states that the Brahmanas of Manigundage granted a tank to the *Siddheshvara gramadeva* to Chandrabhushandeva. Three hundred people of the same village granted the crop for the observance of the Chaitra performance of the same deity. The people also allotted a share for the holy observances. The Managudi (B) inscription is for a Jain temple and has not been dealt with in greater detail.¹⁰³

2.5.32 Huppavalli Inscription of Jayakeshi III dated 1206 C.E.

It records the installation of the deity Lakshmidēvi and the grant of lands, shops and taxes for the offerings of the deity by the *Mahajans* of five *vidshakas* of *Maha-agrahara* at Huppavalli and the various gifts by the *Settiguttas* of four *Pattanas*. Kalave Lokana was nominated as the priest. B. R. Gopal gives the date to Wednesday, the eighth day of *Jyeshtha*, *Kashya Samvatsara*, in the 20th regnal year of the king, corresponding to 17th May 1206 C.E..¹⁰⁴

2.5.33 Stone Inscription dated to the time of Viravajradeva, 1218 C.E.

The inscription registers a gift of land to the deity Bhogeshwara of Manigundage by the five hundred-four of the *Sthala*. The land seems to have been transferred to Ishvara Bhattopadhyaya of Huli and his son Narasimhadēva.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ G. M. Moraes, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 404-417.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 401-403.

¹⁰⁵ B. R. Gopal, *Karnatak Inscriptions*, Vol. V, pp. 257-258.

2.5.34 Goa Charter of Shashtadeva III dated Kaliyuga 4348 (1169 C.E.)

It records that Shashtadeva, along with Kamadeva, conferred on his *guru*, the *Rajaguru* and *Dikshita*, Jyeshtha- Vishnusharman of the Gargya *gotra*, a rice-field named Kinjalauga in the north-west part of Salibhatti near the God Murtti-Narayana. It was situated in the north part of the city of Gopakapuri, where the presiding God was Goveshvara. Kamadeva is referred to be the devotee of Mallinatha, and Shashtadeva is referred to be the devotee of Saptakotishwar.¹⁰⁶ The village of Salibhatti is identified with Batim village, where the temple of Narayana existed and where the Church of Our Lady of Guadalupe is currently located.¹⁰⁷ There are three plates enclosed with a ring having the *simha lanchana* of the Kadambas with the motifs of the Sun, Moon, sword and dagger or umbrella with the words *Shri Shashtadeva-pratishthapakaha Shri-Kamadeva bhumi-palah* meaning the illustrious king Kamadeva, the establisher of the illustrious Shashtadeva carved on it.¹⁰⁸

2.5.35 Gadivore Grant of Shashtadeva III, dated 1262 C.E.

The plates were found in the village of Bandora in Ponda taluka. The opening lines of the grant are salutations to Shiva followed by an invocation to him under the name Saptakotisha. The legend and the genealogy of the Kadambas are discussed further. The inscription records the grant of a gift of the village *Gadivore* in the *Ajjagave-Kampana* of *Panasadesa*, in the presence of God Mahabaleshwara of Gokarna, for the prosperity of the kingdom. The land was granted to Lakshmidhara and his brothers, the sons of

¹⁰⁶ J. F. Fleet, "Goa Plates of Shashtadeva III Kaliyuga 4348." *The Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIV, p. 289.

¹⁰⁷ Rui Gomes Pereira, *Hindu Temples and Deities: Goa*, pp. 40.

¹⁰⁸ J. F. Fleet, *Op. Cit.*, p. 288.

Jyotisha Lokanarya, his wife Shridevi and the grandsons of Daivajnya Narayana and his wife Kamala of the *Atreya gotra*. The gifts were permanent endowments with various other privileges mentioned further in the inscription. The set consists of three plates bound with a ring having the name of king Shashtadeva and the *simha lanchana*.¹⁰⁹

The Kadambas patronised Shaivism. The inscriptions start with an invocation to Shiva and Saptakotishwar. Sixteen of the inscriptions are donations to or in the precincts of the Shiva temple. Curdi Stone inscription of Shashtadeva II is the earliest dated inscription of the Goa Kadambas and is dated to the middle of the 10th century C.E. It is inscribed on a piece of a stone slab of the doorjamb of the Mahadev temple of Curdi in Sanguem taluka of Goa. It refers to *Rayana Shashthadeva* with epithets such as *Parameshvara*, *Paramabhataraka*, and *Prachanda-danda-mandala*, which points to the fact that he might have established himself as an independent ruler of Chandramandala, which included the modern talukas of Sanguem and Ponda.¹¹⁰

The inscriptions mention references to Saptakotishwar, God of Gokarna, and Someshwar beyond the seas (*Prabhasa*).¹¹¹ The Narendra inscription (A) of Jayakeshi II, dated to *Shake* 1047, starts with the carvings of *linga* in a shrine with an *abhisheka-patra* hung above it. A priest is offering oblation to the deity. On the right is a cow with a calf and a scimitar above them. On the left is Nandi kneeling to the *linga*. The cow and Nandi have a lampstand behind them and the inscription is flanked by the motifs

¹⁰⁹ G. S. Gai, "Gadivore Grant of Shashtadeva (III), Kali Year 4357" *Epigraphia Indica* XXXIV: pp. 105–110.

¹¹⁰ V. T. Gune, *Op. Cit.*, p. 94.

¹¹¹ G. M. Moraes, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 387-393.

of the Sun and Moon on both sides of the shrine.¹¹² The Ganadevi Inscription of Shashtadeva II, *Shake* Year 964¹¹³ and Goa Charter of Jayakeshi I dated to *Shake* 975¹¹⁴ mention the pilgrimage to the Somnath temple in *Prabhasa* by the fleet.

Vaishnavism also flourished in the Kadamba period. Five inscriptions mention grants to the Vishnu temple. The Gugikatti inscription dated 1124 C.E. is on the pedestal of the image of Keshava in Gugikatti in Dharwar, Karnataka. It states that the image of Keshava was installed by someone, probably Mailaladevi, the daughter of Vikramaditya VI and the wife of Jayakeshi II.¹¹⁵ The undated Degamve Inscription of Kamaladevi records that by order of Kamaladevi, Tippoja, the *sutradhari* or the architect, who was skilled in the peculiarities of the formation of shrines and images, and his son Bagoja, the *pratapasutradhari* or the principal architect, built the temples of Kamalanarayana and Mahalakshmi in the village of Degamve which had been eternally granted to the Brahmanas and *Agrahara*. The inscription ends with reverence to Ganadhipati.¹¹⁶ Kirihalasige inscription of Jayakeshi III dated Kaliyuga 4288 (1186-87 C.E.) mentions that the king erected an image of Varaha in front of Narsimha in the centre of the village of Palasika and conferred the village of Kirihalasige.¹¹⁷

¹¹² *Ibid*, pp. 183-204.

¹¹³ A. S. Gadre, *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State*. p. 66.

¹¹⁴ S. G. Kadamb, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 28-51.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 223-224.

¹¹⁶ J. F. Fleet, "Some Further Inscriptions Relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa." *Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society* IX (XXVII): pp. 294-295.

¹¹⁷ J. F. Fleet. "On Some Sanskrit Copper-plates Found in Belgaum Collectorate." *Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society* IX (XXVII): pp. 241-246.

The Panaji Copper-plates of Jayakeshi I, *Shake* 981, start with the salutation to *Mahavaraha* and describe Vishnu as Varaha. In this inscription, Guhalladeva II is described as Varaha incarnate, who supports the earth. The Gopaka Copper-plates of Guhalladeva III, dated *Shake* 1028, also start with an invocation to Vishnu, followed by the legend and the genealogy of the Kadambas. Savoi-Verem grant or Marcella Plates of Guhalladeva II dated *Shake* 960,¹¹⁸ Kudtari Copperplate Grant of Viravarmadeva dated *Shake* 971¹¹⁹ and Sadashivgad (Chittakula) inscription dated to *Shake* 1102¹²⁰ are donations to Brahmanas with Vaishnava epithet, suggesting that they belonged to the Vaishnava cult. The first part of the Halsi Inscription, dated 1169-70 C.E., is embellished with sculptures of Narsimha, Lakshmi and other figures above the inscription. The inscription records that the temple was established by Matayogi, and the king, after performing the rite of *Tribhoga*, granted a village for the oblation of holy Narsimha.¹²¹ The second part of the Halsi inscription dated 1170 C.E. and 1172 C.E. also records the grant of *tribhog* rights made by Vijayaditya II, referred to as Vishnuchitta, who is said to be devoted to both Hara and Hari in this inscription.¹²² The Sadashivgad inscription refers to him as Vishnudasa.¹²³

Three inscriptions mention grants to the temples of Goddesses. The Gopaka Copper-plates record that a piece of land was granted to the goddess Bharati or *Vagdevi*

¹¹⁸ G. M. Moraes, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 387-393.

¹¹⁹ V. T. Gune, "Kudtari Copperplate Grant of Kadamba King Viravarmadeva Saka 971 (AD 1049).", pp. 55-64

¹²⁰ P. B. Desai, *Op. Cit.* pp. 29-32.

¹²¹ J. F. Fleet, *Op. Cit.* pp. 278-284

¹²² *Ibid*, pp. 280-286.

¹²³ P. B. Desai, *Op. Cit.* pp. 29-32.

(Saraswati, the Goddess of Speech) for daily rituals and a house allotted to the priest.¹²⁴ Sadashivgad inscription dated to *Shake* 1102¹²⁵ records a gift of the *Aruvige* village to the Goddess Arya-Bhagvati by King Vijayaditya II. Huppavalli inscription of Jayakeshi III dated 1206 C.E. records the installation of the deity Lakshmidēvi and the grant of lands, shops and taxes for the offerings of the deity by the *Mahajans* of five *vidshakas* of *Maha-agrahara* at Huppavalli and the various gifts by the *Settiguttas* of four *Pattanas*. It also mentions that Kalave Lokana was nominated as the priest.¹²⁶ There are references to the Bhagvati and Mahalakshmi of Kolhapur.¹²⁷

The Jain *Chaityalayas* also received grants from the Kadambas. Three of the inscriptions mention the same. The Mugad Stone inscription of Shasthadeva II of *Shake* 966 records the gift of some lands by Nargavunda Chavunda-Gavunda for the repairs of the Samyakataratnakara *Chaityalaya* constructed by him, and also records the construction of the theatre attached to the temple by Mahasamanta Martandaya.¹²⁸ Nigadi Stone inscription dated 1111 C.E. records the grant of land and a monastery made to Tejorashi-Pandit by Chavunda-Gavunda of Nigade.¹²⁹ The Managudi (B) inscription is also a donation for a Jain temple.¹³⁰

The Goa Charter of Jayakeshi I, dated to *Shake* 975, mentions the incident of an accident during the pilgrimage of Guhalladeva to Somanath. The Managudi (A)

¹²⁴ P. B. Desai, *Op. Cit.* pp. 71-77

¹²⁵ P. B. Desai, *Op. Cit.* pp. 29-32.

¹²⁶ G. M. Moraes, *Op. Cit.* pp. 401-403.

¹²⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 387-393.

¹²⁸ S. G. Kadamb, *Op. Cit.* pp. 92-98.

¹²⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 178-180.

¹³⁰ G. M. Moraes, *Op. Cit.* pp. 404-417.

Inscription of Jayakeshi III, dated Kaliyuga 4289¹³¹ and Goa Charter of Shashtadeva III, dated Kaliyuga 4348¹³² are donations to the *gurus* of the Kings. The Savoi -Verem grant and the Panjanakhani inscription of Jayakeshi I dated to *Shake* 976¹³³ mention the *dharma-mantri* or the minister of religion.

The qualities of the king and the donee were described using epithets of gods and goddesses such as Durga, Girija, Girish, Padma, the goddess of wealth, the goddess of speech and the goddess of victory.¹³⁴ In the Kadroli inscription dated 1098-99 C.E., Guhalladeva III is mentioned to have obtained a boon from Padmavati.¹³⁵

The educational institutions such as *Brahmapuri* and *Agrahara* were set up during this period. Gopaka Copper-plates record the setting up of a charitable institution, a tank called *Gandagopala* and the establishment of a *Brahmapuri* by Kelima, bearing the title of *Gandagopala*, who served as the official of Guhalladeva. He invited twelve Brahmanas with their families from various parts of the country. The *Brahmapuri* was in the precincts of the temple of Bharati or *Vagdevi* (Saraswati, the Goddess of Speech) and the provision was made for discourse.¹³⁶ The Degamve inscription of 1174 mentions that Kamaladevi, the chief queen of Shivachitta Paramadideva, assembled the Brahmanas who were well-versed in different disciplines such as Vedas, *Vedangas*, the eight systems in Hindu philosophies. There are also mentions in the grants that they

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² J. F. Fleet, "Goa Plates of Shashtadeva II Kaliyuga 4348." *The Indian Antiquary* XIV: pp. 288–291.

¹³³ K. V. Ramesh, "Four Stone Inscriptions from Goa." *Epigraphia Indica* 37(6): pp. 282–288.

¹³⁴ G. M. Moraes, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 394-400.

¹³⁵ G. M. Moraes, *Op. Cit.* pp. 465-467.

¹³⁶ P. B. Desai, *Op. Cit.* pp. 71-77.

were bestowed on scholars of scriptures and medicine¹³⁷, yoga¹³⁸, astrology and astronomy¹³⁹ and also the sons of Jotishya.¹⁴⁰

2.6 Inscriptions dating to the later Kadamba period

2.6.1 Korgaon Copper Plate of Bhima Bhupal dated *Shake* 1273

The record is a grant dated *Shake* 1273. It gives a relatively proper genealogy of the dynasty giving the names of eight predecessors of the king. The king belonged to the *Suryavansh* and the kingdom was bestowed with the blessings of lord Shiva. The inscription records the grant of land, Bhagaravati, from Pedina grama, made by King Bhima Bhupal to Ravala Thakur, the son of Lakhama Thakur of Vatsya *gotra*. It is mentioned in the grant that the king ruled from Gopakapuri.¹⁴¹

2.7 Goa under Vijaynagara

The Vijaynagara empire was established by two brothers, Harihara I and Bukka I of the Sangama dynasty, in 1336. It was encouraged by Vidyanaryaswami, also known as Madhava, the then-head of the Shringeri Matha.

¹³⁷S. G. Kadamb, *Op. Cit.* pp. 159-165.

¹³⁸J. F. Fleet. *Op. Cit.* pp. 278-280.

¹³⁹ P. B. Desai, *Op. Cit.* pp. 29-32.

¹⁴⁰ G. S. Gai, "Gadivore Grant of Shashtadeva (II), Kali Year 4357." *Epigraphia Indica* XXXIV: pp. 105-110.

¹⁴¹ V T. Gune, "Korgaon Copper-Plate Grant of King Bhimabhupal of Goa Saka 1273." *Newsletter of Historical Archives of Goa* I (I): pp. 49-54.

Goa was one of the prominent ports for the horse trade. The horses were brought from the Middle East and were sought for warfare. Goa was conquered during the rule of Harihara II in the year 1377. The charter of 1391 gives us the details of the annexation of Goa.

2.7.1 Vijaynagara Charter dated *Shake* 1313

The inscription gives a detailed report about the conquest of Goa by Madhav Mantri. It states that the Prime Minister of Harihara conquered Goa from the *Turushkas* (Turks) and restored the worship of Saptakotishwar and other idols that had been uprooted by them. The inscription tells us that he set up an *agrahara* at Kuchchar, also called Madhavapura, with twenty-five allotments to twenty-four Brahmanas well-versed in the Vedas and Shastras.¹⁴² The village of Kuchchar is identified with the Kochare village of Sawantwadi in Maharashtra.¹⁴³ Another grant was found with a Pandit in Goa says that Madhava, the Chief Minister of Vira Harihara, the son of Dwivedi Chaundibhatta, granted lands in the name of his mother, Machambika. The village was called Manchalapura and was essentially a *Brahmapuri* where lands and houses were built for the Brahmanas and a flowing stream was called Madhava Tirtha.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² George LeGrand Jacob, "Observations on Three Copperplate Charters, Granted Respectively AD 933, AD 1261 and AD 1391, with Facsimiles, Transcripts and Translations." *Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 4, no. 15, 1852, pp. 108-109.

¹⁴³ V. T. Gune, *Op. Cit.* p. 128.

¹⁴⁴ Bhau.Daji Lad, "Brief Notes on Madhava and Sayana." *Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 9, no. 26, 1869, p. 228.

In 1403-04, a Goan named Mai Sinai Vagle was appointed governor. An inscription

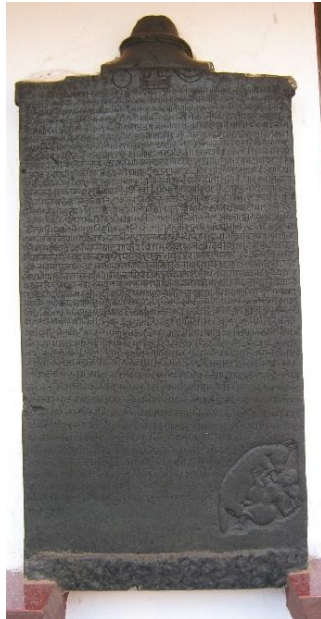


Figure 2.4: Nageshi Stone Inscription dated *Shake* 1335, at Nageshi, Ponda, Goa.

belonging to the reign of Deva-Raya I dated *Shake* 1335 states that Najana Gosavi was the governor when the village of Bandavade was granted on Mai Senveya, the son of

Purusha Senveya, for conducting the rituals of God Naganatha and Mahalakshmi (figure 2.4). It is a bilingual inscription in Marathi and Sanskrit and Nagari script. There

were at least five governors during the reign of Deva-Raya I. By the time of Virupaksha II, their power was on the decline.¹⁴⁵ The Portuguese historians say that before the conquest of Goa by Mahmud Gawan in 1472, Goa had already declared

independence from the Vijaynagara. In contrast, Muslim historians document that it was still under Vijaynagara's rule.¹⁴⁶ Mahmud Gawan, the governor of Sultan Mohammad Shah, marched against Goa and brought it under Bahamani rule from 1470 to 1472. The Vijaynagara Governor, Amraji, fled the post, and Vijaynagara lost Goa to the Bahamanis.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁵ Gerald A. Pereira, *An Outline of Pre-Portuguese History of Goa*. G. Pereira, 1973, p. 72.

¹⁴⁶ V. T. Gune, *Op. Cit.* pp. 130.

¹⁴⁷ Gerald Pereira, *Op. Cit.* p. 76.

2.8 Bahamani Sultanate

The Bahamani Sultanate was established in 1347, under the leadership of Zafar Khan, also known as Sultan Allauddin Gangu Bahamani, as the first independent sultanate in the Deccan.¹⁴⁸ He wanted to conquer the ports of the islands of Goa and Dabhol to gain a monopoly over the horse trade. This resulted in a long dispute with the Hindu chieftains ruling over Goa, who were the feudatories of Vijaynagara kings. In 1357, Bahaman Shah divided his kingdom into four provinces due to internal conflicts. In 1368, he had Goa under control by defeating Bukka I in a series of wars. References to the religious persecution at the hands of the Muslims can be found elaborated in the *Konkan-Akhyana*. It specifically mentions that for fear of desecration, at the hands of the Muslim rulers, the Linga of Saptakotishwar was removed from the temple and buried in the nearby rice field in Naroa of Divar Island. It lay in the field until it was restored by Madhav Mantri, as mentioned in the Vijaynagara charter.

The persecution of the Hindus led to the migration of various families either to the north in Sangameshwar or to the south in Kanara. It led to the setting up of the Chitrapura *Math* in the Kanara district.

In the words of Portuguese historian Joao de Barros, before the annexation of Goa at the hands of Mahmud Gawan, the chief of Bankapur held the *Thanadari* lands of Goa. The chief of Naiks of Goa revolted against the Bahamanis. They also served as the bodyguards of Vijaynagara rulers in war. It was during this time that for about ten years, there was peace between Vijaynagara and Bahamanis.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸ V. T. Gune, *Op. Cit.* pp. 124-125.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p.126.

The Bahamani kingdom was split into five parts and Goa came under the rule of Yusuf Adil Shah by 1502.¹⁵⁰ The Portuguese Chroniclers claim that during Adil Shah's rule in Goa, the capital was transferred to Ela from Gopakapattana as the Zuari became shallow while the Mandovi, on whose banks Ela was situated, was broad and deep.¹⁵¹ The vestiges of the Bahamani and the Adil Shahi administration can be seen in the two Arabic and two Persian inscriptions displayed in the Archaeological Survey of India Museum, Old Goa.¹⁵²

2.9 The Portuguese in Goa

The Portuguese conquered Goa from Adil Shah on 25th November 1510 after a series of wars in alliance with the Vijayanagara commander Timoja. Timoja intended to take over Goa from the Portuguese in exchange for trade. However, Albuquerque intended to stay on as he started erecting fortifications of the city after the conquest of Goa. There was an indiscriminate massacre of the Muslim population after the conquest of Goa, as the Portuguese had grudges for their treachery. However, there was a cordial and friendly relationship between Albuquerque and the Hindus. After the death of Albuquerque, pressure was exerted on the Hindu population for conversion to Christianity by the Franciscans after 1515. Goa was raised to the status of Bishopric in the year 1534 and the destruction of the Hindu temples started after 1540 under Miguel Vaz and Diogo Borba. It was in 1541 that the policy of *Rigor de Misericordia* or

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p. 135.

¹⁵¹ Gerald Pereira, *Op. Cit.* pp. 86-87.

¹⁵² V. Gopala Rao, 'Temples of Goa: An Architectural Study', Unpublished Thesis, Goa University, p.

"Rigour of Mercy" was implemented, which led to the forcible conversion of the local population, destruction of temples, and acquisition of the lands of the temples by the Christian churches and missionaries. A forty-one-point plan was sent to the King from Evora in 1545. The point three of the plan stated that idol worship should not be allowed in the Portuguese territories, temples should not be allowed to exist, making of idols in any material should be banned, Brahman preachers should not be allowed in the Hindu houses, and person in charge of St. Paul's should have the authority to check the houses of Hindus for the possible existence of idols. The persecution in Bardez and Salcete was implemented in 1546 after its acquisition in 1543. The idols were broken and temples were burned during the missionary zeal; hence the locals started shifting the deities to the territories which were in the hands of the indigenous rulers. The Franciscans were in charge of the activities in Bardez, and the Jesuits were in charge of the activities in Salcete. The full list of the temples destroyed in the Portuguese territories can be found in *Tombo da Ilha de Goa e das Terras de Salcete e Bardes* by Francisco Pais.¹⁵³

The Inquisition was established in India in the year 1560. It was an ecclesiastical tribunal for suppression of Heresy and punishment to heretics and was called "The Holy Office".¹⁵⁴ With the establishment of the Inquisition, the participation of the new converts in the Hindu ceremonies and various anti-Hindu Laws came into force and many Hindu Brahmans were banished from the territories.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵³ Anant Kakba Priolkar, *The Goa Inquisition*, pp. 58-84.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid*, p. 1.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 112-114.

The territories under the local rulers fostered the establishment of the shifted deities, and the building of new temples commenced. The new temples were conjoined in the *gaunkari* system, which existed in these areas along with the existing systems.¹⁵⁶

By 1788, the Portuguese could conquer the territories of Pernem, Bicholim, Sattari, Ponda, Quepem, Sanguem and Canacona from the Bhosle of Sawantwadi and King of Sonda.¹⁵⁷ The persecution of the Hindus in these territories was abated due to the immunities provided at the behest of the local rulers.¹⁵⁸

Two stone inscriptions have also been found dating to this period which shed light on the religious scenario of this period.

2.9.1 Stone Inscription of Vithaldas Vithoji dating to 1579 C.E.

This inscription refers to the installation of a Rameshwar Linga at Cuncolim by Vithaldas Vithoji, son of Mogoji Lokata, a Maratha *Gaonkar*. It appeals to the Marathas and the Muslims to protect it and invokes a curse on the destroyer.¹⁵⁹

2.9.2 Adcona Stone Inscription of Chatrapati Sambhaji dating to 1688 C.E.

It refers to certain regulations known as *Angabhade* implemented by the Muslim rulers on traders and reforms introduced by him to abolish it and executed by the officer Dharmaji Nagnath. The inscription starts with an invocation to Ganesh and Lakshmi. It

¹⁵⁶ Paul Axelrod and Michelle A. Fuerch. "Flight of the Deities: Hindu Resistance in Portuguese Goa." pp. 387-421.

¹⁵⁷ V. T. Gune, pp. 186.

¹⁵⁸ Padmaja Vijay Kamat, 'Ponda: A History of Temples', Unpublished Thesis, Goa University, p. 13.

¹⁵⁹ Original transcript obtained from the Goa State Museum, Panaji- Goa.

also mentions *Anantaurjadesh* (the taluka of Ponda named so due to the temple of Ananta in Savoi-Verem).¹⁶⁰

The reconstruction of the temples was in full vigour in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the territories of Goa, which were beyond the control of the Portuguese. These temples were dedicated to the deities who were shifted during the religious fervour of the Portuguese in the sixteenth century and were kept in makeshift arrangements. The temples were built in the areas under the rule of the local rulers, especially in the modern talukas of Bicholim and Ponda. During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, the northern areas of modern-day Goa were governed by the Marathas and the southern territories were governed by the kings of Sonda. The patronage of the Hindu rulers resulted in the reconstruction of the shifted temples in the new territories on a magnificent scale. The temples were designed closely in line with the traditional Hindu structures with a blend of Christian and Muslim influences in architecture and decorative motifs.¹⁶¹ The sculptures in these temples were carved by the local carpenters belonging to *Chari* caste. The *Charis* were well-versed in the art of sculpting. Some of them also replicated the earlier image. Some well-known workshops where the carpenters also served as sculptors were in Betoda and Wadi in Ponda taluka and Idder in Canacona taluka.¹⁶²

In the second half of the eighteenth century, the Portuguese expanded their territories by including the talukas of Pernem, Bicholim, Sattari, Ponda, Quepem, Sanguem and

¹⁶⁰ Original transcript obtained from the Goa State Museum, Panaji- Goa.

¹⁶¹ David Kowal, "The Hindu Temples of Seventeenth-and Eighteenth-Century Goa: The Maintenance of a Sacred Integrity and the Process of East-West Cross Fertility." *Portuguese Studies Review*, vol. 9, no. 1–2, 2001, pp. 398–434.

¹⁶² Information gathered during field visits.

Canacona from the Bhosle of Sawantwadi and King of Sonda. In 1764, the territories of Ponda, Sanguem, Quepem and Canacona were occupied by the Portuguese in exchange for the aid provided to the King of Sonda in his defence against Hyder Ali. In 1781-1782, they gained control over the territories of Bicholim and Sattari and in 1788, they were able to conquer Pernem.¹⁶³ The persecution of the Hindus in these territories was abated due to the immunities provided at the behest of the local rulers.¹⁶⁴

2.10 Current Scenario

The period after the Liberation of Goa saw a new era in its religious history. The Office of Conservation Assistant of the Archaeological Survey of India was set up in Goa in 1964. It was set up under the Aurangabad circle and the Archaeological Museum was set up in the Convent of St. Francis of Assisi in Old Goa in the same year. The Survey took over the maintenance of the monuments of national significance in Goa in 1968. It started the excavation of the site at Chandor in the year 1974-1975. The site was earlier excavated by Fr. Henry Heras in 1929. He found the fort and a brick temple dedicated to Shiva and the sculptures of Saptamatrikas, Tirthankara, Sadhu, Sati-Stone, Nandi, Vishnu, the lotus flower of a temple ceiling and of the goddess whom he considered as Gaja-Gauri which are displayed in the Museum of Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College in Bombay.¹⁶⁵ The Archaeological Survey of India found another smaller structure beneath, suggesting the existence of an earlier smaller shrine. In 1969, the Government set up a combined Department of Archives,

¹⁶³ V. T. Gune, *Op. Cit.* 186.

¹⁶⁴ Padmaja Vijay Kamat, *Op. Cit.* 13.

¹⁶⁵ Heras, Henry. *Pre-Portuguese Remains in Portuguese India.* 1932, pp. 16-17.

Archaeology and Museums to protect the Goan heritage in the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu. The setting up of the office of the Archaeological Survey of India and the Department of Archives, Archaeology and Museums, and subsequently the Directorate of Museums in the year 1999, boosted the study of archaeological remains in Goa.

On the religious front, many forgotten cults were revived and the common people introduced new cults. The major cults saw a significant revival with the establishment of their popular gods such as Krishna, Hanuman, Ganesha, Vishnu, Shiva and Durga, in most of the wards of the village. A small shrine was set up for these beloved gods by the villagers. The shrine of Krishna was erected especially by the cowherds who met at a cross-section on the hill where they went to graze the cows. The sculptures in these temples were either made by the local sculptors or were commissioned by the sculptors of the neighbouring states such as Maharashtra and Karnataka.

The Liberation of Goa opened doors for new job opportunities for people from the Union of India. People from different States started coming to Goa for better opportunities. These resulted in the settlement of people on a regional basis in certain parts of Goa. The settlements introduced new Cults to Goa that were restricted to small geographical regions. The cults were affiliated with Shaiva or Shakta pantheon and hence, added to the rich religious history of Goa.

New cults have also been introduced to the pantheon. They are Sai Baba, Santoshi Mata and Dattatreya. These cults follow the Puranic ritualistic worship and can be taken for study.

The last three decades have seen renovations of old temples and the building of new temples in the new and existing settlements of people through donations from the general public and the local representatives of the area. The architects building these

temples are well-versed in the different temple architectural styles. The designs are incorporated into the style according to the requirements of the clients. Hence, we can see a lot of North Indian and South Indian styles and motifs incorporated in the temples built in Goa in the last 25 years.¹⁶⁶

The period after Liberation is a new phase of the revival of Hinduism with the popularity of Puranic deities in the history of Goa. The reconstruction of the temples has strengthened the social structure as the masses are actively involved in the festivities related to the temple.

¹⁶⁶ As informed by Architect Abhijit Sadhle earlier, and observed by me during the field visit to Mahalsa temple at Verna on 26th May 2016.

Chapter 3

IMAGE WORSHIP OF THE PURANIC DEITIES

The concept of image worship is an integral part of the Puranic pantheon. The Puranas are the collection of texts comprising myths, legends and beliefs of the people about the creation, destruction and regeneration of the world. The Puranas are traditionally composed in the *Panchalakshana*, that is, *Sarga*, *Pratisarga*, *Vamsha*, *Manvantara*, and *Vamsanucharita*, which include a wide variety of subjects like the creation of the world, cosmology, genealogy of the gods, sages and kings, theological, scientific ritualistic and iconographical information in the form of lore. These lores give us an idea of the social, political, religious and economic scenario of the period in which they were composed. In the words of R. Champakalakshmi, the Puranic tradition is a synthesis of Sanskritic and local traditions. This amalgamation of Brahmanical ways of worship with folk and tribal beliefs, practices and traditions is called Sanskritisation.¹ The worship of an image is deeply rooted in the Indian tradition of *puja*. In the concept of *puja*, the deity is invited to reside in the image and treated as a guest.² In the Puranic form of worship, the image is used as a medium to comprehend and provide easy accessibility to the more complicated metaphysical, mystical and divine domain of Indian philosophy. It serves as a symbol of the divine, which cannot be understood in

¹ R. Champakalakshmi and Usha Kris, *The Hindu Temple*, 2007, p.12. to know more about Sanskritisation, see M. N. Shrinivas, *Social Change in Modern India*, 1995, p. 1- 48.

² Anna L. Dallapiccola, *Dictionary of Hindu Lore and Legend*, 2014, p.157.

any form of visual, verbal or other expressions.³ The emphasis is more on concentration through visual symbols to attain spiritual growth.

This chapter analyses the symbolism of a temple as an image in the philosophical sense. The evolution, iconography and image worship of the major Puranic deities such as Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva in Goa are further elaborated.

3.1 The Temple: Symbolism and its Importance in Image Worship

In terms of symbolism, the temple is perceived as an image of the universe. The temple is a sacred space for the Hindus to worship and venerate God. It aids in the spiritual consciousness of the being. The temple is described as an abode of God, where he resides in his iconic or aniconic form. R. Champakalakshmi opines that the temple is an instrument of the Puranic tradition as a centre of worship and a model of cosmic symbolism by adopting the universe in the form of *Vastupurushamandala*.⁴ The *Vastupurushamandala* is a *yantra* or geometrical diagram in the shape of a square, symbolising a stable form which serves as a basic form in Indian architecture as a square can be converted to different geometrical patterns such as triangle, hexagon, octagon and circle of equal area.⁵ The rising of the *shikhara* from a square base is an analogy to Mount Meru and serves as a metaphysical and cosmological plan for accumulating spiritual and magical energy.⁶ Hence when the site is prepared for the building of the temple, the diagram of *Vastupurusha* is outlined.⁷ The *vastupurushamandala* is

³ Susan Huntington and John Huntington. *The Art of Ancient India: Buddhist, Hindu, Jain*, 1985, p. xxvi.

⁴ R. Champakalakshmi and Usha Kris, *Op. Cit.* pp.11-19.

⁵ Stella Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*, 1976, p. 21.

⁶ R. Champakalakshmi and Usha Kris, *Op. Cit.* p. 19.

⁷ Stella Kramrisch, *Op. Cit.* p. 8.

mentioned in great detail in the *Brihat Samhita*.⁸ Most of the temples are east-facing in the direction of the rising of the sun, though exceptions can be found in some of the Vishnu temples.⁹ The Agni Purana states that the temple is an embodiment of Vishnu in which the *shikhara* serves as the head, the *garbhagriha* as the neck, the *mandapa* as the sides, the *prakara* as the thighs, *gopura* as the legs and the *dhvaja* as the life-force.¹⁰ The architecture of temples has historical origins based on the basic square shape of the Vedic altar, also known as the *Vedi*, the dolmen or the sepulchre and the tabernacle of the forest made from bamboo, palm leaves or branches of trees.¹¹ The temples were to be built of brick, stone and wood, which were considered sacred.¹² The types of *vastupurushamandala* are specified based on the squares as sixty-four and eighty-one. The image of the cosmos is derived from the presence of planets, the stars and the guardians of 32 directions placed on the borders of the *vastupurushamandala*. Various other idols are placed in the perimeter. The main deity occupies the *brahmasthana*, the place of manifestation. The *padadevatas*, or the subordinated deities, are assigned positions on the borders of the square.¹³ The temple is divided into different parts, the *garbhagriha*, the *antarala*, the *ardha-mandap* and the *mandap*. The *shikhara* sits on top of the *garbhagriha* with a *kalash* installed on it. The temple has multiple shrines having

⁸ Acchutananda Jha (ed.), *Varahamihirachita Brihat Samhita*, 2005, pp. 29-30.

⁹ R. Champakalakshmi and Usha Kris, *Op. Cit.* p. 23.

¹⁰ Mahadev Shastri Joshi (ed.), "Devalaye." *Bharatiya Sanskritikosh*, vol. 4, 2009, pp. 467-487.

¹¹ Stella Kramrisch, *Op. Cit.* pp. 145-160.

¹² *Ibid.* pp. 101-120.

¹³ R. Champakalakshmi and Usha Kris, *Op. Cit.* pp. 19-20.

shikharas lower than the main one. The precincts are known as *parangana*, which have different shrines of the deities affiliated with the temple.¹⁴

The temple building rites were well-known and executed by the *sthapati* or the chief architect. They included drawing a square, planning the site, designing the shape of the temple, elevation, architectural and iconographic features and examining the sanctity of the place. The rituals carried out before the construction of the building included the act of giving stability and purification to the site, insemination of the place included, the ceremonial sowing of seeds to measure the prosperity of the area, levelling the site and drawing the *mandala*. The ritual of sowing seeds was also done before the installation of the image, the rite of opening the eyes of the image and ordaining the sacrificial altar.¹⁵

The ritual of insemination and the installation of *kalash* signifies the importance of fertility and prosperity of the land in building a temple. The temple was conceptualised as an image of the cosmos serving as an abode of *Brahman*. The pre-Portuguese temples in Goa have the basic square shape with octagonal tapering *shikhara* culminating to the finial point in the form of a *kalash* or sloping roof of tiles.

The earliest structural temple discovered was the Mahadev temple at Chandor, which had four phases in its construction. The first phase of construction can be dated from the 1st century C.E. to the 6th century C.E. It was made of bricks and brickbats joined with mud.¹⁶ The temple is in ruins and extensively excavated by the ASI.

The Mahadev temple of Curdi (Figure 3.1) is dedicated to Shiva in the form of

¹⁴ Mahadev Shastri Joshi, *Op. Cit.* pp. 467–487.

¹⁵ R. Champakalakshmi and Usha Kris, *Op. Cit.* pp. 22-23.

¹⁶ V. Gopala Rao, 'Temples of Goa: An Architectural Study', Unpublished Thesis, 2003, pp. 179-80.

Someshwara. The structure is built of laterite and basalt, with a square *garbagriha* and



Figure 3.1: Mahadev Temple of Angod Curdi, dismantled and reconstructed by ASI at Salaulim.

a porch in the front. It has a *Nagara*-styled *shikhara* and the exterior has the look of the *Dravida* style. This temple belongs to the early period of the Kadamba dynasty dating to the 10th century C.E.¹⁷ Similar architectural styles with square *garbagriha* can be seen in the Bhumika

temple at Usgao, Bhaukadevi temple in Amona, Shantadurga temple at Verlem (now in ruins), Mahamaya temple at Nunem, Paikdev temple at Bhati, Madhav temple at Shiroda. The temples of Mahamaya, Paikdev and Madhav had been extended by adding a *mukhamandap* in front of the temple, but the *garbagriha* has been kept intact. Local architectural designs in square shapes of *garbagriha* with a porch in front can be seen



Figure 3.2: Narayandev Temple, Kunkaliem, Ponda Goa.

in the Narayandev temple at Kunkaliem, Ponda, Siddhanath temple, Ponda, and Mahadev temple at Shimepain, Mardol. The Narayandev temple of Kunkaliem in Ponda taluka (figure 3.2) featured the idol of Padmanabha, an exquisite example of the Kadamba sculpture, which is

presently displayed in the Goa State Museum. The square design is more popular in Goa for the temples of *Parivar-devatas* or the folk deities.

¹⁷ Information obtained from the plaque displayed by the Archaeological Survey of India in the precincts of the Mahadev temple of Curdi which has been dismantled and reconstructed at Salaulim.

The Mahadev temple at Tambdi Surla is the only remaining vestige of the Kadamba art. It gives us an insight into the temples which might have existed in the glorious days of the Kadamba rule, the records of which are found in the inscriptions, the Islamic and Portuguese sources. It is a simple structure of basalt and consisted of a *garbagriha*, *antarala* and pillared *Nandi Mandap*, having a moulded *adisthana* raised by a simple wall. The temple features a two-tiered Kadamba Nagara Vimana. A similar design in laterite with only *garbagriha* and *mandap* can be seen in the Saptakotishwar temple of Opa.

Most temples have a rectangular design with the *garbagriha*, the *antarala*, *ardha-mandap* and *mandap*.



Figure 3.3: Lakshmi-Narayana temple, Savoi-Verem having rectangular design featuring a *tulsi-vrindavan* and *deepa sthamba*.

The pre-Portuguese structures having designs worth mentioning are Lakshmi-Narayan temple Savoi-Verem

(Figure 3.3), ruins of Siddheshwar temple at Netravali, ruins of Chandreshwar Bhutnath at Pernem, ruins of Narayandev and Mahishasuramardini temple at Vichundrem. The rectangular design is popular in most of the modern temples of Goa.

The *trikutachala* temples can also be seen in Goa. Some prominent examples which can be cited are the Madhav-Govind-Rameshwar temple at Agapur. Ramnath-Santeri-Kamakshi temple at Ramnathi and Jnaneshwar-Ganapati temple at Madkai.

*Tirtha*¹⁸ was preferred for the site of Mahadev temples. The examples are Saptakotishwar at Opa and Diwar, Mahadev temple at Tambdi Surla, Someshwar temple at Curdi and Saptakotishwar temple at Salgini are examples in this context. Other prominent features in the Goan temples are the temple tank, the *tulsi vrindavan*, *dhvajasthamba* and the *deepasthamba* in the precincts of the temple.

The architectural style changed during the Islamic and Portuguese periods (the temples in the regions beyond the Portuguese domain) and the post-Portuguese period due to the lack of availability of traditionally skilled artisans and workers who moved in search of greener pastures due to the lack of patronage. The temples dating later than the 16th century had features influenced by Islamic and European architecture.

3.2 Image Worship of Brahma: The Creator of the Universe

Brahma is considered as the creator and the foremost god in the Hindu triad. He is perceived as the creator, the dawn and the recipient of prayers.¹⁹ He is adorned with four faces facing the four directions and four hands symbolising the four Vedas, four *yugas* and four *varnas*.²⁰ It was believed that he had five heads, one of which was cut as a punishment by Shiva. There are various stories linked to his losing a head and hence resulting in his fall from glory. According to one legend, Brahma and Vishnu were fighting over who the creator was when a huge pillar came up between them. It

¹⁸ *Tirtha* generally means the confluence of three rivers but is taken as a river bank in this context. The only temple situated on the confluence of the river in this context is at Diwar and is still revered as a *tirtha*.

¹⁹ M. S. Dimand, "A Stone Figure of Brahma." *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, vol. 22, no. 5, 1927, p. 136.

²⁰ Balaram Shrivastava (ed.), *Shri Sutradhara Pranite Vastushastre Rupamandanam*, 1964, p. 122.

was decided that the one who finds the end of the pillar would be considered the supreme God. Brahma rode his swan and searched for the top of the pillar, whereas Vishnu took the form of a boar and started digging down to find its base. As ages passed, Brahma could not find the top. Afraid that Vishnu would find the base, he requested a *ketaki* flower, falling from the top, to tell Vishnu that he had reached the top from where he retrieved the flower. The *ketaki* flower agreed to do the same. When they came down to the usual spot, they met an exhausted Vishnu. Vishnu confessed that he could not reach the bottom of the unending pillar. Brahma declared that he was the supreme Lord as he had reached the top and brought the *ketaki* flower to prove it. The flower also lied to Vishnu. At that point in time, a blinding light emerged from the pillar and took the form of Shiva, who cut off Brahma's head for lying and cursed him that henceforth he would not be worshipped as he had lied and would not have a cult for himself. He also cursed the *ketaki* flower so it would not be used to worship Shiva.²¹ Another legend mentions that when Brahma created the first woman, he was mesmerised by her, which disgusted Shiva, who cut off his head and cursed him so that, henceforth, he would not be worshipped. Hence Brahma ended up having four heads and Shiva got the name *Brahmasirachhedaka*.²²

3.2.1 The Evolution of Brahma

The evolution of the cult of Brahma is ascribed to the pre-Vedic worship of the five natural elements, namely, water, fire, earth, wind and ether. These elements were later deified in the Vedas and were attributed to the status of the tattvas responsible for the

²¹ Jitendra Nath Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, 1985, p. 462.

²² *Ibid*, p. 465.

creation of the universe in the Samkhya philosophy.²³ The Rig Veda ascribes the aspects of creation to *Visvakarma, Brahmanaspati, Hiranyagarbha and Prajapati*.²⁴ The *Satapatha Brahmana* ascribes the source of creation to the epicene Brahma. It also mentions that Prajapati, whose main function was supporting the universe, originated from Brahma. This role was later ascribed to Vishnu. The *Mundaka Upanishad* described Brahma as the first of gods and the preserver of the universe. The *Manusmriti* described him as being born of the golden egg and ascribed the epithet Narayana to him.²⁵ The Aitareya Brahmana mentions that Brahma is invariably worshipped as Brahmanas. The Brahmanas are perceived to be the living form of Brahma. The adulation of the High Priest during a sacrifice is symbolic of the worship of Brahma.²⁶ It can be noted that Brahma had a significant following during the period in which the early scriptures were composed. The origins of the *Pancharatra* cult were initially attributed to Brahma and his followers were known as the Brahmanas.²⁷ However, Varahamihira mentions that Brahma may only be worshipped by Brahmins proficient in Vedic rites.²⁸ The scriptures mention that after the creation of the beings in the universe, Brahma gave up his body, which became the *Ratra*. The Vedic gods revived him by performing sacrifices in his honour. The revival of Brahma led to a new form of worship with sacrificial offerings in his honour. These stories give us an insight into

²³ Tarapada Bhattacharyya, *The Cult of Brahma*, 1969, p. iii.

²⁴ Jitendra Nath Banerjea, *Op. Cit.* pp. 510-511.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, "An Indian Image of Brahmā." *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, vol. 40, no. 239, 1942, pp. 40.

²⁷ Tarapada Bhattacharyya, *Op. Cit.* pp. i-iv.

²⁸ Acchutananda Jha, (ed.), *Op. Cit.* pp. 166.

the development of Brahma from a pre-Vedic god to a Vedic god.²⁹ The word *Pancharatra* is defined as having originated from five different gods, five different ways of worship, or five different kinds of knowledge.³⁰

The role of Brahma declined during the later period due to the assimilation of his characteristics into other Vedic gods. The advantage of this was taken by the *Puranas*, which ascribed his degeneration to his feeble character. The *Ratra* cults were also related to *Kaala*, *Rishis* and *Pitrins*. The *Pancharatra Samhita* mentions that the primary creation was done by Purusha, Prakriti and Kaala. According to the *Brahmanda Purana*, when Brahma was engaged in creation after the great flood, the seven *Maharishis* looked at him from the *Mahat-loka*. The *Satapatha Brahmana* mentions that the night is allocated to the *pitirins*. *Pitirins* are the souls of the ancestors who are revered by the people during the *shraddha* and the *pindadana* rites.³¹

3.2.2 The Iconography of Brahma

The images of Brahma should have four heads facing each direction. He should have four arms and can either be seated or standing. Each head should be adorned with *Jatamukuta*. He should be shown on a *padmapitha* or hamsa in *padmasana* if seated. His attributes include *akshamala*, *kurcha*, *kusa*, *kamandalu*, *sruk*, *sruva*, *ajyasthali*, *abhaya mudra*, *varada mudra* and *pustaka*. He should be adorned with *makara kundala*, *yajnasutra*, *uttariya*, *udarbandha*, necklaces, torque, armlets, bracelets, anklets and finger rings. His consorts include *Savitri* and *Saraswati*.³² The *Brihat Samhita* mentions

²⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 3-7.

³⁰ *Ibid*, p.1.

³¹ *Ibid*, pp. 17-18.

³² Balaram Shrivastava, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 122-125.

that Brahma should have four heads and *kamandalu* in hand.³³ The *Rupamandana* suggests that Brahma should have a beard,³⁴ and *Varaha Purana* states that he should have his eyes closed in meditation.³⁵

3.2.3 Image Worship of Brahma in Goa

There are six images currently worshipped in the temples of Goa, of which two are in independent temples and three are affiliate deities. Besides, one image is kept in the spare room close to the temple in Kudne.

3.2.3.1 Brahma as Independent Deity

The biggest and the most famous of the five images is at Brahma-Karmali in Sattari taluka. The hamlet in the village of Nagargaon or Chandigram is known as Brahma-Karmali as it houses the statue of Brahma transferred from the village of Karmali or Carambolim in Tiswadi taluka to elude destruction of the temple at the hands of the Portuguese. This temple is mentioned to be one of the biggest and to have existed without *Mahajans* or a cult following. The image was shifted to the current location in 1541.³⁶ The image is a masterpiece of Kadamba art and is dated to the 12th century C.E. It is 150 cm in height, standing on a pedestal. The image has four faces facing four directions. The front face sports a beard and a moustache, while the left and the right faces have a clean-shaven look. He is standing in a *samabhanga sthanaka* holding a *sruva* in his right upper hand, a *pustaka* in his left upper hand, a *kamandalu* in his left

³³ Acchutananda Jha (ed.), *Op. Cit.*, vol II, p. 149.

³⁴ Balaram Shrivastava, *Op. Cit.*, p. 123.

³⁵ T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*. Vol. Two. Part II, 1993, p. 505.

³⁶ Rui Gomes Pereira, *Hindu Temples and Deities: Goa*, 1978, pp. 42-43

lower hand and his right lower hand is adorned in *varada mudra* holding *akshamala*. The matted locks of his hair sit on each head in a *jatamukuta* adorned with different ornaments. He is embellished with different ornaments such as *makara kundalas*, *haar*, *bhuja bhushanas*, *keyuras*, *valayas*, *udarbandha* and *mekhala* with hanging tassels. He wears the *yadnyopavita* and a long garland resembling Vishnu's *vaijayantimala*. His front face has a mature look, while his left and right faces have a youthful look. Two female attendants kneel with hands folded in *anjali mudra* beside him. His consort, Saraswati, stands on his right with a musical instrument resembling a *veena* in her left hand, and her right is in *katiga mudra*, while Savitri stands on his left with her right hand barely visible behind his *kamandalu* and her left hand is in *katiga mudra*. Both are standing in *tribhanga* posture. He is standing on a pedestal with two swans flanked by ascetics on either side. The *prabhavali* is ornately carved with elephants surmounted by lions, bestraddled by *makara*. It is ornamented by motifs of lotus, swans and *makara* intertwined with a vine. Three ascetics are shown seated in *sukhasana* in the niches on the left, right and above him. The fourth face could not be seen as the image is currently in worship and entry is prohibited in the *garbagriha*.

The second independent image worshipped was located in Parshem, in Pernem, the northernmost taluka of Goa. This image dates to the early Chalukyan Period.³⁷ It is 120 cm in height and 30 cm wide. It is a freestanding image sporting four heads facing each direction. He holds the *sruga* and *sruva* in his upper hands, and his lower left hand holds the *kamandalu* and his lower right hand holds the *pustaka*. This image is currently housed in the reserve collection of the Goa State Museum and can be seen on request. Rui Gomes Pereira mentioned that it was found in an uninhabited place and was

³⁷ V. T. Gune, *Ancient Shrines of Goa: A Pictorial Survey*. 1979, Plates 5-5a.

abandoned in the forest.³⁸ V. T. Gune mentioned that it is a tradition to keep Brahma images in a secluded place deliberately.³⁹

3.2.3.2 Brahma as Affiliate Deity



Figure 3.4: Brahma sculpture at Kudne, Bicholim.

There are three sculptures of Brahma currently worshipped in the precincts of the temples in Veling in Ponda taluka, Colomb in Sanguem taluka and Loliem in Canacona taluka as the affiliate deity of the main temple. One sculpture is in the store room in front of the Kelbai and Betal temples at Kudne.

The sculpture of Brahma at Kudne, Bicholim (Figure 3.4) is preserved in a spare room in the precincts of the

Gajantalakshmi-Kelbai temple and is not in worship. The sculpture has only one head and four arms and looks like

Vishnu at first glance, but the attributes in the upper arms are *sruka* and *sruva*. The lower arms are broken and hence the attributes cannot be ascertained. The sculpture is completely worn out, but the face cut suggests that it is a specimen of Chalukya-Shilahara art.



Figure 3.5: Brahma of Colomb in Sanguem taluka.

The sculpture of Brahma from Colomb in Sanguem taluka (Figure 3.5) is currently displayed in the Goa State Museum.

It is dated to the 13th century C.E. It was acquired by the Museum from the committee of the Shantadurga temple of

³⁸ *Ibid*, p. 31.

³⁹ V. T. Gune, *Op. Cit.*, p. 10.

Colomb. The temple of Brahma is in the precincts of the Shantadurga temple at Colomb in Sanguem taluka. The shrine of Brahma is on the left side of the main temple. The sculpture is made of Impure Compact Soap Stone. The sculpture is 108 cm in height and 48.5 cm wide. This image of Brahma has four faces facing four directions. He has four hands and four ears. The attributes are *ankush* in the upper right hand and *pasha* in the upper left hand. The proper left hand is in *varada mudra*, holding a *kamandalu*.



Figure 3.6: Feet of Brahma at Loliem.

The proper right hand is in *abhaya mudra*. The image is well-ornamented with necklaces *udarabandh*, *mekhala*, *katisutra*, *keyuras*, and anklets. Each head is adorned with a crown. On the right side of the deity is the *hamsa* and on the left stands the *chauri*-bearer. The *prabhavali* is decorated with images of *makara*, ascetics, floral motifs and swans. All four faces sports moustaches and beards.⁴⁰

A small shrine of Brahma is located in the precincts of the Keshav temple at Loliem in Canacona taluka (Figure 3.6). The feet of the image is placed in a small shrine on the right side adjoining the central temple. The image of Brahma is in mutilated condition and only the feet are visible.⁴¹ The small feet suggest that the image in the shrine was the smallest image found in Goa.

The sculpture of Brahma at Veling in Ponda taluka (Figure 3.7) is placed in a small shrine known as *Ghumti* behind the Lakshmi-Narasimha temple at Veling in Ponda taluka. This sculpture is a recent one and shows Brahma seated in *Padmasana* on a

⁴⁰ *Catalogue of the Remarkable Sculptures in the Goa State Museum*, 2006, p. 18. The contribution of the section was made to the catalogue by the author of this thesis.

⁴¹ The information was provided by Shri. Raghuchandra Padmanabh Bhat, 75 years, trustee of the temple on 9th March 2021.



Figure 3.7: Brahma behind the Lakshmi-Narsinha temple at Veling in Ponda Taluka

double lotus pedestal with a swan seated on his right. He is shown with four heads and four arms. His four heads are facing the four directions and he sports a clean-shaven look. His matted locks are tied in a top knot. He is holding a *sruka* in his right upper arm, a *pustaka* in his left upper arm, a *kamandalu* in his left lower arm and his right lower arm is in *abhayamudra* holding *akshamala*. The prabhavali is ornamented with floral designs, with the *kirtimukha* aloft the

sculpture.

3.2.3.3 Brahmo

Brahmo is a form of ancestor worship practised in Goa. Menhirs are worshipped as an image of Brahmo and are often considered the aniconic form of Brahma by the locals. The aniconic form of Brahmo worship is being replaced in many places. One of the best examples is in the form of *linga* in the case of Shri Gurudev Brahma *Devasthan* at Khandola. The reference to the worship of Brahma as a form of ancestor worship is mentioned in *Satapatha Brahmana*.⁴² It can be a reminiscence of the once flourishing *ratra* cult in Goa.

3.3 Vishnu: The Preserver of the Universe

Vaishnavism finds its fundamental principle in devotion to God by ultimate surrender. It is also known as Bhagvat Dharma, Ekantika Dharma, Pancharatra and Saatvata. Here

⁴² Tarapada Bhattacharyya, *Op. Cit.* p. 18.

"God Vishnu asks for worship through love."⁴³ Vaishnavism focuses on the worship of God through love, self – surrender and following the path of *Sattva*- pure and selfless devotion, thereby becoming one of the major cults in India. In the Indian triad, Vishnu is perceived as the preserver of the universe. Brahma and Shiva are seen as ascetics, whereas Vishnu is always perceived as the householder. Richard Blurton observes that Vishnu gains popularity as a result of this feature. The worship of Vishnu emphasises the emotions of the devotee without obstructing his daily duties as a householder towards his family and society. In Vaishnavism, the way to reach God is by following one of the two paths, the first path is the path of duties or *karma marg* and the second path is the path of knowledge or *jnana marg*.⁴⁴ He does not demand any harsh penance from his devotee. The *bhakti* cult emphasises the two-way love of the devotee towards God and the love of God towards his devotee.⁴⁵ The cult of Vishnu focuses on the worship of a personal God, pointing towards the monotheistic approach of finding everything in the God.⁴⁶

3.3.1 Antiquity of Vishnu:

The earliest reference to Vishnu as a solar deity is found in the Rig Veda, as one of the twelve Adityas. The primary tasks bestowed on him in the Rig Veda are *urukrama*, *vikrama* and *urugaya*, that is, wide-going and wide traversing.⁴⁷ Vishnu gained some

⁴³ V. P. Chavan, *Vaishnavism of the Gowd Saraswat Brahmins and a Few Konkani Folklore Tales*, 1991, p.11.

⁴⁴ Heinrich Zimmer, *Myth and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*, 1972, p. 27.

⁴⁵ T. Richard Blurton, *Hindu Art*, 1993, pp. 111-112.

⁴⁶ Jitendra Nath Banerjea, *Op. Cit.* p. 393.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p.385.

more significance during the age of Brahmanas. The *Satapatha Brahmana* associated him with sacrifices. The *Mahabharata* identified Vishnu with the *Vasudeva*. He evolved in a major role only in the *Itihasa-Purana* tradition as the preserver of the universe. The *Taittiriya Samhita* introduced the concept of *avatars*. It mentions that *Prajapati* took the form of fish, tortoise and boar.⁴⁸ The worship of Vishnu was brought to the forefront by the *Puranas*. The ones worth mentioning are Vayupurana, Bhagvatapurana, Varaha Purana, Agni Purana, and Matsya Purana. Besides, the *Pancharatra Samhita*, *Satvata Samhita* and *Abhirbudhnya Samhita* are also important sources to comprehend the development of Vaishnavism as a major cult.

Some foreign sources also refer to the development of Vaishnavism. Quintus Curtius Rufus, a Roman historian, in his work *Historiae Alexandri Magni* or Histories of Alexander the Great, referred to the soldiers of King Puru carrying the image of Hercules and installing it in front of the river *Vitasta*. The image of Vasudeva was wrongly identified as that of Hercules by Rufus and the river was identified as Jhelum.⁴⁹ In a passage from section 46 of Chapter I of the Geography, Ptolemy observed that the people of *Vitasta* were worshippers of Vasudeva.⁵⁰ Megasthenes, in his *Indica*, referred to a class of people who specially worshipped the God Hercules. Their cities, Mothora and Klisobora, were watered by the river *Jobanes*. The cities are Mathura, Krishnapura or Gokula on the Yamuna river.⁵¹

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p.389.

⁴⁹ Jitendra Nath Banerjea, "Some Brāmanical Cults in Classical Literature." *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, vol. 20, Nov. 1957, p. 72.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p.78.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, pp. 72-73; Kalpana S. Desai, *Iconography of Vishnu (In Northern India, upto the Medieval Period)*, 1973, p.5.

The literary sources other than *Puranas* include Panini referring to the Vasudeva worship and bhakti cult in his *Ashtadhyayi*. The Buddhist work, *Suttanipata* mentions the cult of Vasudeva and Balarama. Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* refers to a temple of Vishnu built by King Pravarasena. The same text also mentions that king Chandrapida and Lalitaditya built many temples of Vishnu. In the numismatic evidence, the coins of Vishnumitra bear a four-armed seated figure who can be identified as lord Vishnu.⁵²

The first known archaeological evidence for the worship of Vishnu is the Besnagar pillar dating to 120 -100 B.C.E. bearing a seven-line Brahmi inscription stating that the pillar was a *Garuda Dhvaja* set up in honour of *Vasudeva* by a man from Taxila named Heliodorus, the ambassador of the Graeco-Bactrian King Antialkidas. Heliodorus is described as a *Bhagvata* in the inscription.⁵³

The Ghosundi inscription found on the wall of a well in the village of Ghosuni in the Chittorgarh district of Rajasthan, dated to the later first century B.C., records the grant given by a king, Sarvatata, a devotee of Bhagvat for the construction of *Narayanavatika* in honour of Samkarsana-Vasudeva. This inscription suggests the possibility of an ancient shrine dedicated to Samkarsana-Vasudeva containing the images of both gods. Another inscription from Nagari in the Udaipur district contains the same text. Nagari is identified as the ancient city of Madhyamika. In the Mora well inscription the, words like *pratima* and *arca* are used. The fragmented inscription of the column at Bhilsa, the inscribed image at Burhikhar, doorjamb inscription in the Mathura Museum established the evidence of the worship of Vishnu in the pre-Christian era.⁵⁴

⁵² *Ibid*, p. 5.

⁵³ Susan L. Huntington, *Op. Cit.* p. 57.

⁵⁴ R. Champakalakshmi, *Vaishnava Iconography in the Tamil Country*, 1981, pp. 24-25.

3.3.2 Evolution of Vishnu and Vaishnavism:

The emergence of Vishnu as a major god was the result of the syncretic nature of the deity. The masses were able to associate with the various dimensions of the deity. D. D. Kosambi observed that the people moved towards the beliefs of Shankara and Ramanuja due to the socio-economic imbalance caused by the regression of Buddhism due to their excessive spending on building huge monasteries.⁵⁵ He further states that the more powerful and elite class turned to Shiva and the peasants turned to Vishnu. The philosophy of Ramanuja's *Vishishtā-Advaita* was more appealing to the people as it focused on the individual soul worshipping at the feet of the universal soul while retaining its identity, that is, the state of *bhakti*, which was contradictory to Shankara's Advaita philosophy where the individual soul merged with the universal soul. Kosambi believed that the popularity of the cult was the result of the syncretic nature of Narayana. Narayana etymologically means "he who sleeps upon the flowing waters (nārā)"⁵⁶ and may find its roots in the Indus Valley culture, noticing similarities between the Mesopotamian God Ea or Enki, who also apparently sleeps in his chamber in the middle of waters. He believed that the cult of Krishna was synthetic.⁵⁷ The cult of Krishna is the combination of philosophies of many sages that led to the founding of modern Krishna. Kosambi mentions *rishis* like Krishna Angiras, Ghora Angiras, Sandipani, Durvasa and lastly, Krishna, the athletic killer of Kamsa and Kaliya. He further elaborated that the hero himself was killed in the end, which led to Krishna being more relatable to the people. Kosambi also focused on the rivalry between the

⁵⁵ D. D. Kosambi, *Myth and Reality: Studies in Formation of Indian Culture*, 2005, p. 20.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

dark Pre-Aryans against the marauding Aryans and the fact that Krishna and Arjun are even considered non-*Kshatriyas* by the likes of Panini. The use of the wheel as a principal weapon is also highlighted in the Pre-Aryan cult as the cave paintings at Mirzapur dated to 800 C.E. provide references to the wheel. In contrast, the Vedas did not provide any reference to the wheel.⁵⁸ Kosambi also pointed out that "... all difficult ritual or observances are replaced by one supreme virtue, faith in the all-pervading God. Flexibility in practice, rigidity in theory, contempt for mere logical self-consistency, which characterise the religion are clearly displayed in their full vigour."⁵⁹

3.3.3 Image worship of Vishnu:

The image worship got momentum in Hinduism during the Gupta period. The major features in Gupta sculptures were that God looked directly at the devotees with blessing postures. In this context, A. L. Basham observed, "Broad and sturdy, cheerfully smiling, the God looks straight ahead at his worshippers, his right hand raised in blessing –the god of good-natured, happy people".⁶⁰ Equal importance was also given to the ornamentation of sculptures. S. L. Huntington said that "for the most part, the Indic artist based his visualisation on the human form - its ornamentation, poses and shapes- and the translation of its familiar characteristics into the multi-headed, multi-limbed being who inhabits realms beyond human existence".⁶¹ Various inscriptions mentioning

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 20-27.

⁵⁹ D. D. Kosambi, "The Avatara Syncretism and the Possible Sources of the Bhagavad-Gita." *Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol XXIV, 1948-49, pp.121-134.

⁶⁰ A. L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, 1991, p. 372.

⁶¹ Susan L. Huntington, *Op. Cit.* p. XXVII.

the worship of Vishnu are found during the Gupta period. The Kathiawad inscription of Chakrapalitha, dating to 456 C.E., refers to a temple of Vishnu. Chakrapalitha was the son of a governor of Skandagupta. An inscription at Eran in the Sagar district dated 483 C.E. informs that Matr Vishnu and Dhanyavishnu had erected a flagstaff in honour of Janardana. A copper-plate inscription of 495 C.E. from Khoh refers to the restoration of the temple of Vishnu. An Iron pillar inscription near Kutub Minar, dated 5th century C.E., identifies the pillar as the flagstaff of Vishnu. The Chakravikrama coin of Vikramaditya also testified to the same fact. Besides, a temple dated to the 8th century C.E. dedicated to Vishnu existed at Sirpur in the Raipur district of Madhya Pradesh. At Osian, the Dodad Inscription dated to the 9th century C.E. refers to building a temple to Goga Narayana.⁶²

The modern-day Vishnu is the result of the synthesis of three gods - Vishnu, the Vedic sun god; the Vrishni hero Vasudeva-Krishna; and the Narayana, the God from the Brahmanas. J. N. Banarjea points out that the evolution of the Vishnu cult revolves around three main theories: the cult of Panchaviras, later integrated into the Sankhya philosophy, the theory of Vibhava and the theory of Vyuha. The cult of the Ekantis and the Pancharatras influenced the Samkhya philosophy. The chief God of the Ekantis, or the hero of the Vrishni race, is Vasudeva, his brother Samkarsana, his sons Pradhyumna and Samba, and his grandson Aniruddha. These five gods form the *Panchaviras* of the Vrishni race. The theory of incarnation is the core of the Vibhava philosophy. The Satapatha Brahmana and Taittiriya Samhita mention Prajapati incarnates to save the world. Prajapati takes the incarnation of *Matsya*, *Kurma* and *Varaha* (fish, tortoise and wild boar). This theory forms the nucleus of the *Dashavatara* theory, which later on

⁶² Kalpana S. Desai, *Op. Cit.* pp. 9-10.

came to be associated with Vishnu. The cosmological belief of the Sankhya system perceives the great God as Para along with his consort Sri Devi, who is the epitome of *Bhuti* and *Kriya* (matter and action) and creates six *Gunas* that combine to form the *viras*. *Vasudeva*, *Samkarshana*, *Pradyumna* and *Aniruddha* formed the *Chaturvyuha* or the *Chaturmurti* leading to the *Vyuha* theory. The *Chaturvimsati murti* resulted from the permutation and combination of the *gunas* and the *ayudhyas* of Vishnu. These sculptures were influenced by the Guptas or by the *Pancharatras*.⁶³

R. S. Gupte sum up J. N. Banerjea's observation as "Vishnu is conceived in his five main aspects -*Para* the highest, *Vyuha* the emanatory, *Vibhava* the incarnatory, *Antaryamun* the inner controller of all beings, and *Arocha* the iconic representation of God".⁶⁴

T. A. Gopinath Rao, in his work *The Elements of Hindu Iconography*, observed that the images of Vishnu are generally represented as standing, sitting and reclining, that is, *Stanaka murti* *Asana murti* and *Shayana murti*. They are further classified into *Yoga*, *Bhoga*, *Vira* and *Abhicharaka*. These characteristics are categorised by the worshipper, that is, the yogi or ascetic should worship the *Yoga* form of Vishnu; those who desire luxury should worship the *Bhoga* form; those who crave power should worship the *Vira* form, and kings and conquerors of enemies should worship *Abhicharika* form. The number of *Parivar devatas* accompanying these forms gives *Vishnu* the character of *Uttama* or superior, *Madhyama* or middle and *Adhama* or inferior. *Yoga murtis* can be categorised into *yoga-sthanaka murti*, *yoga-asana murti* and *yoga-shayana murti* in *uttama*, *madhyama* or *adhama* form. The temples for these Murtis should be situated far away from the village precincts as the worshipper *yogi* may desire a more calm and

⁶³ Jitendra Nath Banerjea, *Op. Cit.* pp. 386-389.

⁶⁴ R. S. Gupte, *Iconography of the Hindus, Buddhist and Jains*, 1972, p. 28.

serene environment for meditation and to accomplish the goals. *Bhoga murtis* can be categorised into *bhoga-sthanaka murti*, *bhoga-asana murti* and *bhoga-shayana murti* in *uttama*, *madhyama* or *adhama* form. The *bhoga murtis* are best suited for worship among the common people; hence, the temples dedicated to them should be set up amid a settlement. *Vira murti* can be categorised into *vira-sthanaka murti*, *vira-asana murti* and *vira-shayana murti* in *uttama*, *madhyama* or *adhama* form. The temples dedicated to this form can be situated inside or outside the settlement depending on the same requirement. Likewise, *abhicharaka murti* can be categorised into *abhicharaka-sthanaka murti*, *abhicharaka-asana murti* and *abhicharaka-shayana murti* in *uttama*, *madhyama* or *adhama* form. This form is inauspicious; hence, temples dedicated to them had to be far away from the settlements, especially in isolated places.⁶⁵

J. N. Banarjea observed that the classification is seldom followed in India. According to him, the most revered images are the *bhoga* for obvious reasons and *yoga* being the second. He pointed out the complete absence of the other two in his findings. The last, being considered inauspicious in nature, might have been immersed in water after due worship.⁶⁶

The incarnations of Vishnu can be categorised into *avatars*, *avesha* and *amsha*. *Avatars* are the complete incarnation, temporary or partial incarnation is known as an *avesha* and *amsha* is an element of the power of the divinity. The most popular version is the *Dasha-avatars* or the ten incarnations. The *Bhagwat Purana* mentions twenty-two *avatars*. The *avatars* are shown in animal, human or anthropomorphic forms. Besides these, there are also sculptural representations of *Chaturvimsatimurtis* with their corresponding *Shaktis*. The *Chaturvimsatimurtis* are classified on the attributes featured

⁶⁵ T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Op. Cit.* pp.78-96.

⁶⁶ Jitendra Nath Banerjea, *Op. Cit.*, p. 399.

in the hands of Vishnu. The *chaturvimsati murti* also has a mathematical connection. They are based on the concept of $4!$ (four factorial) in arithmetic. The images of Vishnu are shown with four hands holding the four attributes of *shankha*, *chakra*, *gada* and *padma*. They can be placed as $4 \times 3 \times 2 \times 1 = 24$ different ways. The permutation and combination of the four major *ayudhas* of Vishnu give us the twenty-four forms of Vishnu.⁶⁷ Vishnu is also worshipped in aniconic form as *Shaligram*. *Shaligrams* are the fossilised ammonite shells found in the Gandaki river of Nepal polished to a rounded effect over time. These shells contain fissures through which the spirals of the ammonites are visible, which gives it a certain character of the *Shankha* or the *chakra*, according to which the importance of the *Shaligrams* is established. *Shaligrams* were generally worshipped as a form of personal worship in temples, houses or monasteries.⁶⁸

The iconography of images of Vishnu is discussed in the various scriptures such as *Agni Purana*, *Padma Purana*, *Agamas*, *Tantras*, *Rupamandana*, *Shilparatna*, *Brihat Samhita* and *Shilpa shastras*. In the Puranic period, many *ayudhas* came to be associated with Vishnu. The most important attributes and gestures in the images of Vishnu are *shankha*, *chakra*, *gada*, *padma*, *varada mudra* and *abhaya mudra*. The attributes in the hands of Vishnu have a deeper meaning in terms of his status as the preserver of the universe. The attributes of Vishnu are named according to their meanings. The *shankha* is known as *Panchajanya* and symbolises prosperity or *nidhi*, meaning treasure. It is considered a precious object. The *chakra* is known as *Sudarshana* and symbolises

⁶⁷ K. S. Patwardhan, et al. *Līlāvātī of Bhāskarācārya: A Treatise of Mathematics of Vedic Tradition*, 2001, p. iv.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 8-11.

universality, power and ceaseless time. The *gada* is known as *Kaumodaki* and is a metaphor for strength. Lastly, the *Padma*, or the lotus, is a symbol of purity known for its pristine beauty despite its dirty surroundings.⁶⁹ The lotus is also a metaphor for the goddess *Lakshmi*. Heinrich Zimmer, in his *Myth and Symbols in Indian Civilisation*, observed:

In the apocryphal hymn appended to the Rig Veda, the Lotus Goddess is already called by her two classical names, Shri and Lakshmi, and is associated in every possible way with the lotus symbol. She is praised as the "Lotus-born" (*Padmasambhava*), "Standing on the Lotus" (*Padmestitha*), "Lotus-coloured" (*Padmavarna*), "Lotus-thighed" (*Padma-uru*), "Lotus-eyed" (*Padmakshi*), "Abounding in Lotus" (*Padmini*, *Pushakarni*), "decked in Lotus garland" (*Padmalini*).⁷⁰

Sometimes Vishnu is also shown with *Sharanga* - the bow, and *Nandaka* - the sword. The *Abhaya mudra* is a gesture of protection. The *varada mudra* is for granting of boons. The entourage of Vishnu consists of *Garuda* as his *vahana* and *Sesha* as his couch. *Garuda* is an eagle, signifying strength over the others as a bird of prey and the king of birds. He is also known as *Suparna*, the one with golden feathers. The iconography of *Garuda* is of an anthropomorphic being with the body of a human and the wings, beak and legs of a bird of prey.⁷¹

⁶⁹ T. A. Gopinath Rao, *Op. Cit.* pp. 73-115.

⁷⁰ Heinrich Zimmer, *Op. Cit.* p. 91.

⁷¹ T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Op. Cit.* pp. 73-115.

3.3.4 Vaishnavism in Goa

One of the most important cults in Goa is Vaishnavism. The legend related to the creation of Goa is associated with Vaishnavism. The legend of the creation of Goa is ascribed to *Parashuram*, the sixth incarnation of Lord Vishnu, in the *Sahyadri Khand* of *Skanda Purana*. The legend that Lord *Parashuram* fired seven arrows into the sea and a new piece of land was created. It was subsequently known as the *Parashurama Kshetra*. The land was then granted to the Brahmins who were brought by him from Tirhut.⁷² The geological evidence also suggests that Goa is, in fact, reclaimed land.⁷³ There are references to a mountain called *Gomanchal* in the *Harivamsha Purana*. It is believed that Lord Krishna had to take shelter there to hide away from Jarasandha.⁷⁴ The inscriptions of the Satvahanas mention that Vaishnavism existed in Goa from the first century B.C.E. There are references to various names of Krishna in the Satavahana inscriptions over the years.⁷⁵ The Naneghat cave inscription of Naganika refers to the worship of *Samkarshana - Vasudeva*, prevalent in the region during the 2nd century B.C.E.⁷⁶ The Bhoja inscriptions give evidence of the existence of Vaishnavism in Goa.⁷⁷ The Puranic sculptures are revered in Goa; hence, we find various sculptures in different parts of Goa.

⁷² G. Gaitonde, (ed), *Sahyadrikhand*, 1971, pp. 147-151.

⁷³ O. A. Fernandes, "The Evolving Coast of Goa: A Geological Perspective." *Natural Resources of Goa: A Geological Perspective*, 2009, pp. 25–27.

⁷⁴ *Shri Harivamsa Purana*. 27th ed., 2021.

⁷⁵ D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions: Bearing on Indian History and Civilization from Sixth Century B.C. to Sixth Century A.D.* 1965, p. 192-197.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* p. 195.

⁷⁷ V.R. Mitragotri, *Op. Cit.* pp. 98-108.

Lord Vishnu is worshipped in both the aniconic and iconic forms in Goa. The examples of the aniconic form of worship are found in the worship of a *shaligrama*, a *chakra* and a pillar. The iconic forms of worship are, however, the most popular form of worship. The Vishnu sculptures in Goa can be classified into different categories, but the most preferred classifications are based on the *chaturvimsati murtis* and the *avatars*.

3.3.5 Image Worship of Vishnu in Goa

3.3.5.1 Vishnu Sculpture at Loliem (Figure 3.8):

One of the oldest Vishnu sculptures in Goa is found in a small temple in the Pedem ward of Loliem village. This temple was built in 1916 and was repaired in 1992.



However, the sculpture was not changed during renovation. The sculpture has characteristics of Gupta art, such as broad features and a plump lower lip.⁷⁸ In this sculpture, Vishnu is holding a *gada* in his right upper arm, *chakra* in his left upper arm, *shankha* in his left lower arm and a *jnanamla* in his right lower arm. There are two attendants either side. On the right side is a lady and on the left side is a man. His ornaments are very simple and the crown has

Figure 3.8: Sculpture of Vishnu at Pedem ward of Loliem village, Canacona.

kundalas, haar, keyuras, valayas, yajnopavita,

⁷⁸ Gritli V. Mitterwallner, "The Hindu Past: Sculpture and Architecture." *Goa Cultural Patterns*, 1983, p. 23.

The sculpture also bears a strong resemblance to the sculpture of Vishnu of the Gupta period displayed in the Goa State Museum mentioned in the *Catalogue of the Remarkable Sculptures in the Goa State Museum*, pp. 46-47.

udarbandha and *mekhala*, but his usual *vaijayantimala* is not depicted. Instead, the girdle of the *mekhala* is fashioned to fall above his knees like the *vaijayantimala*. The temple also houses three old statues of Ganesha in a niche at the right side of the temple and a sculpture of *Naga*, locally known as *Pundarika*, in the courtyard. Gritli Mitterwallner ascribes the sculpture of *Naga* to the end of the 4th century C.E. or the beginning of the 5th century C.E.⁷⁹ V. R. Mitragotri also agreed that the sculpture is post-Gupta and is a specimen of the Bhoja-Chalukya period.⁸⁰ The sculpture of Vishnu can also be ascribed to the same period, as they share a similar artistic characteristic. There is a temple of Dakhan-Devi in the same ward of the village bearing the same artistic characteristics.⁸¹

3.3.5.2 Narayan Sculpture of Mulgao, currently in ASI Museum, Old Goa (Figure 3.9):



Figure 3.9: Narayan Sculpture of Mulgao, currently in ASI Museum, Old Goa.

The sculpture of Narayana was found in Mulgao in currently housed in the ASI Museum, Old Goa. It is ascribed to the Chalukyan period. It is a sculpture of a four-armed deity standing in a *samabhanga* posture. The attributes in the hands are missing as the hands are mutilated. The entourage of Vishnu consists of Chakra Purush to his right and Gada Devi to his left. A *chauri* bearer is also seen to the right. The elaborate *prabhavali* depicts eight of the *dashavatara*, along with

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p. 24.

⁸⁰ V. R. Mitragotri, *Op. Cit.* p. 221.

⁸¹ The sculptures of Dakhan-Devi are taken for study in Chapter IV of this thesis.

kirtimukha. The deity is well ornamented with *kirit mukuta* elaborate *kundalals*, necklaces, *vaijayatimala*, *yagnopavita*, armlets, girdles, anklets and toe rings.

3.3.5.3 Chaturvimsati Murtis of Vishnu:



Figure 3.10: Keshav sculpture of Magilwada, Priol, Ponda.

There are many sculptures of Vishnu which can be dated to the Kadamba period. The sculptures have a specific artistic style. The Kadamba sculptures are from the *chaturvimsati* forms of Vishnu. There are some specific temples dedicated to Keshav and Madhav, but most of the temples which house the other forms of Vishnu are known as Narayandev. The temples of Narayandev are found in most of the villages of Goa. They are situated on the plains with temple tanks. The water of the tank

was then channelised into a big reservoir, which in turn watered the fields of the village.



Figure 3.11: Keshav at Lakshmi-Narayan temple, Keri, Ponda. Photo Courtesy: Bhalchandra Abhishekhi

As rightly pointed out by D. D. Kosambi, Vishnu is the god of water. Hence it may be assumed that these temples were an important part of the *gaonpan* set-up. The first of the *chaturvimsati murti* is Keshav. There are seven temples dedicated to Keshav in Goa, five of which are in Ponda taluka, one in Korgaon in Pernem taluka and one in Loliem in Canacona taluka. The iconographic features of Keshav are mentioned in the *Rupamandana*, *Agni Purana* and *Padma Purana*. In his Keshav form, Lord Vishnu holds *shankha* in his right upper hand, *chakra* in his left upper hand, *gada* in his left lower hand and *padma*

in his right lower hand.⁸² He should be flanked by his consort *Kirti*.⁸³ The *Rupamandana* states that the *Keshav*, *Narayana*, *Madhava* and *Madhusudhana* forms of Lord *Vishnu* are worshipped by the Brahmins who desire pleasure.⁸⁴ The Keshav sculpture of Magilwada, Priol, in Ponda taluka (Figure 3.10) is dated to the Kadamba period. The Santa Ana Copper Plates dated to *Shake* 1021 of the Kadamba King Tribhuvanmalla mention the grants given to the deity Nageshwara in Priol. The temple of Keshav is in the same area and might not have been neglected as it features one of



Figure 3.12: Keshav sculpture at Loliem in Canacona taluka.

the most beautiful and tallest sculptures of the early Kadamba art. The temple architecture may have been revived during the Vijaynagara period as both temples are built of laterite stone with tiled roofs.⁸⁵ A similar sculpture of Keshav dating from the 11th century C.E. is found in Keri in Ponda taluka (Figure 3.11) and is also a specimen of 11th century Kadamba art. However, the temple where the sculpture is worshipped is known as the Lakshmi-Narayan temple. The sculpture worshipped at Korgaon is also dated to the Kadamba period. The Keshav sculpture (Figure 3.12) at Loliem has distinct characteristics of Hoysala art. A legend claims that the image was

⁸² Balaram Shrivastava, *Op. Cit.*, p.134.

⁸³ T. A. Gopinath Rao, *Op. Cit.* pp. 229-233.

⁸⁴ Balaram Shrivastava, *Op. Cit.*, p.132.

⁸⁵ Handwritten manuscript obtained from Shri Ramchandra Naik, Technical Officer (Retd.), Directorate of Archives and Archaeology, Panaji, Goa.

found on a boat in the nearby river and was worshipped by the locals after a divine directive to do so⁸⁶. The sculpture at Nageshi is currently not in worship. The sculpture



Figure 3.13: Narayandev sculpture at Savoi-Verem.

at Khandepar is replaced by a new one, but it has the vestiges of Kadamba art and has a later Kadamba temple dedicated to Saptakotishwar in its vicinity. The sculpture at Ponda is new and was installed on 2nd January 2010.⁸⁷

The second of the *chaturvimsati murti* is of Narayana. There are various temples dedicated to Narayandev in

Goa. They are at Vichundrem, Keri, Savoi-Verem, Cuncolliem, Madkai, Borim, Harmal, Pernem and Narve. He is also worshipped as Satyanarayan at Nhaveli in Sakhali, Shiroda, Marcel and Tivrem. The sculptures in the temples of Narayandev may not be as prescribed in the texts, but it is worshipped as one of the *chaturvimsati murtis* of Vishnu. The images at Savoi-Verem (Figure 3.13) and Narve are as per the sculptural texts. As per the *Rupamandana* and *Padma Purana*, the sculpture of Narayana is supposed to hold *padma* in his right upper hand, *gada* in his left upper hand, *chakra* in his lower left hand and *shankha* in his lower right hand. He should be flanked by his consort Kanti.⁸⁸ The sculpture at Vichundrem, Shiroda and Bori are of Madhav. The images at Pernem, Talauli and Madkai is of Vishnu. The image at Cuncolliem is dedicated to Padmanabha. V. T. Gune remarked that there was the worship of Murtinarayana at the *Brahmapuri* in Savoi-Verem.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ R. P. Bhat, *Gramadeivata Shri Keshav Dev Loliem Canacona: Itihas*. 2011, pp. 10-11.

⁸⁷ The information was provided by Shri Ram Shilkar, 77 years, trustee of the temple on 25th March 2021.

⁸⁸ T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Op. Cit.* pp. 229-233.

⁸⁹ V. T. Gune, *Op. Cit.* p. 5.

The second form of Vishnu in the list of *chaturvimshati murti* is Madhav. The



Figure 3.14: Narayandev, Narayandev temple, Vichundrem.

sculptures of Madhav are found in Borim, Shiroda, Vichundrem, Agapur and Madkai.

The sculpture of Narayandev is placed in the ruins of the Narayandev temple at Vichundrem (Figure 3.14). The image is standing in *samabhanga* posture with *chakra* in his right upper hand, *shankha* in his left upper hand, *abhaya mudra*

with *padma* in his left lower hand and *gada* in his right

lower hand. He can be identified with Madhav of the

chaturvimshati murtis according to *Rupamandana* and *Padma Purana*.⁹⁰ The deity is well-ornamented, and the *prabhavali* is decorated with *kirtimukha* and *dashavataras*

chronologically arranged from right to left. Garuda can be seen seated on one leg and in *anjali mudra* on the right. The two attendants can be seen on the left.



Figure 3.15: Sculpture of Madhav, Shiroda. Photo Courtesy: Vardhan Sahakari

The sculpture of Madhav (Figure 3.15) is worshipped as Satyanarayan in the home of Shri Krishnanath Sahakari. It was found by his ancestor in the nearby orchard and was consecrated in the house. The sculpture is an exquisite piece of early Kadamba art dating to the 11th century C.E. The

sculpture is shown in the *samabhanga* posture holding *chakra*

in his right upper hand, *shankha* in his left upper hand, *padma*

in his left lower hand and *gada* in his right lower hand. Shridevi

⁹⁰ T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Op. Cit.* pp. 229-31.

flanks him on his right side and Bhudevi on his left side. The *prabhavali* is adorned with *dashavtaras*.

The image of *Bindhu Madhav* is found in a small temple of Dutale Wada in the Madkai village of Ponda. The current structure is 75 years old. The



Figure 3.16: Old idol of Bindhu Madhav, Madkai, Ponda.

idol of *Bindhu Madhav* (Figure 3.16) was shifted to Madkai from Neura in Tiswadi during 1540-1570 to save it from Portuguese persecution.⁹¹ The image is in bronze. In the form of Madhav, Vishnu is holding the *chakra* in his right upper hand, *shankha* in his left upper hand, *padma* in his left lower hand and *gada* in his right lower hand. He is standing in *samabhanga* posture on a *kurmapitha* placed on a *padmapitha*. The temple committee recently replaced the

idol.

The *trikutachal* temple of Madhav, Govind, and Rameshwar is situated on a hillock in a small village called Agapur in Ponda taluka. The temple is in the *Trikutachal* form, with three different shrines in one temple. It has a dome-shaped *shikhara* for each shrine. The earliest reference to the *trikutachal* temple found in Goa is that of Rasaim in Salcette taluka on the banks of the Aganashini (Zuari) river.⁹² The presiding deities in the temple were Trivikrama, Narayana and Ishwar. The temple of Madhav, Govind, and Rameshwar was built in the mid-eighteenth century at Agapur in the taluka of Ponda, opposite Rassaim.⁹³ The temple is famous for its architecture consisting of

⁹¹ The information was obtained from the manuscript of the Late Ramachandra Laxman Senai Nevrekar, Madkai, dated 1945.

⁹² Rui Gomes Pereira, *Op. Cit.* p. 105.

⁹³ V. R. Mitragotri, “*Trikutachal Temple of Agapur*”, *Essays in Goan History*, 1989, pp. 17-18.



Figure 3.17: The sculpture of Vishnu at Narayandev temple, Madkai.

laterite, basalt and typical Muslim domes.⁹⁴ The shrine on the left-most side is of Madhav having an image of the Garuda on its dome, denoting that it is the main shrine. The sculpture of Madhav is in the *samabhanga* posture holding *chakra* in his right upper hand, *shankha* in his left upper hand *padma* in his left lower hand and *gada* in his right lower hand.

The *chaturvimshati murti* in the form of Vishnu is worshipped in the Narayandev temples at Pernem and

Madkai and as Lakshmi-Narayan at Talauli. The image of Vishnu is shown in the *samabhanga* posture with a *padma* in his right upper hand, *shankha* in his left upper hand, *chakra* in his lower left hand



Figure 3.18: The sculpture of Vishnu at Lakshmi-Narayan temple in Talauli.

and *gada* in his right lower hand. The image in the temple of Narayandev at Madkai is in the *chaturvimshati* form of Vishnu (figure 3.17). The sculpture dates to the 14th century C.E. and is an exquisite piece of Kadamba art. He is standing in a *samabhanga* posture holding *padma* in his right upper hand, *shankha* in his left upper hand, *chakra* in his left lower hand and *gada* in his right lower hand. The *kirtimukha* is carved in the centre of the *gada*. On his right are his

attendants, the Shankha Purusha and Garuda, while Chakra Purusha and Bhudevi stand on his left. Bhudevi is shown holding the *kalasha*. The *prabhavali* is decorated with elephants mounted by *yali* and *makara torana* with serpentine designs incorporated

⁹⁴ G. V. Mitterwallner, *Op. Cit.* p. 37.

with the *dashavtaras* with a *kirtimukha* in the centre. The deity is embellished with different types of ornaments.

The sculpture at Pernem dates to the 17th century C.E. and is comparatively simple to that of Madkai. The sculpture at the Lakshmi-Narayan temple at Talauli (figure 3.18) was replaced in 1967 with a marble image.⁹⁵ The image is simple compared to the sculptures of Madkai and Pernem.



Figure 3.19: Padmanabha in Narayandev temple, Cuncolliem village of Ponda taluka.

The sculpture of Padmanabha (Figure 2.19) found in Cuncolliem village of Ponda taluka is currently preserved in the Goa State Museum. This sculpture was found in the temple of the affiliate deity of Shantadurga and was locally known as Narayandev. But the image is identified as that of Padmanabha in the textual references.⁹⁶ This image of Padmanabha is holding a *padma* in his upper right hand, in his upper left hand he is holding a *chakra*, and in his lower left hand he is holding a *gada*, and *shankha* in his lower right hand. The image is

shown with a short *dhoti*. T. A. Gopinatha Rao

observed that the image of Vishnu in his Padmanabha form is particularly worshipped by the potters, harlots, oil-mongers and liquor vendors.⁹⁷ The image also depicts the *dashavatara* of Lord Vishnu in miniatures. The attendants are seen near his feet. On his right are Garuda, Shankha Purush and Shridevi, and on his left, the mutilated images of

⁹⁵ The information was obtained from Shri Balu Gaonkar, President, Lakshmi-Narayan temple, Talauli on 17th April 2022.

⁹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 102.

⁹⁷ T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Op. Cit.* p. 238.

Bhudevi and Chakra Purusha can be seen. The attendants and the consorts of the Lord are also as regal as the Lord himself.

The *chaturvimsati murtis* of Vishnu are also worshipped in the form of Lakshmi-Narayan. The Lakshmi-Narayan temple at Kundai was shifted from Adoshi in Tiswadi



Figure 3.20: The sculpture of Janardana or Vasudeva in the temple of Lakshmi-Narayan at Betki.

taluka. There is an image of Vishnu outside the temple, which is believed to have been brought from the original temple. However, the image is weathered and iconographical documentation was not possible for the same. The images in the sanctum-sanctorum are of Lakshmi and Narayana in marble. Lakshmi-Narayan temples can also be found in Poinguinim, Siolim, Priol, Narve and Bicholim. However, the idol at Poinguinim is the Vamana form of Vishnu. He is holding *chakra* in his

right upper arm, *gada* in his left upper arm, *padma* in his left lower arm and *shankha* in his right lower

arm.⁹⁸ The sculpture of the Janardana or Vasudev form of Vishnu is found in the temples of Nhaveli-Sakhali and Betki. The Rupamandana describes Janardana⁹⁹ holding a *chakra* and *shankha* in his upper right and left hands, respectively. In his lower hands, he holds a *gada* in his left and a *padma* in his right hand. At the same time, the *Padma Purana* states that in this form, he is identified as Vasudeva.¹⁰⁰ The sculpture

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 229-232.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* p. 230

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* p.232.

in Nhaveli-Sakhali dates to the 18th century C.E. and is of soapstone. The sculpture at



Figure 3.21: Lakshminarayan, Narve, Bicholim.
Photo Courtesy: Sanjeev Sardesai.

Betki (figure 3.20) is made of *panchadhatu* and was replaced in 1969.¹⁰¹

The sculpture of Vishnu is worshipped as Laxmi-Narayan in Narve (figure 3.21) and was installed post-liberation. It is in soapstone. The deity holds *padma* in his right upper hand, *gada* in his left upper hand, *chakra* in his lower left hand and *shankha* in his lower right hand. His four attendants can be seen standing beside the deity in *anjali mudra*. The *prabhavali* is decorated with *dashavataras*.

The image is identified as Narayana in the *chaturvimsati murti*.¹⁰²



Figure 3.22: Laxminarayan at Bicholim.
Photo Courtesy: Sanjeev Sardesai.

The sculpture of Lakshmi-Narayan in Bicholim (Figure 3.22) was also installed in the 2000s. The image is an example of an *alingana murti* as it shows Vishnu seated in *sukhasana* or *lalitasana* on a pedestal mounted on Garuda with Lakshmi seated on his left folded leg. He is holding a *chakra* in his right upper hand and his left upper hand cannot be seen. He is holding Lakshmi by her waist with his lower left hand and his right lower hand is in

varada mudra. Lakshmi has placed her right hand on Vishnu's shoulder and is holding a lotus in her left hand. The image of Garuda is anthropomorphic. Garuda is holding a

¹⁰¹ The information was obtained from the Shri Sanjay Lakshman Jamle, 55 years, priest, Narayan temple, Betki on 17th April 2022.

¹⁰² T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Op. Cit.* pp. 229-232.

fruit in his right hand and a snake in his left hand. His wings and beak are visible. The attendant to the right and the left can be seen in *anjali mudra*.

3.3.5.4 Different Sculptures of Vishnu:

There are different images of Vishnu worshipped in Goa that do not belong to the category of *chaturvimsati murti*. They are discussed in detail in this section.

Gopinath, Netravali, Sanguem:



Figure 3.23: Gopinath, Netravali, Sanguem.

The sculpture of Gopinath from Netravali in Sanguem dating to the Kadamba period is in possession of the Goa State Museum (figure 3.23). The belief in the village is that the temple dedicated to Gopinath was built by a Kadamba king, a devotee of Vishnu.¹⁰³ The tale cannot be neglected as the Kadamba king Vijayaditya was a devotee of Vishnu and had assumed the title of *Vishnuchitta* on his accession to the throne. The image of Gopinath can be identified as that of Lord Krishna

playing the flute and standing in the posture of *Dehudacharan Gopal*.¹⁰⁴ In South India, these types of sculptures are popularly known as *Venugopala*. The sculpture of *Venugopala* is always in the company of the cowherds, the cowherdesses, and the cows mesmerised by his music.¹⁰⁵ The posture of *Venugopala* is unique to Krishna as he stands with his right leg crossing the left one so that only the toes of his foot touch the

¹⁰³ Data collected during field visit on 28th November 2017.

¹⁰⁴ Mahadev Shastri Joshi, *Bharatachi Murtikala*, 1980, p. 99.

¹⁰⁵ T. A. Gopinath Rao, *Op. Cit.* p. 207.

ground. The left leg is in an erect posture giving stability to the right leg and a flute is held to his lips.¹⁰⁶ In the sculpture, the deity is shown dressed as a cowherd.

Vishnu, Khandepar in Ponda taluka:

The sculpture of Vishnu was found at Khandepar in Ponda taluka and is currently



housed in the Goa State Museum (figure 3.24). This is a unique sculpture of Vishnu in an asana posture seated on a throne and identified as that of Narsimha. His upper right hand holds *padma*, his upper left hand holds *chakra*, his lower left hand holds fruit and the lower right hand is mutilated. He is adorned with *kirita* and *vaijayantimala*.

Figure 3.24: Vishnu, Khandepar in Ponda taluka.

Poinguinim, in Canacona taluka, also has a temple

dedicated to Narsimha and Parashuram. The sculptures in this temple were replaced in the year 2008 (figure 3.25).¹⁰⁷ The sculpture has a lion face on the man's body and is standing in *samabhanga* posture with *chakra* in the right upper hand, *shankha* in the left upper hand, *gada* in the left lower hand and right lower hand in *abhaya mudra*. Narsimha is worshipped in the form of Lakshmi-Narsimha at Veling. He is worshipped in his half-man, half-lion form with Lakshmi seated on his lap. The original temple was at Sancoale, destroyed during Portuguese rule, and the deities were shifted to Veling. Currently, there exists a temple of Shantadurga-Lakshmi-Narsimha temple at Sancoale.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*, p. 208.

¹⁰⁷ The information was obtained from the plaque outside the temple.



Figure 3.25: The sculptures of Narsimha and Parashuram at Poinguinim with a *Tulsi Vrindavan* behind the image of Parashuram. The small bronze image is of Lakshmi-Narasimha. *Shaligrama* worship can also be seen in this temple.

Ananta, Savoi-Verem, Ponda taluka:

The temple of Ananta is located in the village of Savoi Verem in Ponda taluka (figure



Figure 3.26: Ananta, in *Gandha-Puja*, Savoi-Verem, Ponda taluka. Photo Courtesy: Vaman Sinai Khandeparkar.

3.26). The image in this temple can be classified as *Bhogashayana-murti* in the *uttama* category. In this image, Lord Vishnu can be seen reclining on *Shesha*. He has four arms, of which the upper right-hand touches the *kirita* and the lower right hand is in the *kataka* pose. The upper left hand holds the *shankha* while the lower rests on his thigh. The right leg is stretched and the left leg is bent. On his right, the *shankha* and *gada* lay beside him. His consort, the goddess Lakshmi is seated near his head on a high seat. She can be seen styling her hair with her right hand and holding a *darpana* in her left

hand. To his left, a lotus can be seen coming out of his navel with Brahma seated in it. On his right, Shiva and the *Saptarishis* can be seen near his head. Goddess Bhudevi is shown seated near his feet, massaging them. The *Dashaavtaras* can be seen around her. Beneath the reclining image, Garuda can be seen standing with hands folded in *anjali mudra* to his right and Hanuman is kneeling on one knee with his hand in *anjali mudra* near his feet. The coils of the serpent are seen prominently beneath the body of Vishnu.

Mahavishnu, Chandreshwar temple, Paroda:



Figure 3.27: Mahavishnu, Chandreshwar temple, Paroda.

The sculpture of Mahavishnu is a fairly new one (figure 3.27). He is holding *chakra* in the right upper hand, *shankha* in the left upper hand, *gada* in the left lower hand and *padma* in the right lower hand. The sculpture is shrined in the niche on the left of the main deity in the Chandreshwar temple. The sculpture can be termed as Janardana or Vasudeva according

to the *chaturvimshati murti*.¹⁰⁸ He is well ornamented, standing on a Padmapitha under the Kirtumukha with well decorated Prabhavali.



Figure 3.28: Vishnu, Shiva temple, Tambdi Surla.

Vishnu, Shiva temple, Tambdi Surla:

The sculpture of Vishnu in the Shiva temple at Tambdi Surla resides in the north niche of the temple (figure 3.28). He is holding a *chakra* in his right upper hand. In his upper left hand, he is holding the *shankha*. In his lower left hand, he is holding the *gada*

and *padma* in his lower right hand. The sculpture

¹⁰⁸ T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Op. Cit.* pp. 229-232.

can be identified as Janardana¹⁰⁹ or Vasudeva¹¹⁰ of the *chaturvimsati murtis*. Among the twenty-four forms of lord Vishnu, Vasudeva is considered of special importance as he is one of the *Shakti-maya-vyuha* along with Shankarshan, Pradyumna and Aniruddha.¹¹¹ The attendants beside the deity are not recognisable due to their weathered nature. An ornate *prabhavali* flanks the image

Venkatesh, Shree Venkatesh Math, Panaskhande, Loliem:



The image worshipped in the Venkatesh *Math* at Panaskhande in Loliem is dedicated to Venkatesh (figure 3.29). The sculpture is in the *samabhanga* posture holding a *chakra* in his right upper hand, and *shankha* in his left upper hand. His left lower hand is in *kati hasta* and his right lower hand is in *abhaya mudra*. The sculpture is decorated with ornate *prabhavali* with *dasha avatars* with a

Figure 3.29: Sculpture of Venkatesh at Shree Venkatesh Math in Panaskhande.

kirtimukha in the centre. The sculpture is stylistically dated to the 14th-15th century C.E.

Lord Venkatesh is worshipped in the Shree Balaji temple at Cuncoliem, built in the year 2000. The sculpture is more than six feet in height and was brought from Tirumala to be installed in the temple.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.* p. 230.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 232.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 238.

3.3.5.5 Aniconic images of Vishnu:

Apart from the iconic images, some aniconic forms of Vishnu were worshipped in Goa. They are as follows:

Nirakar, Mashem, Canacona:

The temple of Nirakar is located in Loliem village of Canacona taluka. Nirakar is the



representation of formless Vishnu. (figure 3.30)

In this temple, a wooden pillar is worshipped in place of an image.

Figure 3.30: Nirakar, Mashem, Canacona.

Shri Parashuram, Poinguinim, Canacona taluka (figure 3.31)



There is a small temple of Parashuram in the village of Poinguinim in Canacona taluka. Parashuram was worshipped in aniconic form as a *chakra* in the temple. The *chakra* has smooth edges depicting a lotus and has a conical shape on one

Figure 3.31: Chakra of Parashuram, Poinguinim,

end. The *chakra* has been replaced by a sculpture of Parashuram holding a *Parashu* and a bow in his right arm. There is a *tulsi-vrindavan* behind the main idol. Parashuram is also worshipped in the iconic form in the temple of Narsimha-Parashuram in another part of Poinguinim and also has the *tulsi-vrindavan* behind the main idol (figure 3.25).

Shaligrama (figure 3.32)



Ammonite fossils are worshipped in some temples and houses as Shaligrama¹¹² and are considered to be the personification of Vishnu. The tradition of Shaligrama worship by Brahmanas also existed in other parts of India.

Figure 3.32: Shaligrama.

3.4 Shiva: The Destroyer of the Universe

Shiva is one of the most prominent figures of the Puranic traditions. He is associated with *samhara* or destruction. He is also associated with *pralaya*, or annihilation of the universe. His other duties include *anugraha* or provider of salvation,¹¹³ *prasada* or benefactor of boons and *tirobhava* or anonymous or obscure. These are his *Panchakrityas* or five duties. He is also mentioned as the originator of *yoga*, *vyakhyana*, *shastras*, *nrityas*, and *swara*. His names include Pashupati, Bhutapati, Bhutanatha, Maheshvara, Mahadeva, Umapati, Mayin and many more. His epithet denotes his duties in Indian mythology.¹¹⁴

The word Shiva means the auspicious one. The Vedic counterpart of Shiva is Rudra. Rudra is considered a cruel deity who would kill the men and their cattle. The hymns were formed to appease him so that he would spare their cattle and would, in turn, attack their enemies and their livestock. He holds the bow, arrows and thunderbolt and is the father of the Maruts with his consort Prishni (the earth). He is sometimes identified with

¹¹² *Ibid.* pp. 9-11.

¹¹³ <https://www.kamakoti.org/kamakoti/details/shivapuram3.html> visited on 2nd January 2022.

¹¹⁴ Jitendra Nath Banerjea, *Op. Cit.* pp. 446-447.

Agni. In the Atharva-veda, other epithets such as Bhava, Sarva, Sahasra-bahu, Mahadeva, Pashupati, Ugra and Ishana are also mentioned. The slayer of Ardhaka, identified with the Andhaka of *Puranas*, is also mentioned in the *Atharva Veda*. Besides, the Satarudriya mentions Aghora, Girisha, Nilagriva, Kapardin, Sabhapati, Ganapati, Senani, Bhima, Shitikanta, Sambhu and Shankara. These went on to become the sobriquets of the Puranic Shiva. The *Sathapatha Brahmana* says that the names mentioned above are the epithets of Agni referred to by the people of various regions. The *Mahabharata* also ascribes the title of the father of Skanda or Kumara to Agni or Rudra. Thus, from just being an epithet of Agni, Rudra emerges as one of the Hindu trinities in the Puranic period retaining his qualities of the destroyer.¹¹⁵

The *Atharva Veda*, *Sathapatha* and *Kausitaki Brahmanas* classify the eight epithets of Shiva in two categories. Bhava, Pashupati, Mahadeva, and Ishana are termed *saumya* or peaceful, whereas Rudra, Sarva, Ugra and Ashani are termed *ghora* or terrific.¹¹⁶

3.4.1 Evolution of Shiva in the Literary Sources:

Panini refers to the followers of Shiva in one of his *sutras*. The *Mahabharata* refers to *Shaivas* or followers of Shiva. Patanjali refers to Shiva as well as Rudra. He says that animal sacrifices are offered to Rudra and his medicinal herbs quickly heal the ailments. Shiva is mentioned as a folk deity in the *Mahabhasya*. The mention of Shiva *Bhagavata* is the first clear reference to the *Shaiva* sect in the text. He also mentions a northern village called Shivapur or Shaivapur. *Mahamayuri* also refers to Shiva as the tutelary deity of Shivapura. These sources provide a fair idea that there existed Shiva worship

¹¹⁵ T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Op. Cit.* Vol. Two. Part I, pp. 39-43.

¹¹⁶ Jitendra Nath Banerjea, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 447-448.

in Northern India before the times of Patanjali. The *Narayaniya* section of the *Mahabharata* ascribes Shiva-Shrikantha as the founder of the *Pashupatas*. The inscriptions and the *Puranas* refer to Lakulisa for the growth of the sect. Based on the inscriptional data available, D.R. Bhandarkar stated that Lakulisa lived in the first half of the second century C.E. Therefore, it may be assumed that Lakulisa codified the *Pashupata* system rather than initiated it.¹¹⁷

3.4.2 Shiva in the Indus Valley Culture:

Several seals depicting male figures in the Indus Valley period have characteristics of modern Shiva. The best example is that of a seal wherein a person sitting in a crossed-leg position with his hands resting on his knees while his fingers were pointing downwards. It is classified as the seal of the proto-Shiva by historians. The postures on the seal mirror the image of a person sitting in meditation with *asana* and the *mudra* used in the yogic postures. The headdress of the person is horned. He is surrounded by four animals, an elephant, a tiger, a rhinoceros and a buffalo emphasising the Pashupati aspect of Shiva, meaning the 'lord of the beast'. Another seal shows a U-shaped tree under which a figure is standing with a horned headdress. The tree can be identified as a *peepal* tree. In another seal, the main figure is seated in *padmasana* and is surrounded by two figures kneeling to him who are backed by serpents raising their hoods. Icons similar to the *Shivalingas* with and without *yonis* have also been found on the sites of the Indus Valley culture. Numerous seals having motifs of bovine creatures have been found. The bull came to be identified with the *vahana* of Shiva in the Puranic period.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ Jitendra Nath Banerjea, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 448-450.

¹¹⁸ Susan L. Huntington and John Huntington, *Op. Cit.* pp. 20-22.

The figure cannot be identified as Shiva due to the lack of literary evidence, but a strong resemblance to the Puranic Shiva cannot be denied.

3.4.3 Linga in Shaivism

Lingas are the most popular form of sculpture used to worship Shiva in temples. They are the aniconic representations of Shiva. The earliest reference to the *Linga* is found in the Rig Veda, where it is referred to as *Sisnadeva*. The *Markandeya Purana*, *Bhagvat Purana*, *Linga Purana*, and *Vishnu Purana* describe the *Linga* as an icon depicting the union of the male and the female principles of creation.¹¹⁹ The *Rupamandana* states that the lower part of the *linga* represents Brahma, the middle represents Vishnu and the uppermost part represents Shiva.¹²⁰ The *Brihat Samhita* states that the part representing Brahma should be buried in the soil, a pedestal should be built around the part representing Vishnu and the part representing Shiva should be exposed.¹²¹ The earliest known *Lingas* are from Bhita, now in Lucknow Museum and the other in Gudimallam in Andhra Pradesh.¹²² The *Linga* at Bhita is a *panchamukha Linga*, whereas the *Linga* at Gudimallam has a figure carved out on it standing on a demon with a *kamandalu* in the right hand and a *parashu* in the left hand. The *Linga* is an imitation of a phallus with *urddhava-retas* depicted on it.¹²³ The date of this image has been speculated from the first century B.C.E to the seventh century C.E. The sculpture bears a lot of resemblance to the Shunga sculptures that it is hard to perceive that it

¹¹⁹ T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. Two, Part I, 1914, pp. 58-60.

¹²⁰ Balaram Shrivastava (ed.), *Op. Cit.* p. 169.

¹²¹ Acchutananda Jha, (ed.), *Op. Cit.* vol II, pp. 152-153.

¹²² T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Op. Cit.* , Vol. Two, Part I, pp. 63-68.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

dates to a later period.¹²⁴ The *ekamukha linga* housed in cave no. 4 at Udaygiri in Madhya Pradesh dates probably to the fifth century C.E. Though belonging to the Gupta period has strong features of the Kushana period.¹²⁵

The *Linga* and the *yonis* are representations of Shiva and Shakti, also known as *Purusha* and *Prakriti*, respectively. They are the male and the female aspects of the universe. Hence *Linga* is the representation of the creative aspect of the universe. The cult, though, has a primitive origin. It was developed into a far more complex philosophy in the *Puranas*. The sculptures representing Shiva are found in the reliefs of the temple and not in the sanctum sanctorum of the temple, as the object of worship in the Shiva temples is the Shiva *Linga*.

3.4.4 The Iconography of Shiva:

Shiva is commonly worshipped in the symbolic form of *Linga*. *Lingas* are divided into *chala*, movable and *achala*, or immovable forms. The *chala Lingas* are divided into *mrinmaya* (made of earth), *lohaja* (metals), *ratnaja* (precious stones), *daruja* (wood), *sailaja* (stone) and *kshanika* (made for an occasion and disposed of after that). The *achala Lingas* are divided into nine categories: *Swayambhuva*, *Purva* (or *Purana*), *Daivata*, *Ganapatya*, *Asura*, *Sura*, *Arsha*, *Rakshasa*, *Manusha* and *Banalingas*, which have further classifications. Usually, the *lingas* are set up on pedestals known as *pithas* or *pindikas*. The *Lingas* are classified based on the categories, style, length, height and kinds of *pithas* as *uttama* or superior, *madhyama* or middle, and *adhama* or inferior.¹²⁶

¹²⁴ Susan L. Huntington and John Huntington, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 87-88.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. Two, Part I, pp. 75-102.

Besides the *Lingas*, there are various *murtis* like *Lingodbhava*, *Chandrashekhara*, *Pashupati*, *Sukhasana*, *Umasahitamaheshwara*, *Samharamurti*, which include *Bhairava*, *Virabhadra* and others, *Ugramurtis* such as *Aghora*, *Mahakala*; *Anugrahamurtis*, *Nrityamurtis*, *Dakshinamurtis*, *Kankalamurti* and *Bhikshatanamurtis*. The other images like *Sadashivamurti*, *Panchabrahma* and many other *murtis* are based on local legends like that of Ravalnath.¹²⁷

3.4.5 Shaivism in Goa:

Shiva is worshipped in Goa by names such as Mangesh, Nagesh, Mallikarjuna, Shivnath, Chandranath or Chandreshwar and Bhutnath, Somnath, Saptakotishwar etc. The prefixes Nath and Ishwar are used to describe the deity worshipped in the form of *Linga*. As mentioned in the second chapter of the thesis, most of the ruling families had one or the other form of Shiva as their family deity. Shaivism was also a popular religion among the masses during the pre-Portuguese period. It is believed that a Velip found the *Linga* of Mallikarjuna.¹²⁸ The temple of Saptakotishwar is also found in Salgini in Sanguem taluka, suggesting the presence of Kadambas in that region, which is considered one of the most remote villages of Goa today.¹²⁹

3.4.6 Image Worship of Shiva in Goa

Shiva is worshipped in both aniconic and iconic forms. The most common worship of Shiva in the temples is in the form of *Linga*. However, some iconic images of Shiva

¹²⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 105-358.

¹²⁸ V. R. Mitragotri, *Op. Cit.* 108.

¹²⁹ Personal Observations based on the site visit on 23rd March 2021.

found in Goa are either worshipped or used to decorate the temples' niches. Some forms of Shiva are also worshipped as affiliate deities and are discussed in the fifth chapter of this thesis.



Figure 3.33: The Linga at cave of Siddhanath, Surla, Bicholim.

3.4.6.1 Shiva worshipped as Linga:

The aniconic worship of Shiva in the form of *Linga* inside the temple sanctum



sanctorum is the most popular form of worship. The oldest dated *Lingas* in Goa are found in cave temples. They are made of grey basalt fixed in the cubical laterite *pitha* carved out of the cave's rear wall. The earliest among them are found in the caves of Harvale, Pissurlem, Lamgaon, Surla (figure 3.33) and Consua. The cave at Mangeshi is supposed to have had a *Linga*, but currently, it is not in place. The Harvale and Pissurlem *Lingas* are

Figure 3.34: *Linga*, Malar, Diwar, Tiswadi, Goa.

marked by *parsva-sutra* and dated to the early part of the 5th century C.E.¹³⁰

¹³⁰ G. Von. Mitterwallner, "Two Natural Caves and Eleven Man-Made Cave Excavations of Goa, India."

South Asian Archaeology, 1979, pp. 474-482.

Another rare *Linga* found in Malar in Tiswadi taluka is currently displayed in the Goa State Museum (figure 3.34). It is cylindrical with slight tapering to the top and is made of compact soapstone. This unique *Linga* stands on a quadrangular base rather than a



Figure 3.35: *Linga* at the temple of Paikdev in Bhati, Sanguem.

pedestal. The tubular form of the *Linga* is roundish, with the base carved on a rectangular stone. The *parsva-sutra* is shown with the knot to the top. This *Linga* is dated to the 5th century C.E. and measures 66 cm in height and 30 cm wide.¹³¹ It was

discovered while laying the tracks for the Konkan Railway track in 1994. The village of Malara is mentioned in the

Copper Plate inscription of the Bhoja king Prithvimallavarman in his 25th regnal year.

The *Linga* at the temple of Paikdev in Bhati, Sanguem (figure 3.35), has both *parsva-sutra* and *brahma-sutra* carved on it. However, the tapering style at the apex is similar to the *Lingas* in the cave temples of Goa.

The *Lingas* at Mahadev Temple at Tambdi Surla and the one from Curdi have stone pedestals in the shape of the *yoni*. They are much smaller in comparison to the pre-Kadamba *Lingas*.

The temple of Dubleshwar or Dublo Mahadev at Shimepain in Mardol is situated on a small hillock locally known as *Mahadevachi Tembi*. The *Linga* (figure 3.36) is a classic example of advanced iconometry. It is a tripartite *Linga* where the uppermost rounded

¹³¹ *Catalogue of the Remarkable Sculptures in the Goa State Museum*. p. 10. The contribution of the section was made to the catalogue by the author of this thesis.

part is known as the *pujyabhaga* or the *Rudrabhaga* and represents Shiva. The octagonal shaft inserted in the *pitha* is known as *Vishnubhaga* and represents Vishnu and the lowermost square part is known as *Brahmabhaga* and represents Brahma. The



Figure 3.36: Dublo Mahadev at Shimepain, Mardol.

pitha or the *yoni* is the representation of the Shakti. Only the *Rudrabhaga* is visible above the *pitha*.¹³² The *Linga* is carved with fully developed *brahmasutra* and *parshvasutra*.¹³³ R. N. Naik dated it to the 11th century C.E. as the stylistics match the one from Chandor, which is currently in the ASI Museum at Old

Goa.¹³⁴ The stylistics of this *Linga* is similar to the *Linga* of Kudneshwar in Kudne of Bicholim taluka.

3.4.6.2 Iconic Images of Shiva:

Chaturmukhi Shiva, Margao:

Chaturmukhi Shiva (figure 3.37) was found in Margao The sculpture of Chaturmukhi Shiva (figure 3.37) was found in Margao and is currently displayed in the Goa State Museum. It is dated to the 11th century C.E.¹³⁵ This image of Shiva has four faces in four directions. The four faces demonstrate the four human emotions. The principal face is named *Sadyogata*, has a calm and serene look, and is associated with *shrishti* or

¹³² *Matsya Mahapurana, Chapter 263, Shloka 16-20.*

¹³³ Printed manuscript obtained from Shri. Ramchandra Naik, Technical Officer (Retd.), Directorate of Archives and Archaeology, Panaji, Goa.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

¹³⁵ The sculpture is dated by the Museum authorities.

creation. The one on the right is Aghora, representing samhara, destruction and renewal.



Figure 3.37: Chaturmukhi Shiva from Margao, currently in the Goa State Museum.

This face in the sculpture has a ferocious look with raised eyebrows.

The one to the left is *Vamadeva*. This face has a feminine look with charming expressions. It is a symbol of *stithi* or maintenance. The last face

is of *Tatpuruasha* and symbolises

triobhava.¹³⁶ Personified Ganga is shown in between the *jatamukutas*. Each face of Shiva has an individual *jatamukuta* decorated with human skulls. *Sarpakundalas* can be seen between two faces.

Kalabhairav from Vargini in Sanguem

The image of Kalabhairav from Vargini in Sanguem taluka is currently displayed in Goa State Museum (figure 3.38). The sculpture is dated to the 13th century C.E.¹³⁷ The sculpture is of a four-

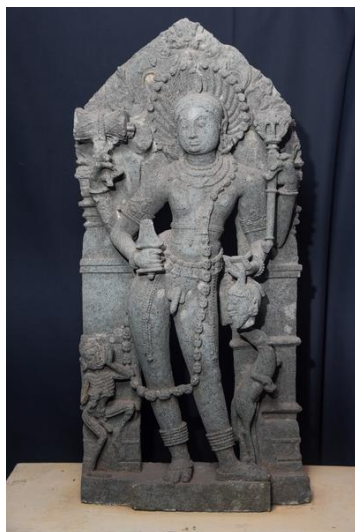


Figure 3.38: Kalabhairav, Vargini, Sanguem, currently in Goa State Museum.

¹³⁶ T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Op. Cit.* pp. 361-379. The description of *Sadashiva* includes the description of the four faces of *Chaturmukhi Shiva* given here. The Goa State Museum identifies this sculpture as *Chaturmukhi* as the fifth face does not see towards the sky and has feminine features, hence she is termed as Ganga.

Catalogue of the Remarkable Sculptures in the Goa State Museum, pp. 12-13. The contribution of the section was made to the catalogue by the author of this thesis.

¹³⁷ The sculpture is dated by the Museum authorities.

armed naked deity standing in *tribhang* posture, with the right upper arm holding a *damaru*, the left upper arm holding a *trishula*, the left lower arm holding a *kapala* and the hair of a *munda* that is dangling freely below, and a *khadga* in the right lower arm. The head is decorated with the headgear of a snake and an elaborate hairstyle. The image is bedecked with different kinds of necklaces, *mundmala* fashioned like a *yajnopavita*, *mekhala* of bells, armlets, bracelets, and anklets. On the right side of the deity is a *kankala* drinking out of the *kapala* and on the left is a *shwan* drinking blood dripping from the *munda* held by the deity. The *prabhavali* is decorated with a *kirtimukha* and elaborate designs bearing a strong Kadamba influence. The worship of Kalbhairav is found in different parts of Goa, mainly as an affiliate deity.

Malhar, Mardol, Ponda



Figure 3.39 : Malhar, Mardol, Ponda Goa, currently in Goa State Museum.

The image of Malhar from Mardol in Ponda is currently in the Goa State Museum (figure 3.39). Here, Malhar is seen riding a horse. He is holding a sword in his right hand and reins in his left hand. He has a moustache and a beard. A typical headgear and a *dhoti* adorn this image. The feather line designs can be seen carved on the *prabhavali*. The horse is shown in a galloping pose with the right foreleg slightly raised. The image can be

dated to the medieval period based on the clothes and the headgear. The image is small and measures 20 cm in height and 22 cm wide.¹³⁸

¹³⁸ *Catalogue of the Remarkable Sculptures in the Goa State Museum*. p. 18. The contribution of the section was made to the catalogue by the author of this thesis.

Bhikshatanamurti, Nerul, Bardez:

The Bhikshatanamurti was found at Nerul in Bardez and is currently preserved in the Goa State Museum. It is a small wooden image measuring 21.5 cm in height and 14 cm wide and dated to the 16th century C.E.¹³⁹ This unique sculpture has three faces and six hands. The hair on all three faces is neatly tied on each head in *Jatamandala*. All the faces have moustaches and beards. The image is embellished with armlets, bracelets, and ear ornaments. The *malas* are made of *rudraksha* seeds. The *mundamala* and *yajnopavita*, of which all three strands of thread are distinctly visible. The image is also adorned with *jholi*, *padukas* and *koupina*. The shoulders are broad. The two right hands and one left hand are broken. The middle right hand is attributed with a *kamandalu* and the middle left hand is attributed with a *kapala*. The lower left hand comes to the thighs and is holding a trident. The eyes are wide open and the *tripundra* mark is barely visible on the left forehead.¹⁴⁰

3.4.6.3 Uma-Maheshwar Murti:

In all, so far, five murtis of Uma-Maheshwara have been found in Goa. They were probably used for decorative purposes in the niches of the original temples. Out of these five, three were found in the submerged village of Curdi, of which two are preserved in the ASI Museum at Old Goa and one is in possession of the Goa State Museum. Another sculpture was found in Goa Velha and was preserved in the ASI Museum. The fifth one is currently in worship at the Kudneshwar temple in the village of Kudne in Bicholim taluka. In one sculpture from Curdi, currently in the ASI Museum, the couple is shown

¹³⁹ The sculpture is dated by the Museum authorities.

¹⁴⁰ *Catalogue of the Remarkable Sculptures in the Goa State Museum*. p. 34. The contribution of the section was made to the catalogue by the author of this thesis.

in the form of *Chandrashekhara-Alingana-Murti*.¹⁴¹ In this sculpture, Uma and



Figure 3.40: Uma-Maheshwar from Curdi. Currently in the Goa State Museum.

Maheshwar are shown in the standing posture with Maheshwar embracing Uma with his left hand and his right hand in *abhaya mudra* while Uma is holding a *nilotpala*¹⁴² in her left hand and her right hand is around the shoulder of Maheshwar. The other sculpture is that of the couple seated in *sukhasana*. In this sculpture, Uma is seated on the left lap of Maheshwar in his *chaturbhuja* form with his left lower hand around the waist of Uma. The

other two hands are mutilated. They are seated on Nandi. The pedestal below Nandi has Kartikeya with his peacock, Ganapati and a dancing Bhringi. The sculpture in the Goa State Museum (figure 3.40) is a miniature version of the *asana murti*, but the attributes are not visible as it is in weathered condition.

The sculpture found at Goa Velha is displayed in the ASI Museum. It is in a mutilated condition, and only the torso remains. The image is 85 cm in height and 87 cm in width. It is identified by the lizard on the pedestal below Parvati. The sculpture shows Maheshwar seated in *sukhasana* with Uma on his left lap. Maheshwar embraces her with his left hand while Uma has her right hand around his shoulder. This type of sculpture is classified as Gauri-Hara as Uma is identified as Gauri when her *vahana* is a lizard.¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Op. Cit.* Vol. Two. Part II, pp. 120-125.

¹⁴² *Ibid*, p. 133.

¹⁴³ N. P. Joshi, *Bharatiya Murtishastra*, 2013, p. 283.

The sculpture at Kudne (figure 3.41) is in worship and is a medieval proto-type of the sculpture of the Chalukyan period.¹⁴⁴ This sculpture is in the form of *Chandrashekhara-*



Figure 3.41: Sculpture of Uma Maheshwar, Kudneshwar temple, Kudne

Alingana-Murti, as both Uma and Maheshwar are standing. Maheshwar is shown in his *chaturbhuj* form with a *trishula* in his right upper hand and a three-hooded snake in his left upper hand. His left lower hand is around the waist of Uma and he is holding the *matulunga* fruit in his right lower hand. Uma is shown in her *dvibhuj* form with her right hand around the shoulder of Maheshwar and a *darpan* in her left hand. The snake in Shiva's hand is seen just above the *darpan* of Uma. Shiva's *vahana*, Nandi, is shown behind him on his right side and the lion is seen behind

Uma on her left side. The original image, however, shows the right hand of Shiva in chin-mudra and Uma as holding a *nilotpala*.¹⁴⁵

3.5 Analysis

The temple was considered a symbol of image. The structure was built of laterite and basalt. The most common temples were the square-shaped temples and the rectangular temples with a porch in front. The temples consisted of *garbagriha*, *antarala*,

¹⁴⁴ V. T. Gune, *Op. Cit.* Plates 25-26.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid*, plate 25.

ardhamandap and *mandap*. The temples dedicated to Brahma were either in the precincts of the main temple or in isolated places. The temples dedicated to Vishnu were situated on plains near the fields known as *vaingan* and had a large temple tank that irrigated the fields of the entire village. The temples dedicated to Shiva were mostly situated on the hills or banks of rivers.

It can be observed that the worship of the images of Brahma was prevalent in Goa from the Chalukya period to the Kadamba period. The image of Brahma found at Parshem in Pernem taluka dates to the 7th century C.E. and features a distinctive Chalukyan style of iconography. The sculpture of Kudne, however, features the syncretic style of the Chalukya-Shilahara period with a simple serpentine *prabhavali* that became more intricate during the Kadamba period. The images of Brahma dating to the Kadamba period are found in Brahma-Karmali and Colamb. The sculpture at Brahma-Karmali is more intricately carved than the one found at Colamb. The feet of the image are worshipped in Loliem. The tiny feet suggest the existence of a smaller image in its place. Thus, it can be assumed that the cult of Brahma existed from Pernem to Canacona in Goa from the pre-Portuguese period. The transformation of the local worship of an aniconic form of *Brahmo* is being replaced and identified with the Puranic Brahma in the post-liberation period. The aniconic representations are replaced by either an image, like in Veling or with a *Linga*, like in the case of Khandola.

The worship of images of Vishnu suggests that Vishnu was one of the most worshipped gods in Goa. The image of Vishnu from Loliem suggests that there existed worship of Vishnu in iconic form during the Bhoja period. The sculpture from Loliem can be categorised as the *yoga-stanaka murti* in *madhyama* class as the image is accompanied by Bhudevi and an attendant who can be identified as Markandeya. The sculpture from Mulgaon suggests that the sculptures of Vishnu became more embellished during the

Chalukyan period. There is no evidence of big temples dedicated to Vishnu in any form. However, the images of Vishnu were installed in a small shrine affiliated with the *gramadevata* in every village. The temples dedicated to Vishnu played a major role in the agrarian society as irrigation was centred around it. These temples were generally known as temples of Narayandev and enshrined images of Vishnu in one of the *chaturvimsati* forms. Most of the sculptures in these temples belong to the Kadamba period. Besides the worship of Vishnu as Narayandev, temples were also dedicated to his different *avatars*. There is also one temple dedicated to the *Shayana* Vishnu in Keri. Vishnu images are also found in the niches of major temples of Goa. With the iconic worship of Vishnu, rare cases of aniconic worship are also found in Goa.

Shiva is one of the major deities worshipped in Goa. The earliest known shrine dedicated to Shiva was the temple excavated in Chandor dating to the 1st century C.E.¹⁴⁶ However, it is now in ruins. The cave temples of Goa were the most important shrines dedicated to Shiva in the Bhoja period. Some of them are in worship even today. The worship of Shiva in the aniconic form of *Linga* is the most popular form of worship. Different types of sculptures of Shiva were also found in Goa, but most of them may have been enshrined in the niches of the main temple. Shiva is worshipped in his iconic form as Kalbhairava in different parts of Goa. There are temples dedicated to Kalbhairav in Dhargale, Netravali, and Vargini as the consort of the main deity. In some places, Kalbhairav is worshipped as an affiliate deity. Shiva, in the form of Malhar, is worshipped as the consort of Mahalsa in Mardol. Hence, it can be observed that Shiva is worshipped in the form of *Linga* when he is the main deity and is worshipped in his iconic form as the consort of the main deity.

¹⁴⁶ V. Gopala Rao, *Op. Cit.* pp. 179-80.

Chapter 4

DEVI: THE ULTIMATE SOURCE OF THE UNIVERSE

The goddess in the Hindu pantheon is known as the Devi. She is considered the mother, creator, and nurturer of the universe. The *Devi-Mahatmya* contains verses describing the Devi and constitutes a part of the *Markandeya Purana*. She is considered the supreme being. The epitome of *Shakti* and the *Prakriti*. *Shakti* means power, "the ultimate source and form of all".¹ Hence her followers are known as the *Shaktas*. She is worshipped in various forms throughout India. The *Yogis* believe that she is the non-presentational form of universal energy. She resides in man as the *kundalini shakti*. She lives in the *muladhara*, at the bottom of the spinal cord. By working on this shakti, man can even attain *moksha* with immense penance and discipline. With the awakening of this *shakti*, a person can get immense pleasure.² The *shakti* can be awakened with the help of severe penance or meditating on a *mantra*, *yantra* or a *murti*. The *mantras* are incantations fashioned in formulae that help in awakening the *kundalini shakti*. The *yantras* are geometrical diagram that facilitates the meditation for the devotee. The *murtis* are representative symbolic images of the deity.³

It is believed that women started the cultivation of crops, whereas men were still engaged in hunting. The woman saw the reproductive nature of mother earth and began

¹ Anuradha Basu, *Shakti Worship in India and Iconography (with special reference to Madhya Pradesh)*, 2009, preface.

² T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. One. Part II, 1914, pp. 327-329.

³ Susan Huntington and John Huntington, *The Art of Ancient India*, 1985, p. xxvi.

cultivating crops around her dwelling. Hence, she is considered the progenitor of the fertility cult. She saw the feminine nature of mother earth as the producer and the destroyer; thus, she started worshipping her. The deity in the form of mother earth was portrayed as the bestower of boons as well as diseases. She is mainly represented ferociously as her worship arose from fear rather than devotion.⁴

4.1 Evolution of Devi in Literary Sources:

The *Markandeya Purana* calls her the *Gupta-rupi Devi*, and she manifests herself in three forms Lakshmi, Mahakali and Saraswati. They are the personifications of the three *gunas*: *rajas*, *tamas* and *sattva*.⁵

The *Devi-Mahatmya* describes her as Durga, the revered of all, the *shakti* of Shiva, the creator of knowledge. She is the creator of the *bija mantra*. *Ain* is for Saraswati, *rhim* is for Bhuvaneshwari, and *klin* is for Kamabija. The *bija mantras* should be joined with the verse *Chamundayay Vicchey*. It forms the *Navarna* mantra of the *Devi*. Brahma, Vishnu and Maheshwara are the three *rishis* of this mantra. *Gayatri*, *Ushniga* and *Trishtuppa* are the three stanzas and Mahakali, Mahalakshmi and Mahasaraswati are the three *Devis* of the verse. As Mahakali, she has three eyes and ten arms holding *khadga*, *chakra*, *gada*, *baan*, *dhanushya*, *parigh*, *shula*, *bhushandi*, *mastaka* and *shankha* in her hands. Her colour is blue, like sapphire, and she has ten heads and ten feet. Brahma prayed to her to kill Madhu and Kautambh. As Mahalakshmi, she holds *akshamala*, *parashu*, *gada*, *baan*, *vajra*, *padma*, *dhanushya*, *kundika*, *danda*, *shakti*, *khadga*, *dhaal*, *ghanta*, *madhupatra*, *trishula*, *pasha* and *sudarshan chakra*. Her

⁴ Mahadev Shastri Joshi, *Gazti Daivate*, 1995, pp. 90-99.

⁵ T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Op. Cit.*, 1985, pp. 334-335.

complexion is reddish, and she sits on a red lotus. She is the one who is called Mahishasuramardini. As Mahasaraswati, she holds a *ghanta*, *shula*, *hala*, *shankha*, *musala*, *chakra*, *dhanushya* and *baan*. She has a golden complexion. She is the slayer of demons and resides in *vanibija*. She is the idol of truth, knowledge and bliss.⁶

In the Puranas, *Gajalaxmi* is described as the two-armed goddess and is seated on *Padmapitha*, holding lotuses in both hands. She is flanked by elephants lustrating water on her with pitchers. She is considered the goddess of wealth and the consort of lord Vishnu. We find references to *Mahishasuramardini* in the *Puranas* as well. According to R. S. Gupte, "The *Amarakosha* regards her as a form of *Parvati*. In the *Mahabharata* and *Harivamsha*, she is referred to as the sister of Krishna and the daughter of Yashoda. In the *Matsya Purana*, she is born out of the union of three goddesses, while as the *Markandeya Purana* says, she is made up of the essence of all gods".⁷

The *Kurma Purana*, *Varaha Purana*, *Suprabhedagama* and the different *Agamas* also mention the goddesses known as the *Saptamatrikas*. These goddesses are *Vaishnavi*, *Kaumari*, *Chamunda*, *Brahmini*, *Indrani*, *Maheshvari* and *Varahi*. These goddesses are flanked by *Virabhadra* and *Vinayaka* (or *Ganapati*). These goddesses are believed to be the protector deities of the village. Noel A. Salmond observes that the lowest register on a seal in the Indus Valley Culture depicts seven human figures, usually identified as female and frequently compared with the mothers or the *Saptamatrikas*. They came to be associated with the aspects of Durga.⁸ Albert C. Moore believes that the *Yakshis*

⁶ P. N. Joshi, *Devi Bhagvata*, 1990, p. 346.

⁷ R. S. Gupte, *Iconography of the Hindus, Buddhist and Jains*, 1972, p. 55.

⁸ Noel A. Salmond, *Hindu Iconoclasts: Raja Rammohun Roy, Dayanand Saraswati and Nineteenth Century Polemics Against Idolatry*, 2004, p. 14.

were associated with the ancient Indian cult of trees, regarded as the dwelling places of nature spirits and protective deities of villages.⁹

4.2 Proto-Types of Devi in the Pre-Historic Times in Goa:

4.2.1 Mesolithic Period (10,000-2,500 B.C.E)



Figure 4.1: The pre-historic form of Mother Goddess with a baby, Pansalimal, Sanguem, Goa.

The pre-historic site at Pansalimal in Sanguem taluka of Goa has a stretch of 500 square metres, is situated along the river Kushavati, and is dated to the Mesolithic period. The site gets submerged during the four months of monsoon. More than 100 carvings depict various symbols of fertility, animals, and humans. Some symbols like the Triskelion, a horse-shoe-like formation around which animals are shown, and the same is identified as a trap.¹⁰

⁹ Albert C. Moore, *Iconography of Religions- An Introduction*, 1977, p. 100.

¹⁰ P. P. Shirodkar, "From Prehistoric Times to 1510." *Goa: Aparanta-Land Beyond the End*, 2008, pp. 13–14.

P. P. Shirodkar recognised three nude goddesses in these carvings. One of them is wide-hipped with the upper portion chiselled out. The next one is lying flat with stretched legs emphasising the genital organ. The carving is not precise as it is in a dilapidated condition. The third and most distinctive one is in the supine position with her hands and legs outstretched so that she has probably passed out after giving birth (figure 4.1). This petroglyph is stated as the carving of an infant with a placenta, and the umbilical cord is seen close to the carving of the Mother Goddess. Shirodkar compared the image to the Mother Goddess of Gonnorsdorf, Germany and believed that it is the second of



Figure 4.2: Identified as Labyrinth, triskelion or trap Pansalimal, Sanguem, Goa, Dated to 10,000 B.C.E-2,500 B.C.E.

its kind, where a Mother Goddess is shown in the postpartum stage.¹¹

This carving (figure 4.2) has been identified as either a Labyrinth, a Triskelion¹² or a trap. P. P.

Shirodkar termed it a Triskelion in the centre of a Labyrinth and assumed that it is a symbolic

measure of time and seasons as the seven concentric circles represent the seven days of the week. The three serpent hoods may represent the three seasons in Goa.¹³ The number seven is associated with the Mother Goddesses in the Shakta cult, like the Saptamatrikas; the seven tongues of Agni are mentioned in the *Mundraka Upanishad* (I.2, 4).¹⁴ Hence, the assumption that it may be a prototype of the *yantra* or the *chakra*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² P. P. Kamat “The Petroglyphs of Pansalimal: A Labyrinth on Laterite Awaiting Serious Scholarly Study.” *History Today*, vol. 6, 2006, p. 78.

¹³ P. P. Shirodkar, *Op. Cit.* p. 14.

¹⁴ Jitendra Nath Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, 1985, p. 491.

cannot be entirely denied.¹⁵ The other Mesolithic site, *Dudhan Fator* at Kajur, near the Pansalimal site, also has a carving of the Mother Goddess.

4.2.2 Megalithic Mother-Goddess of Curdi:



Figure 4.3: Mother-Goddess of Curdi, currently relocated to Verna by the Directorate of Archives and Archaeology, Possibly of the Megalithic period (1000 B.C.E. - 500 B.C.E).

The Mother-Goddess of Curdi (figure 4.3) was found in 1985. This sculpture was dated to the Megalithic period based on the other Megalithic findings in the area of the original provenance. This sculpture was lying on the banks of river Salaulim and relocated to Verna during the construction of the dam. It is a figure of a nude goddess with a newborn on her left side between her body and her left hand. The head is unclear but is round with no elongated neck giving it an appearance of a lotus. The emphasis is on the lower portion of the body, which is more clearly chiselled out. It is eight feet long and two and a half feet broad. The image was neglected at its provenance and considered *kalvant*, an adulteress by the locals.¹⁶ P. P. Shirodkar opined that she must

¹⁵ However, from the feature of *yantra* or a *chakra* as detailed in the works of Gopinatha Rao and others, it cannot be concluded beyond doubt as a prototype of *yantra*. Further investigation is required on the subject.

¹⁶ P. P. Shirodkar, "A Rare Find of Mother Goddess of Curdi." *Goan Society through the Ages: Seminar Papers*, 1987, pp. 9–15.

be the goddess *Korraivai* and the name of the village Curdi was derived from her. Further, he mentioned that the early nomadic settlers must have named this village after their deity, *Korraivai*. He further called it an uncommon, unusual symbolic representation.¹⁷ The Curdi village is called *Kuddi* in Konkani. The Kannada word *kurudi* means a blind lady. The villagers call the mother goddess as *Kuddi*. The image of mother goddess is without head. Therefore, probably the village Curdi name might have originated from the word *kurudi* or *kuddi*.¹⁸

4.3 Aniconic Worship of the Devi

4.3.1 Pot Worship:

Pot worship can be traced to the animistic beliefs of primitive people. Reference to the ten *Kumbha Devatas* or ten deities can be found in the Chola inscription dated C.E. 1072.¹⁹ The *kumbha devatas* were considered both malignant and benign, and their abode was the pots. The worship of pots as a symbol of fertility can be traced to the 6th century C.E. The pots were considered the symbols of wealth, prosperity, abundant harvest and fertility.²⁰

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Further investigation is needed to arrive at a definite opinion on this matter.

¹⁹ L. B. Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica: Inscription of the Kolar District*, 1905, p. 35.

²⁰ Ramendra Nath Nandi, "Pot-Worship and Pot-Goddess of the Deccan (C. A. D. 600-1000)."

Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, vol. 29, 1967, pp. 113-117.

The seven divine sisters and their brother are worshipped in Goa as *Morjai* of Morjim, *Mirabai* or *Milagris* of Mapusa, *Ajadipa* of Anjadiv, *Shitalai* at the seabed in the Arabian Sea, *Kelbai* of Mayem, *Lairai* of Shirgao, and *Mhamai* of Mulgaon. All the sisters are worshipped in iconic and aniconic forms. *Lairai* is worshipped as a pot filled with water and a bud of the *mogra* (*jasminumsambac*) flower. The water and the bud are changed once a year during the *jatra* (annual festival).



Figure 4.4: Pot Worship in Kelbai temple, Keri Sattari, Goa.
Photo Courtesy: Sandip Majik.

The pots in figure 4.4 are from the Kelbai temple at Keri in Sattari taluka. The temple is situated in a village at the foothill of the Sahyadri ranges. The four pots in the figure are brought during Navratri and other festivals. The pots are made of brass and are filled with water. The pot seen in figure 4.5 is a pot that accompanies the Taranga, or the procession of umbrellas seen in different parts of Goa during the festival of *Shigmo* or *Dushera*.



Figure 4.5: Aniconic Pot Worship, Canacona, Goa.

4.3.2 Worship of Anthills:



Figure 4.6 Worship of Anthill as Bhumika in Usgao.

One of the most popular aniconic forms of *Devi* worship in Goa is the worship of *Santeri* or *Bhumika* in the form of an anthill (figure 4.6). Pt. Mahadev Shastri Joshi points out that the anthill was considered sacred as there are no stones in the mud by which the anthill is formed. The soil is fine without any flaws. Further, he elaborated that one of the five types of clay mentioned for religious rituals is the anthill.²¹

4.4 Iconic Worship of Mother-Goddess²²

The *Markandeya Purana* stated that the *Devi* achieved different epithets based on her triumphs. At the time of creation, that is *srishti*, she is Mahakali, exercising control over Brahma and bringing the world into existence. At the time of universal destruction, namely *pralaya*, she is Mahamari. As the giver of wealth, she is Lakshmi. As a destroyer of wealth, she is Alakshmi or Jyeshtadevi. During creation, she assumes the different forms of dark-coloured women as Mahamaya, Mahakali, Mahamari, Kshudha, Trisha, Nidra, Trishna, Ekvira, Kalaratri and Duratyaya.²³ The following sculptures have been taken for the case study.

²¹ Mahadev Shastri Joshi, *Op. Cit.* p. 91.

²² Original sculptures have been taken for the iconographic description in this subtopic.

²³ T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 334-335.

4.4.1 Mahishasuramardini:

Mahishasuramardini is the most popular form of worship for the Devi worshippers in Goa. She is worshipped as Navdurga, Vijayadurga, Aryadurga, Kamakshi, Bhagvati, Santeri and Shantadurga, wherein the images of Mahishasuramardini are erected in front of the anthill. Mahishasuramardini sculptures were found from the early Bhoja period.²⁴ Reference to Ela is found in the Nunem stone inscription, and Bhavani is in the Harvalem inscription.²⁵ Mahishasuramardini can be classified into three categories: *Dvibhuja*, *Chaturbhuja* and *Ashtabhuja*.

4.4.1.1 Dvibhuja Mahishasuramardini:



Figure 4.7: Dvibhuja Mahishasuramardini, Goa State Museum, Panaji, Goa.

The Devi is depicted as having two hands in the sculptures of *dvibhuja* Mahishasuramardini. An image of *dvibhuja* Mahishasuramardini from Shiroda dating to the Chalukya period is in the collection of the Goa State Museum (figure 4.7). The two-armed deity is shown standing in an *atibhanga* posture with her right arm thrusting a *trishula* on an *asura* coming out of the buffalo's body while pushing his head with the palm of her left hand. Her right leg is trampling the buffalo. The cut head of the buffalo can be seen fallen on the left side of the deity. A *shirshchakra*, resembling a halo, is carved out of the *prabhavali* in the crown of the deity.

²⁴ V. R. Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara*, 1992, p.114.

²⁵ *Ibid*, p.113.

The Aryadurga sculpture of Loliem in Canacona is also *dvibhuja* Mahishasuramardini carved in 1921 by one Chari from Iddarwado of the same village.

4.4.1.2 Chaturbhuja Mahishasuramardini:



Figure 4.8: The sculpture of Chaturbhuja Mahishasuramardini, Surla-Tar.

In the sculpture of *chaturbhuja* Mahishasuramardini, the Devi is depicted with four hands. The *chaturbhuja* sculpture from Assoldem in Quepem taluka,²⁶ dating to the 12th century C.E., also has the deity pulling Mahishasura from the body of a buffalo with her lower left hand and killing him with a *trishula*, which she is holding in her lower right hand. The upper arms hold *khadga* and *khetaka*. The Mahishasuramardini of Surla-Tar (figure 4.8),²⁷ dating to the 14th century C.E., has the Devi killing the buffalo.

4.4.1.3 Ashtabhuja Mahishasuramardini:

The Devi is depicted with eight hands in the sculpture of *ashtabhuja* Mahishasuramardini. A sculpture of *ashtabhuja* Mahishasuramardini was found in the village of Vargini in Sanguem taluka.²⁸ In this sculpture (figure 4.9), the Devi is holding the mouth of the buffalo with her proper left hand and is slaying her with the rear end of the two-edged *trishula*, probably a *shula*, in her proper right hand. The other right

²⁶ The sculpture is currently housed in Goa State Museum, Panaji-Goa.

²⁷ The sculpture is currently housed in Goa State Museum, Panaji-Goa.

²⁸ The sculpture is currently housed in Goa State Museum, Panaji-Goa.



Figure 4.9: Ashtabhuj Mahishasuramardini.

hands hold *chakra*, *khadga* and *baan*, while her left hands hold *shankha*, *khetak* and *dhanushya*. The sculpture is dated to the 10th century C.E. A *shirshchakra* surrounds her head. A lion stands on her right with a raised paw, but it does not resemble the Kadamba lion.



Figure 4.10: Bhagvati, Loliem.

The second sculpture of *ashtabhuj* Mahishasuramardini is found in the Bhagvati temple at Pernem. The sculpture is five feet in height and holds the curved sword, *khadga*, and *munda* in her upper right hand and *khetaka*, *ghanta* and *kataka hasta* holding bangles in her upper left hand. The proper hands are in *kataka hasta*, in which a bronze *trishula* is inserted during the *alankar* of the deity.²⁹ The sculpture of Bhagvati in the form of *ashtabhuj* Mahishasuramardini in Loliem village was made by the Chari from Iddarwado of the same village in 1921 (figure 4.10). The image of

Vijayadurga at Keri in Ponda taluka is also of *ashtabhuj* Mahishasuramardini (figure 4.16). There are two miniature sculptures, 13x10.5x5.5cm and 12.5x4.5x5.5cm, in the Goa State Museum, which are practically unfinished but are of *ashtabhuj* Mahishasuramardini.

²⁹ The information was provided by the priest, Shri Sandesh Gurav on 24th March 2021, as it was not possible to physically measure the image due to the temple regulations.

4.4.2 Important images of Mahishasuramardini in Goa

The images of Mahishasuramardini from Lamgaon, Korgaon, Vichundrem, Tambdi Surla and Verlem are discussed in this sub-topic. These sculptures are important for the study of iconography as they provide the progression of the different styles of images. The sculptures from Lamgaon and Korgaon are one of the earliest sculptures of Mahishasuramardini. The sculpture from Vichundrem depicts the Shilahara-Kadamba style, while the sculpture from Tambdi Surla depicts the classical Kadamba style, and the sculpture from Verlem is dated to 2011. The study of these sculptures helps in understanding the development of the iconography of the sculptures of Mahishasuramardini in Goa.

4.4.2.1 Lamgaon sculpture of Mahishasuramardini

One of the earliest sculptures of Mahishasuramardini is in the village of Lamgaon in Bicholim taluka. It is a sculpture of *chaturbhuj*a Mahishasuramardini. She holds a *khadga* in her upper right hand and a bell in her upper left hand. She is raising the rear side of the buffalo by pulling its tail with her lower left hand and piercing the buffalo with a *trishula* in her right hand. She is pressing down the buffalo with her right foot. The buffalo is shown kneeling with its front feet. The sculpture has Gupta features with a broad jaw, huge nose, broad lips and huge breasts. She is decked with *kundalas*, *haar* and bracelets. A simple halo is shown behind her and she is not wearing a *kirita mukuta*.³⁰

A sculpture with similar iconographic features is seen in the niche of the Keshav temple at Loliem.

³⁰ V. R. Mitragotri, *Op. Cit.* pp. 209-210.

4.4.2.2 Korgao sculptures of Mahishasuramardini

There are two sculptures of *chaturbhuj*a Mahishasuramardini in Korgaon. The sculptures are in weathered condition and are one of the earliest dated sculptures of Mahishasuramardini in Goa. The sculptures can be dated to the Chalukya-Shilahara period. As regards the iconographic features, both the images are similar, with the Devi holding a bell in her upper left hand, a tail of buffalo in her lower left hand and a *trishula* in her lower right hand piercing it. The attribute in her upper right hand cannot be ascertained correctly due to the weathering of the sculptures. However, Mitragotri observed that one was holding a dagger. The Mahishasura is in the form of a buffalo with an upturned face and pulled by its tail. It resulted in raised hind legs and a twisted body which is more prominent in one of the sculptures. The sculptures are adorned with *karanda mukuta*, *ratna kundalas* and a halo.³¹

4.4.2.3 Mahishasuramardini, Vichundrem, Sanguem



Figure 4.11: Mahishasuramardini, Vichundrem, Sanguem.

The sculpture was found in the ruins of the temple at Vichundrem in Sanguem taluka and is currently preserved in the Goa State Museum (figure 4.11). It is broken into five pieces. The *chaturbhuj*a image of the Devi is holding a *khadga* in her right upper hand and a *ketaka* in her left upper hand. She is pulling the anthropomorphic figure of vulnerable Mahishasura from the buffalo with her left lower hand. The *trishula* in her right lower hand pierces the buffalo and pushes it

³¹ *Ibid.* pp. 210-211.

with her right foot. The lion is attacking the buffalo from behind and is on the right side of the Devi. The lion is shown with a raised paw and a swirl in the tail. This sculpture shows a resemblance to the Shilahara-early Kadamba style.³² She is adorned with ornaments like *kirita mukuta*, *ratna kundalas*, necklaces, armlets and anklets.

4.4.2.4 Mahishasuramardini at the Shiva temple, Tambdi Surla, Goa.



Figure 4.12: Mahishasuramardini sculpture at the Shiva temple, Tambdi Surla.

A weathered sculpture of Mahishasuramardini (figure 4.12) is housed in the niche on the right side of the Shiva temple at Tambdi Surla. This sculpture belongs to the 13th century C.E. and is of the classical Kadamba style. It is in a mutilated condition. The four-armed deity is in an *atibhanga* posture resembling a dance pose. She is holding a *khetaka* in her left arm. The rest of the hands are broken and the attributes are not clear. She might have been holding a *trishula* in her right arm with which she was thrusting the *asura* coming out of the bull buffalo as he is seen resisting the same. Her *vahana*, the lion, is shown standing on her right. The lion shows great similarities to the Kadamba emblem with a raised paw.

4.4.2.5 Mahishasurmardini at Verlem, Sanguem:

This temple was built in the year 2011. The ruins of the old temple are seen near the new one. This image of Mahishasuramardini is different from the other sculptures of the Devi. It is a sculpture of *dvibhuja* Devi standing in a *samabhanga stanaka* posture. Her hands are in *kataka hasta*, where a metal sword and shield are inserted.

³²*Ibid.* pp. 210-211.

4.4.3 The different forms of Mahishasuramardini:

The Devi is worshipped in the image of Mahishasuramardini in different parts of Goa. The most common of them is in the form of Durga. Mahishasuramardini is worshipped as Navadurga, Shantadurga and Vijayadurga in Goa. She is worshipped in the form of Kamakshi in the temples of Shiroda and Ramnathi in the form of Mahishasuramardini.

4.4.3.1 Mahishasuramardini as Navadurga:

There are eight temples in Goa dedicated to Navadurga. All the sculptures are of Mahishasuramardini.

Navadurga, Bori

This sculpture is a rare specimen of Kadamba art (figure 4.13). This sculpture of



Figure 4.13: Navdurga, Bori, Ponda.

Photo Courtesy: Dattaram Prabhudesai.

Mahishasuramardini is about 100 cm (the exact measurement is not possible as the sculpture is in worship) in height, shown in *atibhanga* posture and *chaturbhuj*a form with *chakra* in her upper right hand and *shankha* in her upper left hand. Her lower left hand is pushing, while her lower right hand is thrusting a *trishula* at the demon emerging out of the buffalo whose head is seen lying near the feet of the deity. She is pushing the buffalo with her left foot. The deity is flanked by *chauri-dharini* on either side while a devotee in *anjali mudra* rests near her right foot. She is ornamented with *kirita*, *makara kundalas* and different ornaments like *keyura*, *valayas* and necklaces. The lion having typical Kadamba features is shown near the left foot of the deity. The meandering

prabhavali is adorned with *makara torana* mounted on a pillar, at the centre of which rests the *kirtimukha*. The ornaments and weapons are decorated with beads presenting a distinctive feature of Kadamba art.

Navadurga, Poinguinim

This sculpture (figure 4.14) is in *chaturbhuj*a form with an *atibhanga* posture. The



deity holds a *chakra* in her upper right hand and a *shankha* in her upper left hand. She is shown killing the demon Mahishasura with a double-ended weapon with a *trishula* on one end and a *shula* on the other. She thrusts the *shula* into the demon coming out of the buffalo and pulls him out by his hair with her lower right hand. She is pushing the buffalo with her left foot. The sculpture can be dated to the

Figure 4.14: Navadurga, Poinguinim.

14th century C.E.

Navadurga, Surla-Tar

The sculpture is housed in the Goa State Museum (figure 4.8). The sculpture is dated to the 14th century C.E. and was brought from Surla-Tar in Bicholim taluka.³³ This sculpture is of Navadurga in the form of *chaturbhuj*a in *atibhanga mudra*. She is holding a *trishula* in her upper right hand and a *shankh* in her upper left hand. The lower left hand is pulling the tongue of the demon in the form of buffalo while pushing him to the ground. The lower right hand is broken and may have held a sword used to behead

³³ *Catalogue of the Remarkable Sculptures in the Goa State Museum*. p. 16. The contribution of the section was made to the catalogue by the author of this thesis.

the demon. The lion is shown attacking the buffalo from behind. A *chauri-dharini* is shown on her right. The *prabhavali* is decorated with a floral and beaded motif. The *kirtimukha* features on the top of the *prabhavali*. The sculpture is a replica of the Kadamba art.

Navadurga, Pali, Bicholim

This sculpture is of the Devi in her *atibhanga* posture and *chaturbhuj*a form depicted killing the Mahishasura as a buffalo. She holds the sword in her upper right hand and a shield is in her upper left hand. She kills the demon with a *trishula* in her lower hand and pulls his tongue by her lower left hand while pushing him with her right foot. The lion is shown near her right foot. This sculpture is a replica of the Kadamba period.

Navadurga, Adkona, dstari

The Devi is shown in her *atibhanga* posture and *chaturbhuj*a form. She kills the Mahishasura in his buffalo form with a *trishula*. The *trishula* is in her right hand and she pulls his tongue with her left hand. She holds a sword in her right upper hand and a shield in her left upper hand. This is a fairly new sculpture. The image of Navadurga at Khandola is also similar to the image of Navadurga at Adkona.

Navadurga, Madkai:



Figure 4.15: Navdurga, Madkai, Ponda.

Photo Courtesy: Dattaram Prabhudesai.

The sculpture of Navadurga at Madkai is that of Mahishasuramardini slaying a bull-buffalo demon (figure 4.15). The sculpture is of a four-armed deity thrusting a *trishula* into the body of a buffalo while pulling out the demon from its body. Here she is holding a *khetaka* in her left upper arm while pulling the demon from the body of the buffalo with her left lower arm and killing him with the *khadga* in her right lower arm. The unique feature of

this sculpture is that she uses two weapons to kill the demon in the form of a buffalo and a human. The lion is standing on her right with blood dripping from his mouth. The deity is known as *Vakdya-manechi*, as her head is slightly bent towards the left. The sculpture is about two hundred years old. The image of Navadurga at Kundai is similar to that found at Madkai.

4.4.3.2 Navadurga as an affiliate deity

Navadurga, Chandreshwar temple, Paroda

This sculpture is on the right side of the sanctum sanctorum of the Chandreshwar temple at Paroda. The sculpture depicts Navadurga as an eight-armed deity adorned with all the weapons, standing in a *samabhanga* posture in front of the lion. On both sides, she is flanked by her attendants. It is a panel of sculptures depicted as a shrine. The *shikhara* of the shrine has elaborate carvings and different demi-gods adorning it. The sculpture is modern.

Navadurga, Ganapati temple, Madkai

This is a sculpture of Navadurga in *chaturbhuj*a form and *atibhanga* posture. The Devi is holding *khadga* and *khetaka* in her upper hands, pulling the demon out of the buffalo with her lower left hand and killing it with a *trishula* in her lower right hand. She is stamping the buffalo with her right leg. The head of the buffalo is facing towards the left side of the Devi. The sculpture is a replica of the Kadamba sculptures. This sculpture may be dated to the Vijaynagara period based on designs on its *prabhavali*.

4.4.3.3 Mahishasuramardini as Shantadurga:

Shantadurga, Shiroda:

The sculpture of Shantadurga at Shiroda is in the form of *chaturbhujā* Mahishasuramardini. She holds a *khadga* in her upper right hand. Her upper left hand is in *simhakarna mudra*, probably for holding the *ketaka*. She is pulling the tongue of the demon with her lower left hand and piercing the *trishula* with her lower right hand. The demon is in the form of buffalo. She is stamping the buffalo with her left foot and her lion is trying to attack it from behind. A hooded cobra can be seen on her right side. The sculpture displays Bhoja-Chalukya's influence due to its broad features and relaxed style. However, it can be assumed to be a later Chalukya style as the *prabhavali* is intricate, which cannot be seen in the sculptures of the early Chalukya period.³⁴

Shantadurga, Veling:

It is a bronze sculpture of Mahishasuramardini killing the buffalo and pulling the demon out from its mouth with her left hand while the *trishula* in her right hand pierces the buffalo's neck. She holds a sword in her right upper hand and a shield in her left upper hand. She is trampling the buffalo with her left foot. The sculpture is adorned with a *dhoti* reaching up to her knees and tied with a girdle with flaps resembling the Roman war skirt. She is decked with *kirita mukuta*, *ratnakundala*, and long necklaces like *vaijayanti-mala*, armlets, bracelets, anklets and shoulder ornaments fashioned as hooded snakes. The sculpture is similar to the sculpture of Shantaduraga at Shiroda.

³⁴ Detailed iconographic description is derived from the sculpture in the temple.

Mahishasuramardini as Kamakshi:

The legend of Kamakshi is described in the *Shri Kamakshi Mahatmya* in *Sahyadri Khand*. The legend states that, in the prosperous village of Rai, the abode of Hari and Hara, there lived a Brahman called Agnimukha. He was a scholar of the Vedas and Vedangas. He had a son named Gunakar. Once when Gunakar had gone to the forest to collect the materials for sacrifice, he encountered a ferocious demon named Pratimahishasura, who swallowed Gunakar alive. As time passed and Gunakar did not return home, Agnimukha was worried and searched for him. Agnimukha found the scattered sacrificial material near the place where the demon resided. He gathered courage and went and enquired with the demon if he had seen Gunakar. The demon said that he had swallowed him and would now swallow Agnimukha. The frightened Agnimukha, with the help of the powers of his *mantra*, ran away from there to the temples of Hari and Hara. He sat there and started crying in memory of his lost son. Seeing the plight of their beloved devotee, the gods asked him to pray to the goddess Kamakshi, the slayer of Mahishasura. Agnimukha prayed to the goddess. She was pleased with his devotion and granted him the boon that she would come to slay the demon. Bhairava and other soldiers accompanied the Devi in the war with the demon. The demon, knowing Devi's power, surrendered to her and asked for her forgiveness. The Devi advised him to return Gunakar to his father. The demon did so and promised to leave the place and never return. Due to the appeal of the devotees, the Devi decided to reside in the village of Hari and Hara along with Bhairava.³⁵

³⁵ Gajanan Shastri Gaitonde (ed.), *Sahyadri Khand of Skanda Purana*, 1971, pp. 262-277.

The temple of Kamakshi existed in the village of Raia and was shifted to Shiroda between 1564 and 1568 when the Portuguese demolished the temple.³⁶ The worship of Kamakshi is found in two places in Goa, Shiroda and Ramnathi; both sculptures are made of bronze and are in the form of *chaturbhuj*a Mahishasuramardini.

Kamakshi, Shiroda:

The sculpture of Kamakshi at Shiroda is of Mahishasuramardini in her *atibhanga* posture pulling the demon out by his hair from the decapitated buffalo. She is holding a sword in her right upper hand, a shield in her left upper hand, the hair of the demon in her left lower hand and the *trishula* in her right lower hand. The *trishula* is thrust into the neck of the demon. She is pushing the buffalo with her right foot. The head of the buffalo is facing towards the left of the deity. She is trampling the buffalo with her right leg. The sculpture is adorned with a *dhoti* reaching up to her knees and tied with a girdle with flaps resembling the Roman war skirt. She is decked with *kirita mukuta*, *ratnakundala*, long necklaces like *vaijayantimala*, armlets, bracelets, anklets and ornaments of hooded snakes. Two snakes adorn the sculpture. They are shown on either side of her head as if coming out of the *prabhavali*. A small lion is shown on her right side.

Kamakshi, Ramnathi:

The sculpture at Ramnathi is of Mahishasuramardini in *samabhanga* posture with her left leg resting on the lifeless buffalo. She is in the form of *chaturbhuj*a Mahishasuramardini with her upper right, upper left and lower right hands in *kataka hasta*. Her lower left hand is shown holding the anthropomorphic Mahishasura by the

³⁶ <https://www.shreekamakshisaunthan.org/home/in-brief> site accessed on 10th December 2022

tuft of his hair from the coming out of the lifeless body of the buffalo below her feet. She is seen in her *saumya* appearance. She wears a long *dhoti* that reaches up to her knees and is tied with a waistband. The sashes trail down on both sides of the deity, with its ends hanging near her feet. She is adorned in *kirita* with sashes hanging down to her shoulders, necklaces, armlets, bracelets and anklets.



Figure 4.16: Vijayadurga, Keri, Ponda.
Photo Courtesy: Suhas Desai.

Mahishasuramardini as Vijayaduraga:

As stated earlier, Mahishasuramardini was also worshipped as Vijayadurga in Keri. The deity was shifted from Sancoale after the temple was destroyed in 1567.³⁷ The image was first transferred to Agapur, near the Madhav temple, and Keri.³⁸ The image (figure 4.16) is a replica of the former image of Mahishasuramardini in *ashtabhuj* form and was installed in 1978.³⁹ The image of Devi as *ashtabhuj*

Mahishasuramardini is in *atibhanga* posture. She holds a *chakra*, arrow, and sword in her upper right hands and the buffalo's tail in her proper hand. She holds the beheaded buffalo and lifts it, resulting in an anthropomorphic figure of Mahishasura coming out of the carcass. She is pulling the demon with her proper left hand effortlessly. Her upper left hands hold *shankha*, bow, and *khetaka* along the locks of hair of the detached head of another demon. Mahishasura is holding a sword and a shield in his hands. She is pulling the

³⁷ Rui Gomes Pereira, *Hindu Temples and Deities: Goa*, 1978. p. 107.

³⁸ V. R. Mitragotri, *Op. Cit.*, p.196.

³⁹ The information was collected during field visit from the officials of the temple on 17th April 2022.

vulnerable demon by his hair. The detached head of the buffalo lies below its body. A decapitated head of a demon is seen behind the buffalo and the deity is holding the tuft of his hair in the same hand which holds the buffalo's tail. A lion on her right tries to drink the droplets from the severed head. The two other heads are believed to be that of *Chanda* and *Munda*. A *chauri* bearer is standing on her left side. The Devi is bedecked with *kirita mukuta*, *haar*, armlets, anklets, bracelets and *vaijayantimala*. A *prabhamandala* is seen behind her *mukuta*, along with a decorative *prabhavali*.

4.4.4 Mahalakshmi:

The *Sahyadri Khanda* of *Skanda Purana* mentions that Mahalakshmi was one of the principal deities brought by Lord Parashuram while settling the ten rishis in Goa.⁴⁰ Mahalakshmi was worshipped during the Shilahara and the Kadamba period in Goa. The Mahalakshmi temple of Netravali seems to have been built during the Shilahara period.⁴¹ The Mahalakshmi temple of Bandoda also has ancient antiquity, as it is mentioned in a Vijaynagara inscription of Nagueshi dated *Shaka* 1335.⁴² The images in these two temples are a replica of Mahalakshmi of Kolhapur with four hands in which she holds a *patra*, *gada*, *khetaka* and a *bel*-fruit. Mahalakshmi temples can also be found in Villiana, Talauli, Amona, Parshe and Khandola.

⁴⁰ Gajanan Shastri Gaitonde, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 124-125.

⁴¹ V. T. Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory Goa Daman And Diu District Gazetteer Part 1: Goa*, 1979, p. 91.

⁴² Gerald A. Pereira, *An Outline of Pre-Portuguese History of Goa*, 1973, p. 72.

4.4.4.1 Mahalakshmi, Amona:

The sculpture of the deity is new, and its features are based on the iconography of Mahalakshmi at Kolhapur, but the *ayudhas* in her hands are different. It is a *chaturbhuj*a sculpture in *samabhanga sthanaka*. She is holding *trishula* in her upper right hand, *khetak* in her upper left hand, *patra* in her lower left hand and *khadga* in her lower right hand. The *murti* was made by the artisans of Karkala.⁴³

4.4.4.2 Mahalakshmi, Palye, Pernem:

A new sculpture (figure 4.17) was consecrated in the temple in the year 1980. Though



Figure 4.17: Mahalakshmi, Palye, Pernem.

it is said to be fashioned after the image of Mahalakshmi of Kolhapur, the image seems to be influenced by Lakshmi more than Mahalakshmi. It is a *chaturbhuj*a sculpture with *samabhanga mudra*. The goddess holds lotuses in her upper hands while her left lower hand is in *varadamudra* and the right hand is in *simhakarna hasta*, where a metal sword is inserted. She is adorned with all types of ornaments. A *prabhamandala* surrounds her *karanda mukuta* and a *kirtimukha* adorns the otherwise simple floral *prabhavali*.

Two elephants with their front feet in the air, as if saluting the deity, grace the plinth of the *prabhavali*. It is the family deity of the goldsmiths by the surname of Shirsat in Goa.

⁴³ Information provided by Shri Kalu Shiva Bhagat, 85 years, former priest, Mahalakshmi Ravalnath

Devasthan, Amona.

4.4.4.3 Mahalakshmi, Keri, Pernem



Figure 4.18: Mahalakshmi, Keri, Pernem.

It is a sculpture in a small shrine in Keri, Pernem (figure 4.18). This sculpture is similar to the sculpture of Palye.

It is a *chaturbhuj*a sculpture in a *samabhanga* posture.

She holds a lotus in her upper hands and left lower hand, which rests near her leg. The right hand is in *lolahastamudra* without any attribute.

4.4.4.4 Mahalakshmi, Chandreshwar, Paroda.

The sculpture of Mahalakshmi is enshrined in a niche behind the sanctum-sanctorum of the temple. The sculpture is of a four-armed deity sitting in *padmasana*, her toes touching the *pitha*. She is sitting on a *padmapitha*. In her right hand, she is holding a *trishula*, in her upper left hand, she is holding a bow, in her lower left hand, she is holding a *padma* and her right hand is in *abhayamudra*, holding *akshamala*. The *prabhavali* is comparatively simple, with a *kirtimukha* and some motifs. The sculpture is modern.

4.4.5 Saraswati:

The Gopaka copper-plates of Guhalladeva III, dated *shake* 1028, mentions the temple of Bharati or Vagdevi (Saraswati, the goddess of speech) and the provision made for discourse in the *Brahmapuri* at Ela.⁴⁴

4.4.5.1 Saraswati at Madkai:

The *chaturbhuja* sculpture of Saraswati at Madkai is a classical sculpture dating to the Kadamba period (figure 4.19). She holds a *padma* in her upper right hand, a *veena* in



her upper left hand, a *pustaka* in her left lower hand and the right lower hand is in *varadamudra* with *akshamala*.

She is seated in a *padmasana* on a *padmapitha*. The swirling pattern on the *prabhavali* can be seen in many of the Saraswati sculptures of the Kadamba period. This sculpture shares similarities with the sculpture of

Figure 4.19: Saraswati, Madkai, Ponda.

Saraswati displayed at CSMV, Mumbai, dated to the 12th

century C.E.



4.4.5.2 Saraswati from Verna:

A broken sculpture was found at Verna by the team of the Directorate of State Archaeology in 2019 and was identified as Saraswati (figure 4.20). She holds a lotus bud (broken) in

Figure 4.20: Saraswati, Verna, Goa. State Archaeology Collection.

her right upper hand, a *sruva* in her left upper hand, her left

⁴⁴ P. B. Desai, "Copper-Plate Grant of Kadamba Tribhuvanamalla Saka 1028." *Epigraphia Indica* XXX: pp.71-77.

lower hand is broken, and an *akshamala* in her right lower hand. The sculpture has three heads and can also be identified as that of Brahmini.

4.4.6 Matrikas:

There is ample epigraphical and archaeological evidence to suggest that the worship of the *Saptamatrikas* worship became popular during the Chalukyan period. The Chalukyas of Badami claimed that they were nurtured by the *Saptamatrikas* in their inscriptions.

The worship of *matrikas* before the Chalukyan period is found in the aniconic form. The Brahmanical rock-cut caves at Harvlem in Bicholim taluka belong to the 5th-6th century C.E.. The caves are continuous and are divided by rock walls.⁴⁵ In cell no. 6, eight depressions have been seen on a laterite rock measuring 2.82 meters in length and 2.5 meters in height. These depressions are believed to be aniconic worship of *Saptamatrikas*.⁴⁶ The *Varaha Purana* mentions a story of Shiva creating Yogeshvari as one of the *Matrikas*, making them eight in number.⁴⁷

4.4.6.1 Iconic representations of Saptamatrikas

One panel from Chandor is displayed in the Heras Museum, Mumbai. It was found by Henry Heras in 1930. He observed that all the figures of *Saptamatrikas* were chipped off, but they could be identified as Brahmani, Maheshwari, Kumari, Vaishnavi, Varahi,

⁴⁵ V. T. Gune, *Op. Cit.* p. 60.

⁴⁶ Gritli von. Mitterwallner, "The Rock-Cut Cave Temples of Arvalem, Goa." *Madhu: Recent Researches in Indian Archaeology and Art History*, 1982, p. 167; V. R. Mitragotri, *Op. Cit.*, p. 215.

⁴⁷ Henry Heras, *Pre-Portuguese Remains in Portuguese India*. 1932, p.17.

Indrani, Yogeshvari, Chamunda with Virabhadra and Ganesha on either side. The *vahanas* of the deities enable the identification of the deities. In this sculpture, there are eight *Matrikas*, as in the case of the aniconic form. There is also a similar sculpture with eight *Matrikas* in Elephanta. The panel is dated to the 9th century C.E..⁴⁸

Besides this panel, a sculpture of Vaishnavi with Garuda below her pedestal is displayed in the Heras Institute. On the left-hand side of the sculpture, there is a swan engraved on the pedestal, and hence it can be assumed that it was a panel and the image of Brahmani preceded the image of Vaishnavi. The image is dated to the 9th century C.E. The third panel is in the *ardhamandapa* of the Vimleshwar temple in Rivona. In this panel, the *Saptamatrikas* are shown in standing posture and below them are their *vahanas*. The sculpture belongs to the Kadamba period.

Besides the panel of sculptures, individual sculptures are also dedicated to the *Saptamatrikas*.

Matrikas, Loliem, Canacona:

One of the oldest sculptures of *Matrikas* can be seen in a small shrine dedicated to Dakkhan Devi located in the Pedem *vado* of Loliem in Canacona. There are two sculptures currently found in the shrine. Both sculptures have similar styles of iconography. The sculptures are in *chaturbhuj*a form and seated in *sukhasana*. The deity on the right side seems to be the sculpture of Chamunda with *damaru* in her right upper hand, *khetak* in her left upper hand, *kapala* in her left lower hand and *kataka hasta* in her right lower hand. She is shown with protruding teeth. The deity on the left holds a serpent in her upper right hand and a *darpan* in her upper left hand. The lower left hand is broken, and the lower right hand is in *kataka hasta*. They are adorned with

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

snake armlets⁴⁹ and feature a large side-bun on the left. The earlobes are elongated and have *kundalas* in them. These sculptures can be dated to the latter half of the 4th century C.E. to the first half of the 5th century C.E. The ruins of a schist temple can be seen in the area. Another temple, which houses one of the earliest sculptures of Vishnu, is also



Figure 4.21: Brahmani, in the collection of Archives and Archaeology since pre-liberation period.

located in the same vado.

Brahmani

There are two sculptures of Brahmani in the Goa State Museum. They belong to the Kadamba

period. The sculptures are broken and only the lower half of the same are visible. One of them was in the collection of Archives and Archaeology since the pre-liberation period, and its provenance is unknown. The image in figure 4.21 is 33x35.5x11cms and is seated in *lalitasana* on a double pedestal with the right hand in *varada mudra*. An attendant on her right is seated in *anjali mudra*. The deity is adorned with bangles, a long necklace and armlets. The deity is identified



Figure 4.22: Brahmani, Casarpal, Bicholim. Currently in Goa State Museum, Panaji.

as Brahmani based on the double lotus pedestal.

The second sculpture in figure 4.22 measures 33x35.5x11cms and is seated on a lotus pedestal

in *padmasana*. On both, her sides stand two attendants. Only their legs are visible. She is adorned with a *katisutra*, a long necklace and anklets. The identification of this sculpture is accurately possible as there is a swan on the pedestal below the deity. This sculpture was brought from Casarpal in Bicholim taluka.

⁴⁹ Meghali Goswami, *et al.* "Sapta Matrikas in Indian Art and Their Significance in Indian Sculpture and Ethos: A Critical Study." *Anistoriton*, vol. 9, Jan. 2005, p. 4.

Chamunda:



Figure 4.23: Chamunda, Casarpal, Bicholim. Currently in Goa State Museum, Panaji.

In terms of sculptures, the most popular deity among the *Saptamatrikas* is the Goddess Chamunda. There are many individual sculptures found of the deity. There are five sculptures of the goddess Chamunda in the Goa State Museum. Two

of them were brought from Casarpal. Both sculptures are broken into half and only the lower part is seen.

Both are measured to 33x35.5x11 cm. In one image (figure 4.23), the goddess is seated in *lalitasana* on a raised pedestal with attendants on her sides. Her right leg is resting on the lion. Below the pedestal are three *nara rundas*, of which the right one is mutilated. Besides them, stand camels on either side. The lower folds of her garment

fall on the decorative pedestal. The lion is distinct from the Kadamba style. The image is eroded.



Figure 4.24: Chamunda Casarpal, Bicholim. Currently in Goa State Museum, Panaji.

In the second image (figure 4.24), the deity is seated in *lalitasana* on a decorative raised pedestal. There are two male figures on either side. The right one is

standing in *anjali mudra* and the left one is mutilated. Three human heads are shown below the pedestal, of which the right one is broken. Two camels are shown on either side of the head. Her right leg rests on the lion, which has a distinct Kadamba style. The folds of her garments are shown in neat pleats. Both sculptures are similar except for the number of attendants on her sides.

Chamunda, Bori, Ponda:

The sculpture lies in the precincts of the Siddhanath temple at Bori (figure 4.25). It is a rare sculpture of Chamunda in *ashtabhuj*a form and *atibhanga mudra* in a dancing form. It can be termed the oldest sculpture of Chamunda found in Goa. The stylistics of the sculpture resembles the stylistics of the Vishnu sculpture at Polem in Loliem



Figure 4.25: Chamunda, near Siddhanath temple, Bori, Ponda.

village and the Mahishasuramardini sculpture of Lamgao. She holds a *khadga* in her right upper hand and a *baan* in her right lowest hand. The attributes in the right middle hands are weathered and partly covered by an anthill. She is holding *khatvang*, *damaru* and *ketaka* in her left hands. The attribute, in one hand, is not identifiable as the part of the sculpture is broken. The hand holding the *khatvang* is bent towards her face in *chin mudra*, but the palm is facing the sky as if she is trying to drink from her *kapala*. She is standing on her right foot and her left foot is raised in a dance posture. A demon-like figure is caught in between the folds of her left knee. She has wide eyes and protruding lips. She is adorned with different types of ornaments. Her *mukuta* is made in the shape of a *linga* and she wears *makara-kundalas*. Her breasts are shown to be sagging and a skull can be seen between them embedded in her *yajnopavita*. An animal, possibly a jackal, is shown below her left leg as if trying to eat the remains of the demon. The sculpture has a simple *prabhavali*. The dating of the sculpture is not possible as it is in a weathered condition.

Chamunda as Chamundeshwari, Vargao, Bicholim:



Figure 4.26: Chamundeshwari, Vargao, Bicholim.

Photo Courtesy: Facebook page
<https://www.facebook.com/100954719990792/photos/a.100955096657421/100955103324087/>

The sculpture in the temple at Vargao, Bicholim, is supposed to be brought from the temple of Goa Velha (figure 4.26). It was moved away after the temple was destroyed by Malik Kafur in 1312 C.E. There is a mention of the existence of her temple at Goa Velha in the *Foral da Ilhas* of 1567. The temple was constructed in 1625 C.E. and renovated in 1802 C.E. There are two slabs denoting the building of the temple mentioning the two dates.⁵⁰ The Devi is considered to be fierce in nature. The sculpture shows the Devi in a dynamic pose, the *dashabhuja* form and the *atibhanga* posture. In her right hands, she is holding a dagger, *trishula*, *khadga*, *khatvang* and *damaru*. In her left hands she is holding *khetaka*, *ankush*, *pash*, *ghanta* and *kapala*. She is standing on a *preta* and her *vahana*, a dog, is seen standing on its hind feet to smell her left knee. She is decked with *kirita mukuta*, *ratnakundala*, necklaces, bracelets, anklets, and a *nararundamala*. The wide eyes, protruding ribs and sunken belly are visible. A scorpion can be seen on her stomach. Two attendants dancing and playing the drums can be seen on either side. The *prabhavali* is in the typical Kadamba style.

⁵⁰ P. P. Shirodkar, "Chamundeshwari Temple at Vargaon." *Purabhilekh Puratatva*, 1985, pp.105-114.

Chamunda, Narvase in Dharbandoda:



Figure 4.27: Chamunda, Narvase in Dharbandoda, currently in the Goa State Museum

There is a sculpture of Chamunda in the Goa State Museum (figure 4.27). The original provenance of this sculpture is Narvase in Dharbandoda. It measures 68x32x9cms. This is a sculpture of *dvibhuja* Chamunda seated in *Sukhasana*. She is holding the *khadga* in her right hand and the *kapala* in her left hand. She is ornamented with *kirita mukuta*, *patra kundalas*, necklaces, armlets, bracelets, *katibandha* and

anklets. The folds of her garments spread on the pedestal like the ones in the Kadamba sculptures mentioned above.

Her *vahana*, the dog, is shown below her left leg. A female attendant is shown on the left side of the *prabhavali*, which is broken. The sculpture dates to the 17th century C.E. based on stylistics.

Chamunda worshipped as Vanadevi, Shiroda:



Figure 4.28: Chamunda worshipped as Vanadevi, Shiroda, Ponda.

The sculpture of Chamunda is worshipped in Shiroda as Vanadevi (figure 4.28). This sculpture is worshipped in the open. It is a sculpture of *chaturbhuja* Devi seated in *sukhasana*. She holds the *trishula* in her right upper hand, *damaru* in her left upper hand, *kapala* in her left lower hand and *khadga* in her right lower hand. The sculpture is in weathered condition and the upper portion

of the *trishula* is completely worn out. Only the handle can be properly seen.

Chamunda as Mahalsa, Keri, Shiroda:

The sculpture of Chamunda is worshipped as Mahalsa opposite the temple of Betal at Keri (figure 4.29). The sculpture of *chaturbhuja* Devi is seated in *lalitasana* on a raised

pedestal. She holds the *trishula* in her right upper hand, a *damaru* in her left upper hand, a *kapala* in her left lower hand and a *khadga* in her right lower hand. The threads of the



Figure 4.29: Chamunda as Mahalsa, Keri, Ponda.

damaru can be seen entangled around her thumb. She has protruding eyes and teeth, as in the case of Dakkhan-Devi of Loliem. She is shown wearing a *mukuta* with skulls, motifs of the sun and the moon and a *prabhamandala*. Her ornaments consist of *ratnakundalas*, *haar*, *skanda-abhushana*, armlets, bracelets and anklets. She wears a *yajnopavita* of skulls across her chest. The designs on the

drapery are minutely carved and the folds of her garment are depicted on her seat. She does not wear a *kuchabandha*. On her lower side is an attendant seated in *sukhasana*. He is holding *khadga* in his right hand and he is raising his left hand. On her left side is the dog, shown as if trying to lick something. This is the only sculpture showing her slightly bent towards the right. The *prabhavali*



Figure 4.30: Bronze Sculpture of Chamunda, Kapileshwari, Ponda. Currently in Goa State Museum.

is plain and semi-circular, giving her *asana* the appearance of a throne. The sculpture can be dated to the 12th century C.E. based on stylistics.

Bronze Sculpture of Chamunda, Kapileshwari:

The bronze sculpture in Goa State Museum was found while cleaning the temple tank at Kapileshwari (figure 4.30). It is of *chaturbhuja* Chamunda in *Samabhanga Stanaka* posture

standing on a *preta*. She is holding a *khadga* in her upper right hand, a *khetaka* in her upper left hand, a *kapala* in her lower left hand and a cobra in her lower right hand. She is decked with ornaments such as *kirita mukuta*, *kundalas*, necklaces, *katibandha*, armlets, bracelets,

anklets and *rundamala*. She is standing on a raised pedestal, having floral *prabhavali* with *kirtimukha*.

4.4.7 Gajalakshmi:

Gajalakshmi is the symbol of wealth, prosperity and vegetation. She is found in Indian art from the 2nd century B.C.E in the form of sculptures, seals and coins. The Devi was revered by the Shungas, Kushanas and Indo-Greek rulers of ancient India. She was considered to be the one who was awakened by the trumpet of the elephants and hence the name Gajalakshmi.⁵¹ In the Puranas and the *shilpa shastras*, the sculpture of Gajalakshmi is always referred to as Shri⁵² or Lakshmi.⁵³ In Goa, a synthesis of the Gajalakshmi can be seen with the local goddesses like Bhauka and Kelbai, and their shrines can be seen in close association with Betal.⁵⁴ The temple of Bhauka at Amona and Kelbai temples at Usgao and Keri serves as the remnants of the age-old tradition. The Devi is depicted on a semi-circular or rectangular panel depicting her demeanour as a folk goddess. Fragments of the broken sculpture of Gajalakshmi can be seen in the precincts of the Betal temple at Priol. Heras also mentioned two sculptures of Gajalakshmi in the collection of the Museum at Old Goa, the provenance of which is not known.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Mahadev Shastri Joshi (ed.), *Bharatiya Sanskriti Kosh*. Vol II, 2010, p. 679.

⁵² Matsya Purana, Chapter 260, Shloka 40-47; Tirthankar Bhattacharya, *An Art Historical Study of the Iconographical Contents of the Manasollasa of Somesvara*. Panjab University, 2001, p. 32.

⁵³ Balram Srivastava ed., *Shri Sutradhara Pranite Vastushastre Rupamandanam*, 1996, p. 195.

⁵⁴ V. R. Mitragotri, *Op. Cit.*, p. 142.

⁵⁵ Henry Heras, *Op. Cit.*, p. 178.

4.4.7.1 Gajalakshmi, Chinchinim, Quepem:



Figure 4.31: Gajalakshmi, Chinchinim, Quepem, Goa.

This sculpture of Gajalakshmi was in mutilated condition and broken into five pieces when acquired by the Goa State Museum (figure 4.31). This is a unique sculpture of Gajalakshmi with a different motif not seen in any other sculpture of the deity in Goa. The sculpture is a semi-circular panel depicting the Devi sitting on a mythical creature called the *yali*. The creature has the face of a tiger and the body of a crocodile. The animal is pressed down with the left foot while the right foot is placed on the left one. She is shown with the attendants on her either side, who are standing on a lion. On either side of the lions is an elephant mounted by a *makara*, having the trunk of an elephant, the mouth of a crocodile, the legs of a lion and the body of a fish. The *makara* is, in turn, mounted by elephants who flank the Devi. The position of the shoulders shows that it is a *dvibhuja* sculpture, but the attributes in the hands are mutilated. The position of the right hand suggests it might have held a lotus. This sculpture can be dated between the 6th to 8th century C.E. This is a unique sculpture as the motifs found on it are not seen on any other sculptures of Gajalakshmi in Goa.

4.4.7.2 Gajalakshmi, Sancordem, Dharbandoda:



Figure 4.32: Gajalakshmi, Sancordem, Dharbandoda.

The sculpture was acquired by the Goa State Museum from Sacordem in Dharbandoda taluka (figure 4.32). The sculpture was broken and the Museum acquired all the parts. It measures 61.5 x 110 cm. It is a sculpture of the *dvibhuja* Devi with lotus buds in both hands. The Devi is embellished with a crown with *sirshachakra*, *patra kundalas*, necklaces, armlets, and anklets. Like the other images, she has bare breasts but wears a decorative belt below her breasts. She is surrounded by elephants on either side, pouring water on her with the *kalasha* in their trunks. The elephants are adorned with different ornaments, and two *mahouts* are riding on them. Horses can be seen behind the elephants on either side. Musicians and dancers are shown above the Devi in this sculpture. The stylistics suggests that the sculpture can be dated to the Kadamba period.

4.4.7.3 Gajalakshmi at Shiroda, Ponda:

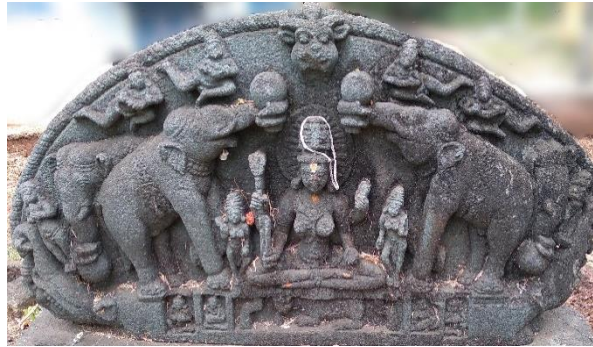


Figure 4.33: Gajalakshmi, Shiroda, Ponda.

This sculpture of Gajalakshmi is unique as it is rich in its narration (figure 4.33). It is a semi-circular panel of sculpture of Gajalakshmi in *chaturbhuj*a form seated in *padmasana*. She is flanked by two elephants holding pitchers above her head. She is holding a *trishula* in her upper right hand, a *khatvang* in her upper left hand, a *bijapuraka* in her lower left hand and a *khadga* in her lower right hand. She is surrounded by female attendants holding lotus buds in their hands and standing in *tribhanga mudra*. The attendant on her right side is holding the lotus in her right hand and her right hand is in *lolahastamudra*. The attendant holds the lotus in her left hand and her right hand in *lolahastamudra*. The sculptures have a striking resemblance to Shridevi and Bhudevi standing beside Vishnu. She is seated on a *pitha*, where a lion is seated in a crouching position. Two musicians can be seen playing the drums on either side of the lion. This panel ends with the faces of *makara* on either side. Two devotees in *anjali mudra* are standing on the head of the *makara*. Two elephants with pots filled with water can be seen beside them, ready to replace the elephants flanking the deity. A *kirtimukha* can be seen at the apex of the panel, besides which two *vidhyadharas* on either side can be seen ready to garland the Devi. The scenes depicted here are peaceful.

The *mukuta* of the Devi and the ornaments of the entourage suggest that it is a Later Kadamba sculpture.

4.4.7.4 Gajalakshmi, Chandor (Currently in Heras Institute Mumbai):



Figure 4.34: Gajalakshmi, Chandor, currently in Heras Institute Mumbai.

This sculpture (figure 4.34) has a narrative similar to the Gajalakshmi of Shiroda, but the scenes depicted in this panel are more dynamic. It feels as if everybody is in a hurry to worship the Devi seated in the centre. The Devi is seated in *padmasana* on a lion. She is flanked by *chauri* bearers on either side. They are surrounded by elephants pouring water on the deity, who is being pushed by two more elephants waiting for their turn to worship the deity. The elephant on the far left is standing on his hind feet and his front feet push the elephant in front of it. The *makara* on the far end sports a lion's face with a short trunk. The scenes depicted here are not as peaceful as in the Gajalakshmi panel at Shiroda. The sculpture is dated to the Kadamba period.

4.4.7.5 Gajalakshmi as Kelbai, Keri, Ponda:



Figure 4.35: Gajalakshmi as Kelbai, Keri, Ponda.

The sculpture is a semi-circular panel of Gajalakshmi worshipped as Kelbai opposite the temple of Betal at Keri in Ponda (figure 4.35). It is a sculpture of the *dvibhuja* Devi seated in *padmasana*. The hands are mutilated, but the posture suggests that she might have held lotus in her hands. She is flanked by *chauri* bearers and elephants on both her sides. The elephants are holding pitchers and their trunks are entangled above the head of the Devi, which give the appearance of a *kirtimukha*. The drummers can be seen dancing behind the elephants. The sculpture can be dated to the 12th century C.E. based on its stylistics.

4.4.7.6 Gajalakshmi, Gule, Sattari:

The Goa State Museum acquired this panel from the submerged site of the Anjunem Dam in Sattari (figure 4.36). It dates to the 14th- 15th century C.E. and is measured 74x143 cms. It is a unique panel of Gajalakshmi. It is a rectangular panel with the *dvibhuja* Devi depicted in the centre. She sits on a *padmapitha* in *padmasana*, holding a full-bloomed lotus in her hands. There are *chauri*-bearers on her either side. The Devi is flanked by elephants on either side with one foot raised. The *mahouts* instruct them to drizzle her with the water from the pitchers in their trunks. The Devi is divided from

the rest of the panel by prominent pillars on either side. These types of pillars can be seen in the cave temples at Badami.

The sculpture is divided into four panels. The upper portion depicts the dancing party with a *kirtimukha* in the centre. It is surrounded on either side by two large rodents. On the right side of the panel, there is a peculiar figure next to the rodent. It looks like a person dancing in a costume, beside him are a female and five males dancing in a row. The left side of the panel features Ganesha beside the rodent and two females and four males dancing in a row. The rows end with horses on either side. The second panel on the right side depicts a family of three members dancing, while the third panel shows a family of four. The second panel on the left side shows three people, one is feeding a snake from the bowl in his hands. The third panel on the left have four musicians with different types of drums. The last panel is also divided in the centre by the folds of the



Figure 4.36: Gajalakshmi, Gule, Sattari.

lower garment of the Devi with lions on her either side. The lions have raised paws and tails, depicting Kadamba influence on the sculpture. The lowest panel on the right side have nine musicians playing different instruments. The panel ends with a very disturbing motif. It displays a mother monkey eating its baby. The panel on the left side displays six musicians playing different instruments, a person with mortar and pestle, a brahman with *yajnopavita*, a mithuna couple and a menstruating lady can be seen. This sculpture has many peculiar motifs, which indicates that it may have a tantric origin.

4.4.7.7 Gajalakshmi, Dharbandoda, Sanguem:



Figure 4.37: Gajalakshmi, Dharbandoda.

This sculpture is located in the Goa State Museum (figure 4.37). It is a semi-circular sculpture divided into three panels. An image of *dvibhuj*a Lakshmi is seated on a raised pedestal in a *padmasana*. She is holding lotus buds in her hands. There are elephants with pitchers on her either side, showering her with water. Each elephant is mounted with two people with warriors behind them. She is adorned with a crown and different types of ornaments. The second panel depicts two equestrians and a warrior on either side of the pedestal. The lowest panel depicts a dancing party with musicians. A peculiar feature of this panel is the two figures incorporated into the dancing party in their Persian attire. This sculpture measures 88x113 cm and is dated to the 17th century C.E.

4.4.7.8 Gajalakshmi as Kelbai, Usgao:



Figure 4.38: Gajalakshmi as Kelbai, Usgao.

Gajalakshmi is worshipped as Kelbai in Usgao, Ponda (figure 4.38). The sculpture dates to the 17th century C.E..⁵⁶ This sculpture has four panels. The first panel shows *chaturbhuj*a Gajalakshmi being flanked by elephants on either side. The elephants hold pitchers in their trunks. One of their front foot is artistically bent, while the other front foot is placed on a raised pedestal. The Devi is holding *shankh* in her right upper hand, *chakra* in her left upper hand, her left lower hand is in *varada mudra*, and her right lower hand is in *abhaya mudra*. The second panel shows *dwarपाल*s and horse riders on either side of her *asana*. The third panel shows warriors and musicians and the fourth depicts a war scene. She is decked in various ornaments such as *mukuta*, *ratnakundalas*, three types of necklaces, armlets, bracelets and a *kati-bandha*. The *kirtimukha* adorns the centre of the floral *prabhavali*.

4.4.7.9 Gajalakshmi as Bhauka, Amona:



Figure 4.39: Gajalakshmi as Bhauka, Amona.

Gajalakshmi is worshipped as Bhauka in Amona (figure 4.39). The sculpture dates to the post-liberation period. It is a simple semi-circular sculpture with a *chaturbhuj*a Devi holding a blooming lotus in her upper

⁵⁶ The sculpture is dated according to the stylistics displayed in it which are similar to the sculpture from Dharbandoda, in figure 4.37.

hands, her lower left hand in *varada mudra* and her right-hand holding a *khadga*. There are attendants and elephants with pitchers depicted on her either side. The elephants are standing on a slightly raised pedestal. The *prabhavali* has a small floral border.

4.4.7.10 Gajalakshmi as Gajantlakshmi, Volvoi:

The temple was rebuilt in 1880 by the Tari community.⁵⁷ It is a 4.5-foot image of Gajalakshmi flanked on both sides by the elephants holding pitchers. She is shown in *chaturbhuj*a form with a lotus in her right upper hand, a *damaru* in her left upper hand, a *kalasha* with coconut in her left lower hand and an *abhaya mudra* in her right lower hand. The elephants are mounted by *mahouts* and the Devi is surrounded by attendants. The *prabhavali* is decorated with floral motifs.

4.4.7.11 Gajalakshmi as Gajantlakshmi, Marcel:

The temple, originally located at Chodan, was first shifted to Mayem in Bicholim taluka and then to Marcel in Ponda taluka.⁵⁸ It is an affiliate deity to the Devki Krishna and



Figure 4.40: Gajalakshmi as Gajantlakshmi, Marcel.

was known in Chodan as Bhauka and in Marcela as Bhumika.⁵⁹ It is now popularly known as Gajantlakshmi (figure 4.40). She is shown in *chaturbhuj*a form, seated in *padmasana* on a *padmapitha*. She is holding a lotus in her upper hands, her lower left hand is in *varada mudra*, and her lower right hand is in

⁵⁷ Rui Gomes Pereira, *Op. Cit.* p. 208.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* p. 44.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* p. 187.

abhaya mudra. Elephants mounted by *mahouts* flank her. They raise their front feet and shower her with water from the pitchers in their trunks. Behind the elephants, there are attendants on either side. The *prabhavali* is decorated with floral motifs with a *kirtimukha* in the centre. It is a modern sculpture and the deity is dressed in a *nauvari* saree and adorned with different kinds of contemporary ornaments. The sitting posture is also slightly different from the traditional sculptures. The sculpture is ornamented with a golden *mukhe* of the image.

4.4.7.12 Gajalakshmi as Vanadevi in Santeri temple, Adwalpal:



Figure 4.41: Gajalakshmi as Vanadevi in Santeri temple, Adwalpal.

The sculpture was installed in the year 1961.⁶⁰ The sculpture has two panels (figure 4.41). The Devi is flanked by elephants on either side on the first panel. She is a *dvibhuja* Devi seated in *padmasana*. She is holding lotus stalks in both her hands. The lower panel has musicians and dancers.



Figure 4.42: Gajalakshmi as Shantadurga, Ganjem.

4.4.7.13 Gajalakshmi as Shantadurga, Ganjem:

Gajalakshmi is worshipped as Shantadurga in Ganjem village of Ponda (figure 4.42). It is a semi-circular sculpture depicting Devi seated in *padmasana* on a pedestal with lotus buds in her hands. The *mahouts* instruct

⁶⁰ Information provided by Shri. Raghu Sapre, Priest, Santeri Shantadurga Sansthan, Adwalpal.

the elephants surrounding her to shower her with water from the pitchers in their trunks. They are raising their legs in obeisance to her. She is decked with various ornaments and the musicians and dancers perform on the lower panel under her pedestal. The sculpture is newly installed in the temple.

4.5 Deities mentioned in the *Sahyadri Khanda* of the *Skanda Purana*.

The *Sahyadri Khanda* is the latter part of *Skanda Purana*.⁶¹ It is significant to the study of the religious history of Goa as it describes the formation of Goa by Parashuram and the settlement of Brahmins. It also mentions the legends of the different deities settling in Goa.

4.5.1 Shantadurga:

The first female deity to be mentioned in the *Sahyadri Khanda* is Shantadurga. She is considered one of the principal deities brought by Lord Parashuram to Goa.⁶² The emergence of Shantadurga is mentioned in the second chapter of *Nagaavyaymahatmya*, called *Shantadurgecha Pradurbhava*. The story goes that a sage named Shanta lived in the city of Nagavya. He was always engaged in the worship of Rama and Bhagvati. He prayed to Bhagvati by the recitation of *Shrisukta* and *Shantipatha*. Pleased by his devotion, one day, the Devi appeared in front of him as a young lady accompanied by *Nagakanyas*. The sage was overwhelmed by her presence and started reciting the *shantisukta* in praise of her. After bestowing the sage with a boon, the Devi disappeared

⁶¹ Mentioned in the preface by the author Shri Gajanan Shastri Gaitonde, (ed.) *Sahyadri Khand of Skanda Purana*, 1971.

⁶² Gajanan Shastri Gaitonde, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 124-125.

into the anthill. In the chapter, she is referred to as *Bhagvati, Durgadevi, Varada and Saubhagyadayini Shanta*.⁶³

The *Durgasahasranamastotram* from the *Ambikakhanda* of *Skandapurana* mentioned her as the peacemaker in the battle between Vishnu and Shiva, hence the name Shantadurga.⁶⁴ Bakibab Borkar, a Goan Poet, felt that she assumed a mild form when she came to Goa.⁶⁵

Shantadurga is worshipped in the form of different images in Goa, for example, as Mahishasuramardini in Shiroda and Veling, and Gajalakshmi in Ganjem. However, the images of Shantadurga worshipped in Kavle and Fatorpa are depicted as the snake deity.

Apart from the above-mentioned images, there are also different types of images worshipped in various parts of Goa. For example, one such image is found in the Shantadurga temple at Verlem in Sanguem taluka.

4.5.1.1 Shantadurga, Kavle, Ponda:

The sculpture shows the Devi in *sthanaka* posture holding tufts of Shiva and Vishnu standing on either side. Metal snakes are placed near her feet. Padmaja Kamat opined that the legendary background behind the casting of this image in this particular way is alluded to in *Durgasahasranamastotram* of the *Durgamahatmyam* in the *Ambikakhanda* of *Skanda Purana*. The old image was stolen by the Pathans in the year

⁶³ *Ibid*, pp. 254-257.

⁶⁴ Padmaja Vijay Kamat, 'Ponda: A History of Temples', Unpublished Thesis, 2011, p. 87.

⁶⁵ *Ibid*.

1898.⁶⁶ The old image was different from the one currently worshipped. The image currently in worship is of the *chaturbhuj*a Devi. The upper hands of the image are in *kataka hasta*, the lower left hand is in *varada mudra* and the lower right is in *abhaya mudra*.⁶⁷ The upper hands of this image probably held snakes, as in the case of Shantaduraga Kunkalikarin and Shantadurga Fatarpekarin.

4.5.1.2 Shantadurga Kunkalikarin:

The deity was shifted from Cuncolim in Salcete taluka due to the destruction of the temple by the Portuguese. As the deity had come from Cuncolim, she was known as Shantadurga Kunkalikarin. The image of the Devi is in *Chaturbhuj*a form and *sthanaka* posture with her upper hands as *kataka hasta* and her lower left hand is in *varada mudra* and lower right hand is in *abhaya mudra*. Metal snakes are placed near her feet.

4.5.1.3 Shantadurga Fatarpekarin:

Shantadurga Fatarpekarin is the presiding deity of Fatorpa. The deity was known as Shantadurga Fatarpekarin after the temple for the Shantadurga Kunkalikarin was set up in the village of Fatorpa. The image of the Devi is seated with her upper hands in *kataka hasta*, her lower left hand in *varada mudra*, and her right hand in *abhaya mudra*. However, no metal snakes are placed near her feet. The iconography and the name of the deity are to the Jain deity Shantidevi who is considered the originator of the four-fold regulations in Jainism. She is in the *chaturbhuj*a form holding *kamandalu*, *kundika*,

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, p. 124.

⁶⁷ *Ibid*, p. 125.

akshamala and *varadamudra*.⁶⁸ She also has a lotus in her hands and a lotus as her vehicle.⁶⁹ It is stated that probably the *kataka hasta* in the old image of Shantadurga of Kavle were designed to hold lilies.⁷⁰

As the iconography of Shantadurga is similar to that of Manasadevi,⁷¹ it may be assumed that the iconography of the deity was introduced by Saraswats, who are supposed to have migrated from Tirhut in Bengal.⁷²

4.5.1.4 Shantadurga, Verlem, Sanguem:



This temple was built in the year 2018 and the image (figure 4.43) was set up in the same year. It is a small sculpture measuring about one foot in height. Here Shantadurga is in *dvibhuja* form with *samabhanga sthanaka* posture. She has her right hand in *abhaya mudra* and her left hand in *lolahastamudra*. This image is quite different from the images

Figure 4.43: Shantadurga, of Shantadurga discussed earlier. Verlem, Sanguem.

⁶⁸ Mahadev Shastri Joshi (ed.), *Bharatiya Sanskriti Kosh*, 2010, p. 235.

⁶⁹ R. S. Gupte, *Iconography of the Hindus, Buddhists and Jains*, 1972, p. 184.

⁷⁰ Padmaja Vijay Kamat, *Op. Cit.* p. 125.

⁷¹ Manasadevi is a folk goddess eventually absorbed into the Brahmanical pantheon. She is the leader of the snakes and the remover of poison. She is considered as the sister of Ananta and Vasuki, the kings of the snakes. She is mainly worshipped in Bengal, Bihar, Orrisa and Assam. She is the goddess of fertility and is connected to rituals associated with marriage. Anna L. Dallapiccola, *Dictionary of Hindu Lore and Legend*, 2014, p. 129.

⁷² Gajanan Shastri Gaitonde, *Op. Cit.* pp. 128-129.

4.5.2 Mahalsa Narayani at Verna:

The next deity mentioned in the *Sahyadri Khanda* is Mahalsa in the chapter on *Varunapurimahatmya*.⁷³ She was one of the principal female deities installed by Lord Parashuram when he settled the ten *rishis* in this region.⁷⁴

There are various stories woven around the goddess Mahalsa as Mohini. The *Bhagvat Purana* mentioned Mohini as the female *avatar* of Vishnu in the episode of *Samudra Manthan* during the distribution of *Amrit*. The *Brahmanda Purana* mentioned that Shiva was infatuated with her beauty and she promised to become his consort during his avatar as Malhar.

As per the legend in the *Sahyadri Khand*, a powerful *daitya* named Chandasura troubled the people of Varunapura. He did not allow them to carry out their religious festivities. They prayed to *Bhagavan* Parashuram for protection. *Bhagavan* Parashuram came to their rescue and told them that he had already installed a Devi to destroy the demons. He described the Devi as all-powerful, marked with auspicious signs and blessed with powers to create illusions. She will come in the form of a young girl, an enchantress who will cleanse the earth by walking on it wearing her bejewelled anklets. She should be appeased by offering *puja*, sacrifice and *namaskar*.

As advised by Parashuram, the people prayed to the Devi, who promised to kill Chandasura. She chose *khadga* as her weapon and beheaded him after killing all of his army in the battle.⁷⁵ Holding her head in her left hand, she went to the temple. This story plays an important part in her iconography and her temple at Verna.

⁷³ *Ibid.* pp. 262-263.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 124-125.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 258-263.

Various folklores narrate how Mahalsa came to settle on the hill of Varunapur. According to one story, Mahalsa appeared as a beautiful woman, decked with ornaments to a cowherd boy who had come to the plateau to graze his cows. She asked him whether she could settle there. He replied that the place belonged to his master and he was just a person who tended the master's cows. The boy began to get up without paying further attention to the unknown lady. She asked him why he was going. The boy replied that he wanted to take the cows to drink water as there was none in the surrounding area. Hearing this, the goddess hit her leg on the ground and her anklet broke and hit the ground a short distance from where she was standing. A stream started to flow from there. Seeing this miracle, the boy rushed to his master, but unfortunately, the master was not at home. The boy narrated the story to the master's son-in-law, Mhal Pai, who was curious to meet the lady. Mhal Pai went with the boy and could feel the divine presence around the lady and appealed to her to stay at the place. She agreed, saying that Mhal Pai should build a temple for her at the same place where she first appeared. Mhal Pai was a resident of Nagve and belonged to the *Kaushik gotra*. He is supposed to have built the first temple at Verna. A few meters away from the temple is a stream called *Nupur tali* which is believed to have sprung from where the anklet of the goddess had hit.⁷⁶ Mhal Pai was a retired commander of Rashtrakuta king Dhruva VIII. His descendants, Mhal Pai IV and Vithal Pai, tried to protect the temple against the Portuguese.⁷⁷

As per another folklore, it is believed that the original place of Mahalsa was in Nepal. An ascetic received the divine vision in which he was told to build a temple at Nevase. He did as commanded. One day a fallen Brahmin stayed at the temple at Nevase, where

⁷⁶ Folklore narrated by Vaman Khedekar, priest, Mahalsa Saunsthan, Mardol, on 25th December 2014.

⁷⁷ Padmaja Vijay Kamat, *Op. Cit.* p. 280.

he got the vision that he should set up the temple for her at his native place in Bicholim. This temple was destroyed by the Muslims just after hundred years of construction and from there, she was shifted to Verna.⁷⁸

4.5.2.1 Mahalsa Narayani, Mardol, Ponda:

There are three sculptures of Mahalsa in the precincts of the Mahalsa Narayani temple at Mardol. The main one is in the *garbagriha*, the second is on the left niche in the *antarala*, and the third is in a small shrine near the temple tank. All three sculptures share the same iconography. The sculpture in the *garbagriha* is believed to have been carved from the *shaligrama shila* having *chakra* symbols. It is said to have been brought from Nepal as *shaligrama* are found in the river Gandaki.⁷⁹ It is the sculpture of Devi in her *chaturbhuj*a form and *sambhanga stanaka* posture. The upper right hand holds a *trishula*, the upper left hand holds the *amrita patra*, the lower left hand holds the severed head of the demon, and the lower right hand holds the sword along with the tuft of hair of the demon. She is standing on a demon. She is adorned with *kuchabandha* and a *dhoti* reaching below her knees. She is decked with ornaments such as *karanda mukuta* from which flows her wavy tresses, necklaces, bracelets, anklets and *vaijyantimala*. A dog stands near her left leg, licking the blood trickling from the demon's severed head. It is believed that the severed head in her left hand is of *Chanda*, and she is holding the hair of the demon *Virochana* in her right hand. She is standing on the demon Rahu. And the dog beside her is perceived to be her tiger. But the iconography suggests that it is a dog.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, p. 289.

⁷⁹ Information provided by Vaman Khedekar, priest, Mahalsa Saunsthan, Mardol on 25th December 2014.

In addition to the temples at Verna and Mardol, Mahalsa temples are found at Keri, Tivrem, Priol and Vargao.

4.6 Analysis

Devi is one of the most popular *Puranic* deities in Goa. The worship of Devi is found in both aniconic and iconic forms. The origins of the worship of the Mother Goddess can be found in Goa from pre-historic times. The first evidence is found in the Mesolithic period. In the aniconic form, she is worshipped in the form of fertility symbols like the anthill and the pots. The worship of aniconic forms of worship of the Devi can be found in both the hinterlands and the coastal areas of Goa.

In the iconic symbols, she is worshipped in various forms of sculptures. The most popular sculptures of the deity are in the form of Mahishasuramardini. The sculptures of Mahishasuramardini are categorised as that of the Devi with two, four and eight hands. The most common sculptures are of the Devi with four hands. The oldest sculpture of the Devi found in Goa is in the form of Mahishasuramardini with four hands. The sculpture is from Lamgaon. The sculpture is dated to the Bhoja period, as it has the features of classical Gupta images. The sculptures of Navadurga, Shantadurga, Kamakshi and Vijayadurga, worshipped as Mahishasuramardini, are discussed in the chapter. The Devi is also worshipped in the form of Mahalakshmi and Saraswati in different parts of Goa.

The worship of *Matrikas* is also popular in Goa. The most commonly found sculptures of Matrika are of Chamunda. The sculpture of Chamunda are found in different villages, but they are worshipped by local names such as Vanadevi and Mahalsa. Individual sculptures of Brahmini and Varahi are also found in Goa.

The panels of Gajalakshmi are worshipped in Goa. The worship of Gajalakshmi is more popular in the hinterlands than on the coast. Gajalakshmi is considered the deity of fertility and prosperity; hence, she is an important deity in an agrarian society. She is commonly known by the name of Kelbai, Bhauka and Gajantlakshmi.

Besides these deities, the Devi is worshipped in Goa as Shantadurga and Mahalsa Narayani. In the form of Shantadurga, she is worshipped as a *Nagakanya* surrounded by serpents. As Mahalsa Narayani, she assumes the role of the protector of the people and hence is considered the female form of Vishnu.

The temples of the Devi are found in the centre of the village and she is considered the mother. She is believed to be the creator, protector and destroyer and hence the most important of the deities in the village community.

Chapter 5

AFFILIATE DEITIES

The affiliate deities are the deities associated with the main temple of the village. Every village has a deity presiding over the village known as the *gramadevata*. The *gramadevata* is the protector of the village. Pt. Mahadev Shastri Joshi opined that the concept of *gramavasti* existed in India right from ancient times, and the deity worshipped in the *gramavasti* is known as *gramadevata*. The *gramadevatas* are worshipped in small shrines or sacred places.¹ Vinayak Khedekar noted that the worship of *gramadevatas* was done for the well-being of the whole village rather than the individual self. Their place of worship was known as the *devasthan*.² The *Panchayatana* is associated with the *gramadevata*. The worship of *gramadevata* without the worship of *Panchayatana* is considered incomplete. The concept of *Panchayatana* comes from the concept of *Panch-deva-upasana*, which was made popular by Adi Shankaracharya. Shankaracharya took the initiative of amalgamation of the various popular cults of the region to end the hatred and unite the followers of the religion.³ The concept of *Panchayatana*, which began with just the five cults, namely, *Vaishnavism*, *Shaivism*, *Shakta*, *Ganapatya* and *Saurya* cult, has gained a whole new meaning in terms of the socio-religious history of Goa. In Goa, most places have a *Naav-Barache Panchista*, which consists of the five significant cults and includes the minor cults of Betal, Ravalnath, local deities and *Purusa* or the original settlers of the village. The menhirs were erected in memory of the original settlers. It has resulted in

¹ Mahadevshastri Joshi, (ed.), *Bharatiya Sanskritikosh*, Vol. 3, 2012, p. 246.

² Vinayak Khedekar, *Loksarita: Gomantakiya Jivanacha Samagra Abhyas*, 1993, pp. 69-71

³ N. P Joshi., *Bhartiya Murtishastra*, 2013, p 37.

strengthening the village community and maintaining peace and harmony. This chapter studies the affiliate deities which have evolved into minor religious cults like Ganesha, Surya, Kartikeya, Betal, Ravalnath and Bhutnath in Goa.

5.1 Ganesha - The God of Fortune:

Ganesha, the God of fortune, remover of misery and hindrances and bestower of good luck, is one of the most admired gods in Goa. A clay idol is worshipped on *Bhadrapada Shuddha Chaturthi*, popularly known as *Ganesh Chaturthi* and is one of the favoured festivals of the Goans. The *arati* composed by Ramdas Swami in the 17th century C.E. is sung during the festival and describes him as the son of Gauri, three-eyed, big-bellied, with a straight trunk that turns at the end.⁴ He is clad in yellow clothes, wears a bejewelled crown and snake belt, is decked with jewels and *nupur*, and is smeared with *chandan* and *kumkum*.

5.1.1 Puranic References to Ganesha:

Historians believe that Ganesha is a later addition to the Puranic deities as his worship cannot be traced before the 6th century C.E. He rose to prominence by the 10th century C.E. following the emergence of the cult of Ganapatya.⁵ Bhandarkar traced the origins of Ganesha to the playful and malicious spirits called *Vinayakas*. They cause obstacles in the lives of men and are revered, as mentioned in the *Manavya Grahyasutra*, *Yajnavalkya Smriti* and the *Mahabharata*.⁶ Ananda Coomaraswamy opined that

⁴ Samarth Ramdas, *Ganapatichi Aarti*, 2021.

⁵ Ramakrishna Bhandarkar, *Vaisnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems*, 1995, p. 145-150.

⁶ *Ibid.*

Ganesha finds his origin in the stock of *Yakshas*, particularly *Kubera* and *Manibhadra*, as the patron of merchants and guilds.⁷ There are many Puranic legends associated with the birth of Ganesha, as described by T. A. Gopinath Rao in great detail.⁸ The Ganesha of the Puranas is the amalgamation of different primitive cult deities and Vedic deities like *Ganapati* – the leader of *Ganas*, *Gajanana* – like the elephant and *Ganesha* – the lord of *Ganas*.⁹ He is identified with *Brahmansapati* or *Brihaspati* in the *Rig Veda* (2.23.1)¹⁰ and *Aitareya Brahmana* (1.21) and is identified with Brahma, the propagator of knowledge. He is an aspect of Krishna in the *Brahmavaivarta-Purana* and *Rudra* in the *Mahabharata* as *Ganapati*, the leader of *Ganas*.¹¹ The earliest reference to the iconography of Ganesha is found in the *Brihat Samhita*. It describes the image of Ganesha in the fifty-eighth *shloka* of the fifty-eighth chapter on *Pratimalakshana* to be depicted with the head of an elephant, a big belly and one tooth. It should be holding an axe, *moolak kanda* and *suniladala kanda*.¹² The *moolak kanda* described here is the radish, which is found as an attribute in the early images of Ganesha; however, the meaning of *suniladala kanda* is not known. It may be assumed that it can be the root of the blue lotus, which developed as a lotus flower or the *modak* in the later images. It does not mention how many hands the image has, but it should have been a *chaturbhuj*a image guessing by the number of attributes. The earliest dated images are from

⁷ Ananda Coomaraswamy, “Ganesha.” *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, vol. 26, no. 154, Apr. 1928, pp. 30–31,

⁸ T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, 1993, pp. 35-47.

⁹ M. K. Dhavalikar, “Origin of Gaṇeśa.” *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, vol. 71, no. 1/4, Apr. 1990, p. 2.

¹⁰ M. Joshi, *Bharatiya Sanskriti Kosh*. Vol II, 1969 p. 708.

¹¹ T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Op. Cit.* pp. 45-50.

¹² Achyutananda Jha, *Varahamihira's Brihat Samhita*, 2005, pp. 155.

Afghanistan, Maharashtra, Ter, Bhumra Udayagiri caves and Mathura Museum, which can be dated between the 3rd and the 5th century C.E..¹³ The first sculptures of the deity are contentiously dated to the Gupta period and the post – Gupta period.¹⁴ One of the images in the Mathura Museum was found in the river Yamuna. It is mutilated below the knees and depicts a *dvibhuja* Ganesha in the standing pose, the right hand is broken, and the left one has a bowl of *laddos*. The trunk of the God is seen reaching the *laddos*. He is shown naked with his prominent organ.¹⁵ The earliest inscription with an invocation to *Vinayaka* is the Ghatiyala inscription of Kakkuka, dated 862 C.E., which mentions that he is placed on the column to ensure prosperity. A quadruple image of Ganapati is found on the column facing the four cardinal directions.¹⁶

The *Ganapatya* cult regarded Ganesha as the principal deity. Their philosophical system was compiled in the *Ganapati Upanishad*, which got the position of eighty-ninth among the one hundred and eight Upanishads. They distinguished themselves by wearing the red mark on their forehead.¹⁷ The Puranic literature dedicated to Ganesha is considered *Upa-Puranas* as they were later added to the eighteen *Maha-Puranas*. This literature consists of *Ganesha-Purana*, *Ganesha-Geeta*, *Ganesha-Sahasranama*, *Ganesh-stotra*, *Ganesh-Tapini*, *Ganapatya-Atharvashirsha*, *Ganesh-Herambopanishad* and *Ganesh-Mantra*. The *Ganesha-Purana* is considered the paramount *Purana* in the literature, succeeded by *Mudgala-Purana*. The

¹³ M. K. Dhavalikar, *Op. Cit.* pp. 3-4.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 2.

¹⁵ *Ibid*.

¹⁶ D. R. Bhandarkar, "Ghatiyala Inscription of Kakkuka, Samvat 918." *Epigraphia Indica*, pp. 277–281.

¹⁷ S. M. Michael, "The Origin of the Ganapati Cult." *Asian Folklore Studies*, vol. 42, no. 1, Apr. 1983, pp. 112-113.

Brahmavaivarta-Purana, *Bhavishya-Purana* and *Skanda-Purana* also have chapters dedicated to Ganesha. The *Ganapatyas* worship six forms of Ganesha, namely, *Maha-Ganapati*, *Harindra-Ganapati*, *Uchchistha-Ganapati*, *Navanita-Ganapati*, *Svarna-Ganapati* and *Santana-Ganapati*.¹⁸

5.1.2 The Iconography of Ganesha:

The *Rupamandana* describes three forms of images: *Ganesha*, *Heramba* and *Vakratunda*. His family and janitors are also discussed in great detail. In the form of Ganesha, he should have the face of an elephant, be mounted on a mouse, and have to be holding a tooth, *parashu*, *padma* and *modak* in his hands. He is omnipotent in this form. In the state of *Heramba*, he should have five heads, three eyes and be riding a mouse. His right hands should have *varada mudra*, *ankush*, tusk, *parashu*, *abhaya mudra*, and the left hands should hold *kapala*, *baan*, *akshamala*, *pasha* and *kaumodaki*. He is the bestower of *artha* and *kama*. In the form of *Vakratunda*, he should be *Lambodara*, with three eyes, holding *pasha*, *ankusha*, *varada mudra*, and *abhaya mudra* in his hands and should have beautiful ears and a *chamara* near him.¹⁹

The *Manasollasa* refers to him with two names, *Vinayaka* and Ganesha, but provides only one iconographical description. It describes that the image of *chaturbhuj* Ganesha should be represented with the face of an elephant, three eyes, four hands, a large belly, stiff ears and a broken tusk. He should be shown with a healthy body, well-formed shoulders, arms and legs, having the complexion of vermilion red. In his right hand, he holds the broken tooth and lotus. He holds the axe and the ball-shaped sweets in his left

¹⁸ H. Krishna Sastry, *Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*, 2003, p. 47, n. 78.

¹⁹ Balram Srivastava, ed., *Shri Sutradhara Pranite Vastushastre Rupamandanam*, 1996, pp. 185-186.

hands. He should be flanked by *Siddhi* and *Buddhi*, seated on the best seats with mouse below, and adorned with the *yajnopavita* of the snake.²⁰

The *Mudgala-Purana* describes thirty-two forms of Ganesha. It illustrates that the images of Ganapati may be standing, seated or dancing. He may have two, four and ten hands. The attributes in his hands can be the *bijapuraka*, *gada*, sugarcane bow, *chakra*, *shankha*, *pasha*, *padma*, wood-apple, tusk, *patra*, *akshamala*, *ankusha*, *parashu*, *musala*, *modaka*, a fruit and a sheaf of paddy. The attributes in his hands distinguish him. Some forms of Ganesha are accompanied by his Shakti, showing the association of the *Shakta* cult with the *Ganapatyas*.²¹

The iconography of Ganesha, as illustrated in *Ganapatya-Atharvashirsha*, is that he should be *Ekadanta*, *chaturbhuja*, having a potbelly. His ears are shaped like a winnowing fan, and he should be holding a *pasha*, *ankush*, *varada mudra* and tusk. He is red in colour and is dressed in red clothes, smeared with *rakta-chandana* and worshipped with red flowers. The mouse heralds his flag.²²

5.1.3 Ganesha Worship in Goa:

Ganesha is worshipped in Goa as an affiliate deity and finds a place in the right niche of the temple or a small shrine next to the main temple. Rarely does he find a place in the left niche of the temple. The only independent temple dedicated to the worship of Ganesha was recorded to be found in the village of Ela, from where it was transferred to Naveli on Diwar island. It was then shifted from Diwar to Khandola during the

²⁰ Tirthankar Bhattacharya, 'An Art Historical Study of the Iconographical Contents of the *Manasollasa* of Somesvara', *Unpublished Thesis*, 2001.

²¹ H. Krishna Sastry, *Op. Cit.* p.41.

²² M. Joshi, *Op. Cit.* p. 715.

Portuguese period. The remnants of the temple can still be seen in the church cemetery at Diwar.²³ The early images of Ganesha are *dvibhuja* and date to the Chalukya period.²⁴ Mitragotri describes four images of *dvibhuja* Ganesha of the Chalukyan period. The first one is dated to the 7th to 8th century C.E. The four images are situated in Redi, Curdi, Pilar and Kudne. Redi was then the regional capital of Chalukyas²⁵ which is now in the Sindhudurg district of Maharashtra, hence is not taken for study. It is, however, a unique colossal sculpture carved out of a block of stone situated in a laterite cave, now fashioned as a temple. The Ganesha sculptures of Curdi, Pilar and Kudne are carved in schist stone and have different styles.

5.1.4 Study of images of Ganesha in Goa²⁶:

The earliest known images of Ganesha in Goa are dated to the Chalukya period. A



Figure 5.1: *Dvibhuja* Ganesha, Kudne.

prominent example is the Ganesha sculpture from Curdi displayed in the ASI Museum, Old Goa. It is a sculpture of *dvibhuja* Ganesha having an elephant head and a potbelly. It is a weathered sculpture, and the attributes in the hands of Ganesha are not explicit. It is dated to the 7th to 8th century C.E..²⁷ The statue of Ganesha in the Pilar Museum is in a mutilated condition. Only the torso is left behind. The features like his eyes and eyebrows

²³ V. T. Gune, *Ancient Shrines of Goa: A Pictorial Survey*, 1965, p. 20.

²⁴ V. R. Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara*, 1999, p.203.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ The information was collected during the site visits during the period of 2014 - 2022 from the various temples in Goa.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

and the ornaments like the headgear, necklace, *udarbandha* and *yajnopavita* help in dating it back to the Chalukya period. The eyebrows and *udarbandha* are similar to the Ganesha from Harsol in Gujarat that dates to the 7th century C.E. and is currently displayed in CSMV, Mumbai. But the eyebrows and necklace are not to be seen in this sculpture. However, another sculpture from Jondhali Baug in the Thane district of Maharashtra that dates to the 11th century C.E., and displayed in CSMV, Mumbai, is that of *chaturbhuj*a Ganesha and has a similar headgear, eyebrows, facial features and *yajnopavita* as that of the sculpture from Pilar. However, the *udharbandha* is conspicuous by its absence; hence, the sculpture from Pilar can be dated between these two sculptures, that is, 8th to 9th century CE.

5.1.4.1 Dvibhuja Ganesha, Kudne:



Figure 5.2: Dvibhuja Ganesha, Kudne.

There are two sculptures of *dvibhuja* Ganesha at Kudne. Both of them have weathered. All the attributes in figure 5.1 are not visible. However, the *mukuta*, necklace, and *yajnopavita* are distinctly clear. The image in figure 5.2 is comparatively in better condition. The folds in the ears are evident in this sculpture. The figure 5.2 has similarities with the Chalukya image found at Pilar. Both sculptures depict Ganesha seated in *sukhasana* with his trunk bent towards the left hand. Both hands of the sculptures are mutilated.

5.1.4.2 Bala-Ganesha, Salauli, Sanguem, Goa:

The sculpture found at Salauli in Sanguem taluka is presently in the collection of the



Figure 5.3: Bala-Ganesha, Salauli, Sanguem.

Goa State Museum (figure 5.3). The small sculpture of *dvibhuja* Ganesha measures 33 x 30 cm. He is holding the *parashu* in his right hand and the *matulunga* in his left hand. It can be identified as the sculpture of Bala-Ganesha as he is nude, and his posture suggests that of a baby. He is sitting in *sukhasana* with his right

leg on the pedestal, whereas the left leg is positioned so that the devotee can see the sole of the feet. This sitting posture can generally be seen in babies that have started to crawl. The demeanour of the sculpture at first glance also suggests that it is of Bala-Ganesha. The sculpture is adorned with a headgear, necklace and *yajnopavita*, similar to the Ganesha at Pilar Museum. The sculpture can be dated to the 8th to 9th century C.E.

5.1.4.3 Bala-Ganesha, Paik Dev Temple, Bhatti, Sanguem:



Figure 5.4: Ganesha, Paik Dev Temple, Bhatti, Sanguem.

This sculpture of Bala-Ganesha is from the Paik Dev Temple of Bhatti in Sanguem (figure 5.4). It is the sculpture of nude Bala-Ganesha in the *chaturbhuja* form seated in *sukhasana*. The devotees can see the sole of his left foot. He is holding a *parshu* in his upper right hand, a *pasha* in his upper left hand, a *matulunga* in his left lower hand and the tusk in his right lower hand. The headgear and necklace are similar to the sculptures of Pilar and

Salauli. However, the anklets and bracelets are not visible. A unique feature is that he

is not adorned with the *udarbandha* and *yajnopavita*. The sculpture can be dated to the 9th to 10th century C.E.

5.1.4.4 Bala-Ganesha, Vargini, Netravali, Sanguem, Goa State Museum collection:



Figure 5.5: Bala-Ganesha, Vargini, Netravali, Sanguem, Currently in Goa State Museum.

The sculpture of Bala-Ganesha is nude and is in the *chaturbhuj*a form, seated in *sukhasana* (figure 5.5). The attributes in the hands are not visible as the sculpture is weathered. This image is adorned with a proper *mukuta*, necklace, snake *yajnopavita*, bracelets and anklets. Apparently, this sculpture shows both his tusks intact. This sculpture can be dated to the 10th century C.E.

5.1.4.5 Ganesha, Kurdi:

This sculpture of Ganesha is in *chaturbhuj*a form. The God is seated in *sukhasana*,



Figure 5.6: Ganesha from Mahadev temple at Curdi shifted at Salauli Dam site.

from the Mahadev Temple of Curdi, at the Salauli Dam site (figure 5.6). The deity holds *parshu* in his right upper hand, *padma* in his left upper hand, the left lower hand is mutilated, and *moolak kanda* in his right lower hand. The sculpture is in weathered condition. The upper part of the image and the trunk of the deity are broken, but the three tired necklaces, the triangular-shaped armlet, the

yajnopavita and the anklets are visible. The neat folds of the lower garment are also clearly visible between his legs. The sculpture is dated to the 10th to 11th century C.E.

5.1.4.6 Ganesha, Tambdi Surla:

The image of Ganesha at Tambdi Surla (figure 5.7) is very different compared to the



Figure 5.7: Ganesha, Tambdi Surla.

images of that period. The image is in situ in a temple dating to the 13th century C.E.; hence, it may be assumed that the image dates to the same period as the temple.²⁸ The sculpture is in the *chaturbhuja* form, seated in *lalitasana*. He is holding *parashu* in his upper right hand, *pasha* in his upper left hand, a bowl of *laddoos* in his lower left hand and *moolaka kanda* in his lower right arm. He is wearing a three-tiered *mukuta*, necklace, armlets, bracelets and anklets. His *mooshaka* is on the right side of the deity under the pillar *prabhavali*. The *prabhavali* is simple compared to other ornate Kadamba sculptures. It has simple square pillars on both sides joined by sinuate curves. A unique feature of this image is that Ganesha is shown with his tusks intact, and his trunk is



Figure 5.8: Ganesha, Verna, *chaturbhuja* Ganesha sitting in *utkutikasana* and is measured Currently in Goa State Museum.

comparatively thin compared to the rest of his body. Hence it can be perceived that the image portrays the God as Bala-Ganesha.

5.1.4.7 Ganesha, Verna, Currently in Goa State Museum:

This image of Ganesha was found at Verna and is currently displayed in the Goa State Museum (figure 5.8). It is an image of

²⁸ Information obtained from the plaque displayed by the Archaeological Survey of India in the precincts of the Mahadev temple at Tambdi Surla in Dharbandoda taluka.

47 x 29 cm. It is dated to the 10th century C.E. The deity is holding a *parashu* in his right upper arm, the *padma* in his left upper arm, a bowl of *laddos* in his left lower arm and a tusk in his right lower arm, which is in the *abhaya* mudra. The bowl of *laddos* looks like he is holding a corn cob in his hands. His trunk is turned towards the left and has rested on the bowl of *laddos*. A small part of his right tusk is visible. He is adorned with a two-tiered *mukuta*, necklace, a snake as *udarbandha*, *yajnopavita*, armlets, bracelets and two types of anklets. The folds of his lower garment can be seen between his legs. His *vahana*, the *mooshaka*, is shown eating under his *asana*. The *prabhavali* consists of two simple pillars on each side of the deity enjoined with beaded sinuate curves, as seen in classical Kadamba sculptures. A similar image of Ganesha in *utkutikasana* is found in the reserved collection of the Goa State Museum, but the provenance of the same is not known as it has existed in the collection of the Archives since the pre-liberation period. The only difference in the image is that there is no *prabhavali*.

5.1.4.8 Ganpati, Madkai, Ponda.



Figure.5.9: Ganpati, Madkai, Ponda.

The image of Ganapati at Madkai is in the *chaturbhuj*a form and seated in *sukhasana* (figure 5.9). He is holding a *parashu* in his right upper arm, the *padma* in his left upper arm, a bowl of *laddos* in his left lower arm and a tusk in his right lower arm, posing in *abhaya mudra*. His trunk is on the left side with a *laddoo* in it. He is wearing a *karanda mukuta*, necklace, snake as *udarbandha*, *yajnopavita*, armlets, bracelets, and two

types of anklets. The folds of his lower garment can be seen neatly arranged between

his legs. *Mooshaka*, his *vahana*, is shown eating a *ladoo* under his asana. The *prabhavali* is decorated with floral sinuate curves and is in classical Kadamba style. The sculpture can be dated to the 13th century C.E. due to the enhancement in the *prabhavali*. The image of Ganapati at Madkai is similar to the old image of Ganesha at Khandola.²⁹ The image at Khandola features a simple *prabhavali* compared to the sculpture at Madkai. The deity at Khandola also adorns a *jatamukuta*. However, the *prabhavali* of the image at Khandola is comparatively more decorative than the image from Verna. The image of Khandola is dated to the 12th century C.E. and features the classical Kadamba stylistics. A similar image of Ganesha was also found at Shiroda and is presently in the Goa State Museum collection. It is measured 46 x 36 cm. It is dated to the 12th century C.E.³⁰ and also shares a similar iconography to the images of Madkai and Khandola but does not feature a *prabhavali*.

5.1.4.9 Ganesha, Navdurga Temple, Poinguinim



Figure 5.10: Ganesha, Navdurga Temple, Poinguinim.

The sculpture of Ganesha is in the right niche of the Navadurga temple at Poinguinim (figure 5.10). The deity is shown seated in *sukhasana* in *chaturbhuja* form. He is holding *ankush* in his upper right hand, the *padma* in his upper left hand, a *ladoo* in his lower left hand and an *abhayamudra* with a tusk in his right lower hand. His trunk is in the motion of picking the *ladoo*. The border of his *dhoti* draping his legs can be seen faintly. The sculpture probably dates to the 15th century C.E., which can be assumed based on the ornate *prabhavali*, which is different

²⁹ The old image of Ganesha is kept behind the new image in the temple at Khandola.

³⁰ The image is dated by the authorities at the Goa State Museum, Panaji.

from the classical Kadamba style. A *kirtimukha* can be seen at the apex of the *prabhavali*.

5.1.4.10 Ganesha, Narayana Temple, Pernem

The image of Ganesha is placed in the right niche of the temple of Narayan at Pernem



Figure 5.11: Ganesha, Narayana Temple, Pernem

(figure 5.11). The image is in the *chaturbhuja* form, seated in the *sukhasana*. The sculpture was done by a local artist, as it bears much local influence. It is a very simple sculpture with the deity holding a *parashu* in his upper right hand, a *padma* in his upper left hand, a *ladoo* in his lower left hand and *varada mudra* in his lower right hand. His tusk is bent towards the left side, reaching the sweet in his hand. The

sculpture shows the deity dressed in *karanda mukuta* and lower garments.

5.1.4.11 Ganesha at Siddheshwar temple, Netravali:



Figure 5.12: Ganesha at Siddheshwar temple, Netravali.

The image of Ganesha at Siddheshwar temple in Netravali is dated to 1984 (figure 5.12).³¹ The image is of *chaturbhuja* Ganesha seated in *lalitasana* on a raised pedestal resembling a throne. The deity holds a *parashu* in his right upper hand, *padma* in his left lower hand, *ladoo* in his left lower hand and *abhaya mudra* in his right lower hand. He is decked with a *karanda mukuta*, necklaces resembling thick chains with a pendant, *yajnopavita*,

³¹ Information obtained from the plaque displayed in the temple mentioning the date of installation of images.

uparne and a *dhoti*. His right leg rests on a footrest while his left leg is folded and placed on the *asana*. His *mooshaka* is shown eating *laddoo* on his left side near the *asana*. The attire of the deity is very contemporary.

5.1.4.12 Ganesha, Adwalpal



Figure 5.13: Ganesha, Adwalpal.

The sculpture of Ganesha at Adwalpal is similar to that of Netravali, but this sculpture is made of marble (figure 5.13). The *chaturbhuja* Ganesha holds *parshu* in his upper right hand, *ankusha* in his upper left hand, *laddoo* in his lower left hand and *abhaya mudra* in his lower right hand. He is seated on *lalitasana* on a raised *padmapitha*. The drapes of his *dhoti* are

clearly visible in the sculpture. The marble image gives a very contemporary feel.

5.1.4.13 Ganesha, Kunkaliem, Ponda:

The sculpture of Ganesha at Kunkaliem was installed in the year 2021 and is made of



Figure 5.14: Ganesha, Kunkaliem, Ponda.

schist stone (figure 5.14). The image of the deity is in the *chaturbhuja* form and seated in *sukhasana* on a raised *padmapitha*. The sculpture gives a strong resemblance to the sculpture of Ganesha at Khandola and Madkai, with some minor differences like the ornaments and the *prabhavali*. The deity holds

parashu in his right upper hand, *pasha* in his upper left hand, a bowl of *laddoos* in his left lower hand and *abhayamudra* in his right lower hand. A small image of a dancing Ganesha made of

panchadhātu is placed near the main image. The ornaments and the drapery of the deity do not feature the beaded Kadamba art.

5.2 Surya: The Sun-God

Surya is one of the deities worshipped in the *Panchayatana*. He is worshipped as the personification of the Sun. The worship of Surya has existed since the Vedic times. Various aspects of the Sun are given different names in the Vedas: Surya, the golden orb, *Savitra* as the stimulator, *Pusan* as the beneficent, *Bhaga* as the deity of the morning and the distributor of wealth, *Vivasvat* as the rising Sun and progenitor of men. The number was not specified in the Vedic literature, but it was later fixed to twelve, known as the *Adityas*, corresponding to the twelve months of the year.³² The sixtieth *adhyaya* of the seventh chapter of the Rig Veda mentions that the composer wishes to be declared sinless by the Sun, which specifies the characteristics of Surya as the destroyer of sins.³³ The *Kausitaki Brahmana* Upanishad mentions the *arghya* or salutations given to Surya in the morning, afternoon and late evening.³⁴ The *Grihyasutras* and the *Aranyakas* mention the twelve *Adityas* while performing the twelve prostrations called *Suryanamaskar*.³⁵ The Epics and the Puranas also mention the twelve *Adityas*.

Surya was the principal deity of the *Saurya* cult. The cult was first mentioned in the *Mahabharata*. The cult followed the Vedic doctrine of Surya "as the soul of movable

³² Jitendra Nath Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, 1985, p.428.

³³ Ramakrishna Bhandarkar, *Op. Cit.* p. 151.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*

and immovable things (RV, I, 115, I) and that Aditya is Brahman (TU, III, I, I)".³⁶ The *Sauryas* were divided into six classes but unified by their appearance. They wore the circular mark of red sandalwood on their forehead, a garland of red flowers and repeated the *Gayatri mantra* of the *Aditya*.³⁷ The *Gayatri Mantra* was the mantra of Aditya with three lines of eight syllables. The *Saurya* cult existed all over India.

5.2.1 Puranic References to Surya:

The *Bhavishya Purana* deals exclusively with the solar cult. The *Brahma Parva* of the *Bhavishya Purana* gives an elaborate narration about antiquity and the importance of the worship of Surya. The *Adhyayas* 139 and 140³⁸ narrate the story of Samba building a temple dedicated to Surya and establishing eighteen families of *Maga* Brahmanas from *Sakadvipa* as the priests are described. The story narrates that Samba, the son of Krishna, was cursed to suffer from a skin disease and hence was advised by Narada to worship Surya. He consecrated the image of Surya in the temple at *Mulasthan* (identified with Multan) on the river *Chandrabhaga* (river Chenab in modern Punjab). For the worship of Surya, he got eighteen families of *Maga* Brahmanas from *Sakadvipa*. The *Magas* wore a girdle around the waist called *Avyanga*.³⁹ The *Adhyaya* 132⁴⁰ is a *Surya-pratima varnana* that gives a detailed description of the Surya image. The 139th *Adhyaya* narrates the story of the birth of *Jara*,⁴¹ the son of Surya and the predecessor

³⁶ *Ibid.* p.152.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Babulal Upadhyaya, *Bhavishya Mahapurana*, 2012, pp. 549-557.

³⁹ *Ibid.* Shloka 78, pp. 555.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 520-523.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* Shloka 41-43, pp. 553.

of the *Maga* Brahmanas. The *Magas* and their pattern of worship became an integral part of the indigenous sun worship that the rulers of the 6th century patronised.⁴²

R. G. Bhandarkar opined that the *Magas* mentioned in the *Purana* are the Magi priests of ancient Persia, and *Jara* is the prophet *Zatathrshtra* of the *Avesta*.⁴³ The *Aivyaonghen* mentioned in the *Avesta* can be identified with the *Avyanga* mentioned in the *Purana*. The story of Samba bringing the *Maga* Brahmins is corroborated by an inscription from Govindapur in Gaya dated to *Shake* 1059. The description of the temple at Multan by Hiuen Tsang and Alberuni mentions the Persian Priests *Magians* being called *Magas* in India.⁴⁴ There was a major revival of the prevalent cult of the Sun due to the Iranian influence.

5.2.2 The Iconography of Surya:

The *Adhyaya* 132, *Surya-pratima varnana*, of the *Bhavishya Purana*, describes the measures for making the Surya image. It mentions that the image of Surya should be radiant and fully clothed from the shoulders to the tip of the toe.⁴⁵

The *Matsya Purana* describes that the image of Surya is to be mounted on a chariot, should have beautiful eyes and hold lotuses with long stems in both his hands that reach his shoulder. The chariot should have seven horses and one wheel. He should be standing in the lotus's centre wearing red garments, different types of ornaments, and a unique *mukuta*. He should wear full clothes, and his feet should be closed as they glow

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ Ramakrishna Bhandarkar, *Op. Cit.* p. 153.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* pp.153-154.

⁴⁵ Babulal Upadhyaya, *Op. Cit.* Adhyaya 132, pp. 520-523.

radiantly. His attendants, *Danda* and *Pingala*, should be holding swords and shields and *Dhata* on one side with his pen. His charioteer *Aruna* should also be red like the lotus flower, and he should hold the serpents which serve as the reigns of the seven horses of the chariot. There should be two horses with long necks alongside *Aruna*.⁴⁶

The *Brihat Samhita* describes that the image of Surya should have a high nose, forehead, thighs, cheeks and upper body. He should be dressed fully from the upper part of the body to his legs like the people from the north. He should hold lotuses and wear a *mukuta*, *kundala*, long garland, and *viyanga*. He should have a glowing complexion and a smiling face. This type of image is fruitful to the sculptor.⁴⁷

The *Rupamandana* describes the image of Surya being decked with all types of symbols and ornaments. He should have two hands and one face. He should be holding white lotuses in both his hands. The destroyer of evils should have a halo around him and red garments.⁴⁸

The description of the image of Ravi in the *Manasollasa* runs thus: He should be red and have a powerful bearing. He should have two hands which should hold lotuses. He should be seated in a chariot of seven horses with seven reigns and one wheel, and his feet should rest on a lotus. He wears a crown and *ratna kundalas* studded with rubies and is dressed in red garments and bright *avyanga*. The portion below the thighs should not be shown and his feet should be covered in flames. He should be flanked by his attendants, *Danda* and *Pingala* holding swords and shields and *Dhata* holding his pen and inkpot.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ *Matsya Mahaurana*. Geeta Press, Adhyaya 261, Shloka 1-8, pp. 989-990.

⁴⁷ Achyutananda Jha, *Op. Cit.* Adhyaya 58, Shloka 46-48, p.151.

⁴⁸ Balram Srivastava, ed., *Op. Cit.* Adhyaya 2, Shloka 18-19, p. 125.

⁴⁹ Tirthankar Bhattacharya, *Op. Cit.*, Shloka 819B-824A, p. 36.

5.2.3 Surya Worship in Goa:

The earliest reference to the worship of the Sun is found in an aniconic form in the Harvalem caves, dated to the 5th century C.E. (figure 5.15). The image in chamber no. 2 is a *linga* whose lower shaft is secured in a laterite *pitha*. The middle portion is carved



Figure 5.15: Aniconic form of Surya worship at Harvalem caves.

octagonal and the upper part is in the shape of a circular disk on the top. The top and the middle portion are connected with a stripe inscribed with *Samblura-Vasi Ravi*, interpreted as Ravi, the resident of *Sambalurav*.

The unique shape of the *linga* is identified as aniconic worship of the Sun-God and the inscription validates this opinion. The Ravi mentioned in the inscription is an epithet of Surya and *Sambalura* may be the ancient name for Harvalem. This inscription provides evidence of Sun worship in Goa from the 5th century C.E..⁵⁰ Gritli Mitterwallner believed that *Sambalura* was the regional version of *Sambapura* or the town of Samba.⁵¹

5.2.4 Images of Surya:

A Surya image and other remnants of temples were found in the village of Kudne, which lies about 3 to 4 kms away from Harvalem. The image and the ruins are dated from the

⁵⁰ K. V. Ramesh, "Four Stone Inscriptions from Goa." *Epigraphia Indica*, 1968, pp. 282–283.

⁵¹ Gritli von Mitterwallner, "The Rock-Cut Cave Temples of Arvalem, Goa." *Madhu: Recent Researches in Indian Archaeology and Art History, Shri M. N. Despande Festschrift*, 1982, p. 169.

7th to 8th century CE.⁵² The image is currently in the ASI Museum, Old Goa. The image of Surya is in the *samabhanga* posture holding fully bloomed lotuses in his hands. As mentioned in the scriptures, he is ornamented with *mukuta* and *kundalas*, fully dressed with armour, boots, and a long garland. He is flanked by his attendants, *Danda* and *Pingala*, on either side with a *danda* in their hands.

5.2.4.1 Surya, Margao, currently in the collection of the Goa State Museum:



Figure 5.16: Surya, Margao, currently in the collection of the Goa State Museum.

This sculpture of Surya was found in Margao and is currently in the Goa State Museum (figure 5.16). The sculpture was in a mutilated condition and only the lower part of the sculpture was acquired by the Museum. This part of the sculpture is measured 37 x 39 cm. This sculpture can be identified as that of Surya as the pedestal is ornamented with seven horses with wheels on either side. The main deity can be seen only below the knees. He wears thick *kadas* and *padukas*. The folds of the *avyanga* are in the middle of the feet rather than the sides. His attendants, *Usha* and *Pratyusha*, can be seen on either side with bows in their hands. They are standing facing the opposite direction of the deity, and the motion is dynamic as if they are trying to shoot an arrow. However, no arrows are shown in their hands. They are dressed in unique *mukuta*, *ratna kundalas*, armlets, bracelets and thick anklets. They are fully clothed as their deity and the ends of their tunic reach just above their knees. The folds of garments can be seen between their legs which can be assumed to be *avyanga* which seems to be coming from below the tunic. The *prabhamandala* behind the crown of *Pratyusha* can be seen, whereas that of *Usha* seems mutilated. It can be safely presumed that it might have also existed for the main deity, as mentioned

⁵² V. T. Gune, *Op. Cit.* p. 12.

in the scriptures. It can be observed that the sculpture belongs to the 12th century C.E. and is based on classical Kadamba stylistics.⁵³

5.2.4.2 Surya, Curtorim:

This sculpture of Surya was installed in 2002 at Curtorim. Subsequently, it was



vandalised by some miscreants and shifted to the Goa State Museum (figure 5.17). The deity is seated on a lotus throne in the *padmasana* posture holding lotus buds in his hands. The lotus throne is mounted on seven horses and has a floral *prabhaval* with a *kirtimukha* at the apex. The sculpture is

Figure 5.17: Surya, measured 58 x 33 cm. He is wearing a *mukuta* with Curtorim.

prabhamandala, necklace, *yajnopavita*, *katibandha*, armlets, bracelets and anklets. The locks of his hair flow on his shoulders. The image does not depict Surya with *avyanga*, upper garments or footwear. A Kannada inscription on the image confirms it as an image of the Sun God.⁵⁴

5.2.4.3 Surya as Nitkari, Pernem:

In the right niche of the Santeri temple at Pernem is a small sculpture of Surya. It is about 45 cm and is worshipped as *Nitkari*, a *panchayatana devata* of Bhagvati of Pernem. The *dvibhuja* deity is standing in the *samabhanga* posture on a seven-horse chariot. He is holding lotus buds in both hands. There is a *kirtimukha* at the apex of the

⁵³ The information is gathered from the sculpture at the Goa State Museum, Panaji.

⁵⁴ The information is gathered from the sculpture at the Goa State Museum, Panaji.

prabhavali. It bears the Chalukya-Shilahara stylistics. The image can be dated to the 8th to 9th century C.E. on stylistic basis.⁵⁵

The worship of Surya is also found in composite images of Adinatha in Usgao and Martanda Bhairava in Par-Usgao. These two sculptures are the syncretic images of Surya and Shiva. J. N. Banerjea rightly observed that the features of Surya were obvious in different cultic images, however, the composite images of Surya and Shiva were rare.⁵⁶

5.2.4.4 Surya as Adinatha, Usgao:

Surya is worshipped as Adinatha in Usgao (figure 5.18). The sculpture of Adinatha is



Figure 5.18: Surya as Adinatha, Usgao.

standing on the seven-horse chariot with wheels on either side. The sculpture is about 120 cm in height. He is standing with lotuses in his hands. His attendant *Dhata* is on his one side, with *Usha* and *Pratyusha* on either side. He is wearing a *kirita mukuta* with *prabhamandala*, *ratna kundalas*, long garland and *avyanga*. The upper garment in this sculpture is not portrayed. A distinct feature of this sculpture is that the deity

is adorned with a horizontal marking and a moustache. There are seven *lingas* on his *mukuta*.⁵⁷ Hence this may be considered a syncretic image of Surya and Shiva.

⁵⁵ The information was collected during field visit conducted on 24th March 2021.

⁵⁶ Jitendra Nath Banerjea, *Op. Cit.* p. 548-549.

⁵⁷ The information was provided by Shri Dattatraya Sahakari, 93 years old, a former priest at the Adinath temple, Usgao during field visit on 12th December 2021.

5.2.4.5 Martanda Bhairava, Par-Usgao, Ponda:

Another syncretic sculpture of Surya and Shiva was found in Par-Usgao and is currently displayed in the Goa State Museum (figure 5.19). The sculpture of Martanda Bhairava



Figure 5.19: Martanda Bhairava, Par-Usgao, Ponda.

is measured 82 x 45 cm and was acquired by the Goa State Museum from Par-Usgao in Ponda taluka. This sculpture is a syncretic sculpture of Surya and Bhairava. This sculpture of Martanda Bhairava is *dvibhuja* in *Samabhanga* posture. He holds a *khadga* in his right hand and a lotus bud in his left hand. The distinguishing features of Surya in this sculpture are the lotus bud in his left hand, *kirita mukuta* with a *sirsachakra* and tassels, *ratna kundalas*, necklaces, long garland, *katibandha*, *avyanga*, two types of anklets and his footwear. The footwear resembles the wooden *padukas* worn by the sages. The deity is shown wearing lower garments and the folds can be seen neatly placed between his legs. On his right is a standing horse, his attendant *Danda* is holding a staff and a *chauri*-bearer stand on the first tier of the *prabhavali*. On his left are *Dhata* with a pen in his right hand, an inkpot in his left hand, and *Pingala* with a *chhatra*. The pedestal is carved with seven horses and wheels on either side. The prominent features of Bhairava in the sculpture are the *khadga*, horizontal markings on his forehead and a moustache. The *prabhavali* is decorated with motifs of pillars, flowers and a sun and a moon.⁵⁸

The old image of Ravalnath in the Mahalakshmi Ravalnath temple of Amona had the same syncretic features as Martanda Bhairava. The image was a composite image of

⁵⁸ *Catalogue of the Remarkable Sculptures in the Goa State Museum*. p. 20. The contribution of the section was made to the catalogue by the author of this thesis.

Ravalnath and Surya. The pedestal was carved with a seven-horse chariot with wheels on both sides. He was worshipped as the incarnation of the Sun God and was referred to as Adinath in the invocation.⁵⁹

5.3 Kartikeya - The Commander of the Gods

5.3.1 Puranic References to Kartikeya:

Kartikeya is the commander of Gods in the Puranic texts. He is the son of Parvati and Shiva, and the brother of Ganapati. He is also known by different names such as *Yogishvara, Mahasena, Kartikeya, Agninandana, Skanda, Kumara, Senani, Swami, Shankara, Sambhava, Gangeya, Tamrachudaschya, Brahmachari, Shikhidhvaja, Tarakajit, Umaputra, Krauncharishcha, Shadanana, Shabda-Brahma, Guha, Sanathkumara, Sarajanma, Ganadhisha* and *Shanmukaha*. These names are mentioned in the *Pradnya-vivardhan Stotra* in the *Rudra Yamala* texts of the *Skanda Purana*.⁶⁰ Kartikeya is depicted with six faces and arms, twelve eyes or ears. He can have two, four, six, eight or twelve arms. Kartikeya is described as Surya and hence his six heads can represent seasons. The twelve hands represent the twelve months and the cock messenger as the rising Sun and the peacock symbolises the elegance of the Sun itself.⁶¹ In some sculptures, Kartikeya is depicted as an attendant of Surya.⁶² That can indicate the connection between Kartikeya and the Sun God cannot be denied.

⁵⁹ The information was provided during a field visit by Shri Kalu Shiva Bhagat, 85 years old, a former priest at Mahalakshmi Ravalnath temple, Amona on 9th December 2021.

⁶⁰ Keshav Shastri Joglekar, *Shri Pradnyavivardhan Stotra*, 2018.

⁶¹ T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Op. Cit.* Vol. II, Part 2, pp. 429-432.

⁶² T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Op. Cit.* Vol. I, Part 2, pp. 303-304.

The earliest reference to Kartikeya, referred to as Skanda, as one of the *laukika devatas* or a folk deity, can be traced back to Patanjali.⁶³ His status as the war god can be traced to his folk origins.⁶⁴ The iconography of Kartikeya can also be found on the tribal coins of ancient India.⁶⁵ The earliest epigraphical references to the deity can be found in the inscriptions of the Bilsad stone pillar from Kumaragupta I and the Bihar stone pillar from the period of Skandagupta.⁶⁶

5.3.2 The Iconography of Kartikeya:

The earliest mention of the iconography of Kartikeya is mentioned in the *Brihat Samhita* of Varahamihira. He describes the image of Kartikeya in chapter 58, verse 41, that he should be portrayed as a child and should hold a *shakti* and a peacock flag.⁶⁷ The *Rupamandana*,⁶⁸ *Manasollasa*⁶⁹ and *Matsya Purana*⁷⁰ describe a uniform iconography for Kartikeya. The image of Kartikeya should be fashioned as *dvibhuja* when it is to be worshipped in a small town or a hamlet. He should be vibrant like the Surya, have to be yellow like the middle part of the lotus, and should have the body of a young man and ornaments of the child. His *vahana* should be the peacock. In his right

⁶³ Jitendra Nath Banerjea, *Op. Cit.* p. 362.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 140-146.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* p. 363.

⁶⁷ Achyutananda Jha, *Op. Cit.* p.149.

⁶⁸ Balram Srivastava, ed, *Op. Cit.* p. 188.

⁶⁹ Tirthankar Bhattacharya, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 23-24.

⁷⁰ *Matsya Mahapurana*, Adhyaya 260, Shloka 45-51.

arm, he should hold the *shakti* or *danda* with shreds and in the left hand, he should hold the *kukkuta*.

5.3.3 Kartikeya worship in Goa:

Kartikeya is worshipped in both aniconic and iconic forms in Goa. The cell-no 4 of the



rock-cut caves of Harvalem has a unique *linga* in the shape of a spear, considered the aniconic image of Kartikeya (figure 5.20).⁷¹

The iconic image of Kartikeya was found in the Korgaon village of Pernem taluka. A new temple was constructed for the joint worship of Ganesha and Kartikeya in Aquem, Margao. He is worshipped as

Kuvalleshwar in the *panchayatana* of Kamaleshwar temple at

Figure 5.20: Aniconic Worship of Kartikeya at Harvalem Caves.

Korgao in Pernem taluka. The image belongs to the period of Goa Shilaharas. It is the replica of a mutilated image belonging to the period of Chalukyas, which was found in the precincts of the temple.⁷² The mutilated image is now in the collection of the Goa State Museum.

⁷¹ V. R. Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara*, 1999, pp. 204-205.

⁷² *Ibid.*

5.3.4 Study of Sculptures of Kartikeya:

The old image of Kuvaleshwar is in possession of the Goa State Museum (figure 5.21).



Figure 5.21: Kartikeya as Kuvaleshwar at Kamaleshwar Devasthan, Korgaon, Currently in Goa State Museum.

In this image, the God is depicted as *dvibhuja* Kartikeya in the *samabhanga* posture. It is dated to the 7th century C.E. and measures 122 x 40 cm. The deity is depicted with a round face, elongated earlobes, long curls, half-closed eyes, broad lips and a halo. He is adorned with *mukuta*, *kundalas*, necklaces, and armlets. The lower part of his body is covered with a *dhoti* with a *mekhala* decorated with festoons. Both his hands and legs are mutilated. He is probably holding a *shakti* in his right hand and his left hand is placed akimbo on his waist

holding a *kukkuta*. A part of *shakti* is seen on the right side of his halo. The feathers of the *kukkuta* can be

seen near his left waist. The folds of his lower garment can be seen between his legs.⁷³

The attributes can be seen in the replica placed in the Kuvaleshwar temple at Korgaon.

5.4 Betal: Guardian of the Village

Betal is one of the most popular *gramadevatas* in Goa. He is considered the chief of spirits and guardian of the village.⁷⁴ He lives outside the precincts of the village but is

⁷³ *Catalogue of the Remarkable Sculptures in the Goa State Museum*. p. 14. The contribution of the section was made to the catalogue by the author of this thesis.

⁷⁴ V. R. Mitragotri, *Op. Cit.* p. 173. Mitragotri quotes verse 54 of the *Vetal Sahasranama*, the photographs of the unpublished manuscripts are provided in the same book in appendix p. I.

said to roam the village at night with his subordinates.⁷⁵ The word Betal finds its origin in the *Austric* language and is a composite of two words, *Bet* meaning a cane, found in Goan forests, and *La* means to dig.⁷⁶ The non-Sanskrit word Betal was later converted to Sanskrit as *Vetal*.⁷⁷ The meaning of word was described as a demon, ghost, spirit, goblin and vampire. It was considered an attendant of either Shiva, Durga or Skanda.⁷⁸ D. D. Kosambi mentions Vetal as a *Cacodemon*⁷⁹- an evil spirit, but the definition does not apply to the Goan Betal, who is a guardian and can be associated more with *agathodaemon* or *eudaemon*- a good spirit or angel and the patron of athletes and wrestlers.⁸⁰

5.4.1 Puranic References to Betal:

There are many Puranic references to the Vetal. The *Shatarudra Samhita* of *Shiva Purana* mentions that he is one of the cursed Bhairavas of Shiva. When he was the doorkeeper of Shiva, he saw Parvati and was mesmerised by her. Upon looking at his lustful eyes, she cursed him to be born on earth as a Vetal.⁸¹ The other story of the birth of Vetal is mentioned in the *Kalika Purana*. It states that Queen Taravati, the wife of King Chandrashekhara, was cursed by *Kapota Muni*. She begot two sons, Bhrungi and

⁷⁵ R. E. Enthoven, *The Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, 1990, p. 304.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ V. R. Mitragotri, *Op. Cit.*

⁷⁸ Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary: Etymologically and Philologically Arranged with Special Reference to Cognate Indo-European Languages*, 1899, p. 1014.

⁷⁹ D. D. Kosambi, *Myth and Reality: Studies in the Formation of Indian Culture*, 2005, p. 141.

⁸⁰ R. E. Enthoven, *Op. Cit.*

⁸¹ Mahadev Shastri Joshi, (ed.) *Bharatiya Sanskriti Kosh*, 2010, p. 59.

Mahakala, who were the incarnations of Vetala and Bhairava. The King had three other legitimate sons, so he did not accept Bhrungi and Mahakala as his sons. Hence these two went for penance in the woods. They met *Kapota Muni*, who advised them to go to rishi Vashishta as his disciples. With their penance, they got the blessings of Shiva and Kamakhya Devi and were given the position of Shiva *Ganas*.⁸² The *Mahabharata* refers to him as the attendant of Skanda.⁸³ The *Bhagvat Purana*,⁸⁴ *Matsya Purana*⁸⁵ and *Brahmanda Purana*⁸⁶ also have references to Vetala. He is known as *Agya-Vetala*, *Jvala-Vetala* or *Pralaya-Vetala*. The *Mahabharata* mentions that he is a *Skanda-gana* and is always ready for war. In the *Skanda Purana*, it is mentioned that the Vetala has to be offered meat and blood.⁸⁷ Many other Sanskrit works mention the association of worship of Vetala to the *Kapalikas* and *Nath-Panthis*.⁸⁸

In Goa, the deity is known by its *Austric* name of Betal. The influence of *Kapalikas* and *Nath-Panthis* helped popularise the worship of Betal in Goa.⁸⁹ There are forty-nine shrines of Betal in different villages of Goa, and the Portuguese demolished nineteen shrines in Goa.⁹⁰ The only place in Goa where there is no temple dedicated to the Betal is in Savoi-Verem, as the legend says that he used to go after the women of the village.

⁸² *Ibid.* pp. 59-60.

⁸³ *Mahabharata*, Adhyaya 45.67.

⁸⁴ *Shrimad Bhagvat Mahapurana*, Adhyaya 10.63.10.

⁸⁵ *Matsya Mahapurana*, Adhyaya 259.24

⁸⁶ *Brahmanda Purana*, Adhyaya 3.41.29.

⁸⁷ Mahadev Shastri Joshi, *Op. Cit.* p.61.

⁸⁸ V. R. Mitragotri, *Op. Cit.* pp. 173.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 173-176.

⁹⁰ P. Phaldesai, *Kaleidoscopic Goa: A Cultural Atlas*, 2004, p. 91.

Hence the men in the village buried him. However, he is given *maan* annually at the place where he was supposedly buried.⁹¹ The annual *maan* consists of paying obeisance to the deity by offering sacrifice or liquor, foodstuff, clothing and footwear. The *Vetal Sahasranama* mentions that there are sixty-four Betals.⁹² But in Goa, there are two types of Betal: the *Ugra-Betal* and the *Saumya-Betal*. The *Saumya-Betal* is offered a *kathi*, *vidi* and large sandals. In contrast, the *Ugra-Betal* is offered liquor and blood sacrifice and the other things are offered to the *Saumya-Betal*.

In some temples dedicated to Betal, two statues are placed in one shrine. The deities in these temples are known as *Agyo* and *Gorkho* or *Betal* and *Vetal*. The sculptures of Betal were traditionally made of wood and stone. The wood used for the sculptures of Betal was either from the *Arjuna* tree, *Voval* or *Chafu* tree.⁹³ The wooden images are being replaced by stone or metal called *Pancha-dhatu*.

5.4.2 The Iconography of Betal:

The images of Betal in Goa do not predate 700 C.E..⁹⁴ The image depicts the deity as naked with a ferocious face, tall stature, bulging eyes and protruding ribs. It is in a *stanaka* posture with two arms holding *khadga* and *patra*. A scorpion is sometimes

⁹¹ Vinayak Vishnu Khedekar, *Loksarita: Gomantkiy Janjeevanakha Sumagra Abhyas*, 1993, p.76.

⁹² V. R. Mitragotri, *Op. Cit.* p. 172.

⁹³ *Ibid.* p. 171.

The information was also provided by the priest of the Betal temples where wooden images were worshipped but are discontinued as the sourcing of the wood has become more difficult in recent times due to the conservation policy.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 171.

shown on his ribcage along with a headgear of snakes. The image of Betal should be larger than life-size and is prescribed in the *Agamas* as *satatala* or 72 *angulas*.⁹⁵

5.4.3 Betal Worship in Goa:

The concept of temples being dedicated to Betal is a recent development. It was believed in the earlier period that erecting a roof over the shrine of Betal would bring misfortune. This concept finds its roots in the *Austrian* origin of the deity, as during the early stages, temporary shelters were erected for the deity.⁹⁶ The remnants of the temporary shrine can be seen in the Loliem village of Canacona taluka. It is still believed that erecting a roof for the deity will bring misfortune to the entire village. However, in Poinguinim village of Canacona taluka, a temple exists to worship the



deity.

5.4.4 Study of Sculptures of Betal:

5.4.4.1 Nagdo-Betal of Loliem:

The sculpture of *Nagdo-Betal* of Loliem is a classical Kadamba sculpture dating to the 12th century C.E. (figure 5.22). The nude deity is standing in *dvibhujja* form and *dvibhanga* posture. This image of Betal is approximately 275 cm tall and is considered the tallest image in Goa.⁹⁷ The

deity has a ferocious appearance with protruding three eyes,

Figure 5.22: Nagdo-Betal of Loliem.

⁹⁵ Jitendra Nath Banerjea, *Op. Cit.* p. 328.

⁹⁶ P. Phaldesai, *Op. Cit.* p. 92.

⁹⁷ V. R. Mitragotri, *Op. Cit.* p. 178.

fangs, ribs and muscles. The veins on his neck and prominent phallus are also apparent. He is adorned with a *mukuta*, big earrings, three types of *haar*, a *katibandh* with dangling *mekhala*, armlets, bracelets, *mudrika* and three types of anklets. The *mukuta* is embellished with two hooded *nagas* and an elaborate *prabhamandala*. The *mekhala* is festooned with chains that reach his knees and are decorated with bells. He holds a *khadga* in his right hand and a *kapala* in his left hand. The upper part of the *khadga* is broken, and a head of a ram is dangling from his left hand. A lady attendant on his right holds a lotus in her right hand, and her left hand is in *lolahastamudra*. She is decked in an elaborate hairstyle and clothing. The attendant on his right is fully clothed and holding a *khadga* and a *kapala*. The image has a striking visual appeal and a fearsome demeanour.



5.4.4.2 Betal, Usgao, Ponda:

The sculpture of Betal is in *dvibhuja* form and *samabhanga* posture (figure 5.23). He has bulging eyes, protruding fangs, a beard and moustache, but a pleasing bearing. The deity is holding his right hand in *kataka mudra*, and the sword's hilt is seen in this sculpture. His left- hand holds the *kapala*. In this sculpture, the deity is shown with an elaborate crown, *ratna kundalas*, snake armlets, bracelets, three types of necklaces, *katibandha* with festoons of bells, *rundamala* worn as *yajnopavita*, *nagavalaya* and anklets. A dagger

Figure 5.23: Betal, Usgao, Ponda. is placed on the right side. Horizontal marks on his forehead

give him a *Shaiva* descent. A unique feature of this sculpture is that the deity is shown with a slightly protruding belly. The sculpture is about 213 cm in height.

5.4.4.3 Betal, Amona, Bicholim:

This sculpture of Betal is approximately 213 cm tall and is made of *panchadhatu* (figure



Figure 5.24: Betal, Amona, Bicholim.

5.24). It is a sculpture in *dvibhuja* form and *samabhanga* posture. The right hand of the deity is in *kataka mudra*, which is ornamented with a metal sword. His left hand is in the posture of holding a *kapala*. The deity has a pleasant bearing on his face. A motif of a five-hooded snake can be seen on his crown. This sculpture was installed in 1961, before which the sculpture of wood made of the *chafu* tree existed. The wooden image was replaced by that of metal as wood was getting harder to source and was more prone to termite infestation.⁹⁸ So the devotees decided to replace it with a metal image. The image does not have any ornaments carved but is decorated with removable ornaments.



Figure 5.25: Sculptures of Betal-Vetal at Barabhumi, Dharbandoda.

5.4.4.4 The sculptures of Betal-Vetal:

The sculptures of Betal-Vetal share the same iconography as Betal, but the sculpture on the right side is slightly shorter than the sculpture on the left side (figure 5.25). This type of worship is found in various places in Goa. In Torxem in Pernem taluka, the shrine is known as Vetoba, while in Palyem,

⁹⁸ The information was provided during a field visit by Shri Dattaguru Sawant, the priest at Betal temple,

Amona on 9th December 2021.

Pernem, they are known as *Aagyo* Betal and Gorkho Betal. In Barabhumi, Dharbandoda, they are known as Betal-Vetal, and in Hadkona, Ponda, they are known as Atala-Betal. Though the name changes in different shrines, the iconography of both these sculptures is the same.

5.5 Ravalnath: The Gramadevata

Ravalnath is one of the principal deities in the *panchayatana* worship in Goa. He is also an essential part of the *gramadevata* worship in Goa. The worship of Ravalnath can be found in Goa and its neighbouring regions, southern Maharashtra and northern Karnataka. Ravalnath is a local deity who was later incorporated into the Puranic pantheon as a form of Shiva and given the designation of one of the Bhairavas. He is the God of the masses. In Goa, there are fifty shrines dedicated to the worship of Ravalnath, of which eight of them are independent, and the rest, forty-two, are the shrines of *Parivar-devata*.⁹⁹

5.5.1 Puranic References to Ravalnath:

Ravalnath is described in the Ravalnath *stotra* of the *Karveer-Mahatmya* in the *Padma Purana*. However, the *Karveer Khanda* of the *Padma Purana* is a later addition and is a *Sthala Purana*. The fact cannot be denied that Ravalnath is a popular deity, and his shrines are found in most of the villages of Goa. References to Ravalnath can be found in the Marathi work, *Konkan Mahatmya*, composed in 1667 C.E. and is a commendation of the *Konkan* in western India. The references to Ravalnath in

⁹⁹ V. R. Mitragotri, *Op. Cit.* p. 167.

inscriptions can also be found from the Vijaynagara period.¹⁰⁰

The *Karveer Khand* mentions a story of the incarnation of Shiva in the form of Ravalnath for the annihilation of the demon *Kolhasura* at the behest of Mahalakshmi. The story says that he was born to the rishi Pogund and his wife Vimalambuja at *Badrikedar*, on the *Shashtiyukta Panchami* of *shukla paksha* in the month of *Chaitra*. Goddess Mahalakshmi told Ravalnath the purpose of his birth. She appealed to him to kill the demons *Kolhasura*, *Ratnasura* and *Raktabhoja*, who had become powerful in the western regions and were reigning havoc. Ravalnath, along with Martanda Bhairava, the *ashta-bhairavas*, sixteen *siddhis* and female attendants, had a fierce battle with *Kolhasura* and his army. The army was annihilated, and *Kolhasura* was killed in the battle.¹⁰¹

5.5.2 The Iconography of Ravalnath:



Ravalnath is worshipped in aniconic and iconic forms. In the aniconic form, he is worshipped as a menhir. It can still be seen in the temple ruins at Tuem in Pernem taluka (figure 5.26). In the iconic form, he is worshipped in the *chaturbhuj*a form standing in the *dvibhanga* posture with his left leg slightly bent. He is holding a *trishula* in his upper right hand, a *damaru* in his upper left hand, a *patra* in his lower left hand and a *khadga* in his lower right hand.

Figure 5.26: Old sculpture of Ravalnath at Pernem. This sculpture is situated in the precincts of the temple.

A *Gurava* and horse are seen on his right, and a *chauri*

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* pp.167-168.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* p.166.

bearer is seen on his left. He is ornamented as a Bhairava with a *mukuta*, *ratna kundalas*, necklaces, armlets, bracelets, *mekhala*, and anklets. As discussed earlier in the chapter, he is occasionally seen adorning a moustache and sometimes shown wearing *padukas*.

5.6 Bhutnath: General of the Ghosts and Spirits:

Bhutnath is one of the epithets of Shiva, but in Goa, he is worshipped as one of the



Figure 5.27: Ravalnath and Bhutnath in the form of menhir at Tuem, Pernem.

Bhairavas. The reference to Bhutnath is found in the *Sahyadri Khand* in the *Chandrachuda Mahatmya*. He is referred to as *Bhairava Bhutanayaka* in the third *Adhyaya*.

The story associated with Bhutnath is that he could not withstand the separation from Shiva, as Shiva had migrated to the *Parvat*. Bhutnath came to *Parvat* in search of Shiva.

Shiva asked Bhutnath to reside beside him at *Parvat*.¹⁰² We

can see a small shrine dedicated to Bhutnath beside the main temple of Chandreshwar at *Parvat*. Bhutnath is worshipped here in the form of menhir.¹⁰³



Figure 5.28: Bhutnath is worshipped along with the Linga of Chandreshwar at Verlem, Sanguem.

The origins of Bhutnath can be found in folk traditions, as he is identified as one of the *Vetalas*.¹⁰⁴ He is revered once a year

on *Paushya Amavasya* with blood sacrifice. Fowls are sacrificed in his honour, and the blood is mixed in rice and

sprinkled around. This type of sacrifice is known as *choru*. In South Goa, he always accompanies Chandreshwar (figure 5.28), while in North Goa, he is portrayed with

¹⁰² Gajanan Shastri Gaitonde, ed. *Sahyadri Khand of Skanda Purana*, 1971, pp. 238-241.

¹⁰³ V. R. Mitragotri, *Op. Cit.* p. 158.

¹⁰⁴ Mahadev Shastri Joshi, *Op. Cit.* Vol. 6, p. 569.

Ravalnath (figure 5.27). Khedekar identifies him as the *senapati* of Ravalnath.¹⁰⁵ He is worshipped in the aniconic form of a menhir.

5.7 Analysis

The concept of the affiliate deities is found in all the villages of Goa. The belief finds its roots in the *Pancha-deva-upasana* of Shankaracharya. The concept of *Panchayatana* started with the synthesis of the five popular cults but slowly gained popularity by incorporating folk deities into its fold. The Sanskritisation of folk deities like Betal, Ravalnath and Bhutnath, and the inclusion of ancestor worship had led to the popularity of *Naav-Barache Panchishta* in Goa.

The most important affiliate deity is Ganesha. Ganesha is worshipped in his iconic form in every village of Goa. Besides dedicating separate shrines to the deity, images of Ganesha are worshipped in all the temples of Goa. The most common images of Ganesha are in his *chaturbhuj*a form. The earliest images of Ganesha can be dated to the Chalukya period. These images were of *dvibhuj*a Ganesha in the form of Bala-Ganesha. In this form, the deity is portrayed naked and seated like a baby. These images are simple and do not feature any ornate carvings. The sculptures dated to the Kadamba period were elaborately carved with a decorative *prabhavali* compared to the earlier and later images of Ganesha.

¹⁰⁵ Vinayak Vishnu Khedekar, *Goa Devmandal: Unnayan Ani Sthalantar*, 2018, p. 152.

The worship of Surya can be found in Goa in aniconic and iconic forms. The oldest Surya worship was in the form of *linga*, dated to the 5th century C.E., and the oldest image of Surya was dated to the Chalukya period. The worship of the composite nature Surya in the syncretic form of Surya and Bhairava is popular in Goa. He is worshipped as Adinatha and Ravalnath in different parts of Goa. Many of the Ravalnath images depict the deity on a seven-horse chariot with a horse, a *gurav* and an umbrella on the sculptures, as portrayed in the image of Martanda Bhairava from Par-Usgao. A small image of Surya is also worshipped as Nitkari in the Santeri temple at Pernem.

The worship of Kartikeya is found only in two places in Goa. In his aniconic form of a spear, he was worshipped in the Harvalem caves. In the form of an image, he is worshipped as Kuvaleshwar in Korgaon, in Pernem taluka.

Apart from Ganesha, the most popular affiliate deities in Goa are Betal, Ravalnath and Bhutnath. These local deities were identified as the form of Bhairava and associated with the *Ganas* of Shiva. The images of Betal can be dated to as early as the Kadamba period. The materials used for the images were stone, wood and metal. The worship of Ravalnath was in the form of Bhairava with a *khadga* depicting the worship of a warrior. He is also worshipped with Bhutnath in the aniconic form in the northern parts of Goa. Bhutnath is always portrayed in an aniconic form. He is worshipped along with either Ravalnath or Chandranath and is seldom worshipped alone.

The study of the images of the affiliate deities provides insight into the socio-cultural and religious life of the people of Goa. The worship of these deities is an integral part of the village community of Goa and can be deduced from the *garane* performed in honour of the *gramadevata*.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION

This study critically analyses the image worship of Puranic deities in Goa from ancient to modern times. The study is largely based on primary sources comprising sculptures, inscriptions and Puranic literature relating to the image worship of Puranic deities. Field work and interviews were conducted to gather some useful data used in this work. The details provided and analysis made in chapters – III, IV and V of this thesis prove the two hypotheses stated in chapter - I.

The temple was an essential part of the village community. The temple of the *kuladevata* or *gramadevata* was constructed in the centre of the village. The deity was set up by the original settlers of the village. They essentially got the *sasay* of the deity from their erstwhile village while establishing a new settlement. The *sasay* was brought in the form of a coconut, ritualistic pots (as seen in figures 4.4 and 4.5) or a bronze image of the deity. The need for a new village arose when the existing agricultural setup fell short of satisfying the needs of the growing population. The new village was considered to be the extension of the village to which they originally belonged. The ritual of the *palkhi* visiting the old village before the start of its annual festivities can be seen in many parts of Goa. The chief deity is accompanied by the *panchayatana*, which are considered the *parivar devatas* of the deity. The *garane*, before any ritualistic ceremony, narrates the history of the settling of the deity and its *panchayatana* in the village. The deity is considered the mother - the protector and the nurturer of the village. In most of the villages, either the Devi or Shiva or Vishnu is worshipped as the chief deity. In a few villages, one of the folk deities is mainly worshipped. The most famous popular folk deity is Santeri. The temples of the Devi are located in the centre of the

village as it was accessible to all the villagers. The temples were ritualistically built, as mentioned in the scriptures, following the purification and insemination of the site. The images placed in these temples were *achala* images made of stone, wood or metal. The preferred stone used for the images was schist, locally known as *pashan*. Different types of *chala* images, namely, *kautaka bera*, *utsav bera*, *bali bera* and *snapa bera* were also placed in the temples. The *chala* images were usually made of bronze. The number of *chala* images varies from temple to temple. there are three types of temples in Goa, *ekakuta*, *dvikuta* and *trikuta*. The *ekakuta* temples will worship only one deity. The *dvikuta* temples will worship two deities in one temple and the *trikuta* temples will worship three deities in one temple with different *garbagrihas*.

The image worship of Puranic deities in Goa includes deities such as Brahma, Vishnu, Shiva, Devi, Ganesha, Surya and Kartikeya. The first five deities are the original deities of the *pancha-deva-upasana* propagated by Shankaracharya. This study also focuses on the local deities, like Betal, Ravalnath and Bhutnath, which are affiliated with the *Puranic* pantheon. These deities emerged due to the effect of the process of Sanskritisation of the folk deities who were an inevitable part of the village community. All the above-mentioned deities, both Puranic and the local deities, are worshipped as affiliate deities in one or the other village. However, one God or Goddess is worshipped as the chief deity in a village.

The Bhoja inscriptions provide evidence for the existence of the Shaiva, Vaishnava and Saurya cults in Goa and the existence of the Brahmanas in Goa. However, the popularity of the *Puranic* form of worship can be attributed to the Chalukyas, who claimed to have descended from Brahma. Brahma was perceived as the creator of the universe in the *Puranas*. The images of Brahma dating to the Chalukya period were found in Parshem in Pernem taluka and Kudne in Bicholim taluka. The temple in

Parshem was in a secluded area, as mentioned in the scriptures, while the image from Kudne was probably in the niche of a temple which can be assumed from its size. The images from Brahma-Karmali and Colamb are dated to the Kadamba period. The study of the images of Brahma aids in understanding that the cult of Brahma existed in different parts of Goa. The revival of the cult can be observed as the worship of *Brahmo* is being replaced by the iconic worship of Brahma. Such a transformation can be seen at the Lakshmi-Narsimha temple at Veling.

The worship of Vishnu existed in Goa from the Bhoja period, which can be observed in epigraphic records as well as the sculpture from Pedem. However, the worship of Vishnu in the form of Narayana might have gained popularity during the Chalukya period. The Chalukyas proclaimed to have protection from Kartikeya and Narayana. Every village in Goa, having a place of antiquity, has a temple dedicated to Narayana. The temples of Narayana were an integral part of the village setup. The temples of Narayandev were located on the plains, with a large temple tank adjoining them. The temple tanks were linked to the large reservoir that irrigated the *vaingans* fields and the *kulagars* of the village. The examples of these can still be seen near the temples of Narayandev at Madkai, Cuncollem, Tivrem, Vichundrem, Kundai, Nhaveli-Sakhali, and the temple of Keshav at Priol. These temples have the *chaturvimsati murtis* of Vishnu. Most of the images were dated to the Kadamba period and featured the *makara torana*, peculiar to the Kadamba sculptures. The images in some temples have been replaced in the period after liberation as most of the dilapidated temples have been renovated in recent years. The worship of Vishnu is also found in the aniconic form in Goa. The most common worship is in the form of *shaligrama*. The *shaligrama* is considered the most sacred form of Vishnu and is worshipped in all the Vaishnava temples and homes of the few Brahmana families belonging to the Vaishnava pantheon.

Vishnu is also worshipped as Nirakar - the formless one, in the temple at Mashem in Loliem village. He is worshipped as a pillar and the same is associated with the legend of Narsimha by the villagers. However, the aniconic form of worship of *chakra* has been replaced by an idol of Parashuram in the temple at Poinguinim. The study of the images and the placement of the temples indicate that the status of Vishnu as the preserver of the village and its people was indeed taken into consideration. The temples were of great importance to the economic prosperity of the village, but were smaller in structure as compared to the temples of the *kuladevata* and the *gramadevata*.

The most popular form of worship of Shiva is in the form of *linga*. The oldest *lingas* in Goa are dated to the 5th century C.E. The *lingas* made of basalt were fixed on laterite platforms carved inside the cave temples of Goa. The *yoni pitha* to these *lingas* was a later addition. The absence of the *yoni pitha* in the early *lingas* suggests that the amalgamation of the Shaiva cult with the Shakta cult was probably a later introduction to Goa. The *lingas* of the Chalukya-Shilahara period are found in the temples dedicated to Shiva at Kudne, Korgaon, Nageshi and Curdi. Shiva, in the form of Saptakotishwar, was the family deity of the Kadambas. The temples of Saptakotishwar can be found in Narve, Opa and Salgini. The deity from Diwar was shifted to Narve during the later period due to the destruction of the temple. The temples at Tambdi Surla and Curdi may also have been dedicated to Saptakotishwar. However, in every village of Goa, there is a temple dedicated to Shiva. He is worshipped by different names with the addition of suffixes of Ishwar and Nath. The iconic images of Shiva include Kalabhairava, Bhikshatanamurti, Malhar and Uma-Maheshwar *murtis*. The most popular form of Shiva in images is the form of Kalabhairav. He is worshipped as the most ferocious form of Shiva. The worship of Kalabhairav is spread in all parts of Goa. All the sculptures of Kalabhairav have the same iconography as discussed in the third chapter

of this thesis. The worship of Malhar is found in Mardol, as the consort of Mahalsa. The Uma-Maheshwar *murtis* may have been for decorating the temples, as the continuity of worship is not found today in any part of Goa. The temples of Shiva are seldom located in the central parts of the village. The location of the old temples is often, if not always, in the most secluded places of the village. It is generally situated on a hillock emulating mount *Kailasa* or on the confluence of water bodies, denoting his renouncement of the materialistic world. His sanctity as a *yogi* was taken into consideration while selecting a place of worship for him.

The Devi is the most preeminent deity among the *Puranic* deities in Goa. The aniconic forms of worship depict her as the progenitor and is associated with the fertility cult. However, the most common form of images found in Goa are of her fierce aspect as Durga and Chamunda. The image of Mahishasuramardini is worshipped in the form of Durga in various parts of Goa. She is worshipped as Navadurga, Shantadurga and Kamakshi. The antiquity of the sculptures of Mahishasuramardini can be dated as early as the Chalukya-Shilahara period. She is also worshipped in the form of Mahalakshmi, Saraswati and Matrikas. Every village in Goa has a temple dedicated to the Devi and she is referred to as *Aai* (mother) by the villagers. The study of the images of Devi represents that the deity was venerated in Goa in all her aspects, as mentioned in the *Puranas*.

The concept of *panchayatana* is pervasive in Goan society. The *panchayatana* is an essential part of the *kuladevata* or *gramadevata* worship in Goa. The deities in the *panchayatana* are considered the family of the main deity and have to be appeased to procure the blessings of the main deity. If the deities are infuriated due to the conduct of the villagers, the main deity will be annoyed and the village may face a calamity. Hence, it is believed that if the main deity is to be appeased, the *panchayatana* has to

be gratified. The *panchayatana* consists of the deities affiliated with the temple. They may be five, seven, nine or twelve, depending on the realm of the main deity. The affiliate deities associated with the *Puranic* form of worship are Ganesha, Surya, Kartikeya, Betal, Ravalnath and Bhutnath. In some villages, the syncretic image of Ravalnath is worshipped as Martanda Bhairava. It is in the form of a composite image of Surya and Shiva. Likewise, in some villages, Ravalnath is worshipped as the manifestation of Shiva. Betal and Bhutnath are considered the *ganas* of Shiva. Excluding Ganesha and Betal, all the affiliate deities mentioned above are worshipped in both the aniconic and the iconic forms. Additionally, the other deities affiliated with the temple are *purush*, like *Simha purush*, *Grama purush*, *Kalidas Kula purush*, *Bhumi purush*, *Jalmi*, *Siddha*, *Mharingan*, *Purmar*, etc. The *purush* are the original settlers of the village worshipped in the form of a menhir. The realm of the deity was decided on the demarcation of the village boundaries. The bigger the settlements, the number of deities increased correspondingly. The temples of the gentle deities were located centrally, while the shrines of the fierce deities were located on the borders of the village. The fierce deities were considered to be sentries and prevented any malicious being from entering the village. Similarly, the gentle deities were believed to bring prosperity to the village. The gentle deities had temples dedicated to them, while the fierce ones were either enshrined in small shrines or were consecrated in natural surroundings. These areas demarcated for the worship of the deities resulted in the development of ecologically sensitive areas. Every section of the community held ritualistic duties associated with the worship of the village deities. The rituals varied depending on the social hierarchy of the inhabitants.

The images in the pre-Chalukyan and the Chalukyan period were free-standing with elementary features. The images of the Shilahara and Kadamba periods were more

complex in comparison with the introduction of ornate *prabhavali*. The deities were accompanied by an entourage of attendants and complex aureole. The Kadamba sculptures were often depicted with *makara torana* and numerous demigods associated with the deity. This led to the incorporation of many symbols associated with nature worship. They were rich in iconography. The images during the Vijaynagara period were comparatively simple to the Kadamba sculptures even though they featured an elaborate *prabhavali*. The lack of patronage resulted in the production of modest sculptures during the Portuguese period. These sculptures were made by local carpenters, known as *Charis*, who were also employed in wood and metal work. The period after liberation opened the gates of Indian states to Goa. This resulted in the employment of sculptors from the neighbouring states for the making of intricate sculptures. Along with schist, different types of stones, including granite and marble, are also used in making the new sculptures.

The period after liberation led to the popularity of new cults like that of Dattatreya, *Navagrahas*, Krishna, Saibaba and Santoshimata. The influx of people from all over India in search of job opportunities led to the inception of regional cults enriching the Goan society.

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