Chapter six

Socio-Cultural Dynamics
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This chapter highlights the extent of assimilation, acculturation and segmentation of the society and culture of the people of Goa as a result of urbanisation and maritime activity at the ports of Goa.

Social Stratification:
Trade played a dominant role not only in the economic sphere but also extended its maritime influences to the social sphere as well. Ports became cosmopolitan places with a floating mercantile population of local and foreign merchants. The movement of the traders and other persons, the activities at the port town and the trade routes created a diaspora of port communities which enabled it to establish cultural contacts with distant lands. Goa’s urban society was thus stratified as follows:

Mercantile Groups: Local, Indigenous and Foreign

Saraswat Brahmans: The Saraswat Brahmans of Goa are said to have descended from a small subdivision of Gaud Saraswat Brahman caste of North India. The Parshurama legend in Goa speaks of the settlement of these Brahmans in Gomanchal. The Kadamba inscription bears testimony to the arrival of the Brahmans on the Konkan and Malabar Coast. Foreign accounts mention involvement of Goan Hindus in business. They served as village kulkarnis, financers, tax collectors, diplomats in the intra-Asia trade. They were wealthy but they appear to have been outranked within the town by smaller but wealthier group of Vanis of Gujarat who were both Hindus and Jains.

Bhandaris: they are originally toddy distillers but were very skillful navigators having big boats and were employed as sarangis or as crew on ships. They were perhaps guards of the royal treasury (bhandagarika). They proudly connect themselves with the royal families of Satavahanas and Kadambas.
Gabits or Kharvis: lived along the coastal belt and were involved in the activity of fishing and sailing of the vessel.³

The Mhars, Kols, Kharwas, Mundas and Shabars seem to be the primitive trading communities who engaged in barter trade and traded in rice, fruits, fish, animal, hides, skin, and crude implements. The Mhars, Mundas, Shabars were mostly forest bound while the Khols and Kharwas were involved in inland waterways.⁴ The Mussol dance of Chandor bears testimony to the presence of the Shabar tribes in the following verse of the song cum dance performance. *Edi, edi sankxi sabranchi, tintum asa saibini bhangrachi.* (Big, very big is the family shrine of the Shabars, it carries the golden icon of the goddess).⁵

**Bengali:** Goa during the time of Kadambas had contacts with regions of Bengal and it is quite possible that they too came to Goa. The following proverb shows that the Bengali were not to be trusted *Bengali zor manis, devachar konak mancho.* (If Bengali is a human, who shall we call a devil)⁶

**Banjaras:** are professional carriers of specialised goods such as rice and pulses. They came from the ghats and brought along with them pack animals.⁷

**Jains:** Goa can provide evidences of the Jain involvement in trade through their settlements at Kudne, Kotombi and Bandivade which are located along trade routes. The Jain *sarthavahas* and *sresthis* contributed in boosting trade of Goa with Karnataka and Gujarat from the ⁷th to ¹⁴th century A.D. There are references to the Gujars and Bhatis who hail from Gujarat. Place names like Gujira at the port city of Gopakapattana probably means that there were settlements of Gujarati traders. In Chandor village too there is a place called Jainacho math which probably speaks of settlement of Jains at the port of Chandrapur.
**Buddhist:** The settlement of the Buddhist monks along trade routes in the form of caves at Pilar, Lamgao, Harvalem, Rivona and other small structural cave sites spread throughout Goa provided shelter to traders along the routes.

**Muslims:** They were members of the *bohra* sect who were descendants of the Hindu converts to Islam. They fall in two categories: mercantile branch, originally shias of the Ismailiya sect, and the landholding section who were generally sunnis. The settlement of the Muslims at Chandor is seen through names given to *khazan* lands like Khan Khazan.

**Christians:** During the early centuries before the coming of the Portuguese there are evidences of St. Thomas Christian traders in Goa based on the cross found at Goa Velha. bearing similarities with the Mylapore cross and having Pahlavi inscriptions, a language used by the old Persian traders. (ch. 6 Plate I)

**Vira Banajiya:** These merchants hailed from Karnataka and they are known to have carried goods over long distances on pack oxens and other animals.

**Arabs:** The spread of Islam resulted in the intimate commercial linkages between India and West *Makkah*. There is epigraphical evidence to support the regular settlement of Arab merchants who not only maintained friendly relations with the local political authority but were also present at important social and cultural occasions in the coastal society.

Govapuri or Gopakapattna must have been a *Hanjamaman*, a commercial settlement of Nauvitta or Navayata who were Arab merchants settled in the coastal areas. Probably the place names in the area known as Mayata could be Navayata near Dandi or Nauverak present day Neura could be Nauvitta of the Arabs. Also the Pir waddo near dando could also support the area of settlement of Arabs as the word Pir means a Muslim saint. The migration of Arab traders from Iraq to west coast of India led to the foundation of a colony of Naites at Ella or
Old Goa. In the copper plates of Jayakeshi I there is reference to Arab merchant Sadano, the grandson of Muhammed who had helped his grandfather during his shipwreck.

**Persians:** The Persian settlement at Goa can also be confirmed through their Persian inscriptions exhibited at the A.S.I museum, Old Goa and coins found at Chimbel. There are evidences of the presence of Parsis and Arabs merchants at Khambhat, Somnath and Sanjan ports during the 7th to 10th centuries. (ch.6 Plate Ib)

**Professional groups:** A large number of people were engaged in different professions such as gudigars or carvers, agris or salt makers, shimpis or tailors, kumbars or potters, bogars or bangle sellers, bhandaris or toddy tappers, chamars or shoe maker, oilmen or ganekar, kharvis/kolis or fisherman, malo or barber, modvol or dhobi, madivals or washerman, mahar or basket weaver, khande kharvi or piratical fisherman who used to go armed with swords, ghadis or soothsayers, shet or gold smith, thovoi or carpenter, kasar or blacksmith, lohar or ironsmith, hadapa or betel box carrier, betel-leaf seller, writers, pubic entertainers like dances, singers, musicians, prostitutes, garderners and the like.

There are references in the inscriptions regarding the professions. For example, the Kharepattana plates of Shilahara Rattaraja mentions one family each of washerman, potters, garderners and oilmen who were assigned to the service of Saiva Acharya. The inscription of Harihara II 1391 throws light on occupation of writers, merchants, garderners, boatmen, washerman, charioteers, mechanics, cultivators of betel trees, shoemakers and artisans.

Proverbs also throw some light on the occupations practised in Goa

*Kharvyak Gorvam, Khanpriak taravam*

This shows that the Kharvis were boatman

*Kumbharak na Dhodd, ani Moddvolak na Nitoll*
They refer to two occupations of kumbar or potter and dobhi

Mahar Korit ti xendid ani Xenoi Korit ti punov

It refers to the basket weaver and the Xenoi or Brahmin community

Mhar astana Chamar dol Vazoita

It refers to the barber who is suppose to play the dhol and shoemaker does it instead

Bottachea hatant zor Katrat gai, Kosab Kiteak zai

It refers to the Bhat and slaughters of animals

Mharager Kir sizteli kitli ani Khorpotel i kitli

It shows that the Mahar were the lower sections of the society who were poor

Pausa pannachem, vhorodd Vanniachem it shows that the vani communities were engaged in agricultural jobs

Tel Kaddhatat tea Boilache dole Dhamptat

This shows the importance of the oilmen and it is supposed to be one of the best occupations which give a lot of energy to the one who removes oil. (ch. 6 Map 1)

Ward names at the ancient port sites throws light on their settlements.

For example, Locondola (ironsmith), Teliwaddo (oilmen), Marambhat (basket weaver), Sonar bhat (goldsmith), Rendrawaddo (toddy tapper), Moddvol (washerman) and Kammarcondi (blacksmith).

**Nobles and administrative officials:** this group refers to the king, higher administrative officials, priests and lower administrative and military officials as mentioned in chapter four. They probably settled in Chandrapur in the present ward of Raiavor meaning royal precincts, in Gopakapattana at Raiwaddo and Ella at the site of the present Se Cathedral.

**Labourers:** In the city there were labourers who were at the lowest level as far as their social and economic position is concerned. Most of them belong to the class of untouchables such as mahar, mahlo, chamar, dhobi and others who were employed by feudal chiefs and government officials. They worked as marine
labourers, musicians, coolies, watchmen and informers. There were slaves, both Hindu and Muslim who belonged to the caste of goldsmith, carpenters, washerman, gardeners, blacksmith, shepherds and Muslim slaves who were Siddhis. Persons performing other jobs such as dhobis, barbers, and domestic servants belonged to the class of sudras.

**Caste-Based Society:** Traditionally, the Goan society was a caste-based society providing every person in the society with identification in terms of occupation and ritual status. They consisted of Brahmans (priest), Kshatriyas (warriors), Vaishyas (traders), Shudras (labour) and their sub-divisions, thus, forming the four major castes of the chaturvarna hierarchy. Side by side the fifth division emerged who were not part of the chaturvarna system but was kept outside the system as untouchables. These include mahars (basket makers), chamars (shoe maker), mahlo (hair cutter) etc.

The Brahmans of Goa had various sub-divisions such as Konkanastha or Chiptavans (Persian descendant), Karades (Tungabhadra and Godavari region), Pandhyes (Maharashtra having Sumerian descendant), Joshis (Kolaba), Bhata Prabhu, Shenvis, Sastikars, Bardezkars and Pednekars (Gaud Saraswats came from river Saraswati from Bengal via Rajputana, Gujarat and Konkan). Brahmans were also divided into Shaivas and Vaishnavas, Panchala brahmans consisting of sonars (gold smith), lohars (coppersmith), kasar (bangle maker), sthapathis or (sculptors) and sutar (carpenter).

Kshatriyas formed the fighter class endowed with valour and the duty of protection of the state and its subjects from external aggression and internal disturbances and acquisitions of territory. The Ranes of Sattari claim descent from the Kshatriyas of Rajasthan. Vaishya indulged in agriculture, trade and commerce and Sudras included the artisans and agricultural labourers such as potters, masons, carpenters, coppersmith, blacksmith, boatman, washerman and toddy tappers.¹⁶
Thus, caste system created segmentation of the society. Each segment of the caste system was arranged hierarchically, socially and religiously having a well developed life of its own, membership of which was hereditary and hence the status once ascribed could not be changed. They have their own deities, standards, customs, conventions, traditions and ceremonies.

They perform all functions such as economic, social, religious and political but within their respective limits kept apart by complex observances in the form of civil and religious discrimination, restrictions on social intercourse, lack of choice of occupation, human inequality, disabilities, privileges, marriages and other social aspects. The Christian Chardes of Cotta, Chandor before conversion belonged to the Kshatriya caste of the Hindus and even after conversion they maintained their caste as Chardes. This is best seen during their Musoll performance.

Social Institutions
Institutions like family and marriage formed the most vital aspects of the Goan social order.

Family: In the Goan society, family was divided on the basis of its authority, residence, structure and sexual relations as follows:

On the basis of authority: family was patriarchal; where the eldest male was given a position of authority as the head of the family and as the protector of the interest of the family.

On the basis of residence: family was patrilocal; where the wife goes to live in the house of her husband but only in exceptional cases where there was no male member in the family the matrilocal form was also accepted.

On the basis of structure: joint family system existed consisting of parents, children, grand parents, great grand parents, wives of sons etc. This system no doubt provided protection but also conferred an inferior status to women owing to its patriarchal set up.
Besides, in the society too, the eldest male member in the village would act like a father to his subject. People had to consult him before they undertook any activity. For example, at Cotta, Chandor even today there is an eldest male of the village by the name Nicolau Antao. This head is called *muly* and people even today take his permission if they have to marry their sons or daughters. This was done by placing in the ground the first bamboo to set up the *mato* for the occasion.\(^\text{18}\) In the *gaukari* set up it was the male who was given preference and would receive the *jon*. This preference shown to males lowered the status of women and made Goan society patriarchal.

**On the basis of sexual relationship:** monogamy was the approved and recognized form of marriage but polygamy was also practiced by the ruling classes where the kings married many wives and the favourite among them generally became the chief queen. For example, the Kadamba queen Kamaladevi was the chief queen of Shivachitta Permadideva.\(^\text{19}\)

The Goan society during the ancient and medieval times probably allowed marriages outside one's *vamsha* and *gotras*. For example, matrimonial alliances among the royal families of the Deccan were common between Ishvakus and Kaikeyas, Kadambas of Banavasi and Vakatakas, Kadambas and Guptas. Hemachandra refers to royal marriages of the Kadambas of Goa and Chalukyas of Gujarat.\(^\text{20}\)

**Position of women**
The position of women in Goa during the ancient and medieval periods is examined in the light of inscriptions, *satikals*, *devdasi*, religious, and social set up.

Epigraphical evidence of different dynasties that ruled over Goa throw light on the status given to women in the ancient and medieval periods. A few examples from the inscriptions will show that the royal woman was given a lot of freedom to participate in administrative affairs of the state, social and educational activities. She served as a ruler, giver of grants and builder of *agraharas*.  

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The Bhoja record of Prithvimallavarman states that at the request of his brother, Satrudamana, the king sanctions the grant of a field in the village of Bhagala-Pallika included in the Kupalapakatahara-desa to Madhvarya of the Agnivesya gotra for the merit of the his mother Chetasadevi, daughter of Nelika.\textsuperscript{21}

This shows the respect shown to their mother by her sons and fulfilment of her wishes for the well-being in the next world. Besides, mentioning the name of the father of Chetasadevi shows that initially the father was the protector of the women and now this responsibility was given to the sons. In the Chalukyas inscription, Vijayabhattarika, is said to have ruled the Iridige vishaya which shows the freedom given to women to exercise political authority.\textsuperscript{22}

In the Ballipattana plate of Shilahara Rattaraja, the king makes grant for the merit of his grand daughter, Annana.\textsuperscript{23} This shows concern, and importance given to women for their well being. The Kadamba inscription of Shivachitta Permadideva refers to queen Kamaladevi, as his chief queen among his wives, the centre of his love and object of his respect. She was a patron of art and architecture and learning as she made generous donations and established a brahmapuri for the Brahmans for advanced learning as well as constructed temples.

This shows the respect given to women by their husbands and the freedom given to them to help them in the well being of the society. Shivachitta Permadideva took the permission of his mother when his chief queen Kamaladevi requested that she wanted to make a grant of a brahmapuri to Brahmans.\textsuperscript{24} Mailaladevi, the Kadamba queen, installed God Kesavadeva and offered grants. She bought land from the Brahmans of Kuppatur agrahara for a price of 500 honnu and offered the same to the Jaina matha.\textsuperscript{25}
Most of the inscriptions mention names of mothers and wives along with their husbands; this also shows the respect given to women. In the Harihara inscription, protection to women was considered as the highest virtue.\textsuperscript{26}

Thus we see that the royal women acquired a high position even though kingship was from the male line. Females were also given training in administrative activities of the state and exercised political authority under special circumstances.

Now the question arises of what could be the position of the local women in society. In general, the Goan woman is said to have enjoyed an emancipated status in society. She was accorded a secondary, inferior status and subjected to a lot of social, economic psychological subjection and pressures of society. On the one hand she was worshipped as a goddess, that is, mother earth, cosmic energy, Shakti, Saraswati, Lakshimi, Kali and on the other hand she is treated as a slave, a burden in the family and impure as the proverb says \textit{vaddhloli choli kusloli ponvili}.

The very nature of the women as a producer of progeny led to the subjection of women in the name of religion and tradition confining her within the closed walls of the house. This can be best seen in the old houses which are constructed with small windows and doors basically to protect women.\textsuperscript{27}

The male dominated approach of giving protection to women was also seen among gods and goddess. For example, Santer, an ant hill protected by the snake which symbolises a male and goddesses worshipped along with their consorts shows the very nature of protection for women. The gaunkari system which is present even today shows that the male member of the family was preferred as the females were not entitled to \textit{jon} and right over village land was enjoyed by the male members.
Dowry system was also prevalent in the form of stridan, kanyadhan and varadakshina. The Narendra inscription records that when the Kadamba king Shasthadeva or Chattayya went towards the country of Mammuri of Thane, the latter welcomed him and gave his daughter in marriage to him and even presented five lakh gold coins to his son-in-law. There is a place in the outskirt of Chandor called Mammurichi tembi probably it is referred to him.

Practice of Sati: Sati refers to self immolation or the practice of jumping into the funeral pyre of the dead husband probably to serve him in the next world and stay with him for sat janam. The reason why the Hindus undertake a lot of vratas and customs like the haldi kumkum, pujas like vadachi puja praying for the long life, and gift of the same husband for seven janam, could be because of the practice of sati or the fear of being widows.

The practice of sati is said to have come into practice from the Shilahara-Kadamba period as we have a number of satikal found spread throughout this period in different places of Goa and other surrounding region which once formed part of Goa. for example, at Nersa, on the way to Gavali, in Khanapur taluka, there is a village known as Saticho waddo as a result of the innumerable sati stones found here.

The Goa State Museum and the A.S.I museum house a number of sati stones which are in the form of a single stone with three panels which gives description of women jumping into the fire and some men beating the dol and taso in the first panel so that the emotional environment is created for the women to jump. In the second ladies are seen dancing and in the third where man and women are seen together in heaven.

In some cases the sun and moon, temple structure, a shivling and inscription is also depicted. There is a unique stone where the warrior is shown fighting and killing of the man and the women committing sati is shown which
gives an idea that those who committed sati were mostly Kshatriyas who went to fight and lost their lives. There are some sati stones showing female hands with bangles and armlet. Below is a male and female above which is a shivlinga and a flower. Sometimes two hands are shown which states that two satis were committed together. One of the sati stone is also shown with a fish, cow and a priest with folded hands. Satikals are of different types. Sometimes they are depicted as a tulsi with a tree.32 (ch.6. Plate II)

Sati was common mostly among the Gavda and Kshatriya communities as they were mostly rulers and soldiers. It was during the Bahamani-Vijayanagara period that sati was common because of the constant rift between the Vijayanagara and Bahamani rulers. With the Portuguese rule over Goa sati was banned by Alfonso de Albuquerque in 1510 providing relief to women.33

The following verse in the Musoll dance of Chandor depicts the fear of loosing their husbands in the war. *Mukhar fell voita musllancho, fattlean sor-sor ostoriancho* (As the troops carry the pestle move onwards, hear the deafening cry of the women folk at the rear).

The legend in Chandor of the distressed Kadamba queen who impressed her heel three times and cursed the city is still prevalent in Chandor village in the following words. *Kadamo! Chandra ganv padd zaum, Vhoilolim vanzddim zaum, Addlolimrandd zaum* (Kadambas beware! Let Chandrapura perish, let the women who leave the city be barren and those that come in be widowed).34

**Devadasi system:** The word devdasi has come from the word dev or god and dasi as a servant, thus devdasi means a servant of god. In Goa, devdasis were known as kalavants and naikins. They claimed their origin from the celestial apsaras and gandharvas whose duty was to entertain gods. They are depicted on hero stones and are seen dancing and serving god. They are divided into two kalavants and bhavins.35
The inscription of Goa provided references to presence of *devdasis* families who accorded a high status and position in the courts of kings. The Marathi stone inscription from Veluz records the grant of three and half *tanka* per annum to a bhavin. Thus we see that they were termed as bhavin probably a fee paid to her for the services rendered to the temple.\(^{36}\)

The Rattaraja inscription of Shilahara refers to devdasi families given along with the grant and were referred to as *dhanika*.\(^ {37}\) The Kadamba inscription refers to courtesans who served the king. The Tambur inscription records that there were streets meant for courtesans and they were called Suligere. In the Dharwad inscription of Jayakeshi the prostitutes were called ganika and were treated with respect. Shilahara king Arikesari and Goa Kadamba king Shasthadeva II visited Somnath and saw the *devdasis* in the temple. In the temples of Goa, even today are kalavants serve the temples of Saptakoteshwara, Mahalsa, Mangueshi, Shantadurga.

During the Adil Shah rule we find that the *devdasis* began performing in the court of the rulers as dancers and prostitutes of priests and *mahajans*.

In the Shantadurga temple when the *Utsavamurti* was taken out on a procession the bhavin was to hold the mirror in order to reflect sun rays over the image. They had to sing for arti and during the time of Harijagar they were supposed to sing for one month.

A particular ceremony called *shens* was performed to admit them as *devdasis* of the temple and to give training in music. They would admit teenaged girls and they could not marry as they were married to gods through mock marriage between a girl or a coconut.
They are common with surnames Shirodkar, Kakodkar, Phatarpekar, Narvenkar, Borkar and Bandodkar. At Goa Velha in the Bhati village, there is a well dedicated to kalavants called kalavantachi bai, even at Cotta, Chandor there is a area called Deviya waddo located close to the temple site allotted for the devdasis and probably the kalavants came from Shiroda.

The Islamic woman was also accorded a similar position. She is regarded as calamity, as a bad omen, a property of males and a production machine to extend progeny. She also needed protection and so she was confined in her burkha. She was insecure as practice of polygamy prevailed where her husband could marry many wives. Divorce was given at the utterance of three talaks and widow remarriage was permitted.

_Samskara or Hindu Sacraments_: Samskara or samskarota means composing, making perfect, preparing properly to achieve a definite purpose. These rites are religious purificatory rites and ceremonies for sanctifying the mind, body and intellect of the individual so that he may be a full fledged, well groomed individual. These rites are compulsory for every individual living in the society. All together there are 40 samskaras which are further classified into 16 nitya (customary and prescribed) and 24 naimittika (performed during special occasions).

Some of the important samskaras performed in Goa included the following: garbhadana (conception), simantonnayana or fullamalap performed during the 7th month of pregnancy, sathī, a ceremony performed on the 6th day after the child is born to keep a night vigil on the child so as to prevent it from the goddess of fate, jatakarma performed after 11 days of the child’s birth along with namakarna or naming ceremony or barse. chudakarma or tonsuring ceremony, annaprasana or (the first feeding of the child with rice), upanayana or yajnopantadharana or (munj) performed only for the boys of the upper three classes at the age of 5, 7, 9 or 11 it was a ceremony to mark the commencement of
the studies, vivaha or marriage ceremony, anteya or funeral ceremony with 13 days of mourning. On the 11th day panchagavya was performed for purification consisting of milk, curd, ghee, urine and dung and on the 12th day varshantika or first shraddha was performed. 40

**Marriage:** Vivaha was one of the most important samskara. In the case of Goa three forms of marriages were found through the following examples found in the inscriptions.

- *Swayamvara:* the girl was given the freedom to select and marry the partner selected by her. This form of marriage was similar to prajapatiya form of marriages practiced in ancient India.

- The *Brahma- Saat Kanyadan:* this form of marriage is seen in the inscriptions of Goa Kadambas. The Narendra Inscription records that when the Kadamba king Shasthadeva or Chattayya went towards the country of Mammuri of Thane, the latter welcomed him and gave his daughter in marriage to him and even presented five lakh gold coins to his son-in-law. Here we see that the father gives his virgin daughter some amount of money and we see that father hands over his responsibility of looking after the girl to her husband. This form of marriage was basically practiced in this case to bring together wealth sharing and to establish close relations.

- *Prajapatiya* form of marriage is seen as a kind of love marriage. There are references that Mayanamalliaidevi, daughter of Jayakeshi, fell in love with king Karna and subsequently they married. Here the girl and the boy take the decision to marry and before marriage the parents consent is sought. 41
Food: The food of Goa possesses a unique blend of simplicity and richness. The intermingling of cultures due to political influences and maritime contacts has been absorbed and knitted into a distinctly different culture. This is best evinced in the food habits of pre-Portuguese Goa. If one has to experience the taste of the Goan food one has to move into the remote villages where food is generally cooked on firewood and in clay pots giving a unique favour to Goa’s staple food: fish, curry and rice.

Rice is the staple food of all Goans especially along the coastal areas. The etymology of Goa traced to goembab or the reclining ear of paddy as well as the mention of rice fields in some of the inscriptions shows the importance of paddy to the Goans. Two varieties of rice was consumed ukdo or boiled consumed by the original settlers such as Dhangars, Velips and surai or white rice consumed by the higher section of the society or migrants such as Guravs and Gaud Saraswat Brahman. Pez or Kanji made of boiled rice was eaten for breakfast as a heavy meal.

Curry of different varieties such as hoon (fish curry), saar (curry with bagar of mustard and poppy seeds) one of the common dish in Karnataka. Pulses such as moog, aldsano, tur, merule were cooked and dishes were prepared either dried or as a gravy such as alsande tonac, dal or toi, moogachi gatti or sprouted beans, ros and the like. Kokum was consumed as a digestive: sol kadi with coconut juice and futi kadi.

Fish was consumed abundantly by the people. During the first monsoon, the fields would yield a good variety of fish such as crabs, prawns, catfish, koge or snails. Besides, river fish such as muddosho, shotaye, prawns and sea fish such as pompret, mackerel, kingfish which were cooked in different styles either baked in a pot with grass or other ways. Shell fish such as tisryo, khube, shenanyo, calva, mankyo also became part of the diet.
Bhaji or vegetables of different varieties were grown in the fields during the vaigan season such as tamdi, mulo, val, kokonudhi, kuvalo, tendli, maadi, tavase or cucumber, brinjal (vangi), bhendi or lady finger, drumsticks or shenga, nilpanas, tere, kudu, taicuvo, ambade and others. Khatkatem, a dish prepared of 32 locally available vegetables, keyancho kuva, ambadyache saasav, chako of tender jackfruit, killa of tender bamboo shoots, udda methi and mushrooms.

The inscription of Devaraya I refer to two vegetables which were to be offered to God Nagnath along with items. Other items such as maize or zonwachi bakri, vade of rice, (Nagueshi inscription of Bandivade belonging to the Vijayanagara period provide references to vade being offered to Naguesh everyday as naivedya). Besides tandlache poye or koloyo, candyachi bakri, nachnachi bakri, coconut chutney, papad and pickle was consumed. With the Islamic incursion the Muslims consumed non-vegetarian dishes consisting of beef and mutton.

Sweet dishes
Goans are said to have a sweet tooth. Every Goan dish has coconut in its thinly sliced form or milk form. They take a lot of time and talents to prepare but the end results are most gratifying and are sure to draw many compliments. On festive occasions and especially in the evenings both Hindus and Muslims prepare delicacies like laddos, keyacho halwa, satwa, tavsali, sakharbhat, nevros, and puran poli (even today prepared by people from Maharashtra and Karnataka). While the muslims prepared sehri eatables cooked in milk, sheer khurma, phirni and zarda

Ornaments:
Sculptures, viragals and satikals, mastikals and ethnographical evidences are used to provide clues to the type of dress and ornaments in fashion during the pre-Portuguese period. Both men and women are depicted adorned with a variety of ornaments on all parts of their bodies. The ornaments found on the sculptures are
simple but attractive. They give an expression to the refined taste of the people. The shots or sonars of Goa are given the credit for the best jewellery and as a result, during the time of the Portuguese some of the sonars were taken to Portugal as a result of their excellent skills and artistic designs.

Ornaments were made of gold, silver, copper, bronze, shells, beads inlaid with precious and semi-precious stones probably brought from the gold mines of Karnataka and other parts of the country where Goa had trade contacts with since ancient times. Ornaments can be broadly divided into:

**Head ornaments:** on the head, the Hindus used jewellery such as ambaddo, gulaful, xenvtem, chandlisalcam, surismgam olessor, pissolim, chanfim, guegoda, colleanchi atti, chaefeanchi atti, fulanchi atti, salcanchi atti, turo, cuttorem, gulfui and porrdi. cillo and gondae (to wear on the forehead)

**Ear ornaments**
Both men and women wore ear rings or karna kundalas which were in the form of rings or floral design probably made of gold or pearls. Men wore bali on the right upper ear made of pearls and on the lower part of the ear they wore golden rings with emeralds known as zode and ehoucuddo with pearls on the gold ring. Females wore ear rings on the border of auricle of the ear to suspend ghanthi-sorpole, bugdi and carambampagu. The upper ear lobes were also pierced with ornaments such as veddi, balio, penedi, gumlio calafuram, pilio and buttus. And the central ear lobes had a gume.

**Neck ornaments:** both men and women wore hara or chains, which was simple for men. Women wore different varieties of chains such as ardea povonachem gantlem, povonachem gantlem, moedanchem gantlem, putoleanchem gantlem, cin chapotto, chadracor-mouda, chandrahar, fugdor, potto chavier sorpoli,
monniachi-golsori, thuxi, tillo, mohanmal, ponvleanchimal, govanchim mal, bora
mal, vajratica, contho etc. Monniachi golsori, ballee or putli and mangalsutra.

**Ornaments of the hand and arms**

Both men and women wore bangles called kankana which were of different types
such as coddin, gonta, sonquianchi-patti, todde, tolli, beloreo, bandio, lulla,
zonzor, toddi-pattli, doro, dhuddo were gold ornaments stunned in pearls, corals
and beads. The use of glass bangles came during the 1000 century AD and were
worn by the Gavdas. For the upper arm baicurio, ella, talbalo, bazubanda,
nagmuddi, zonvo and dandacoddem. The men wore a bangle known as petti and
on the armlet a bahubal and solcoddins, a pair of bracelet was worn. Men wore
rings called as mudis. Nose ring came during the 12th century probably due to
contacts with Maharashtra.

The anklets were decorated with guzrea, paenzon, todde, lulla, zongor,
folio, vonache-vale etc. for the toes they wore rings such as mache, polare,
vincheam fulam, selam, massolio, bichve, mudio, vedde, undam, solle and
guirangulam. For the waist gold and silver band was used by both. Muslims too
were fond of jewellery. There were certain restrictions on wearing gold ornaments
and they had to wear jewellery made of beads, pearls, diamonds, and artificial
stones. No women were permitted to wear gold weighing 11 tolas and silver
weighing 52 tolas. 45

The following proverbs show that pearls and gems were used for
jewellery. **Nakaparas vad moti** meaning pearl is bigger than the nose. **Makda
hatat manik** meaning pearl in the hand of a monkey

**Dress:**

We often wonder what could be the type of clothing worn by people in the past.
Probably a peep to the tribal areas of Goa and the relics of the past in the form of
sculptures could give us a clue into the clothing wore by them during the ancient
and medieval periods.
The males wore two pieces of cloth namely antariya or lower garment and uttariya or upper garment. The antariya consisted of dhoti or dhotar made of silk or cotton fastened by a kamarband and worn by the king and his officials. Hero stones from Goa and Karnataka show soldiers wearing a cloth up to the knee joints to serve like shorts. Uttariya or upper garment, a broad sheet of cloth was thrown on the upper part of their body. They covered their head with a head dress or turban called usnisa, kirita, patta and vestana most probably the influence of the Shilaharas.

Common people were very simple in their lifestyle. They mostly wore cotton clothes especially during the summer and woollen clothes called kambli was to some extent preferred during the monsoon and winters. Silk was in demand at the royal palaces and other higher sections of the society. Textiles were mostly imported from the neighbouring region of south India. Along with imports and contacts came fusion of dress style depicted in the folk dances of Goa having influences from Gujarat and Rajasthan.

The kunbis, dhangars, gavdas, velips wore a lower garment called kashti or langotti as they were constantly engaged in working in the fields and other menial jobs for a living. The high class specially the Brahmans wore dhoti and harabandi to cover the upper part of the body.

Women wore three pieces of clothing namely antariya or lower garment, uttariya or upper garment, kancuka or bodice and girdle called mekhala. The antariya worn by females was of nine yards called navari or lugade. There were different styles of draping the antariya which varied according to the occupation, caste and status. The kachcha style or as a lehnga in which case it was first wrapped around the right hip then around the body and tucked in at the left hip. It was drawn very tight across the hips.
The *sakachcha* type also called as *dentali* is similar to dhotis with pleats backward most probably an influence from central India. It was tied around the waist using a girdle or *pata* to decorate and hold it. Short *antariya* was also worn upto mid-thigh called as *calamika*. *Bhairnivasani* or apparel was worn gathered together at the waist and held by a girdle. *Kancuka* or bodice was worn to cover the breast. *Orhni* or a separate piece of cloth was worn to cover the bodice. Children wore *gagras* and *cholis* or blouses. Muslims wore *langha* or *ghagras* with bands. The upper part was covered by a cloth knotted in front of the breast.\(^{46}\)

**Hairstyle:** women in sculptures are seen with hair styles in the form of a bun and pigtails. They decorated their hair with jewellery and flowers, the men tied their hair either towards the left or right of the head unlike the women.\(^{47}\) (ch. 6. Plate III a,b) & (ch. 6. Plate IV a,b,c,d,e,f)

**Habitation:**
Archaeological remains, inscriptions and travel accounts throw light on the kind of houses people lived in. There are references in the inscriptions to grants given along with house site but no details of the structures are provided. The houses of the common people were small, built of mud or sun baked bricks having thatched roofs of palm leaves or tiles with the use of timber for construction. The floor was covered with cow dung and was surrounded by a boundary of sticks or plants called as *adaso* which would consist of the *angan* where social activities would take place.

The houses of the elite specially the landlords would be bigger in size and built of laterite stone combined together with lime and jaggery. The roof would be covered with tiles and would consist of several rooms.

**Games and past times:**
The common people, especially children, would play with what nature had gifted to them such as *meetfattyo*, *koyannobal*, *langadi* etc. The elders would play games such as *gad fadyani* or *zir kyani*, which is a game of throwing stone in the air or
guessing the number of stones. The royal class would play games such as *tabulsalem* or *kang falem*, a game of dice and *firki* similar to wheel of fortune. Hunting was the favourite pastime for the kings. Pilgrimages chariot and horse racing and court dancers became yet another form of entertainment.\(^{48}\) (ch. 6 Plate IV)

**Festivals:**

In Goa, various feast, festivals, rituals and beliefs are centred around various themes such as political events, occupations, social life, law and order, ecology, religion, celestial bodies, flora and fauna. Here an attempt is made to concentrate on festivals related to maritime aspects.

Early humans first took to the seas and built their settlements on the banks of rivers and sea. Thus forces of nature had to be glorified to appease the gods and goddesses of water to rescue them from evil forces of nature in order to fulfil their maritime activity through the fertility of the land and prosperity of the hinterland leading to trade and commerce.

**Narali poornima:** On full moon day of the month of Shravan in July- August the sea was worshipped by the coastal communities with flowers, incense, coconut and continues till today. It is practised by the Christians as the feast of St Lawrence which removes the barriers between the land and the sea. **Ananta Chaturdasi:** celebrated in the month of September. Here the sea *puja* is done as it is related to Vishnu who is reclining in the waters.\(^{49}\)

**Mange tapne** or the crocodile worship: refers to the festivals of the crocodile that is connected to the sea especially in saving the *khazan* lands and protecting the moats of the city. **Tripurachi poornima** or the boat festival: performed in the month of November at Sanqelim, Goa.

Inscriptions also throw light on other festivals like *Diwali*. For example the inscription of Harihara II 1391 A.D. refers to Diwali festival on which day the
king and his officials accepted gifts offered by his subjects. Lamp festival: The inscription of Vijayanagara Devaraya 1413 refers to preparations made for the celebration of lamp festival. Gudi Padwa: Asoge plate of Kadamba Jayakeshi II refers to a special puja that is done on Gudi Padwa day.

Music and dance:
Music has been the essence of life of Goans since early times. Inscriptions, sculptures, viragals, satikals, monuments, oral traditions, musical instruments and other antiquities provide a rich source of information on the lore of the people in ancient times.

It expresses their emotions, spiritual devotion, moods, joys, sorrows, feelings, artistic abilities, moral values, trade contacts, social and cultural life of the people. There was great demand for folk music in the courts of the raja and maharajas of the different ruling dynasties in Goa from the 4th century to the 15th century creating a fusion between the south and north Indian culture. Goa’s musical life is centered on many community festivals and rituals.

The folk performance like Veerbhadra Khel in Cancona, Sanguem, Quepem in Dashavtari kala style in south Goa indicate the influence of south Indian culture. Goa was flooded with musical ideas during the Vijayanagara empire. The north Indian influence came from the Adilshah and Maratha. The shenai and surta are of Persian and Arabian origin.

Musical Instruments
Organology is the science of musical instruments. Musical instruments have originated from the Greek word organon meaning a tool or instrument used in some activity or Latin instrumentum or in Sanskrit as Vadhya.

Musical instruments are man made tools or devices created intentionally in order to produce sound or sounds which can be used by them in some socio-
cultural activity. Musical instruments in ancient India as mentioned in Bharatiya-Natya-Shastra is classified into Stringed/Tāta, Vādhya/Chordophones, Wind/Sushina Vādhya/Aerophones, Skin /Avanadha Vādhya/Membranophones and Metal /Ghana Vādhya/Idiophones.

Musical instruments are useful for performances, as objects of veneration or visual art, to furnish ethnological or historical evidences, to illustrate technological development and satisfy curiosity of humans. The origin of music is attributed to gods and goddesses, celestial and mythological figures such as gandharvas and kinaras. Kudatari copper plate of King Viravarmadeva refers to a musical instrument called Permattī which was used to herald the victory of the warrior in public. The satikal and hero stones depict the dhol and taso used for religious purposes. The folk musical instruments show Dravidian influence like taso, tal, dhol, dholakem, ghoom, or Arab, mridanga, and of West Asia. Details provided in (Appendix XII) will show the external influences on musical instruments. (ch. 6 Plate VII)

Folk dances

Dance is an artistic form of expressing emotions of joy, happiness, praises and the like. Music and dance are closely related to the life cycle of human beings associated with occupations such as fishing, agriculture, pounding of grain, celebrating seasons, describing nature, religion and mythology.

The folkdances of Goa also felt the impact of trade and urbanisation as can be seen in certain dance performances, costumes and songs accompanying them. At Chandor village the Mussoll khel or pounding pestle dance is performed having rich historical, social and cultural symbolism belonging to the Kadamba period. This is performed by the male chardes of Cotta. The costume worn shows similarities with Gujarati costumes. Talgaddi or harvest dance is performed by the Gavda tribes of Chandor. During the Shigmo season, romatt mell, goph a dance presented by peasants by holding coloured strips in their hands weaving...
and untie in different patterns and *tonnya mell* or stick dance is performed. Besides *dashavatarin khel* and *kalo* is performed during *rang panchami*. Brass pot *foogdi* and *Dhalo* is performed by the inhabitants in the outskirts of the city.

Folk dances performed in other parts of Goa also shows external influences like *Virbhadra*, a dance narrating the mythological story of Virbhadra, shows influences of south Indian dynasties and is performed in Sanquelim, Ponda and Sanguem. *Ghodemodni* a warrior dance from Saurastra. The dancers tie wooden effigies of horses at the waist and wearing bright costumes and colourful head gear they dance to the temple of the village deity. Folksongs of *kharwis*, oilmen, potters, agriculturists, salt makers, toddy tappers and *Ratib* a religious song and play of the Muslims, also forms part of the unique culture. (ch. 6 Plate VIII)

**Education, Language and Literature**

Accounts of travellers, inscriptions and monumental evidences have left behind traces that Goa has been a centre of learning since ancient times. Education was imparted in vestibules of temples, *mathas, agraharas* and *brahmapiuri*, porches of big residential houses and verandas of village administrative officials.

The kings and nobles made liberal grants of lands and villages to these monasteries for the support of customary rites and festivals in temples and for the education of the students. Education was mostly the privilege of the Brahmin boys and only girls of the royal families were allowed access to formal education and that too by private tuitions.

Higher education was restricted to learning of vedas, puranas, mathematics, astrology astronomy, literature, grammar, philosophy, ayurveda, political science, poetics, dharmastrara, logic, science. The all round training of the royalty was a must. They had to attain mastery in several subjects and experts were employed to train the princes. The inscription of Harihara II 1391 refers to
Madhava who was well versed in Upanishad, Vedas, Shrutis and Smritis. Sadashivgad plates of Vijayaditya refers to science of astronomy as well as Jotisha which was given due attention.

The women were imparted higher education on domestic matters at home as it was a patriarchal society. These instructions was imparted by Brahman sinais or shennois besides higher education there were schools providing elementary education in reading, writing, arithmetic meant for other sections of the society.

In the Hosahalli plate of Harihara he dedicated his life to the cause of protection of the scriptures and Brahmanas as well as made grants to 25 Brahman holders of the vritties. The inscription of Harihara II 1391 A.D. shows that Madhava Raya established a Brahmapuri which consisted of beautiful buildings given to 12 Brahman in the village Gowali and Mouli located in the Tiswadi taluka.

The discovery of the oldest inscription at poriem in Satari in Brahmii and at Harvalem brought Goa in the literate world. Konkani and Marathi had been the lingua franca of the people of Goa since ancient times but Hale Kannada, Sanskrit was the language of learning of the Brahman, educated classes and its religion. Sanskrit was enjoying its maximum use during the period from 500 AD-1200 AD especially in the north and south there are a lot of words in Konkani which are influenced by Bengali, Arabic, Kannada language. There are references to poets, inscribers appointed by kings to write charters in the inscriptions of Goa. (ch. 6 Plate IX)

Religion:
Goan society was a ritualistic society as it believed in diverse religions such as Jainism, Buddhism, and Hinduism: Shaivism and Vaisnavism and Islam. It was a multi-religious state which under went a process of acculturation due to the rule of various rulers of north Konkan and Karnataka as well as a process of
assimilation with the coming in of various new religion brought by the rulers who ruled them such as it was influenced by Buddhism, Jainism, Brahmanism, Saivism and Vaisnavism.

The evolution of religion from folk to urban unfolds the process of transformation of tribal society into a territorial political society. Folk religion is a crude form of religion comprising of polytheism, animism, ghost beliefs, mythology and the like this is because there was greater dependence on nature specially agriculture thus the need was felt to appease nature and natural forces for protection and prosperity whereas classical religion was more refined, subtle, abstract, free will and dominated by the Brahman who changed their nature of functioning as time went on.

Folk religion

Animistic cult: Animism is the belief that forces of nature have life and since they are beyond the control of humans they are worshipped. This includes worship of the sun, moon, seasons, flora, fauna, mountains, hills and rivers. In Goa we find this cult is still prevalent through all rituals, beliefs and festivals for example Dhangars worship the Dudhsagar, and peaks of tall mountains such as Vagheri and these are invoked through garanem worship of sacred grooves, stone, wad, pipal, tulsi, peacock, cow, crocodile and the like.61

Cult of mother goddess: The mother principle is the most primitive form of worship. In the case of Goa, where should we trace the origin of this cult? To the mother goddess or father goddess as depicted in the petroglyphs of Painsamol on the bank of the Kushavati in the Sanguem taluka which is a matter of controversies. The eight feet image of the megalithic female deity chiseled on a flat laterite rock at Curdi in Sanguem taluka presently relocated at Verna called as Lajja Gauri or Shiroyukut Korraivai sets a best example to the cult of mother goddesses worshiped in Goa. (ch. 6 Plate X)
The symbol of worship included the sexual parts of the body, forces of nature, animate and inanimate objects which were connected with fertility such as, ant hill or pot worshipped at Zarme, Satari. This form of worship is also popular in other parts such as Konkan, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Tamilnadu. At a latter stage through the process of sanskritization mother goddess took multiple forms though maintaining the basic functions of fertility. It gave rise to the idea of death, fear, dissolution and therefore some of the mother goddess acquired different roles of power, wealth, destruction and knowledge. She was known as Durga, Mauli, Mahisahsuramardini, Mahalsa, Navdurga, Bhagavati, Kamakshi etc.

Ancestor worship: refers to the worship of guardian spirits or rakno who met with bad death and whose souls are constantly trying to protect villages, kulagars, professions, properties and boundaries of territories such as Kulapurush, Grampurush, Sutarpurush, Adipurush, Vetal, dada and paik. The object of worship was not a temple but small structures called ghumtis in the form of stone, padukas, sul, vel, sickle and mounted horse.

The origin of the snake as the protector of fertile land and protector of boundaries brought about coexistence between the male and female principle thus the concept of worshipping god along with their consort such as Laximi Narayan, Shiva Parvati, Mahalsa Vishnu came into existence. The male gods dominated the female gods and thus the entire family of gods comes together such as gramdevtas, main deity and subsidiary diety leading to the formation of panchayatan.

Buddhism: probably received importance with the Mauryas. Emperor Ashoka, had sent Buddhist monks to propogate the teachings of Buddha. These monks probably lived in caves spread around different parts of Goa specially located along trade routes to practice and preach Buddha’s teachings. By the 12th century Buddhism began to decline in India with the introduction of tantrick practices
under the spell of Hindu *shaktism* and *tantrism* thus a receptive attitude towards other religion. Buddhism became assimilated into Hinduism thus a no of Buddhist shrines are used by the Shaivite deities. Vaishnavites made Buddha an avatar of Vishnu thus Buddhism left a tremendous mark on our culture.64 (ch. 6 Plate XI)

**Nathism or Nath cult:** Nathism emerged as a reaction to the practice of Tantrik Buddhism. It was founded by Matsyendra nath. The Nath Siddhas believed that all human beings are equal irrespective of their varna or jati. They kept away from all type of intoxicant and did not practice the five makaras which include flesh, fish, body posture, drinking wine and sexual practices.

The nath cult emerged first in the Konkan and Utttar Kannada region and was later promoted in Goa by the Kadambas who were earlier followers of Shaivism thus erecting the temple called Saptanath or Saptakoteshwara, Adinath in Usgao, Pernem and Canacona, Goraknath at Betalbatim, Chouranganath at Arpora, Nagnath at Bandivade, Bhavnath siddhas, Chandranath temple near Paroda is one of the important siddhas pithas of nathism its affiliate at Paroda are shri Bhutnath, shri Sidha Bhairava, Kal Bhairava, Samka Bhairava, there is also a tank called Siddha Kund, Madhv Nath, Ramnath, Somnath, Mallanath, Kalnath, Vagh Nath, Shiv Nath, Keshvnath, Vishvanath and others.

The nath cult is associated with Bhairava a terrific aspect of Shiva who appears in eight forms called ashta Bhairava. Kalbharavas in Bengal and Goa is symbolized as a stone smeared with saffron and he is called Kshetrapal who protects villages and fields. Ravalnath associated with Sateri as husband. Gramdevata and Kuladevta Dattareya belong to Adinath which symbolizes unity of Shiva, Vishnu and Brahma. Caves at Divar, Pilar, Khandepar, Iswarbhat, Kodal, Sanguem, Darbandora, Aquem Malangini there is worship of different forms of Shiva, Adinath. The abode of nath yogis was called matha or monasteries.65 (ch. 6 Plate Xlb) (ch. 6 MapII)
Veer Saivism: developed in the 12th century under the leadership of Basaveshvara, a Kadamba ruler it is also known as lingayatism. In Chandor there is one temple dedicated to Basavraj who is the founder of Veer Saivism.66

Jainism: When did Jainism come to Goa? We do not have any inscriptional evidences in Goa but in the surrounding regions of Uttara Kannada. The only evidences available is in the form of sculptures and structures such as the Jaina sculptures in the museums of Goa, Jaina Basti of Kudne, Jain shrine of Jainkot of Narve and Neminath Jain Basti of Bandivade throws light on the existence of Jainism in Goa.67 (ch. 6 Plate Xlc)

Religion under the Bhojas

The rulers of the Bhoja dynasty were followers of Brahmanical religion but also patronized Buddhism. The earliest evidences found in the context of Brahmanical religion are in the form of land grants made to two Brahman Govindaswami and Indraswami and subsequently to other Brahman belonging to various other gotras. The six copper plate inscriptions of the Bhojas indirectly reveal emergence of Buddhism, Shaivism and Vaishnavism through the following:

- Personal names such as Krishna, Govinda, and Madhavacharya found in inscriptions.
- Personal names such as Amareswara, Kapali associated with Shiva.
- Kapalivarman and Asankita these rulers were devotees of Shiva and Maheswara
- The village Sivapura in the Arga plate of Kapalivarman also indicates that Shiva was mostly preferred
- Surya was also worshipped, this is well envinced through the stone inscription which refers to names such as Prabhakara, Divakara and Adityavarman which are associated with sun worship while Brahmanical religion was strengthened Buddhism also received patronage from the rulers.
The Hiregutti plate of Bhoja Asankita praises Lord Buddha in the invocatory verses of his charter as well as makes grants to the monks of the monastry.

Bhoja Prithvimallavarman appointed a Buddhist called Buddhadasa to write the said charter. This shows that the followers of Buddhism converted themselves to Brahmanical religion and as an inducement they were offered jobs in the administration.

Asankita made use of the elephant the vehicle of Buddha as his insignia on the seal of the charter.

This shows that during the time of the Bhojas Brahmanism and Buddhism was accepted by the rulers. It prescribed the code of ethics to the rulers and his subjects. 68

Religion under Konkan Mauryas

The rulers of the Konkan Mauryas which ruled over Goa extended patronage to Buddhist monks by providing land grants to the Mahavihara situated in Sivapura during the time of Chandravarman which could be located at Harvalem or Siroda. Besides they also strengthened Brahmanical religion by providing grant to Brahman not only for the purpose of merit but also to cater to the needs of their settlement. 69

Religion under Chalukyas

- During the time of Chalukyan rule Vaishnavism, Shavism and Sakti worship existed based on the following evidences.

- In the Chalukyan inscription the Chalukyas called themselves as Haritiputras that is sons or descendants of the lineage of Hariti who is a form of mother goddesses or Saptamatrikas. Hariti is Mahayana Buddhist goddess believed to be the protector of fertility and children.

- Worship of the Kartikeya found in the inscription as protectors of the Chalukyas. There are temples of Kartikeya are found at Korgao of Pernem as well as the worship of Ganapati prevailed.
• In the invocatory verses there are praises given to Narayan whose blessings they acquired. Mangalesa is described as a staunch worshipper of Bhagvat Vishnu or Param Bhagvat.

• The insignia of the Chalukyas was varaha or the Boar, an incarnation of Vishnu.

• In Goa there are place names and temples dedicated to Laxmi Narayan.

Thus Brahmanical religion played a dominant role as land grants were made to Brahman for e.g. Twelve Brahman during the time of Vijayaditya belonging to different gotras were given grants for the purpose of merit.70

**Religion under Shilaharas**

North Goa was under the influence of southern Shilaharas, their lanchana was the Garuda the vehicle of Vishnu, but we do not have any temples dedicated Vishnu during this period.

• They were staunch Shaivites as there are references to Mattamayura clan from Madyadesa

• On the basis of the invocatory verses from southern Silaharas inscription which refers to *tandava* dance, skull and skeleton.

Development of Vetal images and his worship have begun during the Shilahara period. There was also worship of Shakti specially Mahalakshimi. Tantrik Buddhism also prevailed specially Kalanath of Vajrayana, Mahayana Buddhist centre from Panchavadi close to Shivapur.

Jainism was also existing based on the Jain stone sculptures of trithankara found by Henry Heras at his excavation of Chandor, the Kothambi village at Bicholim, three Jain stone sculpture in the temple of Chandreshwar and the Trithankara, Kubera and Yakshi present at the Goa State museum and the stone sculpture of Kudne all belonging to the Shilahara period throw light on the existence of different forms of religions and the religious tolerance of the rulers.71
Religion under the Kadambas of Goa

The Kadambas of Goa was one of the minor dynasty of Karnataka who ruled over three centuries and left an impact on the culture of Goa through its religious activities. They were Shaivites but also extended patronage to other forms of religion.

**Vaishnavism:** The epigraphs of the rulers of the Kadambas of Goa show evidence of the prevalence of Vishnu worship. An important feature of Vaishnavism was the worship of avatars or incarnations of Vishnu. Some of the epigraphs start with invocation to Vishnu. The Panjim copper plate inscription of Jayakeshi I in its invocatory verses gives praises to Varaha or boar an incarnation of Vishnu. Tribhuvanamalla in his inscription invokes lord Vishnu. The Bannahalli record describes Narasimha as the lord of creation, protection and destruction.

The Kadamba kings and queens constructed temples of Vishnu in their country for example, at Kittur and Degamve. In 1186-87 A.D. Jayakeshi III installed an image of the God Varaha in front of Narasimha in the centre of the village Halsi. Besides, concreation of Vaishnavite shrines by members of the ruling family at Tambur by Guhaladeva III.

The Inscription of Sivachitta and Vishnu Chitta 1169AD gives invocation to God Ananta or Vira Vikram Narasimha of Palasige conscreated by matayogi at Sancoale. The banner of the Kadambas with Hanuman on it symbolises reverence to Vishnu. The construction of Narayandeva temple also throws light on Vaishnavism. The rulers undertook royal pilgrimages for the worship of Bhagavati at Gokarna, Mahalaximi of Kolhapur and Someswar. 

**Shaivism**

The Kadambas were Brahmans in lineage and supporters of Saivism in particular. The Kadambas worshipped Mahesvvara called as Saptakoteshwara their family
deity. They acquired his blessings at all level of political rule over Goa which is best highlighted on the coins of Jayakeshi I, Jayakeshi II Sivachitta Permadideva and Somadeva. Also the use of the epithet of Shiva Shri Malege on coins and inscriptions of rulers show their devotion to Saptakoteshwara.

The Ganadevi grant of Shasthadeva I refer to the gift to Mahabaleshwara of Gokarna. Among the sacred centres of Saivism in Goa are Saptakoteshwar of Opa, Khandepar Mahadeva temple at Tambdi Surla and Mahadeva temple of Curdi and Zarme and Saptakoteshwar of Divar which came to be destroyed by the invasion of the Muslims in Goa which was rebuilt by the governor of the Vijayanagara Raja, Madhava Mantri.

**Veer Shaivism:** was popular in Karnataka around the 12th century also assimilates in Goa during the reign of Jayakeshi II and Permadideva when he visited Kalyani.

**Shakti worship:** The Kadambas gave reverence to the worship of mother goddesses or shakti as they went on pilgrimages to worship Mahalaksimi of Kolhapur, she is also mentioned in the invocatory verses of the epigraphs. The temples dedicated to Mahalakshi are at Netravali in Sanguem and Bandivade in Ponda and Colva, Salcette. Mahishasuramardini was popular in Goa from the Bhoja period and was worshipped in the form of Sateri, Shantadurga, Mahamaya, Ela, Kamakshi, Aryadurga, Navdurga of Madkai and Kundaim, Mahalsa and Narayani

**Buddhism:** The Kadambas extended support to tantrick Buddhism. The pedestal at the Pilar museum of the Goddeses Chamundeswari who is now installed at Pilgao, Bicholim has the word Vajra inscribed on it which shows the connection with tantrick Buddhism.
Sculptures found at Velugram (Belgaum), Dombal (Dharwad), Panhale Kaji (Ratnagiri) belong to the 11th century. Nath Panth were appropriated by many Vajrayana deities and established itself in some Buddhist centres.

**Jainism:** It did not flourish during this period but owing to their importance as mercantile community, the Jainkot, at Narve, Bicholim belonging to 1150 A.D came to be established. Besides an image of Suparsvanath at the Goa State Museum dated around this period throws light on the existence of Jainism.

**Religion under Vijayanagara**

Vijayanagara gave importance to Shaivism this is proved on the basis of the reference to Ravalnath on two stone sculptures in Marathi from Veluz at old Goa Museum. Inscription from Veluz refers to 1/36th part of the produce made as a donation to the above shrine.74

The Inscription of Harihara I mentions that the people of Masarvade village of Athavle region contributed for it, one Gadyana out of the total income of 30 tankas for night offering to Ravalnath, four for the perpetual lamp, 6 for betel leaves, one for priest salaries, 6 for washerman, 6 for Bhavin for her services three other servant of the deities.

The Inscription of Nagueshi mentions donation made to Mahalakshimi temple of Bandivade, Ponda during his rule shows Shakti worship75

**Islam under Bahamani and Adil Shah rulers.**

Mohammed, the prophet promulgated Islam according to which any person who accepts Islam is a Muslim. During the rule of Bahamani, Islam came to Goa besides Muslims, Persians, Turks and Arabs came and settled down in Karnataka giving scope for cultural development in Karnataka. The sultans encouraged religious persuasion among their subjects by building mosques.
There are references to Sufi saints who were responsible for the spread and propagation of Islam and Muslim culture among the masses. The Islamic belief of the oneness of god and concept of equality and brotherhood of man greatly attracted the different classes of Hindus. There was no discrimination between high and low, all worked and dined together. They maintained religious harmony and peaceful spread of Islam in the land they considered themselves as spiritual heirs of Mohammed, the Prophet, in propagating and spreading Islam. (ch. 6 Plate XII)

Art and Architecture
Commercial activity at the ports of Goa attracted migrants from across the Ghats, Indian Ocean region and Asia who assimilated their ideas and thoughts in the region creating a syncretic form of art and architecture of Goa. Goa’s art is dynastic art as it was supported and influenced by the number of rulers ruling in Goa, their feudatories and military chiefs as well as religious art.

Art in Coins
Coinage depicts two main lines of development, the first is indigenous styles and the other is of foreign influences. Foreign aspect can be depicted through the symbol of the lion which bear similarities to the lion symbol from India, Babylonia and Asia where as Indigenous style is depicted through religious symbols and legends.

Shilaharas silver coins are very simple without decorations having just the symbol of a trisula without handle, sun, moon and few alphabets. They probably gave importance to its utility.

The Kadamba kings issued gold coins with a high standard of calligraphy in Nagari and Halekanadda giving names, regnal years, titles of kings and family deity. One of the intricately carved aspects seen in their coins is the lion, their insignia, which is depicted in different posture either facing towards the left, tied to a pillar or with a ball in the mouth or looking in front with his legs raised or
with a curled tail or standing right but looking back showing indigenous and foreign influences probably because of their trade contacts.

It also shows religious symbols like *trishul*, *swastika* and flag staff along with architectural pieces of pillars and temple *shikara*. Importance is also given to astronomical features like the sun and moon and fauna in the form of floral designs. The circle of dots which provides all the above details are very clearly visible.

**Architecture**

**Religious Architecture; Jain/Buddhist/ Brahmanical Hinduism**

In architecture we find synthesis of different styles of indigenous and foreign influences. Some of the features of different dynasties are highlighted to understand regional contacts.

The Chalukyan temples structures were of a low dimension. They had long, narrow, flat roof over many columned halls. Their ceilings had richly carved panels, motarless assembly, mandaps were adorned with richly carved lintels, images, trellies, work of indigenous design, pillars had triple brackets and richly ornamented with magnificent human figures.

The later Chalukyan architecture had plain walls, angled eaves over mandaps, and pyramidal towers with deeply carved and closely spaced horizontal courses.

Hoysalas temple dimension is of a dwarfish structure raised on one platform of chloritic schist, open pillared hall, decorated with sculptures, consists of two parts: garbhagriha consists of *sukanasi*, vestibules, *navaranga*, pillared hall and *mukhamandapa* consists of one open pillared pavilion and richly carved base or plinth supporting the temple which is polygonal, star shaped in plan and roofed by low pyramidal tower often surmounted by a vase shaped ornament. In many
cases there are several towers so that it is described as double or triple or quadruple.

Chalukya-Hoysala style was a synthesis of Chalukyan features and modified with Hoysalan features found in Kadamba architecture. For example the Mahadeva temple of Tamdi Surla is raised on a plainly moulded plinth and consists of a garbhagriha with antarala and open mukhamandapa with four well sculptured pillars and pilasters. The mukhamandapa is accessible from three sides with steps in front. On the sides there are ten plain pillars all monoliths depicting Hoysala-Yadava influences on Kadamba style.

The ceiling of the main hall is carved with ashtadalakamalas. The bases of the pillars are decorated with relief of an elephant trampling a horse and at the top with nagabandhas. Perforated windows is another feature of Hoysala influence. The shikhara rises on the ceiling of the garbhagriha and are decorated with bas relief of small sculptures.

Vijayanagara style attained certain fullness and freedom of expression in keeping with the general course of the great temples with elaboration in both structure and organization. Even old temples were amplified by the addition of pillared hall, pavillion and other subordinate structures. Kalyan mantapa that is towards the left in the courtyard of the temple as one enters into it from the east is an ornate pillared pavilion with a raised platform in the centre for the reception of the male deity and its consort, Mantapas halls with many rows of pillars compounded and varied treatment of pillars. For example, Jain Basti at Bandode of the Vijayanagara period has a rectangular ground plan.

The structure is constructed of laterite and lime mortar as binding material. At the rear side there are three vaulted roof shrines without images. In front of the three shrines there are three arches. The front hall also has three arches and is rested on four massive pillars. However the base of the two pillars near the side of
Saptakoteshwar of Divar, Narve.\textsuperscript{78}

This temple is located on the banks of Mandovi River near \textit{porne tirth}. It consisted of a sanctum, \textit{antarala} and \textit{mandapa} which is rectangular in shape. There is a richly carved water tank called \textit{Madhavache tollem} or \textit{Koti tirth}, built of laterite with steps to the south and north. It consisted of carved \textit{Rekha nagara sikhara} motif in its vertical wall, two rows of shikhara motif are running all around the tank where a row of small niches is depicted in between them with a chiseled hole for inserting lamp. (ch. 6 Plate XVb)

Ganapati temple at Divar

This temple was located in the cemetery of the church of Nossa Senhora de Piedade. The ceiling of the cemetery chapel has an \textit{ashtadalakamala} motif which is present in Kadamba temple of Tamdi Surla and decorative widow panels.\textsuperscript{79}

Mahadeva temple at Curdi

The temple is situated on the banks of the river Selaulim. The temple plan is simple, rectangular in shape having a square \textit{garbhagriha} and squared pillared mandapa. The inner garbhagriha is a plain hall except the niche in the southern wall. It is built of laterite stone except the door frame, lintel, pillars and images are of basalt. Features like columns in the \textit{adhisthana}, \textit{chandrasila} resemble architectural features of karnataka temples.especially the \textit{adhisthana} mouldings and free standing pillars in the porch are similar to the Chalukya-Hoysala architecture style.\textsuperscript{80} (ch. 6 Plate XVIa)

Gomanteshwar temple of Brahmapuri, Ella

This temple is located close to Ella farm, Old Goa. It was founded by the Kadamba queen Kamaladevi similar to Goveshwara of Pilar. It was rebuilt two times by Madhava Mantri and recently modified. It has a tank with a flight of steps with a channel of water called Madhava tirth which is filled with mud it has a dome like the later temples of Mangueshi.\textsuperscript{81} (ch. 6 Plate XVIb)
Mahadeva temple at Chandor:

At the site called Devlantoli or Ishwarachem at Cotta Chandor, the 11th century Shiva temple was excavated in 1930 by Henry Heras and 1974 by Dr. S.R. Rao, A.S.I. According to them it was the earliest brick temple having a garbhagriha (sanctum) surrounded by pradakshinapatha (circumambulatory passage), a large sabhamandapa (assembly hall) and a medium size mukhamandapa.

It measures east-west 16.40 meters and north-south 24.10 meters. 12 stone base placed in two rows of six each, paved brick flooring, plinth bases were found and the mukhamandapa had two side openings which is an unique feature seen in temple architecture. Further excavation work was undertaken by A.S.I. in 2000 to determine whether there were other phases of construction under the later. Upon excavation the building plan had three phases.

Phase I plan was a rectangle, measuring 20.92m north-south and 10.40 east-west with two 7.3m wide rectangular transepts extending about 3m from the centre of each of the long walls the plain symmetrical about two axis. The building is overlain by phase II building which can be dated by its adisthana moldings to the 7th century A.D.

Phase II building plan is very simple. It consists of a squarish mandapa measuring 12.38 m north-south and 14.62m east-west. On the inside with a small garbhagriha which protrudes 1.37m from the middle of the eastern wall and measures 2.38m north south by1.41m east-west in the interior. The phase IIa and IIb structure continued in use and a rectangular structure was added to the eastern end of the temple surrounding the garbhagriha.

Phase III is not a single phase but consist of a number of isolated elements which encompasses various sub-phases such as the western shrine, laterite wall, post holes and pits, stone structures to the east and nandi.82 (ch. 6 Plate X VIIa,b)
Double Cell Cave at Pilar: To the east of the pilar hillock there is a large cave. The ground plan of the cave resembles plan of a Buddhist chaitya hall. Two projected inner butteress separate the cave into two division, inner hall and front hall. Each division has deep recess one on either side of the wall. This neatly cut deep recess forms a square chamber in the cave and they might have been used as residential chambers.\(^{83}\)

Single Cell Cave at Pilar: At the foot of the hill, another cave rectangular in shape was found. Four deep niches were found on either side of the cave. The door of the cave is irregular with no ornamentation. On the right side of the door a ganesh image is carved and in the relief snake and human forms are depicted.\(^{84}\)

Secular Architecture:

**Palaces:** Palaces of Kadambas and Adilshah rulers were built at the site of Chandrapur, Gopakapatana and Ella but none of them have survived to give us a fair idea of its architecture.

**Tanks: Secular and Sacred**

The planners and engineers of tanks gave more importance to its utility rather than its artistic skills and beauty. Most of them were constructed of laterite stones or material which was easily available in the locality. Lime and jaggery was probably used as binders. They were of the *bandya* type that is build up to stop water to flow and *Kheya* type dug into the ground and letting water to flow.

The port–capitals had two types of tanks, sacred tanks and secular tanks. Sacred tanks are man-made tanks used for religious bathing or *snanghat*, cleaning the temple, washing the deity and for other daily chores of the temple. These tanks usually have water throughout the year which is probably fed by an underground canal.
They are not of a uniform size and vary accordingly. Sometimes tanks were not constructed but the temples depended upon the natural source of water for example, the Saptakoteshwar temple at Opa Khandepar (Khandepar river), Shiva temple at Chandrapur (Rishi river), Mahadeva temple of Tamdi Surla (Mhadei) and Mahadev temple at Senaulim (Selaulim).

Secular tanks which were built or unbuilt constructed for storing water, for irrigation or for recreation. They are generally known as poi or noi or wells dug in the middle of the fields. Some of the sacred and secular tanks at the port-capitals are as follows **Gandagopal tank**: located near the hill near St Anthony chapel. It was constructed by Gandagopal Kelina the administrator of the Kadamba King Tribhuvanamala. **Kuzmorayachem tallem**: located on the way to Panjim-Agacaim road which is now full of lotuses. **Goveshwar tank**: located at the foot of the Pilar monastery.

**Karmali Tallem**: located at Karmali, famous for its migratory birds. **Chamundeshwari tank** or Vargaonkaniche tallem or Saibinichem tallem or tank of our lady of Angles: located at Zuari village in Goa Velha. **Madhava tirtha**: located at Ella or Old Goa at the foot of the Gomanteshwar temple. It is a small tank with steps and underground tunnels. The Vijayanagara Inscription of Harihara II 1391 refers to construction of a dam built on the tank called Manchalpura the water was arising from the mountain in the middle of east and west was called Madhava *Tirtha*.

**Mahadeva Tank**: located below the main alter of St Cajetan Church, Old Goa which probably belonged to the Mahadeva temple, misinterpreted as the Adil Shah Palace site. **Rayachem tallem** or Guhallatolio named after Guhalladeva, **Godeatolio**, a tank meant to wash horses, **Devlantolio** or temple tank, **Chamatolio**, tank used by the shoemakers are some of the tanks located at Chandor.**(ch. 6 Plate XVIII a,b)
Sculptures

Sculptures are usually found along with monuments which are either displayed in the museums or found in the field. The sculptures depict various features according to the dynasties. For example, the sculptures having Chalukya influences are classical in realism, fullness of modeling, chasteness of ornamentation. For example, Ganesh from Pilar, Curdi and Kudne Kartikaya (Korgaon), Mahishasuramardini (Lamgao), (Zarme) show Chalukyan influences.

Kadamba sculptures have their own individuality. They are somewhat squattiest and massive in proportion but very effective and lifelike in their form and expression. Brahma (Carambolim), Narayana (Mulgao), the Boat devis of Satari taluka show influences of Chalukya, Shilahara and Kadamba rulers.

Hoysala sculptures are of a high quality and are visible in temples on bas relief for example Vetal (Loliem), Ganesha (Shiroda) and Chandreshwar (Quepem) and Vijayanagara sculptures are carved of a single block having horse motif and upraised animal of a supernatural kind. for example Martanda Bhairava (Usgaon)

Sculptures related to maritime history and their influences

Yakshi/Yaksha

The Vishnudharmottara mentions yakshis to be nadi-devta or nadi matrika or river goddesses. They are the trees of life and the waters. They are purely vegetation spirits, guardian of the vegetation, sources of life and thus closely connected with water. In the Atharvaveda, Varuna or prajapaty is described as a great yaksha reclining on the waters which bestows upon him great divinity and powers.

Yakshis are mentioned in by the Jains and Buddhist as being malevolent and benevolent. They are found staying in a groove, mountain, ghats, tank, city gate, district and a palace. She is Hariti or protector of children and guardian of treasures.
Chamunda
Chamunda is worshipped along the coastal areas and is favoured at Porbandar. At Zuari, Goa Velha there are remains of the ancient temple tank of Chamundeshwari. The pedestal is at the Pilar museum showing evidences of tantrik Buddhism.

Santeri: the mother earth symbolising fertility and goddess of the little tradition was appropriated in the great tradition as Shantadurga. As we see Santeri-Shantadurga-Santan and Chamunda-Queen of Angles at Goa Velha and Santeri-Shantadurga-lady of Mercy at Chandor and Ellama-Durgadevi at Old Goa. The Boat Devis of Satari, Mahishasuramardini locally known as Santeri/Shantadurga is regarded as a Tarini of the maritime heritage of the Mhadei civilisation. Similarly Santan Saibin of Santan Talaulim is regarded as Bori Doria Iatrechi Saibin or Boa Viagem by the people similar to Tarini of the Mhadei Mahishasuramardini

Varuna: The Rigveda refers to Varuna the cognisant of the ocean routes along which vessel sail. He is the regulator of water and he causes the rivers to flow. He resides in the ocean the home of the mythical makara. (ch. 6 Plate XXI)

Ganesha: The God of auspicious beginning is invoked for his blessings. He is the remover of all obstacles. He is worshipped first when starting a new business or undertaking a new venture or moving a new house or introducing the child to education. There are sculptures of Ganesh found displayed in the museums of Goa belonging to the Chalukyan period.

Goveshvar/Saptakoteshwar located along the source of water and the family god of the Kadambas, the mercantile dynasty of Goa.

Vetal: a folk deity regarded as the chief of evil spirit and destroyer of storms and is the promoter of trade and commerce found installed along the coastal areas.
Notes and References:


7. V.T. Gune, ed._Gazetter of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu_. (Panaji: Gazetter Department, 1979) p.130.


17. Ibid., pp.57-58.


32. Based on interpretation of *sati* stones as given in Chapter two.


35. V.R. Mitragotri, *op.cit.*, p.76.


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


44. Ibid., p.10.


47. Based on sari stones shown in plates (ch.6 Plate IV)


51. Ibid., p.9.


56. Pandurang Phaldesai, op.cit., pp.41,42,43,48. Also see, P.D. Xavier, op.cit., p.228.

57. H. Heras, op.cit., p.27.


68. Based on inscriptions of the Bhoja dynasty placed in Appendix I


70. Based on inscriptions of the Chalukyas placed in Appendix III.

71. Based on inscriptions of the Shilahara dynasty placed in Appendix IV


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75. H. Heras, op.cit., p.10.


78. Ibid., pp.233-235.

79. Ibid., pp.236-237.

80. Ibid., pp.203-207-209.

81. Ibid., p.246.


84. Ibid., p. 168.


90. Pratima Kamat, op.cit., p. 45.

91. Lotika Varadarajan, op.cit., p.5.

92. V.R. Mitragotri, op.cit., p.179.
Plate I: a) Cross with Palhavi Inscription b) Gaja Lakshimi Panel depicting Foreign Groups
Plate III: Sketches of ornaments, hairstyle, and costumes prepared based on sculptural evidences
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Plate IV: d) Hairstyle, Costume and Jewellery on Sati Memorial
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Boat-festival at the Mandovi, mid-19th century.
Plate VII: Musical Instruments: a) On the Santer temple wall, Mauxi, Satari, b) Musician playing at Shigmo c) Different Forms of Musical Instruments
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Plate XV: a) Saptakoteshwar temple at Opa b) Saptakoteshwar of Divar, Narve
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Plate XVII: b) Excavated Phases of the Temple Site
Plate XVIII: a) Chamunda tallem b) Goveshwar tallem
Plate XIX: a) Ganesh from Pilar b) Ganesh from Curdi
Plate XX: a) Yakshi b) Yaksha
Plate XXI: Varuna: Lord of the Ocean
Map I: Map of Communities in Chandor, Gopakapattana and Ella

Scale: 1:440,000  1 cm = 4.4 kms
International Polyconic Projection

1. Thovoi
2. Gauda
3. Khaui
4. Muduol
5. Mahar
6. Chambar
7. Chari
8. Chitpavan Brahman
9. Daiyana Brahman
10. Gosavi
11. Muslim
12. Kasar
13. Vani
14. Christians
15. Bhongui
16. Pagi
17. Saraswat Brahman
Map II: Map showing location of Caves spread around Goa