Chapter four

POLITICO-ADMINISTRATIVE ASPECTS
Politico-Administrative Aspects

Political Geography of Ancient and Medieval Goa

The political system of a particular region plays an effective role in the rise and growth of urban maritime centres. The political history of ancient Goa is largely shrouded in darkness. Both primary and secondary sources are used to systematically investigate and find clues to piece together the political history of Goa from the earliest times to the 15th century A.D. (Appendix VII)

Mauryas: The ancient history of Goa goes back to the Mauryan time before the Christian era. The 13th rock edict of emperor Ashoka of Pataliputra refers to the Bhojas along with the Yonas, Kambhoja, Nabhakas, Nabhapanktis, Pitinikas, Andhras, and Pallavas as living in the king’s territory and conforming to Devanampiya’s instructions on morality.1

Satavahanas: After the downfall of the Mauryan empire the Satavahanas opened a prosperous and glorious chapter in South India especially in the Deccan, along the west coast, about 2nd century B.C. Krishna Satakarni, brother of the founder, Simuka Satakarni annexed Konkan including the territories of the Bhojas of Chandrapur or present day Chandor to his domain.

Thus Goa became a part of the Satavahana empire and the Bhojas remained as their feudatories.2 Till date there are no inscriptional evidences found, except a few archaeological antiquities in the form of Satavahana earthen ware and bricks found at the excavated site of the 11th century Shiva temple at Chandrapur which was a well sheltered riverside port town with well built mud wall fortifications.

Coins of this dynasty have been unearthed from Chandrapur (Chandor) during excavation.3 Roman amphora, a piece of Roman glass and some Roman
coins presently housed at the museum at Pilar state that the Satavahanas had trade contacts with Romans through the port of present-day Goa Velha.4

**Bhojas:** The discovery of the Shiroda copper plate inscription of Bhoja Devaraja opened a new chapter in the history of ancient Goa tracing it back to the 4th century A.D.5 There are divided opinions as to who the Bhojas were? 6

- Were the Bhojas of the Gomin race (according to C.R. Krishnamacharlu)?

- Were they Mahabhojas? Minor rulers holding present district of Thana and Kolaba (according to D.R. Bhandarkar)?

- Were they ancient tribes whose princes held not only the Shatvats, near Ganges but also ruled Vidarbha (according to B.C. Law)?

- Were they tribes of the west (according to Hultszch)?

The Bhojas are mentioned in the *Bhavishya Purana, Mahabharata, Aitareya Brahmana*, 13th rock edict of Ashoka, HathiGumpha inscription of King Kharavela of Kalinga and Chinese travel account of I-Tsing.7 The above inscriptional evidence shows that the Bhojas ruled from Chandraura identified as Chandrapur (present-day Chandor) including Shasthi, Antruz, Bardez, Island of Goa (Tiswadi), Uttar Kānara, Belgaum, Nasik and Dharwad, as feudatories of the Mauryas of Pataliputra.8

Epigraphical evidence throws light on the following rulers of the Bhoja dynasty:

- Devaraja Bhoja, the first known ruler of the Bhoja dynasty who ruled over Goa with Chandraura (identified as Chandrapur) as his capital during his 12th regnal year.9

- Bhoja Asankita or Asankitavarman who is regarded as “the moon in the firmament of the lineage of the Bhojas endowed with a lot of wealth and
the wall indicates a smaller structure probably built during the time of the Kadambas. Floral motif on the ceiling and diamond motif on the windows and 12 tiered shikhara at the rear resembles features of the Kadamba architecture.

Kadamba temple comprises of a garbhagriha and an antarala. The antarala is wider than the sanctum. There are jalandharas on either side of the door frame, eaves have sloppy slabs with, pyramidal towers raised over the sanctum. shikhara are of different styles found at the site are presently displayed at the A.S.I museum, Old Goa. They are of different types. 76

- Kadamba Vimana (G.M. Moraes) as a tower with horizontal stages revealing their tooth like projection as the motif of ornamentation.
- Kadamba style (Stella Kramrisch) the pyramidal superstructure rising above the garbhagriha proper of the temple has been taken to represent the Kadamba style.

Kadamba Nagara F.H. Gravely and T.N. Ramachandran it was presumably from the quadrangular flat roofed shrine that the Kadamba style of architecture rose. (ch. 6 Plate XIII)

Kadamba style temples (ch. 6 Plate XIV)

Saptakoteshwar temple of Opa
This temple is located along the banks of the Khandepar river which served the purpose of the sthanaghat with a fleet of steps. It is built of laterite and covered with lime mortar as a form of binding. It consists of a square sanctum or garbhagriha of 2.60/3.65 mts. and sabhamandapa as a plain hall of 3.20/3.65 mts. the entrance door is rectangular in shape. It as a barrel vaulted roof, a circular domical sikhara with octagonal base. It is the only sandhara type of temple in Goa.77 (ch. 6 Plate XVa)
fortune”. He ruled during the 5th century or the beginning of the 6th century A.D.\textsuperscript{10}

\begin{itemize}
  \item Dharma Maharaja Kapalivarman is described as an illustrious and victorious king who resided at Pamasa Khetaka and ruled according to his \textit{dharma}. \textsuperscript{11}
  \item Bhoja Prithvimallavarman There are two inscriptions of Prithvimallavarman one during his 1st regnal year issued from Vrishabini Kheta and the other during his 25th regnal year issued from Prithvi-Parvat. He did not possess any titles, imperial or subordinate, but was a victorious king who probably ruled for almost a period of 25 years.\textsuperscript{12} (ch.4.Map I), (Appendix VIII)
\end{itemize}

\textbf{Chuttus:} Rulers of this dynasty belonged to the north Kanarese dynasty ruling from Banavasi and occupied the entire west coast region. Some historians are of the opinion that they belonged to the branch of the Satavahanas and others hold the view that they were of a Naga origin. The copper plate inscription of the 2nd and 3rd century mention that the Chuttu kings invaded Goa and settled in Kunkalli, Balli and Kankon under the Bhojas.\textsuperscript{13}

\textbf{Kshatrapas:} The Kshatraps considered themselves as the feudatories of the Kushanas. Coins of Shri Shatakarni and Pulamavi are found in Goa. It seems from the Junagad records that Kshatrapa Rudradamana held Konkan and established his rule over Goa around 150 A.D.\textsuperscript{14}

\textbf{Abhiras and Traikutakas:} After the western Kshatrapas, the Abhiras who served as commanders to the Kshatrapas carved a portion of the western Kshatrapa territory for themselves and rose from a position of a vassal to be the founder of the new dynasty. This dynasty flourished in the middle of the 3rd century A.D.
The Abhira king, Ishvarasena, seem to have conquered the Satavahana territories in the Konkan and western Maharashtra. As the Abhiras replaced the Satavahanas in the Deccan, its descendents, the Traikutakas, assumed the possession of the Konkan as feudatories in the 2nd half of the 5th century A.D. and later became independent.

Thus the Traikutakas ruled over south Gujarat, north Konkan, Nasik, Poona and part of the Satara district. Later Krishnaraja, the Kalachuri king of Mahishmati, overthrew them by 416 A.D. and placed the Konkan Mauryas in charge of north Konkan.

Konkan Mauryas: The Konkan Mauryas, a branch of the Mauryas of Pataliputra, ruled over Rajputana and Konkan. They claimed to have descended from the Kumar viceroy of Ujjain and Suvarnagiri. They ruled in some parts of the west coast of India in the 6th and 7th century A.D.

Epigraphical evidences throw light on three rulers of this dynasty.

➢ Chandravarman who established his capital at Chandrapur after defeating the Bhojas during his 2nd regnal year.

➢ Maurya Annirjita varman probably ruled over Goa around the 6th or 7th century A.D. The royal charter issued during his 29th regnal year mentions that he was ruling from Kumara-dvipa identified as Kumbarjuve in (Tiswadi).

➢ Suketavarman A stone inscription found at Vada to the North in Thana adds a new ruler to the dynasty who might have been a contemporary of Chandravarman. Due to lack of additional details we cannot come to the conclusion of the same.
In 578 A.D. the Konkan Mauryas were defeated by the Chalukyas of Badami at the hands of Kirtivarman.²⁰ (Appendix IX)

**Chalukyas of Badami:** At the peak of the Chalukyan power the empire extended its territory as far as Narmada River to the north, the Arabian Sea coast to the west, the Pallava territories to the south and the Nellore district to the east.

The Chalukya dynasty is further divided into the early Chalukyas or the western Chalukyas of Badami, later Chalukyas of Kalyani and Chalukyas of Vengi. The early Chalukyas or the western Chalukyas was a dominant power in the Deccan from the 6th century to the 8th century A.D. with their capital at Vatapi (Badami) in the Bijapur district. According to tradition, the Chalukyas are said to belong to the *Manavya* lineage of the *Hariti gotra* of Manu and *Chandravamsi* Kshatriya who is said to have ruled at Ayodhya before coming to Dakshinapatha.

Historically speaking, the Chalukya power began under Jayasimha in the 6th century A.D. who was succeeded by Pulakeshi I in 535-566 A.D. His sons, Kirtivarman I and Mangalesha, extended the possession of the family both eastwards and westwards throughout the Deccan and Konkan. Kirtivarman I expanded the kingdom by wars with the Kadambas of Banavasi, Konkan Mauryas and Nalas and broke down the confederacy of the Kadamba kings. Mangalesha's greatest achievement was the defeat of Kalachuris and the conquest of Revatidvipa.

The Nerur copper plate of Emperor Mangalesha (578 A.D.) refers to Mangalesha's destruction of king Buddha, son of Sankargana, who had won 18 battles. Later he placed Satyasraya Dhruvaraya Indravarman as the governor of the four *vishayas* of Konkan and ruled from *Rewatidwipa* or *Redi* from the Vengurla *taluka* to the north of Goa. Thus the conquest of the Konkan brought the port of Goa, Revatidvipa (modern *Reddi*) of the Sawantwadi *taluka* to be the regional headquarters of the Chalukyas of Badami.
The actual hero of the Chalukya dynasty was Pulakeshi II whose reign lasted from 610-642 A.D. He had to face foreign campaigns specially those of Persia under Khusru II (whose silver coins are found at Chimbel-Raibander, Goa) and simultaneously subdued rebellious vassals. The Aihole Inscription gives a detailed account of his campaign against the Kadambas of Banavasi, Konkan Mauryas and others whom he reduced to vassalage and became the supreme lord of the three countries called as Maharashtrakas consisting of 99 thousand villages.

After his death the Chalukya throne was vacant. But in 655 A.D. Badami was recovered from the Pallavas by Vikramaditya I and later under the charge of his successor Vinayaditya, Vijayaditya, Vikramaditya II and Kirtivarman II. By then the Chalukyas were totally defeated by the Rashtrakuta king Dantidurga and Krishna I and remained supreme for another two centuries and were later once again destroyed by the Chalukyas of Kalyani, the greatest of which was Vikrama VI who ruled for about 50 years beginning a new era known as the Chalukya-Vikrama era. Ultimately with the rise of Yadavas of Devgiri around the year 1090, the Chalukya power began to vanish and finally disappeared in the 12th century A.D.21

**Rashtrakutas**: The Rashtrakutas dominated the politics of the Deccan for a period of 200 years from the mid 8th century to 973 AD. The term Rashtrakuta itself is derived from an official designation, which means head of a district or a rashtra. The Rashtrakuta dynasty claimed its descent from the Yadavas of the Mahabharata period. However, most historians believe that they were of a Kanarese origin and some even conclude that they originated from Goa since they described themselves as lords of Lattalura which has been identified either with Latur in Maharashtra or with the village of Lotlim, Goa.

The Rashtrakuta had their capital at Manuyakheta, present day Malkhed. Initially they were feudatories but gradually under their general Dantidurga the Rashtrakutas were able to dominate Maharashtra. 22
In 973 the Rashtrakutas were overpowered by Taila II, a Chalukya vassal, forcing the last Rashtrakuta king to flee from his capital. Thus we have the later Chalukya establishing themselves at Kalyani and the Rashtrakuta dynasty passing into history.

Shilaharas of South Konkan: The Shilahara family ruled over present day Maharashtra to the north and Karnataka to the south including the present state of Goa, Iridge tract, the coastal stretch upto Thana and Konkan 900 with their capital at Gopakapattana and later Balipattana.

Epigraphical records mention around 10 families of the Shilaharas, which include the following:

➢ Shilahara of North Konkan comprising the district of modern Kolaba, Thana including Sopara
➢ Shilahara of South Konkan comprising of 900 villages (Saptakonkan) including the territories of Goa, Iridge vishaya including Ratnagiri and Sawantwadi
➢ Shilahara of Kolhapur region.

The Shilahara family is said to have originated from the mythical hero Jimutavahana, lord of the Vidyadharas and son of Jimutaketu who sacrificed himself to Garuda for the protection of the Nagas. So far only three inscriptions are found belonging to this dynasty which throws light on three rulers of the family.

Sanaphulla: The founder of the Shilahara dynasty ruled from 765-785 A.D. He was placed in charge of the entire area between the seashore and the Sahayadri mountains including the territory of Goa. He must have ruled from his capital at Chandrapur situated on the left bank of the Paroda River in south Goa. He was succeeded by Dhammiyara who founded Balipattana and made it his capital. Aiyaparaja followed an aggressive policy and subdued Chandrapur with the help of the branch of Sendraka royal family.
He was succeeded by Avasara I, Adityavarman I, and Avasara II who provided military assistance to the rulers of Chemulya and Chandrapur. Here the ruler of Chemulya is not identified but the ruler of Chandrapur could be Kantakacharya of the Kadamba dynasty. He was succeeded by Indraraja and Bhima who annexed Chandramandala, that is, the territory around Chandrapur and came in conflict with the Kadamba king Shasthadeva or Guhaladeva II to prevent it from falling prey to the Kadambas.

He was succeeded by Avasara III and Rattaraja who was ruling from his capital Balipattana. He served as the Mandalika of the Paramabhattaraka Maharajadhiraja Satyasraya, the later Chalukya king as mentioned in the inscription.\(^23\) (ch.4, Map II) (Appendix X).

**Kadambas**

**Origin of the Kadamba Dynasty:** Most of the inscriptions of the dynasty in the invocatory verses throw light on its origin. According to one such verse the Kadambas originated from a drop of sweat that fell to the ground from the forehead of Siva under a Kadamba tree and from it sprang up the three-eyed and four-armed Kadamba. In the copper plate inscription of Kadamba Tribhuvanamalla the family claims descent from Trilochana Kadamba, the progenitor of the Kadamba family, from the heroic fervour of the god Siva when he won victory over Tripura.\(^24\) (ch.4. Plate I)

**Kantakacharya:** well known for his fame, wealth and heroism like the famous kings of the time. He went even beyond the seven seas and helped a number of kings in their ventures.

**Nagavarma:** son and successor of Kantakacharya was learned in the Vedas and political science and praised by kings.
Guhalladeva I: succeeded Nagavarman and was very powerful as compared to his predecessor. In order to show his strength and valour he is compared with Arjuna. This is proved from the saying that he killed a tiger with his bare fists and bore the title Vagmari or Viaghramari. This title must have emerged from the ancient Babylonian legend of the Epic of Gilgamesh as depicted in Sumerian tablets and stellae. The Indian version contains the common inherent traits like the king’s association with the ruling of the lion. Guhalladeva is described as an ally of the kings extending the sea probably the Shilaharas ruling on the west coast with Goa as their capital.

Shasthadeva-I or Chaturbhuja: is regarded as a successful ruler. Probably during his time the Kadamba rulers established themselves as Mahamandaleshwara of the Chalukyas. During this time, that is around 10th century, the original kingdom of the Goa Kadambas seems to have acquired the region to the south of the Island of Goa including a part of Salcete and perhaps a strip of land extending towards the western ghats with their capital at Chandrapur or Chandor.

Guhalla-deva II: is described by his successors as “the eye of the Universe”, “ornament of the race of the Kadambas”, “King of Kings” and “Sovereign”. He overcame the neighbouring Malaya rulers and extended the boundaries of his kingdom, specially a portion of the western Ghat region. He undertook offensive warfare against his numerous enemies.

The copper plate grant of Jayakeshi I states that many kings and chiefs of powerful ports feared him for they were afraid that he would deprive them of their power and kingdom. At the same time he is said to have extended a helping hand to the Pallava king against his enemies. Guhalladeva is said to have followed an expansion policy as he was interested in expanding the Kadamba domain. By strengthening his position and then by reducing the neighbouring chieftans he established his control in Goa.
Shastha-deva II: had to face a lot of political disturbances during his reign especially between the northern and southern Shilaharas which made it very conducive for him to expand further and fulfil his father’s dreams. The southern Shilaharas during the time of Rattaraja, the last ruler, was defeated by the northern Shilahara ruler Arikesin who were also finally exhausted, giving an opportunity for Shasthadeva to acquire his goal of becoming the sovereign ruler of the Konkan.

Thus, he came to be regarded as the master of the whole of Konkan by the end of his rule. From his capital at Chandrapur, he set to annex Konkan 900 and subdued Kapardikadvipa from the North Shilaharas and other regions from them such as Lanka or Simhala from where ships came. They returned Kapardikadvipa to the north Shilaharas rulers and in return they had to acknowledge his overlordship and thus became feudatories of the Kadambas. 28

Jayakeshi I: declared himself to be the ruler of the Konkan rashtra including Kapardikadvipa. In the Gandivore grant of Shasthadeva III, Jayakeshi is said to have provided shelter for refugees. Thus several chiefs accepted his suzerainty.

During this time the Kadambas were well established in the Konkan. Jayakeshi I took a firm step to make Gopakapattana the seat of his government, the capital of the Southern Shilaharas. He annexed Kapardikadvipa and proceeded further to capture the Lata kingdom. He uprooted Kamadeva, the lord of Gokarna, “the best of cities” and ruler of the Konkan rashtra. 29 (ch.4, Map III a) (ch.4, Plate II a)

Guhalladeva III: styled himself as the ruler of the Palasige 12,000. During his reign Kapardikadvipa and the Iridige vishaya were lost and subsequently shifted his capital to Palasige12, 000 while still retaining his hold over Gopaka and South Konkan.
Vijayaditya I: was a wise administrator who probably ruled Palasige 12,000 and Kavadidvipa 1, 25,000.30

Jayakeshi II: is regarded in the Gandivore grant of Shasthadeva III as KonkanAdhisra.31 The Dharwad inscription of Jayakeshi II shows that he ruled for 43 years32 stretching his kingdom from Thana in the north to South Kanara in the south including the present day Belgaum and Dharwad districts. It included Konkan 900, Palasige 12000, 30 of Unukal and Sabbi, 30 of Kontakuli, 500 of Hanumgal, 30 of Utsugrame and Kadaravalli 30 of Palagunde, 70 of Velugrame, 500 of Haive and Kavadidvipa 1,25,000.

Jayakeshi II declared himself independent of the Chalukya emperor Vikramaditya VI when the latter had been attacked by the Hoysala king, Vishnurvardhana. Vikramaditya VI in turn sent one of his feudal Sinda chief, Achugi II against Jayakeshi II who took Goa and burnt it down. This shows the strength of the Chalukya which led to reacceptance of the feudal status by the Kadambas. He married Maila-Mahadevi, daughter of Permadi, the western Chalukya King Vikramaditya VI.33 (ch.4.Map III b) (ch.4. Plate II)

Shivachitta/Permadi-deva and Vishnuchitta/Vijayaditya: Permadi-deva succeeded his father’s kingdom in the year 1147-48 A.D. and was helped by his brother Vijayaditya, a Yuvaraja who was ruling at Palasige12,000 as the viceroy. Permadi-deva ruled over Konkan 900, Palasige 12,000 and Velugrame 70 and after the downfall of the Chalukyas, at the hands of the Kalachuris, renounced his feudal status, declared his independence and assumed the title of ‘Konkan Chakravarti’ and ‘the lord of the western ocean’.

In the meanwhile, the Kalachuris who had replaced the Chalukyas wanted to subdue the Goa Kadambas when Permadi-deva died and left his government in the hands of his brother Vishnuchitta.

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Permadi-deva married Kamaladevi who is described as the chief queen among his wives, the centre of love, respect, generous, a diffusion of learning among her subjects. She established a number of agraharas or seats of learning in many parts of the kingdom. In these agraharas many subjects such as the Vedas, Vedangas, Nyaya, Mimansa, Sankhya, Yoga, Vedanta, Smriti, Itihasa and Puranas were taught besides the best system of astronomy. The property of agraharas was divided into shares and its income was utilized for different purposes. She is complemented for the number of temples built in the kingdom specially the Mahadeva temple at Tambdi Surla and for the establishment of the Brahmapuri at Ella.

Under Vijayaditya or Vishnuchitta the Kalachuris sent a Dandanayaka Chandugi-deva to subdue the Goa Kadambas and this general burnt the territories of Vishnuchitta. The Hoysalas renewed their struggle and Kalachuris were compelled to stop their operations in Goa. Later they became vassals of the Hoysalas as Vira Ballala levied tribute from the Goa Kadamba king Vijayaditya. During the struggle for supremacy between them and the Yadavas, the Hangal Kadamba King, Kamadeva, marched against Konkan and compelled Vijayaditya to transfer his allegiance to him and the Goa Kadambas had to acknowledge the supremacy of the Hangal branch. Thus the Kadamba empire shrunk under Vijayaditya II.34

Jayakeshi III: declared himself independent of the Hangal Kadambas and assumed a number of titles which showed his power and might as compared to the other rulers of this time such as ‘Mahamahesvara or the great king’, ‘Konkan Chakravarti or the emperor of the Konkan’ and ‘Mahamandalesvara’. Velugrame 70 and Beluvadesa formed a part of the Kadamba domain. It is said that his rule extended for a long period for almost 25 years that is from 1187-88 to 1212-13. During this time, Jayakeshi’s son, Sivachitta Vira Varjadeva, was ruling conjointly along with his father in 1202 A.D.35 (ch.4. Plate III)
Tribhuvanamalla: also called as Sova-Deva along with his son, Shasthadeva, were ruling jointly. He maintained the independence of his kingdom for a long time and enhanced its glory. During this time, there was a lot of confusion in the Deccan with wars between the Hoysalas and the Yadavas. The country became prosperous and he took title like ‘the wrestler of the three worlds’ but towards the end of his reign he was defeated by the Yadava Vichana and after 10 years the Kadambas tried to recapture their lost territories.36

Shastha-deva III: also termed as Sivachitta-Chattaya-deva was the son of Tribhuvanamalla. He had to undergo tremendous difficulties in order to ascend the throne and was helped by his brother-in-law Kamadeva. He acquired titles like ‘Paschimasamudradhisa’ or ‘lord of the western ocean’ as stated in the Gandivore grant of Shasthadeva III during his 8th regnal year.37

Kamadeva: son of Lakshmi-deva and married the sister of Shasthdeva III of the Goa Kadambas. In the Gokarna plates he is mentioned with titles such as “Chakravarti Vira- Kavadevarasa” and “Samadhigatapanchamahasabda”.38 He ascended the throne in 1260 A.D. During his reign, the Yadavas seem to have relinquished their hold over Konkan as in 1310 their capital Devagiri was invaded by Malik Kafur, general of the Delhi Sultan, Ala-ud-din. After which the Kadambas ruled independently over modern taluka of Kumta and Honnavar including the west coast with their capital at Chandaura an old town of strategic importance situated in the Honnavar taluka.39 (Appendix XI)

Later Malik Kafur marched south and overran the whole of Goa which led to the downfall of the Kadambas kingdom and Gopakapattana was destroyed or occupied by the Muslims. It was during this time that the Kadambas transferred their court to Chandrapur which was again destroyed by Muhammad-bin Tuglhaq in 1327, resulting in a shift back to Gopakapattana. In 1344, as a result of dynastic infighting, the Kadambas were subjected to an attack by Nawab Jamal-ud-din of Honnavar. In 1384, Goa was administered by Malik Bahadur who might have
been the local officer appointed initially by the Delhi Sultans and later by the Bahamani sultans.

The Korgoan copper plate of Bhimabhupal (1351) refers to this king of Konkan 900 as ruling from Gopakapuri and appears to have controlled Tiswadi, Bardez and Pernem as a local feudatory chief of the Kadambas who had weakened considerably. 40

Vijayanagar: Vijayanagar literary means 'the city of victory' and is often regarded as the first medieval Hindu kingdom, which ruled over a substantial part of south Indian peninsular for three centuries beginning in the middle of the 14th century A.D. The rulers of Vijayanagar called the rayas were actually peninsular overlords and their capital was a symbol of their vast power and wealth. Abdur Razak, a Persian traveller, describes it as one of the most splendid city he had seen or heard of anywhere in the world.

Harihara I: brought most of the regions of the Konkan under the Vijayanagara rule including the Konkana Rajya which came under his control when Marappa, the brother of Harihara I, defeated some Kadamba chief and conquered the Konkan coast.

Bukka: He ordered Madhava Mantri his minister to capture Goa for the Vijayanagara Empire from the Bahamani sultans as it was one of the important trading centres on the west coast. He, with the help of the local Hindu population who were dissatisfied with the Bahamani rulers, seized Goa and made it as one of the rayas of the Vijayanagara and appointed a governor to rule over it as well as implemented the Vijayanagara pattern of administration over Goa. During this time the Bahamani rulers once again captured Goa which was reconquered by Harihara II in 1377 A.D.

Harihara II: He recaptured Goa from the Bahamani Sultan Mujahid in 1377 A.D. In 1380 the Kadamba chief made his last attempt to regain independence from Vijayanagara. Harihara under the command of Bachappa Odeyar sent an
army and routed the Kadambas forever. He is mentioned with a number of titles such as 'the great king,' 'great god of all kings,' 'Maharajaadhiraja,' 'Rayaparamesvara' 'destroyer of hostile kings' He is said to have conquered the whole earth by his power and might and thus became the king of the east, west, and south with his throne at Goa.

His Mahapradhana was Mallapa Odeyar who was governing from Haive and Madhava ruled over Goa. He is known for his glory and fame because of his military campaigns and victories. The battle in the viragal at Old Goa depicts one of his campaigns and he is said to have overcome the kings of Maru.

Madhava Mantri: The viceroy of Harihara II who looked after Araga, Barakura, Haive and Konkana. He was well versed in Upanishads, Vedas, Shruti and Smritis. He got titles such as plunderer of the Kadamba, protector of the people of Kadambapura, lord of Govepura, great minister, terror to hostile kings, Champion over the three kings, destroyer of the Turuka army and reducer of the seven Konkan, Raya of Goa or Sovereign of Goa.

He established the Linga of Saptakoteshwara at Divar and built a dam called Manchalasamudra called Madhava tirtha. He built the town of Brahmapuri with beautiful buildings and made grants to Brahman for the merit of his mother. He headed a large army as his main intention was to subdue countries. He ruled till 1387 and after him his sons Mallapa Odeyar and Bachana Odeyar were made the viceroy of Goa.41 (ch.4. Plate IV)

Bahamani Dynasty: Founded in 1347 by Hassan Gangu an Afghan officer in the service of Muhamud–bin-Tughlaq who took the title Alla-ud-din Bahamani. His capital was at Gulbarga and established his authority over the whole of Deccan which was under the control of Delhi and soon subdued South Konkan including the ports of Dabhol and Goa. This territory stretched from Berar in the north to Krishna in the south from Warangal on the east to the Arabian Sea on the west,
which provided an access to the sea to import horses from Arabia for warfare. They defeated the Vijayanagara kings who were powerful in the south.

Ala-ud-din I, also known as Hassan or Zafar Khan, proclaimed his independence and became the founder of the Bahamani dynasty of the Deccan and occupied Deccan in 1347-1526 with his capital at Gulbarga. In 1344 an alliance was formed by the Hindu rajas of the Deccan against the Bahamanis and the united forces expelled the Bahamanis from the Deccan with only Daulatabad with Tughlaq Shah. In the meantime there were chaos among the Kadamba chief of Goa and under a weak ruler Kadambas were defeated by Jamal-ud-Din of Honnavar and routed the Hindu chief on the west coast, but they were again defeated by the Vijayanagar rajas in 1369.

Mahmud Gawan: He was a Persian by birth and rose to importance by merit during the rule of Muhammad Shah II. He was appointed to the post of prime minister and was given unlimited authority to look after the affairs of the state. He fought a number of wars to expand his territories and was conferred the title Malik-ul-Tajjar and enjoyed a unique position of precedence over the leader of Deccan.

He for a long-time befriended the Deccan from the interest of the state and kept a balance between Dekkan and pardeshi or foreigners. In recruitment to governmental and military posts it was mainly because of his efficiency and foresight that the Bahaman Shah continued to exit even when a minor king was placed on the throne. He brought about many changes in military administration in order to strengthen authority and keep check on the governors of the province.

Each military officer was bound by duty to maintain the number of soldiers required to his rank the defaulters were severely punished. In diplomacy and strategy he excelled and he was successful in several campaigns especially in the Konkan and later captured Goa after besieging it by sea. This achievement gave the Bahamanis access to the west coast a share in the sea trade and a safe pilgrimage to Mecca. He established a strong and well supplied garrison at the
fort of Goa and kept it in charge of Khoosh Kudum who was made the Governor of Goa.

Bahadur Khan Gilani: Declared himself independent and seized power in Goa. He ruled around 1493 A.D over Dabhol, Kolhapur, Kolhar, Punala, Sirala, Belgaum, Konkan and all the ports of the Deccan. He seized large number of ships carrying valuable cargo belonging to the Sultan of Gujarat, Mahmud Gujara. The sultan sent a farman to Bahadur Gilani to return the looted cargo but Gilani disobeyed the king's order. The Sultan had to take the help of Yusuf Adil Khan, Mulik Ahmed Bheiry and Imad-ool-Moolik and with a huge army marched against Bahadur Gilani.

Thus Goa was again brought under the rule of the Bahamani kingdom. Sultan Mahumad Shah before he proceeded to his capital appointed Malik-ein-oool-Moolk Gilani as the Governor of Goa and other territories of Bahamani kingdom.42

Adil Shah Dynasty

Yusuf Adil Khan: son of Agha Murad II, sultan of Turkey founded the Adil Shahi kingdom of Bijapur on the ruins of the Bahamani kingdom. He tried to acquire the hegemony of the Deccan which clashed with the Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar and Qutub Shah of Golkonda. After the assumption of autonomous rule by Yusuf Adil Khan the first hostility against him was initiated by the Bahamani Prime Minister, Qasim Barid, who wished to curb Yusuf’s power and extend his authority over Bijapur. He induced Vijayanagara to join him in attacking Yusuf. He also approached Bahadur Gilani, a thanedar and virtual ruler of Goa and Konkan, to invade Yusuf’s territories.

In 1510 he came in clash with the Portuguese of Goa who captured the fort from Bijapur. Yusuf Adil Shah who was very powerful sought to bring Goa under his control and taking advantage of the chaos in the Bahamani kingdom called upon the governor of Goa to owe allegiance to him. He agreed and thus Adil Shah
obtained Goa for his Bijapur kingdom with his capital at Ella which flourished during this period owing to the wealth, the trade had brought in due to the trade in horses.43

**Theory of Kingship**

This section will examine the nature of kingship of the Hindu and Muslim rulers who ruled over Goa during the ancient and medieval periods of history.

Inscriptional and numismatic evidence provides vast information that Goa has been ruled by number of dynasties right from the 4th to 15th century AD. An attempt has been made to find out the nature of kingship used by some of the important dynasties such as Bhojas, Chalukyas, Shilaharas, Kadambas and Vijayanagara who ruled over Goa and the nature of state they created.

What was the nature of Kingship?

- **Divine kingship**: King is an incarnation of god, a great divinity in human form.

- **Heroic kingship**: A king who is ready to die for the cause of his subjects in times of emergency to protect his people as is reflected in the hero stones.

- **Moral kingship**: Here the king rules as per the dharma or code of conduct prescribed by religion. The title *Dharma maharaja*44 used by Bhoja Kapalivarman confers to the fact that he ruled according to code of conduct prescribed by religion.

- **Paternalistic**: The king is a father to its subjects hence it is the duty of the king to protect his subjects and in turn duty of his subjects to respect him which would lead in the formation of a welfare state.
Autocratic: the king is an autocratic monarch who dictates laws and demands respect from people.

Statecraft

Works on polity throw light on various aspects of statecraft. There cannot be a kingdom with king alone and that the king should arrive at certain policies after consultation with his ministers. Thus ministers form the backbone of the state administration.

Civil Administration

Central Administration:
King: In days of yore all powers of the government were centred in the king. He was a sovereign body of the state who kept all aspects of administration under his direct control and supervision not only in the political sphere but also in religious, economic and social matters. He enjoyed unlimited power and believed in the might of his own arms over his adversaries whom he used to conquer and subdue. The law of primogeniture and hereditary succession were to a certain extent qualified with the ruling monarch scanning and screening the prince before proclaiming him as the crown prince.

He assumed a number of titles like Dharmamaharaja, Paramabhattarika, Maharajadhijraja, Satyasraya, Chakravarti and Parameshwara. The king was expected to uphold the existing social order and protect its people from internal and external troubles. This obligation is enforced by the promise of spiritual rewards and equal threat of spiritual penalties.

The Saptanga concept of the state formed the basis of the central administrative body. This concept of the seven elements of the state includes:
According to Kautilya's *Arthashastra* an ideal king has to possess the following qualities, duties and responsibilities:

- **Personal qualities**: eloquent, boldness, intelligence, alertness and
- **Responsibility**: Look after the general well-being of his people
- **Duties**: Settlement, irrigation works, trade routes ensure safety, provide grants to religious and educational
Officers of the State: The king was assisted by a team of officers in order to carry out the administration of the empire. These officials according to Kautilya’s *Arthashastra* and *Manasollasa* should possess certain qualifying requirements as they form an important organ of the state. They had to possess personal qualities like intelligence, honesty, bravery, wise, loyal, incorrupt, vigilant firmly devoted to the king and a native of the country. They had to undergo various secret tests in order to find out if they possessed the above qualities. If they were not successful in all then at least they had to fulfil the basic essential requirements compulsory for their post.

Besides, the counsellors and chaplain had to possess some additional qualifications. They should be trained in arts, science, politics, *Vedas*, divine signs, dexterous, upright, friendly, firmly devoted, bear trouble during times of calamities and use *Atharvan* remedies.

Council of Ministers/Mantri Mandal: The king often consulted his council before he took any decision on any matters pertaining to the state. They were appointed on the basis of merit and birth. They had to be learned in shastras, grammar, logic, polity, philosophy, rhetoric, should possess good moral life, administrative talents, liberal education, art of warfare, advice king in matters of war and peace, statesmanship and accompany king in battles.46

They include the following royal preceptor (*Rajapurohit*) head of the ecclesial department and a spiritual advisor of the king, *Maha Mantri* or *Maha Pradhana* (chief minister and spokesman of the council),47 *Mantri* or *Pradhana* (minister),48 *Pratihaslaka* (deputy minister), *Sandhivigrahaka* (minister for external affairs),49 *Mannevergade/Mahala* (steward of the household), *Tantrapatas* (councillors), secretary of the betel bag, *Kosadhyaksha* (superintendent of the treasury), secretary of the council, secretariat/ *Rahasyadhikrita* (private secretary),50 *Amayyas* or bureaucrats of the throne,51 *Sarvatantaadhirikita* (superintendent of all departments),52 *Prathama Chhepati* (senior treasury officer), *Dvitiya Chhepati* (junior treasury officer), *Kadit* (account
Espionage: Spies are like the eyes and ears of the king informing him about things which he cannot perceive directly or things which are inferred by him. The *Arthashastra* suggests that intrigue, spies, winning over the enemy's people, siege and assault as the five means to capture fort. It mentions two types of spies the *samsthah* or stationary and *sancharah* or wandering.

The early Kadamba inscription refers to the Kadamba kings who are said to have kept a powerful and trustworthy secret police by sending one or two nobles on a tour throughout the empire probably to supervise the work of the governors and to know the real state of affairs of the country. Appointment of spies either stationary or moving were to be either a sharp pupil, monk, householder, trader, ascetic, secret agent, poison-giver and beggar who had to posses qualities of honesty, intelligence, boldness, knowledge of others, ready to sacrifice one's life and be observant.

Provincial Administration
The territories under the direct administration of the rulers were divided into provinces called *desas*. *Desas* were the largest administrative division of the state. The Bhoja inscriptions refer to Kupalakata-*desa*, Kupalapakatara-*desa*. These were under the care of either governors or feudatories called *Mandalika*, *Mandadhipati* with their headquarters in towns where subordinate officials assisted them. The feudal chiefs were to supervise, control and direct the activities of the state including collection of taxes. Their post was hereditary in nature and had to perform military duties as well as fulfil certain obligations to the king or *Mahamandaleshwara*. 
District Administration

Provinces or desas were divided into districts called vishayas, nadu, kheda, mandala and rashtra under the charge of a vishayapati or rashtrapati or subordinate officials like Ayuktas, Bhojakas and Sthayins appointed by the provincial head. The inscriptions of Bhojas refer to Shivapura vishaya, Palasika vishaya and Dipaka vishaya. The above administrative units were named along with villages comprised in them.

Thus, we have the village Vamsavataka in the Palasika vishaya, Sundarika in the Dipaka vishaya, Bhagapala Pallika in the Kupalapakatahara-desa and Malare in the Kupalapakata-desa. The Goa copper plate inscription of Mangalesa refers to vishayas and mandalas as provinces. mandala such as Chandramandala near Shiroda, Goa.

Local Administration

Vishayas or districts were divided into nagaras and gramas, that is, towns and villages.

City Administration: Cities were known as nagara, pura and pattana. These were under the charge of nagara sandhivigrahika who was appointed by the king. The nagara sandhivigrahika were under the control of subordinate officials of the governor called perggade who collected customs for the governors who in turn was responsible to the king who laid down certain rules and regulations for municipal administration.

The city had a corporation under the control of a city administrator or mayor called pattanasavi. They looked after the public health, maintained houses of charity, repaired roads and bridges and other works. Arthashastra refers to the city superintendent who looked after the city. This was divided into sections consisting of 10, 20 or 40 villages under a section officer and further divided into wards under a ward officer. They had to perform various duties like constantly...
inspect the place of water supply, roads, water courses, paths, ramparts, parapets, census of population and the like.  

The city had guilds, which were of two types, the merchant guild, in-charge of trade and commerce, and craft guild in charge of artisans. Both were affiliated to a central board which administered the affairs common to all. They regulated the economic life of the city and served as local bankers and treasurers.

Inscriptions refer to *nagara* such as Balinagara, *pattana* such as Ballipatana, identified as Kharepattana, the capital of the Southern Shilahara dynasty. At Goa Velha there is a village called Bati located at the ancient port capital of the Shilaharas and Kadamba rulers. Besides there is a *waddo* in Bati village called Bondir *waddo*. Bondir in local language means a port. Can we identify Balipattana or Baltipattana as Batipattana of Goa rather than Gopakapattana? *Kheta* or *khetakas* are probably towns or cities as mentioned in the Manasara’s text on classification of towns and cities. Such as Pamasa *khetaka* and Vrishabini *kheta* mentioned in the Bhoja inscriptions. *Kheta* were further divided into smaller units called *bhoga, thana, grama, kheda*.

**Port administration:** the king appointed various feudatory chiefs to administer its port town to run the administration efficiently. Ports were ruled by a governor presiding the jurisdiction and controlling the garrison and military jurisdiction and a port master or *shah bandar*.

**Village administration:** Villages are agricultural, self-governing and autonomous bodies of the state. In Goa, villages are called *ganv, in Konkani and grama, in Sanskrit, meaning “aggregate of family holdings” or *vangad* which formed a village community or *gauppon*. The executive and judicial business of villages was under the charge of the village head called *gaunda* and the village assembly.
➢ Village headmen or chief *gauvkar* was the senior most male member of the *vangad* or clan. There are also references to *nal-gaundas* or *nal prabhus* as in-charge of smaller administrative units. They performed various duties such as constructed and repaired tanks, canals and defended their village. Besides, they decided small issues but, severe crimes were tried by the king’s tribunal. They saw to the grants of lands and money given by the king, governors and other officials for the village institutions. For settling extraordinary matters a meeting of all villages was called.

➢ Village council or *gauvpon* consisted of elders of each *vangad* or clans who took administrative decisions.

➢ Village clerk or *kulkarni* declared *nem* and recorded proceedings of the meeting.

➢ Village accountant or *senaboga* kept the accounts, land register and land revenue.

➢ Village announcer or *parpati*.

➢ Chief *thanedar*.

➢ *Khotiyekar* or treasurer

The smaller unit called *kampana* was looked after by an official called *manneya*.

**City Planning**

The port cities of Chandrapur, Gopakapattana and Ella represent the climax of urban development in Goa. They were small cities which functioned not only as capital cities of the Bhojas, Shilaharas, Kadambas and Adil Shah rulers but were also port-cities located on the banks of the Zuari and Mandovi attracting local, intra-regional and overseas population specially merchants and traders. This section will examine the salient urban morphological characteristics of the port-cities of Goa.

The selection of the site for city planning would depend on the geographical setting, economic factor, political-administrative and military advantages. Besides the assistance of experts in various fields were also taken. Its
construction include moat, ramparts, walls, gates, roads, quarters for the army, royal quarters, tank building some of the visible features of this special expertise can be observed at the port-captals of Goa.

The Arthashastra describes the excavation of the moat and consequent banking up of the rampart so as to make a fortified settlement or city. The wall should be strengthened by construction of turrets and towers. Access to the interior was to by three gateways on each of the four sides of the square city plan.

Within the fortified area there are to be three major roads running at right angles to each other leading to the gateway. In each section of the rampart. There were to be the residences of royal and noble personnel who settled to the northern side of the central square of the city. Provisions were to be made to set up temples of deities at the gate. Areas were to be allotted to other sectors belonging to different caste and activities. For example animals, stores, crafts guilds and foreign merchants. Certain urban components like religious settlements, gardens, cremation ground and settlement for low caste group were located outside the city walls. Irrigation tanks were located around the periphery of a fortified city. Careful mapping of such evidences at the port capital have been attempted in the present section. (ch. 4 Plate V)

**Port-City Planning of Chandrapur**

The city of Chandrapur was well planned having mud wall fortification. The section of the fortification shows in the core, brick wall strengthened by laterite stones to the exterior. It is covered by earthen ramp raised on the interior and exterior side. The construction method and the material used are very similar to the enclosure III and IV walls of the later Kadambas of Hangal.

The plan of the citadel is more or less of the Kheta fort. This area is known as Cotta meaning fort. The length and breath of the fortification is visible in few patches at the site. (ch.4 Plate VIa) On the exterior side there is a moat that was fed by the river Rishi and on the other side River Kushavati. Similar feature
of feeding the moat is noticed at the fort of Banavasi by the river Varada. Outside the moat is Bairwaddo representing a ward outside the fortification area. Besides, Coliche morod or follieache morod meaning a ditch in front of the field.

There is another fortification wall providing access to the fortified city from the river side. Thus there are two forts one within the other but built during different periods probably during the time of the Bhojas and Kadambas.

The city had natural lookout post at Tinmukham and Guirdolim and at the main fort at Bairmorod and at the top of the Cavorim hills. The city had one gate in the village named Kouddi or Cavorim which in Konkani means gate near the Holy Cross Chapel. This gate was probably the entrance to the old fortified city of the Bhojas and the other at Cotta near Santiago Chapel.

Within the fortified settlement the royal personnel and high officials probably settled in the area known as Raiavor. Close to this area where the mand for Musol dance is laid is Rasol meaning a place of public assembly probably, the high officials from their royal residence would give orders to the people to carry on their duties in the city. (ch. 4 Plate VIb) The city had a single street which was 3 m. wide extending from the port to the entrance of the city gate with settlements facing the road. A feature similar to the ports of Dabhol, Jayagad, Rajapur, Kharepatan and Sangameshwar.

Temples of Chandranath at Paroda, Santeri or Shantadurga, Mahadeva temple and excavated Shiva temple were established to the south, north, east and west of the city. Place called Hatiwadi was probably a centre of local trade which later developed into specialised markets. For example, Kambli hatta, market for cattle in Bharatpur, Rajasthan during the 9th century. There was a dockyard for the high and low groups called Vodhli Bosti and Bosti.
Areas such as Hāmpri morod, (Abyssinians), Khan Khazan, (Muslim) and Moali (Arabs or Persians) were probably occupied by foreign merchants. Religious settlements, for example Jain matha and settlements of low caste group such as Locondola (ironsmith), Teliwaddo (oilmen), Marambhat (basket weaver), Sonar bhat (goldsmith), Rendrawaddo (toddy tapper), Moddvol (washerman) and Kammarcondi (blacksmith) were located outside the city walls.

Tanks such as Guhalatolio, Godeamtoloi, Chamatoloi and Voilem toliem and Jitlem spring were located around the periphery of the fortified city. 73

Port-City Planning of Gopakapattana

The city of Govapuri or Gopakapattana displays an example of good port planning. The city had three roads called Rajbidi or Royal road, Dakti bidi or Small road and a trade route with load rest. Reservoirs were located around the periphery of the fortified city. For example, Kuzmorayachem tallem, Gandagopala tank and Chamunda tank.

Wells were dug and springs from Goali Moula and Maina hillock supplied fresh water to the city. Temples of Santeri/Shantadurga, Chamundeshwari/Goveshwar, Navdurga, Carambolim Brahma were located to the north, south, east and west of the city as guardian deities.

Religious settlements such as Brahmapuri were located in the suburbs along with the habitations of different occupations that supported the city population. This can be identified from names of places and waddos of the surrounding villages such as Kumbarjua, Markuri, Neura, Sutarwaddo Mestawaddo, Sonarbhat, Tariwaddo etc.

The city lookout post was probably located at the Pilar, Maina, Talaulim hillock giving a view of the city and the entire Island of Tiswadi. The city gate to the south was located at Agassaim meaning gate. The moat was fed by the river
Rio de Bati to the west and the water from the Gauncim Maina hillock. The palace site was located at Raiwaddo well protected by the moat.74

**Port-City Planning at Ella**
The principal gate of the city was located at the site of the Church of Nossa Senhora de Serra. The gate was vaulted and had towers which could be used for the purpose of defence incase of emergency. It was through this gate the Muslim would go to the suburbs and through which many of them escaped during the capture of Goa.75

At the site of St. Catherine Chapel there was a gate through which the Portuguese entered the Muslim city. The chapel has a slab on the wall with the legend of the Governor, Alfonso de Albuquerque entering the city and conquering it from the Muslims in 1510. This was the chief place of embarkation and landing called fish bazaar.76 (ch. 4. Plate VII)

To the eastern side of the city the lookout post were located on the hill where the chapel of Nossa Senhora de Monte is located. From her one gets a good view of the whole city and its suburbs. It is said that on this site the Muslims housed their artillery, which was used against the forces of Albuquerque when he captured Goa.77

Towards the west there is a hill called Monte de Boavista (hill of good view), where the Church of the Cross of Miracles is located, offered a picturesque view of not only the city but also the harbour.78

The city had a mosque which was located, where the ruins of the College of St. Paul are present today. Even today there is a mosque and Muslim settlements located around the college remains.79

To the south of the city, a small reservoir of water called tirtha of Brahmapuri attracted pilgrims from different parts of India in the month of
shravan. Close to the tirtha, the ruins of the temple of Shiva were located on which the Church of Santissima Trinidade, the most holy trinity was built.  

To the north-east of the city, at the site of St. Cajetan Church, bordering the quay there is a well or tank with a small opening. There are various opinions. Some say that it was a sacred tank of the Hindus and as a result a cross does not stand in this church. Even people try to acquire water from it. Others say that it was the work of the architect who in order to make the foundation deeper dug it. But this cannot be accepted as the church was built in the 17th century. In my opinion the controversial Adilshah gate was probably the temple gate and the tank could be the sacred tank located towards the east.

The Arsenal at Ribeira Grande is traced to the time before the capture of Goa by Albuquerque. De Barros describes it as the place where the Muslims had drawn their ships ashore and through the gate near St Catherine entered the city. The extent of this arsenal of Adilshah was considerable. As the spoils which the Portuguese found on its capture of docks consisted of 40 large ships, 26 brigs, a large no of fustas or pinnacles, in its magazines 40 heavy guns, 55 pieces of ordance called falcons, 200 muskets, a large quantity of powder, pitch naphtha, oil, steel, iron, copper, cannon balls with a variety of other articles.

The main road where transactions would take place was called as Rua Direita. To the west of Rua Direita was Terreiro do Sabaio which contained some buildings of the city at the site of the Cathedral. Goods, shops of jewellers goldsmiths, crafts were sold here. Up the road to Gandaulim right at the end where it meets Cumbarjaua canal is Porta de Sao Braz, one of the surviving gate of the outer fortification of the city which was more than 18 kms long. The custom house was called Mandavi. Here Mand refers to small shops put up when ships arrive on the dock and probably the river Mandovi got its name.

The palace of Adilshah was located close to the quay with garden full of aromatic plants. It was spacious with magnificent saloons and porticos supported
by columns of carved wood. In front of the palace the vast open square was known as Terreiro de Sabyo. Close by was a large tank meant for recreation of the kings of Bijapur. A little distance from the tank was a well shaded spot where they enjoyed the evening breeze. There were private buildings which were single storiied, but spacious and commodious. 85

Towards the south eastern border of the city near the Church of St. Thomas lay a large well excavated out of a rock. According to Pietro Della Valle, it was the work of the former heathen rulers of the land being one of the largest he had seen. It was round having according to him a diameter of 20 ordinary paces and was very deep. It was surrounded by a parapet with 2 doors and had flight of steps leading to its very bottom. There was also a lake frequented by water fowls. 86

On the holy hill, to the west, was the Church of our lady of Rosary. The façade has an appearance of a turret or a fortress having openings in the walls to sight the invading enemies. On the right side of the turret, on a small marble stone an inscription in Portuguese is given that, from this height Alfonso assisted the reconquest of Goa. 87

According to Andrea Corsair, Adilshah city was not more than a mile. The ramparts encircling the city was not very high but was surrounded by a ditch always filled with water. The wall towards the north extended from the custom house to the Arsenal, which lay at the other extreme. To the east, the wall extended up to the foot of the hill of Senhora de Monte, to the west, it stretched as far as the Arsenal, to the south, it reached the site of the church of Nossa Senhora de Serra. The citadel had a gate or a double gate called Bacaes which led to the suburbs. (ch.4 Plate VIII) The city population consisted of Muslims, non Muslims and merchants from foreign lands. It had an excellent port located on the banks of the Mandovi visited by traders from Mecca, Aden, Ormuz, Cambay and Malabar who traded in horses which were in demand in the Deccan. This was guarded by a captain along with his military. Nobody was permitted to enter the city without a pass and proper details including his distinguishing marks. 88 (ch. 4. Plate IX)
Administrative Organisation of the State

Central Administration

Provincial Administration
- Desas
  - Visitors and Viceroy of the state
    - Higher and lower rank of feudatories
      - Mahasamanta
        - Mahamandaleshwar
          - Samanta
            - Mandalika
  - Higher and lower rank of feudatories
  - Vishayapati/Rastrapati
    - Civil
      - Fiscal
      - Military
  - Vishayas, Nadu, Kheda, Mandala Rastra

District Administration
- Nagara and grama
  - Village headman
  - Gavunda or Gaunkar
  - Civil Fiscal Judicial

Local Administration
- Cities and villages

Administrative Organisation of the State

- Civil Fiscal Judicial
  - Civil Fiscal Judicial
Civil Administration under Vijayanagara rayas

The pattern of administration that evolved under the Vijayanagara empire was closely linked with the pattern of economy and remained broadly linked with the pattern prevailing in northern India.

Central Administration:

**King or the emperor:** He was a monarch and a supreme head in all civil, military and judicial matters. He was to frame rules and regulation as laid down by the law of *Dharmashastra*. The king was assisted by the council of ministers, secretaries of ministers, chief treasurer, custodian of jewels, army and military officer (*dandanayaka*), minister in charge of commercial activities of the state, (*Kandachara*), prefect of police for the prevention of crime, law and order, chief master of horses and personal attendants.

Provincial Administration

For efficient administration the entire empire was divided into several provinces called *rajyas* (*pithikas*). According to the travel records of Paes, it was estimated that the empire was divided into 200 provinces while H.K. Shastri identifies six principal provinces such as Udayagiri, Penugonda, South Arcot, Araga, Tulu and Rajagmbhira.

While the *rajyas* on the west coast included Mangaluru, comprising the southern parts of the South Kanara, Barakuru, including the northern parts of South Kanara, Haive, including the southern parts of North Kanara, and Konkan, which included the northern parts of North Kanara and Goa.

Each province was under a governor/viceroy called *nayaka* similar to the *naik or nayaka* found in the surnames of Goa. This surname is said to have a
military designation given to a person who was either a member of a royal family or an influential noble. The governors were provided civil, military and judicial powers within their province. Besides they had to send a record of the income and expenditure of the province to the central government as well as required to send military assistance in time of need. They enjoyed wide powers within their jurisdiction.

District Administration
Provinces were divided into districts. In Karnataka, districts were known as venthe/vishayas/nirvritti. These were further sub-divided into simes and sthalas, comprising few villages. While in Tamilnadu, districts were called as kottams or kurrams further sub-divided into nady, aimbadin melagarams consisting of 50 villages and agarams or mandalams. Even today, traces of Vijayanagara system of administration is still present in the place names either as prefix or suffix such as chavadi in Canacona taluka, or sthala such as kushasthala, sristhala and other related names.

Local Administration
The village assembly was the lowest unit of the state. These assemblies were similar to the gaunkari institution in Goa. The village administration was carried on by its hereditary officers such as the village accountant, village headman, watchman, weight man, officer in charge of forced labour and others who were paid in the form of land grants or in the form of agriculture produce. The central government maintained contacts with the village through an officer called mahanayakacharya who was to supervise the administration of the village. The parganas of Ponda, Maneri, Pernem Dicholi and Sankli were part of the Vijayanagara empire and ruled by the governor of Goa.

The village assemblies called gaunkari also looked after the administration of khazan land. The copper plate inscription of Maurya Annirjita Varman from Kumara-Dvipa addresses the inhabitants of the twelve village desa of a grant made by him of one hala of khajjan land. This shows that
khazans were not given very easily and only a small measure would be given since it belonged to the village communities.

Professional managers called kamats were appointed by the village community to maintain these embankments and this profession came to be known as kamatpon. They also appointed voluntary bodies called the bous, an association of farmers who were entrusted specific tasks related to khazan land protection. The gaunkars were supervisors who supervised the work of the bous, the kulkarni maintained accounts and paini, or guard, guarded the bunds. Any breach in the bunds had to be reported and repaired by the bous within 24 hours. Expenses incurred would be recovered from its members. These khazans were leased or auctioned to individuals by the gaunkars.

The income from the resources was used for various purposes such as paying land tax to the government and provide community services. Part of the income was given to the joneros as jono. The king also appointed revenue and land tax collectors called Bhojakas, Ayuktas to mobilise the revenue from khazan land production.

The village communities also managed tanks. Tank building was considered to be a work of spiritual merit and as a result the rulers are said to have undertaken tank building activity. Permission had to be taken from the Mahajan if the Brahmanical tanks were to be used by the people. Whosoever built the tank it was the responsibility of the inhabitants to keep it in good conditions as the saying goes tallem rakta to udok chakta. 91

**Efforts made by the king to improve agriculture**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Development Activity</th>
<th>Results</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>Clearing of new forest lands</td>
<td>Agricultural expansion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Grant of fields, khazan lands and piece of land to Brahman, officials, temples, agraharas and brahmapuri</td>
<td>Construction of tanks, Increase production canals and wells.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

163
Judicial Administration

The king was the head of the judiciary and he had to be in his court to administer justice. In order to help him he appointed the chief justice/dharma-adhayaksha and minor judicial officers who would preach the code of conduct and the principle of dharma as well as preside over litigations and gave their decisions to the king but the final decision rested with the king specially on issues of great consequence.

Punishment was in proportion to the gravity of the offence. They were in the form of money payments, fines and penalty. Assault of one person by another was fined with 3 gold gadyanas while for a murder committed the accused had to pay 100 gold gadyanas to the relatives of the person assassinated and had to pay half as much to the state. Ordeal by fire was one of the means to find out the truth.92

Bailiffs were officers in charge of peace, security, safety of life and property and who went about enforcing the execution of the orders of the government and the decree of law courts. They were helped by the chattas and bhattas or constables. There was a tribunal of public opinion (convention) to which the king was answerable in case of immorality.93

Military Administration

Army and Navy: Military was feudal in nature. The king besides having his own standing army depended on the army of his feudal governors. The defence of the state depended upon the commander-in-chief (senapati), general of the forces (jagadala), in-charge of different detachments (dandanayakas) and captains (nayakas). The army consisted of foot soldiers, horses, elephants and chariots. Cavalry was an important section of the army. The best breed of horses came
from West Asia which was in great demand at the ports of Goa. Infantry consisted of the standing army of the king and the militia.

The Kadambas of Goa had fleets which were responsible for the conquest of new kingdoms. Large number of viragals found in Goa depicts naval battles and prove their strength, bravery and skills. These qualities of bravery were rewarded by the king either with land, public recognition or placement to higher ranks. For defence moats or fortification walls were constructed with all necessary facilities. \(^9^4\)

Civil Administration under Bahamani and Adil Shah Rulers

**Theory of kingship:** The sultan was an absolute monarch and regarded himself as the shadow of god on earth. Besides, he was the executive head, enforcer and interpreter of law, supreme army commander and the fountain head of justice. In theory, the sultan was supposed to be elected by the Muslim population whereas in practice the office became hereditary. In Bijapur succession to the throne came under the influence of the Hindu traditions. The Muslim rulers were merely a naib of the khalifa. \(^9^5\)

Central Administration

It was Muhammad Shah II who set the pattern of administration for the Bahamani kingdom and its successor states. The administrative system of the Bahamani kingdom was on the pattern of the Delhi Sultanate.

**Sultan:** The central administrative machinery was under the control of the sultan who was the head of the state. He was the absolute master, a powerful despot enjoying unlimited powers in all legislative, executive and judicial powers of the functioning of state affairs.

As the supreme head of the state he was suppose to uphold the basic principles of the Islamic faith, decide cases and settle disputes as per the Muslim law, defend
Muslim territories, fight against those who refused to accept Islam or those who refused to submit upon terms laid down for non-Muslims, levy taxes on imports and export goods, appoint trustworthy men and councillors for effective administration, personally inspect and control administration, extend patronage to learned men and provide facilities for travellers and foreigners.  

Thus, we find that all the departments and every branch of the state was under the control of the king who could only keep himself in power with the support of the nobles who were themselves divided into numerous groups.

**Officers of the State:** The king was assisted by a group of advisors who formed a council called the majlis-i-khalawat. They were trusted supporters and high officials who were consulted by the sultan in all matters, but the absolute authority lay with the king. There were ulamas who gave religious sanction and justified kingship. They were interpreters of the Islamic laws and also influenced the polity of the sultan and held monopoly of the judicial office of the state.

Administration was looked after by the following departments and officers: **Wakil-i-dar** (looked after the royal household and disbursed salaries to the sultan’s personal staff), **Amir-i-hajib** (the master of ceremonies and received petitions to the sultan), **Diwan-i-Wizarat** (finance department), **Wazir** (chief minister), as the head of all the departments, exercised general supervisory authority over finance, foreign affairs and armed forces. He collected revenue, controlled expenditure, kept accounts, disbursed salaries and allotted revenue assignments at sultan’s orders.

He was helped by **Mushrif-i-mumalik** or accountant general and **Mustaufi-i-mumalik**, or the auditor general, **Amir-i-jumla** who was the regular finance minister, **Mustaufi-al-mulk** who was usually a Hindu expert on revenue matters and who worked under the general supervision of **Amir-i-jumla, Diwan-i-insha** (state correspondence).
Dabir-i-mumalik dealt with all correspondence between the sultan and other rulers, provincial governors as well as issued farmans and received letters from the subordinate officials, Barid-i-mumalik (state news agency) had to keep information of all that was happening in the state. There were also local Barids and Munhiyan or reporters who would send regular news letters to the central office, diwan-i-risalat (ecclesiastical affairs).

Sadr-us-sadar was the religious officer who appointed qazis and approved grants to religious, educational institutions like waqf and wazifa and idrar to the learned and poor. Muhatsibs (religious officers) and karkhanas were store houses or factories which formed part of the royal household. They manufactured articles for the imperial household as well as for the military purpose and not for the sale in the market. 97

Provincial Administration

Tarafs/Siqdar/Provinces: The Bahamani kingdom was divided into four tarafs or provinces during the time of Alla-ud-din-Bahman Shah. Each taraf was under the charge of a tarafdar or a provincial governor. Muhammad Gawan introduced administrative reforms to curb the authority of the tarafdars by raising the number of provinces from four to eight as their power would be less. They were allowed to keep control of only one fort and the rest were put under the control of the sultan who would visit the province once a year and could even transfer them from taraf to taraf.

They were given the rank of 2,000 horses and enjoyed supreme powers like revenue collection, raised and commanded the army, made appointments to all civil and military posts in their respective province. As a result, under weak sultans they often tried to defy the higher authority. 98
District Administration

*Tarafs* or provinces were divided into districts known as *pargana, qaryat,* *mahal, desh, prant* and *taluka.* *prant and desh* were under the control of *desais.*

Judicial Administration under *Sultans*

The *sultan* was the ultimate judge. He would sit at least twice a week to hear the complaints against the officials of the state. The *qazi-ul-mumalik* (chief judge) would sit with the *sultan* to give him legal advice. Decisions were made according to the *Shariah* or Islamic code. Cases of non-Muslim subjects were decided according to their particular religious laws. *Sadr-i-Jahan* tried both civil and criminal cases.

Military Administration under *Sultans*

*Diwan-i-Ariz* (Military department)

*Ariz-i-mumalik* was responsible for the administration of military affairs. He inspected troops maintained by the *iqta* holders, supervised, supplied and transported the sultans army.

The Bahamani Sultanate was surrounded by powerful neighbours who were anxious to annex their territories. Therefore, large well equipped armies were maintained for its survival. It consisted of the commander-in-chief and other officers commanding 1000, 500, 300, 100 soldiers. These officers were given either *jagirs* or fixed salaries to keep their contingents, build army, stock arms and ammunitions for their war.

Fiscal Administration

Sources of Revenue:

Type of Taxes: *kara and upakara (major and minor)*
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<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Custom Duties</th>
<th>Horse</th>
<th>Merchandise</th>
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<td>trade109</td>
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169
Fines

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Political</th>
<th>Judicial</th>
<th>Economic</th>
<th>Religious</th>
<th>Moral</th>
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<td>danda/dosha</td>
<td>dadyana</td>
<td>false weights and measures</td>
<td>Jaziya or non Muslim tax</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Nidhi or treasure trove

Assault: 3 gold for use of unavailable unplowed land

Murder: 100 gold for use of false weights and measures

A seller of Smuggled goods and purchaser of lands and houses of common property: 500 coins

Escheat

Property of childless (Aputrika)

Fees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political</th>
<th>Judicial</th>
<th>Economic</th>
<th>Religious</th>
<th>Moral</th>
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<td>Visiting fee</td>
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Jaziya or non Muslim tax

Plunder

Economic: Articles of trade

Military: Weapons of war

Expenditure Incurred

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Administration</th>
<th>Public work</th>
<th>Charity</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Rewards</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Salaries to officials</td>
<td>tanks, wells, roads,</td>
<td>Mijiguti</td>
<td>Religious ceremonies</td>
<td>Men performing heroic deeds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Troops (army and navy)</td>
<td>canals,</td>
<td>Grants for scholars for pious deeds</td>
<td>Offerings to deities</td>
<td>Diplomats</td>
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<tr>
<td>Expenditure on weapons of war</td>
<td>shipbuilding</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-Pilgrimage</td>
<td>-Brahman</td>
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<tr>
<td>Royal household</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-Building</td>
<td>Reconstruction of temples</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rural development</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-Gifts to priest</td>
<td>Performing sacrificial rituals</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nature of the State

Taking a look at the administrative organisation of the state one can conclude that the state was centralised, hereditary, segmentary and feudal.

**Centralised:** The state during the ancient and medieval period was not highly centralised as it was divided into smaller administrative units in a descending order and under the control of vassals and local bodies of the state.

Here there is a centralised form of government having well defined territorial limits, specified administrative staff yet there are numerous peripheral focuses of administration where political authority and control is local having officials or chiefs who were in most cases leaders of the ethic group of a local territory or a corporate body representing the interest of various folk of a locality. All these subordinate centres of the segmentary order are bound together by joint recognition of the ritual sovereign or a political sovereign of the high order.
**Hereditary:** Kingship was hereditary, but royal power was limited by the absence of a firm practice of primogeniture. The throne did not always go to the eldest son. This created uncertainties of which the chiefs and high officials could take advantage.

**Hierarchical and Segmentary:** The administrative organisation of the state was no doubt hierarchical from the centre, provinces, districts and local administrative units but as far as administrative power is concerned no doubt the king was the supreme power of the state but his power was highly segmented as some of his territories were vassal states, looked after by vassals. The king had to depend on his feudatories for the defence of the state as well as his treasury which are the most important elements of the saptanga concept, leading to the weakening of the state.

The system of mentioning a number of place names in the form of various administrative units such as *desa, pura, nagara, pattana* and the like, along with the boundaries of villages given in the inscriptions as well as the place from where the grant was made or issued by the king throws light on the territorial boundaries of each level from the centre, provinces, district as well as villages.
Feudal: The administrative organisation of the state was marked by large scale local-state formation. The term feudalism is derived from the Latin word *Feudum* meaning a *fief* or a plot of land held by a nobleman on certain specific conditions laid down by the king. In turn the nobles could sublet their land to their own vassals under specific conditions imposed by them.

Various scholars, both Indian and European, attempted to define feudalism as 'a form of government', 'a closed economy', 'a form of society', 'an agrarian economy', as a means of distribution and appropriation of surplus', as a kind of domination which is seen in the activities of the lords on the land'.

It was in the 1950's and 1960's that the concept of feudalism became popularly discussed by Europeans and was firmly established in India between 1956 and 1965 with the appearance of D.D. Kosambi’s *Introduction to the study of Indian History* and R.S Sharma’s *Indian Feudalism*. Both envisaged Indian feudalism as the state’s creation through land grants and were not seen as a mode of production.

First and foremost should the term feudalism be applied in the Indian situation or should the term landlordism be used, as suggested by D.C. Sircar, or
should it be understood as merely a linguistic synonym as suggested by the neo-Marxist historian, T. Raychaudary, while analysing the zamindari system of Bengal.

As Ashoka Rucira, mentions that the term caste used in India cannot be defined as class and be applied to Europe. Harbans Mukhia in his essay ‘Was there feudalism in Indian History’ sought to question the relevance of the concept of feudalism to India on theoretical and empirical grounds and even attempted to extend the debate to distinguish medieval India from medieval west Europe and several non-European countries of China, Turkey Iran and Arabia.

No two countries are the same; they differ in terms of its geography, political set-up, social systems and economic patterns. Thus feudalism is non-universal it is a particular stage of historical development which is distinct and varies in terms of its specific time, region, specific socio-economic organisation, specific mode of distribution of the means of production and appropriation of surplus.

As it is rightly stated by Marx, “Feudalism assumes different aspects and runs through its phases in different orders of its succession. But certain traits are specific of a territory for land which forms the basis of any feudal society but varies in terms of its specific situation in relation to land distribution and appropriation of agricultural produce which differs from region to region”. For example, in India the peasant enjoys autonomy of production because he has complete control over the means of production but in Europe peasants work on the land in return for protection.125

Thus feudalism is understood as a politico-administrative and socio-economic systems marked by specific features but are related to one and another. An attempt is made in this section to find out to what extent these features are similar in the case of Goa, to understand questions like was there feudalism in Goa? If yes, during which periods of ancient and medieval history was there an
increase and decrease in feudalism. What are its features and nature and what type of feudalism existed, whether it was feudalism from above or feudalism from below?

According to R.S. Sharma the 4th to the 7th century is the classical period of feudalism in India. Can this be applied in the case of Goa. Feudalism in Goa will be studied in the light of inscriptive and other evidences which throw light on a number of land grants given to Brahmans.

**Definition of Feudalism:** Feudalism as a politico-administrative and socio-economic system marked by specific features which are related to one and another.

**Feudalism from Above**

Goa was ruled by a number of dynasties right from the 4th to the 15th century A.D. These dynasties have left records in the form of copper plate and stone inscriptions which register land grants given to Brahmans which formed the basis of feudalism.

A look at the earliest recorded historical traditions of Goa states that Bhojas were the feudatories of the Mauryas of Pataliputra (lord) followed by the Satavahanas (lord) who ruled over the Deccan and Konkan in the 2nd century B.C. After the rule of Shak Satkarni, Konkan went to the Chuttus (lord) who were ruling from Vanavasi and probably held parts of the Bhoja kingdom of Kunkalli, Balli and Kankon.

Kshatrapa Rudradaman established his rule over Goa in around 150 A.D. and Abhiras (lord) replaced the Satavahanas of Deccan followed by the Traikutas who assumed the possession of the Konkan as their feudatories in the 2nd half of 5th century.
The Abhiras were replaced by the Kalachuris of Mahishmati (lord) followed by the Konkan Mauryas (lord) who asserted their independence from the Mauryas of Patiliputra and ruled from Kumbarjuve. Under Annirjitavarman, Sendrakas who controlled the northern border of Goa accepted the sovereignty of Bhojas (lord) and not of Konkan Mauryas. While the Kaikeya family were feudatories of the Mauryas who were posted at Dicholi and Belgaum.

Konkan Mauryas were replaced by Chalukyas of Badami (lord) and Bhojas who were at Chandrapur and the areas occupied by Konkan Mauryas were given in the hands of Swamikaraja which was later under the control of the member of the Batpura family. The Chalukyas of Badami were replaced by the Rastrakutas (lord) followed by the Chalukyas of Kalyani and Western Chalukyas. While the Shilaharas were their feudatories.

Here the Shilahara subdued Chandrapura and placed it in the hand of the Sendraka chieftains who became the feudatories of the Shilaharas. The Western Chalukyas (lord) replaced the Rastrakutas and Shilaharas were replaced by Kadambas who accepted the over lordship of the western Chalukyas after the Shilaharas.

Shasthadeva I subdued the North Konkan Shilaharas and captured Gopakapattana, Island of Goa, Konkan 900 and Kapardikadvipa but kept Kapardikadvipa in the hands of the North Konkan Shilaharas who accepted the overlordship of Kadambas.

Jayakeshi II declared himself independent when there was a rivalry between the Chalukya and Hoysala. Thus the Chalukya, Vikramaditya VI, sent one of his feudal chief Achugi II against Jayakeshi II and once again Jayakeshi I had to accept the overlordship of Chalukyas.
Once again in a rift between the Chalukyas and Kalachuris during the time of Permadideva, Kadambas probably became independent as Permadideva styled himself as Konkan Chakravarti and lord of the western ocean.

They were probably feudatories of the Kalachuris (lord) or the Hoysalas (lord) Hangal Kadambas (lord) and Yadavas of Devgiri (lord) and by the mid-thirteenth century Kadambas were at the centre of politics and reduced to a small area where petty chieftans ruled over Goa. For example, BhimaBhupal a local chief who probably ruled under the feudal sway of Yadavas of Devgiri.126 Due to constant infighting there was no permanency in Goa as it came to be ruled by governors of the Bahamani and Vijayanagara dynasty. During which time feudalism from above shows signs of decline and feudalism from below started to gain importance.

Feudalism from below
Here we shall see various aspects related to feudalism from below such as who was the owner of the land? Who distributed land? And why was land distributed? We find that at the lowest level there was communal ownership of land which means that the land belonged to each and every member of the community and since it was general property and not individual property nobody had the right to sell or mortgage land without the permission of the community. There did not exist inferior or superior rights as all were owners of the land who would cultivate land collectively as well as share the produce among themselves equally. Even today this tradition is followed in some of the villages of Goa such as Sattari.

In land transactions for religious purpose the consent of village assembly had to be obtained as it was under the pretext of communal welfare that land was enjoyed by priest and why sale was permitted for religious purpose because temples are said to function in the interest of the community, that is, the protection and prosperity of the village depended upon the temples. Since land belonged to the community they could give land to the temples.
For example, the inscription of Tribhuvanamalla refers to all lands and houses which were to be treated as the common property and the income accruing there was to be distributed equally among the twelve Brahman families and the seller and purchase of a part of it were liable to a fine of 500 brihat bhairava gadyana.\(^{127}\)

When we look at feudalism from below the concept of ritual kingship prevailed rather than political kingship. At the village level grampurush or gramdevta is worshipped in the form of Vetal who is considered to be the protector of the village and specially worshipped along the coastal areas. He was considered to be the king of the village and thus the protector of the village. Besides we also have the mharu who lived on the outskirts of the village and guarded the village from all evil entering into it. Even today on any festive occasions of the village the food is first offered at the xim or the village boundary and then to the devotees of the village.

For example, the Dempos who own vast lands at Siridao, till today celebrate the feast of the Jesus of Nazaret and offers conjee on that day for the devotees. But the first conjee is offered at the boundary of the village and then to others. Within the village we have protectors who looked after the forest called vanadevta.

Even today these traditions have remained in the form of rituals and festivals, for example, the gade of Sal. There were the armed messengers of the village who were called paik and worshipped in the form of stone or horses.

Thereafter there were the ancestors who protected the family properties called kulagars and known as kulapurush. The land was protected by the snake that is termed in the local language as zagailo sorop. And thus the snake is worshipped by providing it with milk and not inflicting any harm to him.
### Features of Feudalism:

#### HIERARCHICAL GRADATION OF RANK AND POWER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Titles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>King</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Territorial feudatories</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feudal chiefs who administered the districts and villages on behalf of their territorial chief.</td>
<td>samadhiga, panchamahasabdhā, mahamandalesvara,&lt;sup&gt;128&lt;/sup&gt; banavasipuravaresvara, jayanti-madhukesvara-labdha-vara-prasada, kadamba-kula-tilaka, mahamandalika, mahasamanta, mandalika, mandaleswara, samanta&lt;sup&gt;129&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At the third level are the ordinary soldiers who were granted plot of land.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- In the inscription, Kamadeva is mentioned with high sounding title as chakravarti along with other subordinate titles like samadhigatapanchamahasabda<sup>130</sup>
- mahasamanta, mahamantri, mantri, dandanayaka, nayaka, nalgaunda, urgavunda, pergade, sunkavergade and senabova
- Dandanayaka

#### Acknowledging a political leader or a ritual leader.

Buddha is described as one 'whose feet are licked by the rays of the shining jewels in the coronets of gods and demons and as a reservoir of countless virtues affectionate without a motive'<sup>131</sup>

Bhojas are described as 'lotuses in the circle of the lake in the form of the whole earth'.<sup>132</sup>

#### Feudalism and Sub-feudalisation.

Bhoja Devaraja, sanctioned a gift at the request of Prabhu Naga Bhogika Amatya.<sup>133</sup>

Also Bhoja Asankita grants the village Sundarika at the request of chief Kottipegilin and at the request of Elakella of the Kaikeya family he sanctions another gift of land.<sup>134</sup>Bhoja Kapalivarman granted land called pukkoli khajjana at the request of Svamikaraja who in turn gave it to a Brahman named
Feudal lord: its merit, strength and consequence.

Devaraja Bhoja is compared to the strength of Indra. King Asankita is regarded as a ‘moon in the firmament of the lineage of the Bhoja’.

- Using numerical appendages to place names introduced by their feudal lords

The Chalukyas of Badami introduced this system followed by Kadambas, Rastrakutas, Chalukyas of Kalyani till the Vijayanagara.

Feudal lords tried to exercise their independence

- Internal dissensions between their overlords and their allies.
- Use of their own regnal year
- Different insignia and the banner

For example, during the time of Jayakeshi II, there was a rivalry between the Chalukya and Hoysala. We see how the overlord was helped by his feudatories even if one tried to assert his power. Kadambas who were feudatories of the Western Chalukyas had their insignia lion and banner as Vanara or monkey shows their strength while their overlord made use of the boar.

**Relation between lord and the vassal**

What was the relation between the lord and his vassal.

for example, tat- padpadniopajivi or ‘dwelling at the lotus feet of the overlord’. Chalukya Mangalesa ‘meditate on the feet of Maheshvar of manavya lineage’ Mandalika Rattaraja meditates on the feet of paramabhattachakra maharajaadhiraja satyasraya. Bandora copper plate records the grant made by the king Maurya Annirjitavarman to secure the welfare of the king as well as Nagapada, Malladatta and Achala.

**Providing protection in return for service**

The feudal lord gave protection to his vassals who rendered services to the lord so too, the lord rendered services to the king who was their liege lord or suzerain.

In the inscription of Shasthadeva II he is mentioned as ‘his foot-stool was kissed by the rays emanating from the crowns of all kings and his quality of bravery was increased naturally’. Jayakeshi I is referred to as ‘a shelter of refugees who was capable of protecting the earth and giving happiness to the three worlds’.

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Kadaroli inscription of Guhaladeva III, Tribhuvanamalla Chalukya is regarded as ‘the asylum of the world’ and mahamandaleshwara, Guhalladeva, ‘the independent on his lotus feet’.  

### Providing military assistance to the lord

| The feudal lords were required to pay homage to their overlord and provide armed assistance to him whenever called upon in times of emergency. | For example, ‘the atoms of dust from his lotus feet were playing on the rows of the heads of the humiliated kings of the seven Malayas’, ‘whose lotus feet was radiating with the rays emanating from the jewels set in the crown of prostrating kings’ or ‘garland of flowers by those kings whose arrogance has been destroyed’.  

### Payment in lieu of service to the state

| • Land Grants  

• Honours and Titles such as panchamahasabda (possessor of the five great feudal designations) and permatti turamana (heralded in public by the sounds of the five great musical instruments permatti) were given as a reward to the great warrior who fought battles for the king.  

The Shiroda plate of Devaraja Bhoja records the right to collect tolls in the village to two Brahman along with house site, fuel and pasture land for the cows. Inscription of Prithvimallavarman refers to a grant made to a Brahmin who performed the five great sacrifices. Sadashivgad plates of Vijayaditya refers to a grant made by the king to the goddesses Arya Bhagavati to a Brahmin of Bharadvaja named Govinda who was well versed in the science of astronomy and his family is described for four generation.  

For example, Annayya, Dharma mantra, of Panjanakhani is described as ‘meditating at the feet of Viravarmadeva who is adorned with the titles samadhitapanchamahasabdas and also mahamandaleshwara’.  

Harihar II 1380 gives state honour to his governor Mallappodeyar who went in the battle and died a viragal was set up in his honour. |
Economic features of feudalism

This type of feudalism emerges through grant of land to Brahmans who were responsible for the economic development of the state through the emergence of the feudalistic modes of production, through landed estates, subjection of peasant and extraction of revenue from the peasants and the tillers of the soil.

First and foremost the basic question needs to be answered as to what type of land was granted? Were they cultivated or uncultivated. If cultivated land was granted it would mean there was self sufficient economy and surplus production. If uncultivated land was granted it was to increase the production or to occupy the different areas under the kings control.

The Bhoja inscription of Prithvimallavarman and Kapalivarman records grant of *khajjana* lands called *Pukkoli* and *Kapoti Khajjana*. The Maurya plates of Annirjitavarman also records grant of khajjana land as well as land reclaimed by clearing the forest using four batches of labours and putting up bunds to prevent salt water from entering the fields. 149 The grant of Vijayamahadevi also states the grant of *khajjana vakulakachchha-kshestra* 150 this states that the best lands were given to Brahmans to cultivate and increase the production of the state.

Why was there a need for additional surplus? Is it to feed the urban population or for the purpose of trade and commerce or to increase the revenue of the state. These questions need to be analysed in the case of Goa. Secondly what were the different categories of grants: plot of land, whole village, only tax concession, certain plot of land, small measure of land or whether land, with other facilities was given.

This will enable us to find out if there was scarcity of land or if land was easily available or was under the communal ownership for example, the Bhoja inscription, records grant of a plot of land and other benefits to the Brahman while, the Maurya inscriptions records the kings grant of one *hala* of *khajjana* land which shows restrictions on sale of land.
## Existence of a self-sufficient economy

| Technological advancement in the agrarian and industrial sector. | For example, the Ballipattana plates of Rattaraja records the grant of a rice field yielding two crops annually in the rice village of Kalvala, an orchard of arecanut as a means of livelihood of a Brahmana Chhattavaiya. |

## Emergence of Landed Estates

| Endowments made to temples and monasteries to acquire religious merit as well as acquire a share of the produce from the devadana lands. | For example, the Hiregutti plate of Bhoga Asankita and the Sivapur plate of Maurya Chandravarman record the grant of land to the Mahavihara at Sivapur. King Bhimabhupal is said to have granted *agraharas* with pleasure to Brahmans. King Mandalika Rattaraja donated in honour of his parents and for his own merit five fold offerings: worship of the holy Avveswara, repairs of the temple, food and accommodation for ascetics, disciples, learned men and visitors. |

## Control over the land

| Who controlled the land and how effective was the control over land? What was the mechanism used to acquire control over the means of production? Is it on the strength of royal charters or through the system of taxation or rent collection? How were taxes collected? Who collected the taxes? Why did the king tax the people on land? Is it because he is the actual owner of the land, the giver of the land and protector of the people. | Three merchants Nagai-sresthin, Lokkai sresthin and Adityavarman had to pay 40 *dinars* as taxes to King Avasara to get confirmation on hereditary rights in the villages Kinjala and Pulisa. They had to pay in addition to this 2 lakhs of betelnut as annual cess and only Nagai sresthin woud be exempted from the annual cess which was to be used for the expenses incurred by the hadapa. This was known to the minister Revan, merchant Ukkai, Adminstrator Nagapala, attendant with betel box Pulena, other royal officers, people young and old, artisans, guilds and eight mathas. The fact that he makes the grant informing all important persons shows that the king had control over land. |

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### Appropriation of Surplus Production

*(who appropriated the surplus produce?)*

| Is it the king as he is the owner of the land or is it the tiller who tills the land or is it the landlord who offers land, oxen, and agricultural facilities. | for example the king appropriate surplus as he the owner of the land and protector of the people whether he is a ritual or a political leader the fact that he offers protection he has to be given a share to his services. What means are used in order to appropriate the surplus? Is it on religious grounds or on political grounds? Who collects the surplus? Is the surplus collected by the agents of the state? What is the form of appropriation is it in the form of taxes or gifts or services or rent in cash or kind? What is the rate of appropriation that is the entire produce taken or part of the produce? |

### Distribution of Land

*(Who is the owner of the land?)*

| Is it the state symbolised by the king who had general control over the land or is it the landlord who has the land, labour, oxen, agricultural implements or is it the peasants who is the actual tiller of the land. | If we look at feudalism from above, we can say that the king was the owner of the land as he distributed land to his feudatories because he was unable to control vast lands. But we look at feudalism from below we can say that the community was the owner of the land and no one had the right to sell, mortgage or grant land without the permission of the community. Secondly is the right over land hierarchical, multiple or based on interest. As stated above, we find that there was hierarchical rights over the land that is, in the same plot of land there were superior and inferior rights over the land for example if the king had superior right over the land, the feudal lord would have inferior right and the same is the case with sub-feudal lords. If king is the owner of the land why was land distributed by him is it for sanctioning his authority, is it for religious merit to attain salvation or is it in return for service. |
Social features of Feudalism

Endowments to Temples

| Lands donated to temples came to be regarded as the devadana land which formed part of the communal property. The temple priest who was a Brahman served in the temple administration and had to look after the affairs of the land. But due to social obligations that, Brahmans cannot till the land but employ others to till it made him the owner and landlord employing labourers to work in the fields. Earlier the produce was shared by different members of the village since it formed part of communal property. For example, distribution of prasad during the pujas. | The inscription of Tribhuvanamalla refers to a grant of a piece of land given to the temple of Vagadevi or Bharati as well as a house for its worshippers. |

Nadu v/s Gaunkari

Here an attempt is made to find out whether the nadus a unit for the study of political, social and economic history of South India can be applied to Goa's ancient independent institution of Gaunkaris. A comparison will be made to find out similarities in these ancient institutions

What are Nadus?

Nadu is an ancient socio-economic, political unit of the state in south India. It is the fundamental building block of rural organisation and an important limb of the local administration system of the state under the leadership of chiefs having titles such as udayiar, arasar, mummudi or muvendavelar. It refers to the macro region consisting of settlements of agricultural people contributing to the agrarian economy. It denotes an assembly, a corporate body sharing communal property such as fields, irrigation and other benefits such as protection. Nadus are divided on the basis of space and time. Small nadus are located near reliable water source where land is fertile and larger nadus are located near infertile, poorly watered
margins of riverine plains. They are marked by definite boundaries defined by interaction between the dominant landed folk and those dependant upon them such as artisans, merchants and labourers.

_Nadu_ in South India are named after the locality, agricultural lands and natural elements. In medieval Karnataka, epigraphical sources gives numericals to place names, places having numbers from 10-100 would refer to actual settlements within a particular territory while larger numbers such as 1000 and one lakh and quarter were designated on the basis of the revenue. These locality chiefs were called _gaunda, prabhu_ and _pergade_ to which had a prefix _nad_. They were recognised as holders of local authority with specific prerequisites of dues and land.

There were hereditary officers who hold the offices were ranked chiefs. They performed administrative functions such as management of densely settled lowland localities, maintenance of local accounts, revenue register, assessment, temple management and the like. _Nadus_ formed part of the society and economy besides the political order, there were restrictions on marriages and kinship network, they had specialized centres within them such as centres of commerce called as _nagarams_ and Brahmanical centres called as _brahmadeyas_.

In _nagaram_, traders involved with commodities of locality were accorded privileges of self government while Brahmanical _brahmadeyas_ were to support ritual learning and education and were under the control of _nattar_. Each _nadu_ was a segmented part of a single unified concept of Hindu kingship which was arranged hierarchically from the centre to the base while the political system of the Vijayanagara period as a segmentary state gives importance to the _nayankara_ system similar to the knights of the medieval Europe. 158

What is _gaunkari_?

_Gaunkari_ is the basic segment of Goa’s ancient and medieval local administrative system under the leadership of _Gaunkars_. It is one of the ancient Indian socio-
agro-economic and political institutions of the state in the macro region. It is a community of villagers established by the original male inhabitants of the land. They have inherited common contractual responsibility in a given locality. It is marked by definite boundaries like nodus differing from village to village with its topographical details. The members of the locality belong to one caste and live in harmonious co-existence and manages social, religious and cultural interaction, united by contractual obligations by considering and accepting the head of the state always to be the supreme to settle all disputes.

It is the gaunkar who originally contributed their own assets, resources and services so as to attain maximum common welfare benefit and share the left over or unspent revenue after meeting all the contractual obligations. The gaunkar are paid jono as a result of joint responsibility. Rules were made to carry out common duties and obligations in order to promote their own welfare and that constituted a sort of honorium for common services rendered to the gaunkari. Large plots were brought under cultivation, encatchment areas, irrigation system, for cattle grazing and for farmers and for religious purpose. According to the Code of Communidade or law of the gaunkars they had to pay tithes or derrama to the state for tutelage provided. 159

The political apparatus from the higher level to the lower level played an important role in the growth and development of urban areas.

Notes and References:


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20. V.R. Mitragotri, *op.cit.,* p.36.


22. Ibid, p.82.


37. Ibid, pp.208-209.


42. *Ibid*, pp.80-84.


47. V.V. Mirashi, *op.cit.*, p.42.


49. V.V. Mirashi, *op.cit.*, p.42.


51. V.V. Mirashi, *op.cit.*, p.42.


53. V.V. Mirashi, *op.cit.*, p.42.

54. V.T. Gune, *op.cit.*, p.117.

56. V.V. Mirashi, *op.cit.*, p.36.


58. V.V. Mirashi, *op.cit.*, pp.36-37.


65. V.V. Mirashi, *op.cit.*, pp.36-37.

66. Field visit to Batim, Bondir on 21st January, 2007 to locate structural remains.


69. V.T. Gune, *op.cit.*, p.117

70. George M. Moares, *op.cit.*, p. 266.


78. *HASCG*, p.274.


80. *HASCG*, p.274.


86. *HASC*, p.274.


93. V.V. Mirashi, *op.cit.*, p.45.


100. Alexander Nairne, *op.cit.*, p.34.


108. V.V. Mirashi, *op.cit.*, p.185.


119. V.V. Mirashi, *op.cit.*, p.179.


151. V.V. Mirashi, *op.cit.*, p.194.


Map I: Capital and Extent of the Bhoia dynasty
Map II: Capital and Extent of the South Konkan Shilahara dynasty
Map III: a) Capital and Extent of Goa under Jayakeshi I
b) Capital and Extent of Goa under Jayakeshi II
JAYAKESHI II EXTEND

- Kapozi
  - Kulpone
  - Kuls and water

- Velugram: 70
- Unukali: 30
- Kadaswali: 30
- Kunta Kulli: 30

- Halsey: 12,000
- Haje: 500
- ? Haje 500

2009
Plate I: Insignia of the Kadamba Rulers
Plate II: Orlim *Viragal* of Jayakeshi II
Plate III: Inscription of Jayakeshi III
Plate IV: Nagueshi Inscription of Devaraya II
Plate V: City Planning in the Arthashastra
Plate VI a Remains of Fortification at Chandor

b) Rasol, Site of Public Assembly at Chandor
Plate VII a) Inscription on wall in the chapel of St. Catherine, Old Goa
b) Chapel of St. Catherine

Text

Por esta porta O Trivn Ordeca
Entror Dom Joao Mbaya Etodo Esta
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Plate VIII: Remains of the Fortification Wall at Ella, Old Goa
Plate IX: City Planning of Ella

1) Hill of Nossa Senhora de Monte  
2) Site of the Mosque  
3) Well with Steps  
4) Ruins of the Shiva Temple  
5) Monte de Boa Vista  
6) Temple Tank  
7) Arsenal of Adil Shah  
8) Bazar  
9) City Entrance Gate from the River  
10) Landing Place  
11) Holy Hill  
12) Rua Direita  
13) Castle of Adil Shah  
14) Brahmapuri