

# **Courtly Culture in Goa (8<sup>th</sup> century to 1472 AD)**

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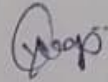
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I hereby declare that the data presented in this Dissertation report entitled, "Courtly Culture in Goa (8<sup>th</sup> century to 1472 AD )" is based on the results of investigations carried out by me in the M.A. in History at the D. D. Kosambi school of social sciences and behavioural studies, Goa University under the Supervision Dr. Nagendra Rao and the same has not been submitted elsewhere for the award of a degree or diploma by me. Further, I understand that Goa University or its authorities will be not be responsible for the correctness of observations / experimental or other findings given the dissertation.

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### COMPLETION CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation report "Courtly Culture in Goa (8<sup>th</sup> century to 1472 AD)" is a bonafide work carried out by Ms. Yogini Bhanudas Gaude under my supervision in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in History in the Discipline History at the D. D. Kosambi school of social sciences and behavioural studies, Goa University/College.

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## **PREFACE**

The present study will focus on the Courtly Culture of Goa from 8<sup>th</sup> century to 1472 AD. Since there several works done on the socio-economic, and political history Goa but no specific work has been done yet about the courtly culture. But there are works done on the court and on the culture of the court but no specific work has been done on Courtly culture. The present topic is selected to study to understand the culture of the court and to gain insights into the courtly practices.

Not much work has been done on courtly culture in Goa. There are works and research done on courtly culture in India but not much focus has been put on the administration of Goa. The way the government governs our country I was curious to explore the history of Pre-Portuguese. The history of courtly culture interested me as to explored and uncover how kings governed their region. What was their role in providing and facilitating good regions? This study explores different aspects of the courtly culture and the different roles of each kingdom that ruled Goa in the pre-Portuguese period.

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

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## GLOSSARY

<i>Abhisecana</i>	Coronation
<i>Agraharas</i>	Rent free land given to the Brahmanas
<i>Akkasale</i>	Goldsmith
<i>Amatya</i>	Finance minister
<i>Ambaram</i>	Long rectangular piece <i>of</i> loosely tailored cloth
<i>Antahpura</i>	Royal harem
<i>Antruz</i>	Ponda
<i>Aptaru</i>	reliable
<i>Arninol</i>	might, daring
<i>Banavasipuravaradhisvara</i>	Supreme lord of Banavasi,
<i>Bhavin</i>	A dancing girl attached to the temple
<i>Birudas</i>	A surname
<i>Brahmapuris</i>	A rent free village in the possession of Brahmanas
<i>Chaturyadol</i>	Skill, texterity
<i>Dandadhipati</i>	Military officer

<i>Darikas</i>	Devadasis
<i>Desas</i>	A territorial form meaning a small area or a group of villages
<i>Dharma</i>	The sacred law
<i>Dharmasastras</i>	Scriptures
Dvadasha-desha	Bardes
<i>Gadyana</i>	A gold coin
Hadapavala	The bearer of king's betel bag
<i>Hanjaman</i>	Artisans
<i>Hinduraya Suratrana</i>	Sultan of Hindu kings
<i>Kabayi</i>	Elite garment
<i>Kirita or karanda-makuta</i>	Jewelled crowns
<i>Konkanachakravartin</i>	Lord of the konkoan
<i>Kula – kramagataru</i>	Born of noble families
<i>Kullayi</i>	High conical cap of brocaded fabric
<i>Kulkarni</i>	Accountant

<i>Mahadanas</i>	Religious gifts
<i>Mahadesa</i>	Largest administrative unit
<i>Mahajan</i>	Members of committees
<i>Mahamandaleshvara</i>	Great Feudatories
<i>Mahamandaleshvaras</i>	Great lord
<i>Mahamatyas</i>	Chief minister
<i>Mahanayakacharya</i>	Supervisor of the administration of the village
<i>Mahapradani</i>	Chief minister
<i>Maharajadhiraja</i>	Greatest of great king
Mahasabdas	Sound of great musical instrument
Mahasamantas	Great lords
<i>Malavara Mari</i>	Slayer of the Malavas
<i>Mantra-ni schvadol</i>	Expert in advice and decision
<i>Mantrins</i>	Minister
<i>Naya -suddharu</i>	Possessing clear political wisdom state policy
<i>Nij -esa-bitadol</i>	In securing good of master

<i>Nishkas</i>	Gold coin
<i>Patta</i>	Narrow fillets
Pattanas	Merchantile villages
<i>Pradhan</i>	chief minister
<i>Purohitas</i>	Head of religious activities of the household
<i>Purva-paschima samudrapati</i>	Lord of western ocean
<i>Rajadhiraja</i>	King of kings
<i>Rajaguru</i>	Royal priest
<i>Rajaparamesvara</i>	Supreme lord of the king
<i>Rajavithi</i>	Royal path
<i>Sandhi-Vigrahika</i>	Minister for war and peace
Saptati	Sattari
<i>Saryadol</i>	Brave, heroic
Shatt-Shastti	Salcete
<i>Shrenis</i>	guilds
<i>Sirovesthi</i>	Turbans

<i>Suli</i>	prostitute
<i>Tantrapalas</i>	Councillors
Tissuaria Trinchadratika.	Tiswadi
<i>Vanaramahadhvaja</i>	Great banner of monkey
<i>Vigigishu</i>	Ambitious king
<i>Vishayas</i>	District
<i>Vyaghra marin</i>	Tiger slayer

## **ABSTRACT**

The present work ‘Courtly Culture of Goa (8<sup>th</sup> century to 1472 AD) includes courtly culture during Shilaharas, Goa Kadambas and Vijayanagara empire. It provides inscriptional evidences and based on that information is given. It discusses in separate about the courtly culture in different dynasties. It mentioned about the significance of the inscriptions. It will shed light on the people of the court. In addition to this it also discussed the courtly practices and the culture of the court.

The methodologies used for completing this research work are the data collection. The literary sources are collected from the primary and secondary sources. The most important primary sources which can help in the study are the inscriptions, coinage, maps, and administrative reports. Secondary sources such as scholarly articles and books will be consulted which help in getting information about the topic.

The research will made an attempt to identify courtly culture in Goa. It discusses the courtly tradition and language of courts and significance of the people in the courts. It also mentions about the administration of the court and the relationship between the king and the locality. It also mentions the role of the Brahmanas in the king’s court. An attempt will be made to discuss the concepts like themes of the court, functioning of the administration, language use in the court, etc. This research work will let us understand about the courtly culture from 8<sup>th</sup> century to 1472 A.D.

### **Key words**

Courtly culture, inscriptions, brahmanas, courtiers, Shilaharas, Goa Kadambas, Vijayanagara, governors, language.

## CHAPTER 1:

### INTRODUCTION

Goa is an important coastal region. It is situated on the western coast of India that forms an integral part of the Konkan area. This region is well-renowned for its rich history, culture, society, and religion. Over the centuries, Goa has experienced cultural exchange and dynastic influence, which have played a significant role in shaping its unique identity. The recorded history of Goa dates back to the fourth century AD. Goa has been ruled by many ancient and medieval kingdoms and empires. It will include Bhojas, Konkan Mauryas, Chalukyas, Rashtrakutas, Shilaharas, Kadambas, Yadavas, Delhi Sultanate, Bahamani, Vijayanagar, and Adil Shah of Bijapur.<sup>1</sup> These rulers have played a significant role in shaping the history and culture of Goa, making it a region with a fascinating and diverse cultural heritage.

The region of Goa during the eighth century was ruled by the feudatories of Rashtrakutas, the Shilaharas of Goa or South Konkan Shilaharas. They ruled for nearly 245 years from 765 A.D. to 1010 A.D.<sup>2</sup> In 10<sup>th</sup> century, the Goa Kadambas came into the power and they began to rule in the region of Goa. Their rule extended from mid - 10<sup>th</sup> century to the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century A.D. The Goa Kadambas issued many inscriptions during their rule. These inscriptions were mainly in Sanskrit as well as in Kannada. From 1375, the main competitors on the political chessboard of Goa were the Bahamani Sultans and their arch-rivals were the kings of Vijayanagar.<sup>3</sup> The Vijayanagara rulers ruled over the region almost for a century. They lost Goa in the year 1472. The Bahamanis took over Goa.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Pratima Kamat. *Goa: It's Tryst with Trade*. (Panaji: Goa Chamber of commerce and Industry, 2009) 45.

<sup>2</sup> V. R. Mitragotri. *Socio-Cultural History of Goa, from Bhojas to Vijayanagara*. (Panjim: Institute Menezes Braganza, 1999). 37-38.

<sup>3</sup> Pratima Kamat. *Goa It's Tryst with Trade*. 53.

<sup>4</sup> Teotonio R. de Souza. *Goa through the ages Vol.II. An economic History*. (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company. 1990). 14.

## Definition of Courtly culture

This dissertation aims to study the courtly culture in ancient and medieval Goa. The court was considered as an arena of activities and knowledge that will shed light on ruling classes. It was considered that the activities of the court are equivalent to the activities of the state. Court was an extended household of the king. Culture represented the language, literature, habits, dress and cuisines of a particular community. It also guarantees existence of people by providing ways of transmission of knowledge and collecting information and facilitating change.<sup>5</sup> Thus, the court was the place where the political authority and cultural patronage occupies a central position.<sup>6</sup> The Courtly Culture of Goa during the period from the 8<sup>th</sup> century to 1427 A.D. provides information about the lesser-known aspects of Goa's history. Similarly, the courtly life arose in the context of new political institutions and a culture that grew up around the relationships.<sup>7</sup> It witnessed a flourishing of art, architecture, and literature, as evidenced by the inscriptions. It will provide insights about the patronages given to the poets, scholars, and artist by the King.

The King was considered as one of the most important part of the court. He was the supreme head of the state. His important duty was to look after the welfare of the people. He married many wives and the favourite among them generally became the chief queen. Due to the polygamy practiced by many rulers, their harems were full of rivalry and jealousy.<sup>8</sup> A Queen had the title 'Whip to the backs of rival wives of high repute.'<sup>9</sup> According to that the queen was supposed to treat her subjects both rich and poor without discrimination.<sup>10</sup> During Shilaharas and Kadambas period the queen had enjoyed independent status as they had the

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<sup>5</sup> Karlin Larsen. *Faces of Goa*. (New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House. 1998) 22.

<sup>6</sup> Daud Ali. *Courtly culture and political life in early Medieval India*. (New Delhi: Cambridge University Press. 2006). 5 - 9

<sup>7</sup> Daud Ali. *Courtly culture and political life in early Medieval India*. 69.

<sup>8</sup> V. R. Mitragotri. *Socio-Cultural History of Goa, from Bhojas to Vijayanagara*. 71 – 72

<sup>9</sup> V. R. Mitragotri. *Socio-Cultural History of Goa, from Bhojas to Vijayanagara*. 72

<sup>10</sup> V. R. Mitragotri. *Socio-Cultural History of Goa, from Bhojas to Vijayanagara*. 72

power to take part in the administration of the state.<sup>11</sup> Apart from the queen there other women in the court that too received honours and respect. The Devadasis were not ill-treated but they were treated with respect as talented artists with freedom of sex. The society of the day apparently had a broad outlook towards Devadasis who acted as temple dancers and *courtesans*.<sup>12</sup>

As Daud Ali has stated, the king was the supreme head of the State, and the majority of his matters were handled within the royal household.<sup>13</sup> There are numerous inscriptions that indicate that the king gave patronage to the brahmanas and also to the communities like traders, agriculturalists, even Jains and others. Granting land grants to the brahmanas and providing monetary aid to the temple will results in increasing their economic status.<sup>14</sup> The merchants and Craftsmen are the most important component of the courtly culture. In several Sanskrit records, the merchants are referred as belonging to the trading corporation called *anjuvannam/anchuvannam* and *hamyamana* or *hanjamana*. They were related with Arab Muslim traders known as *tajikas*. The local merchants were known as *sreshti/vanik*, and caravan traders known as *sarthvaha*.<sup>15</sup> Guild is an association of a profession having a well-defined structure, code of ethics and membership governed by certain regulations and qualifications. Guilds are broadly divided into two - Merchant guilds such as indigenous, itinerant, foreign, protective and Craft guilds such as agricultural and industrial guilds.

The craftsmen and artisans played a significant role in the court. In most of the inscriptions, the names of the engraver are mentioned. These also include their names and *gotra*. Inscriptions on stone and copper plates were also created by the artisans. Apart from them, other professional groups such as sonars, or goldsmiths, sutars, or carpenters, and lohars, or

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<sup>11</sup> Mitragotri. *Socio-Cultural History of Goa, from Bhojas to Vijayanagara*. 75

<sup>12</sup> Mitragotri. *Socio-Cultural History of Goa, from Bhojas to Vijayanagara*. 77

<sup>13</sup> Daud Ali. *Courtly culture and political life in early Medieval India*. 8

<sup>14</sup> Nagendra Rao. *Significance in the role of the brahmana settlements of South Western India in the early Medieval Period*. 243.

<sup>15</sup> Pratima Kamat. *Goa: It's tryst with Trade*. 99

blacksmiths, made up the craftsmen and artisans. Additional professions included *modvols*, *parits* or washermen, potters, *kansars* or coppersmiths, *mahars* or basket makers, and *chamars* or cobblers.<sup>16</sup> Inscriptions were used for transferring certain artisans to the donee.

Literature has been composed in the courts of rulers throughout India's history. It was witnessed that from the Mauryan period evidence about the literature was found. There are brahmanas who composed several texts in the court of the king. These brahmanas gave detailed genealogies of the kings that increased the prestige of their dynasty.

## **Hypothesis**

The courtly culture represents multiple identities of the court.

## **Objectives**

The research has objectives such as:

- To trace the evolution of the courtly culture in Goa from 8<sup>th</sup> century-1472 AD.
- To analyse the impact of different ruling dynasties and external influence on the courtly practices.
- To identify the functioning of the court which shape the society.
- To assess the relationship between the king and the brahmanas and with the locals.
- To assess the interaction between the courtly culture in Goa and other cultural, political and economic aspect of the region.
- To explore the role of women in the functioning of the administration.

## **Research Design and Methodology**

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<sup>16</sup> Christopher H. de Souza. "Craftsmen and Artisans in Goa (A.D. 1000 to 1700)". (Panaji, Goa University, 2020). 23.

The study is empirical and analytical in nature. This research primarily relies on analysing inscriptions and historical records. It encompasses a wide range of sources including primary and secondary sources. The most important primary sources which can help in the study are the inscriptions, coinage, foreign traveller accounts, maps, and administrative reports.

Secondary sources such as scholarly articles and books will be consulted which help in analysing the topic. An attempt will be made to assess the primary sources in the context of political, social and economic developments wherein secondary sources will be consulted.

The study aims to explore functioning of the courts in the specified time period and the role of women. The study region pertains to Goa.

### **Sources of Study**

The study has been conducted with the help of inscriptions of the dynasties that ruled over Goa.

There are around 100 inscriptions issued under the patronage of the dynasties.

The works of Daud Ali, G M Moraes, R N Gurav, relevant volumes of *Epigraphia Indica*, South Indian Inscriptions, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, *Corpus Inscription Indicarum*, *Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, and *Gazetteer of Goa* have been consulted to study and analyse the inscriptions.

*Epigraphia Indica*, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, *Indian Antiquary* and *Corpus Inscription Indicarum* provide the primary sources for studying, analyzing and understanding the courtly culture in Goa. They provide access to the available evidences of the kings and dynasties, people and environment based upon the copper plate charters, stone inscriptions, hero stones, etc. The *Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic* is significant for gathering information about the rulers of Goa and their traditions. The articles published in the journals will provide information about the different aspects of courtly culture in Goa. *Pissurlencar Collection* is an exclusive source of information which reveals about the working of the courtly culture during the rule of various kingdoms. The secondary sources have been consulted to gain understanding

of various aspects of courtly culture and the difference over each dynastic rule. They are helpful for the comparison of the situation of Goa with the states formed in other regions of the country.

### **Review of the literature**

Daud Ali's book *Courtly Culture and Political Life in Early Medieval India* provides a thorough account of the courtly culture during the medieval period in India. The book covers all aspects of the courts including the role of women, the behavior men and women. The actual 'activities' of the court, beyond the revenue collection and warfare<sup>17</sup> was being discussed. In addition to this, the author placed the courtly practices within their social context. It also offers valuable insights into the internal dynamics of courtly life and the relationship between members of the household. Daud Ali mentioned about the king, the central organ of the kingdom, he remains an unavoidable figure in the study of monarchical political forms in early India. Women, though always present in the representation of power. One of the most important aspects of this work was that it gave an idea of about how courtly culture in medieval India arose and their practices in the court. It studies the exchange of honours and manners as well as verbal and gestural protocols.<sup>18</sup>

The Book *Heirs of Vijayanagara* by Lennart Bes, has provided insight into the politico-cultural legacies of Vijayanagara among its heirs that form the general theme and also about the Vijayanagara successor states that derived their origin, legitimacy, political organisation, court culture, art and architecture. It also discussed and compared court politics in Vijayanagara and its heirs, dealing with foundations and foundation myths, dynastic succession, the power of courtiers, court protocol and insult, influences from Sultanate courts and mutual relations. Bes also mentioned about the significance of the Brahmanas. In this book it mentioned about the kingdoms of Vijayanagara and their rulers and state that how each kingdom is different from

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<sup>17</sup> Daud Ali. *Courtly culture and political life in early Medieval India*. 9.

<sup>18</sup> Daud Ali. *Courtly culture and political life in early Medieval India*, 6-12.

another. It also discussed about the court protocol and influence, the power of the courtiers and the influences from the Sultanate Court.<sup>19</sup>

Shyam Narayan Lal in the article ‘Imaging the rural landscape of the Konkan through the land charters of the Shilaharas (C. AD 8th to 11th Century)’ tries to draw a picture of rural landscape through the study of information containing in the land charters issued by the two branches of the Shilaharas one located in the north and another in the south Konkan region. Apart from providing material on different characteristics of rural landscape, charters also stated that the transfer of settlements or its resources was communicated to people and institutions which were located outside the spatial limits of the donated rural settlements.<sup>20</sup>

Anant R. S. Dhume in the book, *The Cultural History of Goa From 10000 BC to 1352 AD* has provided insight into the history of Goa. The book deals with each dynasty and provides a list of inscriptions belonging to them. It also informs about the evolution of religious sects and how each dynasty influenced society. Ministers of the South Konkan Shilaharas were mainly Saraswats from Goa. The book provides information on the role of Brahmanas in the administration of Goa Kadambas and their surnames. The author highlights the power of kings and queens. However, there is limited information on the Vijayanagara Empire.<sup>21</sup>

V. R. Mitragotri’s *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from Bhojas to Vijayanagara* is an empirical account of the social and cultural aspects of Goa from the fourth century till Sixteenth century CE. In this work the society, culture and the development from the time of early settlers was mentioned. It also shows insights about some aspects of the society and explores information about the Brahmanas based on the hierarchical *Varna*-based division of the society the position of women. The women from the ruling dynasties of the region took keen interest

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<sup>19</sup> Lennart Bes. *The Heirs of Vijayanagara: Court Politics in Early Modern South India*. (Leiden University Press. 2002).

<sup>20</sup> Shyam Narayan Lal. *Imaging the rural landscape of the Konkan through the land charters of the Silaharas (C. AD 8<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> century)*. Proceedings of the Indian History Congress 98 – 109. 2013.

<sup>21</sup> Anant R.S. Dhume. *The Cultural History of Goa from 10000 BC to 1352 AD*. (Panjim: MAPP printers. 1985.)

patronizing learning and art. There are references to the courtesans in the inscription of Goa Kadambas.<sup>22</sup>

The book *Gazetteer of Goa, Daman and Diu, Part I* by V. T. Gune provides information on the history of Goa. There is mention of a number of inscriptions of the different dynasties which ruled Goa since pre-historic times. The book mentions three copperplate grants about the Goa Shilaharas, which provide details about the rulers. It also offers information about the Shilaharas administration, including the king and his ministry. The genealogy of Goa Kadambas is also discussed in the book, which is based on a stone inscription. It sheds light on the rulers of Goa Kadambas and their system of administration. It also covers the Vijayanagara rule over Goa, including the ministers and their significant positions. Additionally, the book discusses the social, political and economic characteristics of the dynasties. It provides inscriptional records of the dynasties of various kinds and the system of land grants to the Brahmanas.<sup>23</sup>

*Goa: it's Tryst with Trade* by Pratima Kamat gives commercial history of Goa from the Bhojas to the Adilshahi rule with special reference to the contemporary political economy, seaborne commerce. It gave information about the port of Chandrapur, Gopakapattana and Ella, mercantile community, their guilds and organizations. It also mentioned about the the lucrative horse trade and other articles of trade. The book also highlights the presence of a Muslim ministers in the administration of the Jaykeshi rule, who held significant power and was an integral part of the king's governance system. The book provides a detailed insight into the relationship between the king and his minister and their working system.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> V. R. Mitragotri. *Socio Cultural History of Goa. From Bhojas to Vijayanagara*. (Panjim: Institute Menezes Braganza) 72 -78.

<sup>23</sup> V.T. Gune. *Gazetteer of the Union Territory: Goa, Daman and Diu. part I*.

<sup>24</sup> Pratima Kamat. *Goa: It's Tryst with Trade*.

V. V. Mirashi in his work *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum. Vol. VI* is an important source for the study and provides details of the inscriptions of Silaharas. It mentioned the North Konkan Silaharas, South Konkan Silaharas as well as the Kolhapur Silaharas, who were present in the region. The volume contains all available inscriptions of three out of ten known branches of the Silahara family, that is, North and South Konkan and over the region round the Kolhapur. It specifically deals with the political history of the Silaharas, the position of women and describes the administration, religious, social and economic condition, literature, architecture, and sculptures of that period. In addition, it has deciphered inscriptions and provided insight about the region they were ruling in. More significantly along with the information maps of each house were also provided. Here in this work, it mentioned about the people involved in the administration and the role of the courtiers.<sup>25</sup>

*The Kadambas of Goa and their Inscriptions* by R. N. Gurav provide valuable information about the Goa Kadambas. The author provide information by studying inscription of the Goa Kadambas. The author made reference to the several inscriptions and provide detailed work. Gurav has dealt with unexplored aspect of Goa Kadambas that was not found in any other works. More significantly, the author has provided insight into the courtly life. It mentioned about the King and the presence of people in the court. It includes men and women belonging to different class. Apart from them there were other aspect discussed such as land grants that were given to brhmanas, resident of the towns of the villages such as merchants and craftsmen.<sup>26</sup>

*The Kadamb Kula* by George Moraes is considered as one of the most important sources that deal with the different branches of the Kadamba dynasty. This work has provided information about the different branches of the Kadamba in Karnataka as well as in the whole of the

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<sup>25</sup> V.V. Mirashi. *Corpus Inscription Indicarum. Vol VI. Inscriptions of Silaharas*. (New Delhi: The Director General, Archaeological survey of India. 1977).

<sup>26</sup> R. N. Gurav. "The Kadambas of Goa and Their Inscriptions." Unpublished PhD Thesis. Karnataka University, 1969.

*Dakshinapatha*. The book contains the internal history of the Kadamba period as well as the Kadamba geography. More significant part of the book is that it discussed the rulers individually along with the queens and the power they had. The king's court consisted of the mandalikas, the ministers, the nobles, the court officials and the royal preceptor. The importance of the king in the administration was given and about his council of ministers. The Goa charter of Jayakeshi I tells us about the mercantile community in that city consisted of traders from all quarters.<sup>27</sup>

*The Kadambas of Goa* by S.G. Kadamb provides information on the aspect of Kadambas. The inscriptions provide valuable information about the history of pre-Kadambas and Goa Kadambas. The author also sheds light on the administration of Goa Kadambas including the power of king and his council of ministers.<sup>28</sup> Another work *Sources of History of Kadambas of Goa: Inscriptions* has provided information on the inscription of Goa Kadambas found in Goa and Karnataka.<sup>29</sup>

*A Forgotten Empire* by Robert Sewell provides the information about the Vijayanagar Empire and all the rulers of the empire which covers the period from 1336 CE the foundation of the empire to its defeat in 1565. This book deals with the establishment, growth and development of the state, wars of the rulers with the Muhammadan Sultans and other neighbouring states and also gives a vivid picture of the capital of Vijayanagar. It also adds information of the various rulers of these dynasties and their inscriptions. It deals with the establishment, growth and development of the state and gives a clear picture about the capital of Vijayanagara Empire.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> G. M. Moraes. *The Kadamba Kula – A History of Ancient and Medieval Karnataka*. (Bombay : B.X. Furtado and sons. 1931).

<sup>28</sup> S.G. Kadamb. *The Kadambas of Goa: Inscription*. (Panjim: Broadway publishing house. 2013).

<sup>29</sup> S. G. Kadamb. *Sources of History for the study of the Kadambas of Goa: Inscription*. (Panjim:- Broadway publishing House. 2010.)

<sup>30</sup> Robert Sewell. *A forgotten Empire*. (New Delhi: India Book Houde. 1884.)

K.A Nilakantha Sastri has provided information about the ancient history of the South India to the middle of the seventeenth century A.D. in his work *A History of South India: from prehistoric times to the fall of Vijayanagar*. It gave detailed information about the rulers of Vijayanagara and their expansion of powers, administrative system, and social and economic condition including art and architecture.<sup>31</sup>

Noboru Karashima has provided detailed information about the South Indian history in his work, *A concise History of South India*. In this book the author gave information about the Vijayanagara empire and the Sultanates in the Deccan. During the reign of Harihara II (1377-1404) the kingdom was divided into four big regional units for administrative purpose called *rajyas* surrounding the central region, such as Udayagiri rajya in the east, Penugonda rajya in the mid east, Mulavay rajya in the south and Araga rajya in the west. It had also mentioned about the *nayakas* and their relationship between the king. In addition to this it also provides information about the administration of the Vijayanagara empire. It gave information based on the inscription and also art and architecture of the empire.<sup>32</sup>

M.H. Rama Sharma in his work *The History of Vijaynagara, Begining and Expansion 1308 - 1569 Vol I* deals with the Vijyanagara empire and provided the insight of their rule and the type of administrative system that was prevalent in the empire. The author gave information about the rulers imdividually and mentioned about the courts and the administration system of particular ruler. It not only gave information about the political, social history rather it also provides information about their expedition and their conquest. In additi it gave information about the queens, palaces and their surroundings<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> K.A. Nilakant Sastri. *A History of South India: from Prehistoric times to the fall of Vijayanagara*. (Madras:- Oxford University Press. 1958).

<sup>32</sup> Noboru Karashima. *A Concise History of South India, issues and interpretation*. (New Delhi: Oxford university Press. 2014.)

<sup>33</sup> M. H. Rama Sharma. *The History of Vijaynagara, beggining and Expansion 1308 - 1569. Vol I. Bombay: Popular Prakashan. 1978.*

T. V. Mahalingam in the work *Administration and Social life under Vijayanagara* deals with the history of Vijayanagar Empire. Here the focus is on the King and the imperial council and it also has detailed information on it. Along with this there is also information about the all aspects of the administration that were there in the court that is revenue administration, military organizations. Notably there is also political and social history that gave glimpses about the administration.<sup>34</sup>

### **Schemes of Chapters**

The following dissertation has been broadly divided into six chapters.

#### **Chapter I: Introduction**

In the first chapter 'Introduction' about the topic was given. It contains definition about the courtly culture and the people involved into it. It also discussed about the nature and Scope of the topic. It is followed by the sources and literature review of the important works.

#### **Chapter II: Historical Background.**

The second chapter is the 'Historical Background'. In this chapter the history of the dynasties are discussed. Beginning with the Shilahara dynasty, it provides information about the rulers. Then it discussed the rule of the Goa Kadambas. It also mentioned about Malik Kafur's invasion in the region and how the Delhi Sultans tried to conquer Goa. Lastly, the rulers of Vijayanagara Empire and some information about their governors are given.

#### **Chapter III: Courtly Culture in Shilaharas period**

The fourth chapter 'Courtly Culture in Shilahara period' examines the functioning of the courts during Shilaharas rule in Goa. In this chapter, there is information about the king and his council of ministers and the Brahmanas. It also provides insights into Shilaharas courts and

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<sup>34</sup> T.V. Mahalingam. *Administration and Social life under Vijayanagara*.(Madras: University of Madras. 1940).

people involved into it. Apart from the nobility there were locals or the residents who were also part of the courtly culture.

#### **Chapter IV: Courtly Culture under the Goa Kadambas**

The fifth Chapter contains information about the working of the court in the Goa Kadambas period. It contains information about the significance of the inscriptions. It also deals with the king and queens and their role in the courtly culture. People of the court are also mentioned such as nobles, brahmanas, merchants and artisans. It mentioned about the land grants given in the court and the ceremony that were held. It also examines the religion flourished in the Goa Kadamba court. It refers to the craftsmen and artisans separately and provides information about their role in the courtly culture of Goa Kadambas period.

#### **Chapter V: Courtly Culture under the Vijayanagara**

The fifth chapter contains information about the working of the court during Vijayanagara period. This chapter discusses about the Goa – Gutti kingdom and how the governors ruled the region. It mentioned about the Islamisation of the Vijayanagara rulers as they were influenced by the Muslim dynasties.

#### **Chapter VI: Conclusion**

It will discuss important aspects of the courtly culture in different dynasties. It highlights courtly practices during the Shilaharas rule, Goa Kadambas and Vijayanagara rule in Goa. Also it summarize about the various aspects that were found in the region of Goa. Bibliography will follow the conclusion.

#### **Scope and Relevance**

Although there are some related works on this subject, but precisely there is no significant work on Goa's courtly culture which deals with the period from 8<sup>th</sup> century to 1510. The present study attempts to fill this gap in our understanding of the courtly culture in medieval Goa. This topic will provide insights into regional interaction between different dynasties. It will cover

the aspects such as political structure including courtiers and nobility, patronage of arts, religious syncretism, and trade relation.

An attempt will be made to highlight the courtly tradition and language of courts and significance of the people in the courts. The study will explore administration and the relationship between the king and the locality. It also mentions the role of the Brahmanas in the king's court. An attempt will be made to discuss the concepts like themes of the court, functioning of the administration, language use in the court, etc. By exploring courtly culture, this study will enrich our understanding of Goa's history. In addition to this it will highlight the cultural exchanges that have contributed to Goa's historical legacy.

## **CHAPTER 2:**

### **HISTORICAL BACKGROUND**

Goa was ruled by several dynasties right from the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 15<sup>th</sup> century A.D. These dynasties have left records in the form of copper plates, stone inscriptions, coins, sculptures, art, and architecture. These evidences are registered in the form of grants given by the king or any other person who has the power in the court. This helped in constructing the courtly history of the several dynasties. The history of the region of Goa traced back to the earliest time. The region in the ancient period was ruled directly and indirectly by the various dynasties such as Bhojas, Konkan Mauryans, Chalukyas of Badami, Shilaharas, Goa Kadambas, the Vijayanagar Empire, the Bahamanis and the Adil Shah of Bijapur.

The Rashtrakutas and later the western Chalukyas looked upon Konkan as their feudatory province and only the Shilaharas and later on Kadamba of Goa (from A.D. 1020) ruled over the Konkan.<sup>1</sup>

#### **SHILAHARAS**

In the eighth century AD, the region of Konkan was ruled by the South Konkan Shilaharas, who initially ruled over the tract from the ‘Sahya-mountain to the sea’ (*Samundratira Sahyantadesha*) under the over lordship of the Rashtrakutas and later shifted their adherence to the Western Chalukyas once the former was routed by the latter. There were three houses of Shilaharas that ruled the region.

The North Konkan or Thana Shilaharas ruled between AD 800 and 1250 and comprises districts of modern Kolaba, Thana including Sopara. South Konkan or Goa Silaharas ruled between AD 750 and 1020 and comprises of Konkana 900 including the territories of Goa,

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<sup>1</sup> V.T. Gune. *Gazetteer of the Union Territory: Goa, Daman and Diu. Part I: Goa.* 1979. 82 – 83.

Iridge Vishaya including Ratnagiri and Sawantawadi. The Kolhapur or Valivade Silaharas ruled between the AD 1000 and 1205.

One of the most important features of the inscriptions of Shilaharas was that they claimed their descent from the mythical Vidhyadhara prince Jimutavahana. He was the son of the Jimutaketu. According to the traditional account he sacrificed himself as *Ahara* or food for *Garuda* the eagle, the *Shila* or stone and rescued the life of the great *Naga* or serpent known as Shankhachuda. His descendants thus came to be known as *Shilaharas*.<sup>2</sup> The Shilaharas were the followers of Brahmanical religion and ardent devotees the Goddess Mahalakshmi of Kolhapur. However, they extended their patronage to Jains.<sup>3</sup> Their *lanchana* (insignia) was the Garuda.

Sanaphulla (c. A.D. 765 – 785), the founder of Goa Silaharas obtained lordship over the territory between the Sahyadri mountains and the sea coast (*Samudratira Sahyantadesha*) by the favour of his suzerain Krishna I. He was ruling over the Goa region called Simhala. The modern Goa Velha or Gopakapattana of the Kadambas from the Gowadvipa or Tiswadi Taluka might have been its capital under Sanaphulla. He was succeeded Dhammiyara.

Dhammiyara (c. A.D. 785 – 820) was said to have fortified the Ballipattana. He must have added some more territory to his kingdom towards the north and thus seem to have later shifted his capital to a more central place at Ballipattana.<sup>4</sup>

Aiyaparaja (c. A.D. 820 - 845) invaded Chandrapura and with the help of a branch of the Sendraka family and assumed the over lordship over this territory. He invaded Chandrapur and said to have bathed there with coconut water celebrating his victory over the kingdom.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> V.T Gune. *Gazetteer of the Union Territory: Goa, Daman and Diu. Part I: Goa.* 1979. 83.

<sup>3</sup> Pratima Kamat. *Farar Far.* 16

<sup>4</sup> V.T. Gune. *Gazetteer of the Union Territory: Goa, Daman and Diu. Part I: Goa.* 1979. 85.

<sup>5</sup> Anant Ramakrishna Sinai Dhume. *The Cultural History of Goa, from 10000 B.C. – 1352 A.D.* 259

Avasara I (c. A.D. 845 – 870) was conversant with the principles of political science.<sup>6</sup> Adityavarman (c. A.D. 870 – 895) was brilliant as the sun in his favour. It appears that under his rule, the power of the Goa Shilaharas had extended over the whole Konkan from Goa to Thana.<sup>7</sup>

Avasara II (c. A.D. 895 – 920) was the son of the Adityavaraman and said to have rendered help to the rulers of the Chemulya and Chandrapura.

Indraraja (c. A.D. 920 – 970) was *Trangabhogatusndarah* and was a quiet ruler without any ambition. No event of political importance seems to have taken place during his regime.<sup>8</sup> Bhima (c. A.D. 920 – 970) is said to have annexed Chandramandala just as Rahu eclipse the moon at the lunar eclipse. By this time Kantakacharya or Shasta I of Goa Kadambas was struggling to become *Mahamandaleshwara* or feudatory at Chandrapur, perhaps at the expense of the ancient ruler of the place whose names are shrouded in mystery.<sup>9</sup> He had to annex Chandrapur to prevent it from falling prey to the Kadamba attacks.

Avasara III (c. A.D. 970 - 995) (known date A.D. 988) was a man of noble nature and pious and peaceful ruler and said to have no enemy.

Rattaraja (c. A.D. 995 - 1024) (known dates A.D. 1008 and 1010) was described as *Mahamandalika Shri Rattarya Raja*. During the reign of emperor Vikramaditya V who was a weak ruler and could not punish his feudatories, he declared himself independent.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> V.T. Gune. *Gazetteer of the Union Territory*. 86.

<sup>7</sup> V.T. Gune. *Gazetteer of the Union Territory*. 86.

<sup>8</sup> V.T. Gune. *Gazetteer of the Union Territory*. 86.

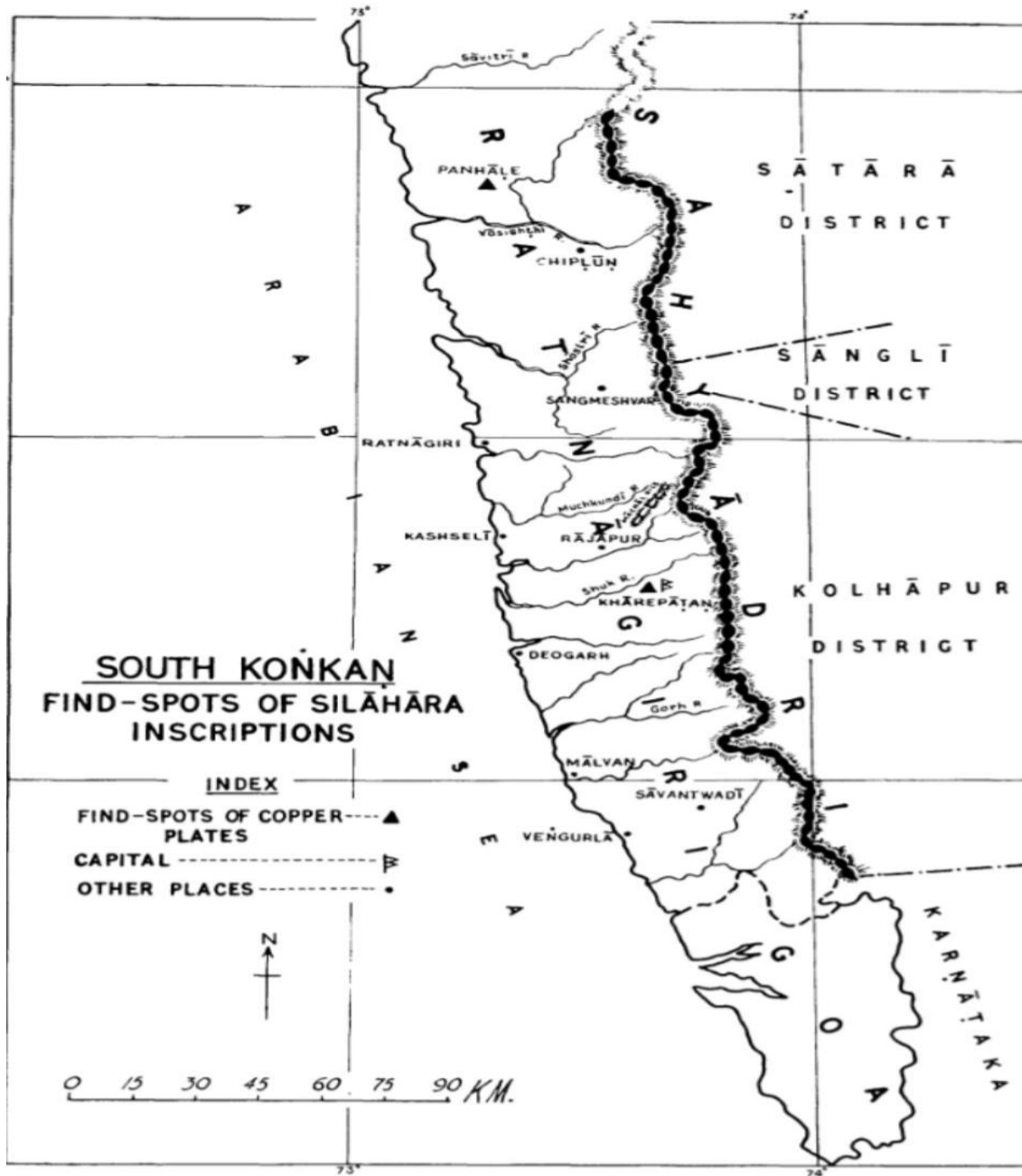
<sup>9</sup> V.T. Gune. *Gazetteer of the Union Territory*. 86.

<sup>10</sup> V.T. Gune. *Gazetteer of the Union Territory*. 88.

The Goa Shilaharas were replaced by the Goa Kadambas under the Chalukas of Kalyani, from A.D. 1020. The latter two branches also continued to rule parts of the Goa territory during the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, whenever the power of the Kadambas was weakened.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> V.T. Gune. *Gazetteer of the Union Territory*. 83.



Map 1.1: Shilaharas of South Konkan

Source: *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* by V. V. Mirashi

## GOA KADAMBAS

The Kadambas of Goa ruled from the middle of the 10<sup>th</sup> century to the latter part of the 13<sup>th</sup> century A.D.<sup>12</sup> The original Kingdom of the Kadambas belonged to the Brahmin Manavya gotra and it consisted of the territory lying south of the island of Goa inclusive of a large part of Salcete and a strip of land approaching the Sahyadris, with Chandrapur as the capital.<sup>13</sup> They styled themselves as *Banavasipuravaradhishisvara* 'Supreme lord of Banavasi, the best of towns'. During the eleventh century A.D., the Shilahara's power began to decline by both external and internal factors. Shasthadeva I took advantage of this situation to end the North Konkan Shilahara's control in Goa.<sup>14</sup>

The Goan Kadambas claimed that their ancestor, Trilochana-Kadamba, or the 'three-eyed Kadamba,' was the four-armed and three-eyed Jayanta. According to legend, he sprang from a drop of sweat that dropped to Earth from God Shiva's forehead when the demon Tripura was defeated, close to the roots of a Kadamba tree.<sup>15</sup> Their emblem (*lanchana*) was a lion, and their banner's emblem was Hanuman.<sup>16</sup>

Shasthadeva I or Chaturbhuja (A.D. 966 - 980) was the founder of the Goa Kadambas. During his rule, the North Konkan Shilaharas had made deep invasions into South Konkan up to Gopakapattana. He had assumed the overlordship of the North Konkan Shilaharas he was a *mahamandaleshvara* of the western Chalukyas.<sup>17</sup>

Guhalladeva II (980 – 1005) was the son of the King Chaturbhuja and his Queen Akkadevi.<sup>18</sup> He was styled as the ruler of Palasige – 12000 and Konkan – 900.<sup>19</sup> He was described by his

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<sup>12</sup> V. R. Mitragotri. *Socio – cultural History of Goa from Bhojas to Vijayanagra*. 39

<sup>13</sup> Pratima Kamat. *Farar Far*. 17

<sup>14</sup> Pratima Kamat. *Farar Far*. 17

<sup>15</sup> George Moraes. *The Kadamba Kula A History of Ancient and Medieval Karnataka*. (Bombay:- B.X. Furtado and sons. 1931). 8

<sup>16</sup> V. R. Mitragotri. *Socio – cultural History of Goa from Bhojas to Vijayanagra*. 40.

<sup>17</sup> Pratima Kamat. *Farar Far*. 18

<sup>18</sup> George Moraes. *The Kadamba Kula A History of Ancient and Medieval Karnataka*. 170

<sup>19</sup> Pratima Kamat. *Farar Far*. 19

successors as "the eye of the Universe", "ornament of the race of the Kadambas", "King of Kings" and "Sovereign". He was an ornament of the Goa Kadamba race. He overcame the neighbouring seven Malaya rulers. In addition to this he had extended the boundaries of his kingdom.<sup>20</sup>

Shasthadeva II (1005 – 1050) was the son of Guhalladeva. He was also known as the Shshtha, Chatta and Chattaya.<sup>21</sup> He had undertaken many expeditions to conquer the region of Goa. He was a very powerful ruler and no one can stand before him. He was known as the *vair-ibha-kamthirava*.<sup>22</sup>

Jaykeshi I (1050 – 1080) was the son of Shashthadeva. He was known as Viravarma. He assumed the title of 'the ruler of the Konkan rashtra', including Kapardikadvipa. Gopakapattana became an important commercial centre during his reign. He was successful in domestic policies as well as in external relations.<sup>23</sup> The reign of Jayakeshi was flourishing as the streets of Jayakeshi's capital were filled with the palanquins which were ornamented with jewels of his numerous Hindu Purohits.<sup>24</sup>

Guhalladeva III (1080 – 1100) was the son of the Jayakeshi I. He was described as the 'the great lord of the best of the cities by the name of the Gopakapura'.<sup>25</sup> He was not an efficient administrator. Having known this by North Konkan Shilahara ruler, Anantapala made up his mind and attack on the region of Goa. Although he was not a great ruler like his father but he was a generous and charitable.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> George Moraes. *The Kadamba Kula A History of Ancient and Medieval Karnataka* 170.

<sup>21</sup> George Moraes. *The Kadamba Kula A History of Ancient and Medieval Karnataka*. 173.

<sup>22</sup> R. N. Gurav. "The Kadambas of Goa and Their Inscriptions." Unpublished PhD Thesis. Karnataka University, 1969. 62.

<sup>23</sup> Mitragotri. *Socio – cultural History of Goa from Bhojas to Vijayanagra*. 40.

<sup>24</sup> George Moraes. *The Kadamba Kula A History of Ancient and Medieval Karnataka*. 185.

<sup>25</sup> George Moraes. *The Kadamba Kula A History of Ancient and Medieval Karnataka*. 188

<sup>26</sup> George Moraes. *The Kadamba Kula A History of Ancient and Medieval Karnataka*. 188.

Vijayaditya (1100 – 1104) was the son of Jayakeshi and younger brother of Guhalladeva III. He was described as a wise administrator. He himself did not rule independently over the region rather he seems to have jointly ruled along with his brother.<sup>27</sup>

Jayakeshi II (1104 – 1147/ 48) declared himself independent of the Chalukyan emperor.<sup>28</sup> He was an aggressive ruler and a wise administrator.<sup>29</sup> During his reign, the territories of the Goa Kadambas expanded from Thana in the North to Uttar Kannada in the south.<sup>30</sup> He styled himself as *Konkanacharavarti* or the ‘Emperor of the Konkan’.<sup>31</sup>

Sivachitta or Permadi (1147/48 – 1181) was the elder son of the Jayakeshi II and Mailaladevi. He was an independent ruler and assumed the title of Sivachitta. He succeeded his father in A.D. 1147 – 48. He was a great devotee of Shiva. Permadi was regarded as *Malavara -Marin* or ‘the slayer of the Malavas’.<sup>32</sup> His crown queen was Kamaladevi, who was described as the chief queen among his wife.<sup>33</sup>

Vishnuchitta Vijayaditya II (1147/48 – 1187/88): was also regarded as Vishnuchitta. He was also the son of the Jayakeshi II. He was called as the Vanibhushana or Sanasvatibhushana. He was a great devotee of Vishnu.<sup>34</sup> Vijayaditya II was a great genius during his reign. He was expert in arts and science. In addition to this he also acquired mastery over vocal and instrumental music.<sup>35</sup>

Jayakeshi III (1187/88 - 1216) was the son of Vijayaditya II and his queen Pattamahadevi. He was regarded as the *Konkanachakravarti* or ‘emperor of the Konkan’. The inscriptional records of the Jayakeshi III regarded him as a successful ruler.<sup>36</sup> He maintained powerful armies that

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<sup>27</sup> R. N. Gurav. “The Kadambas of Goa and Their Inscriptions.” 138.

<sup>28</sup> Pratima Kamat. *Farar Far*. 19

<sup>29</sup> V.T. Gune. *Gazetteer of the Union Territory*. 105.

<sup>30</sup> Mitragotri. *Bhojas to Vijayanagara*. 40

<sup>31</sup> George Moraes. *The Kadamba Kula A History of Ancient and Medieval Karnataka*. 191.

<sup>32</sup> J F Fleet. *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*. (Madras: Asian Educational services. 1988) 569.

<sup>33</sup> George Moraes. *The Kadamba Kula A History of Ancient and Medieval Karnataka*. 199.

<sup>34</sup> J F Fleet. *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*. (Madras: Asian Educational services. 1988) 569.

<sup>35</sup> George Moraes. *The Kadamba Kula A History of Ancient and Medieval Karnataka*. 201.

<sup>36</sup> George Moraes. *The Kadamba Kula A History of Ancient and Medieval Karnataka*. 203.

consisted of elephants, horses and chariots. He was also called as the Sivachitta and Mahamaheshvara.<sup>37</sup>

Tribhuvanamalla or Sovadeva (1216 – 1237/38) was a great ruler of his period, as he maintained independence of the kingdom intact and enhanced its glory. He also took another title such as Tribhuvanamalla. It means that the ‘the wrestler of the three worlds.’<sup>38</sup>

Shashthadeva III (1246/47 – 1260) was the son of the Tribhuvanamalla and Manikadevi. He was known as Sivachiita-Chattya-deva.<sup>39</sup>

Kamadeva (1260 -1310/11) was described as the King Kama or Kanava. He was said to have attained fortune by worshipping lord Mallinatha.<sup>40</sup> It was during the reign of the Kamadeva, that Malik Kafur marched to South and overran the whole of Goa.

### **MALIK KAFUR INVASION**

Malik Kafur, the general of Allauddin Khilji, attacked the region of Goa in the year 1310 – 11. They plundered and burned the capital of the Goa Kadambas, that is, Chandrapur. The first ruler of the Bahmani Empire was Ala-ud-din Hasan Bahman Shah who was also known as Ala-ud-din I. He ruled from AD 1347 to 1358. Under him, the ports of Goa and Dabhol came under the Bahmani territory. They attacked Chandrapur and killed the Ratt Kadamb king. The Ratt Kadamb queen Kevana committed suicide by jumping in the Kushawati River. Goa became the part of the Delhi Sultanate under Tughlaqs in c. 1328 – 29.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> R. N. Gurav. Gurav, R N. “The Kadambas of Goa and Their Inscriptions.” 262 – 263.

<sup>38</sup> George Moraes. *The Kadamba Kula A History of Ancient and Medieval Karnataka*. 207.

<sup>39</sup> George Moraes. *The Kadamba Kula A History of Ancient and Medieval Karnataka*. 209.

<sup>40</sup> V.T. Gune. *Gazetteer of the Union Territory*. 113..

<sup>41</sup> Prajal Sakhardande. *Goa Gold Goa silver*. (Panjim: Broadway Publishing House, 2019). 64-65

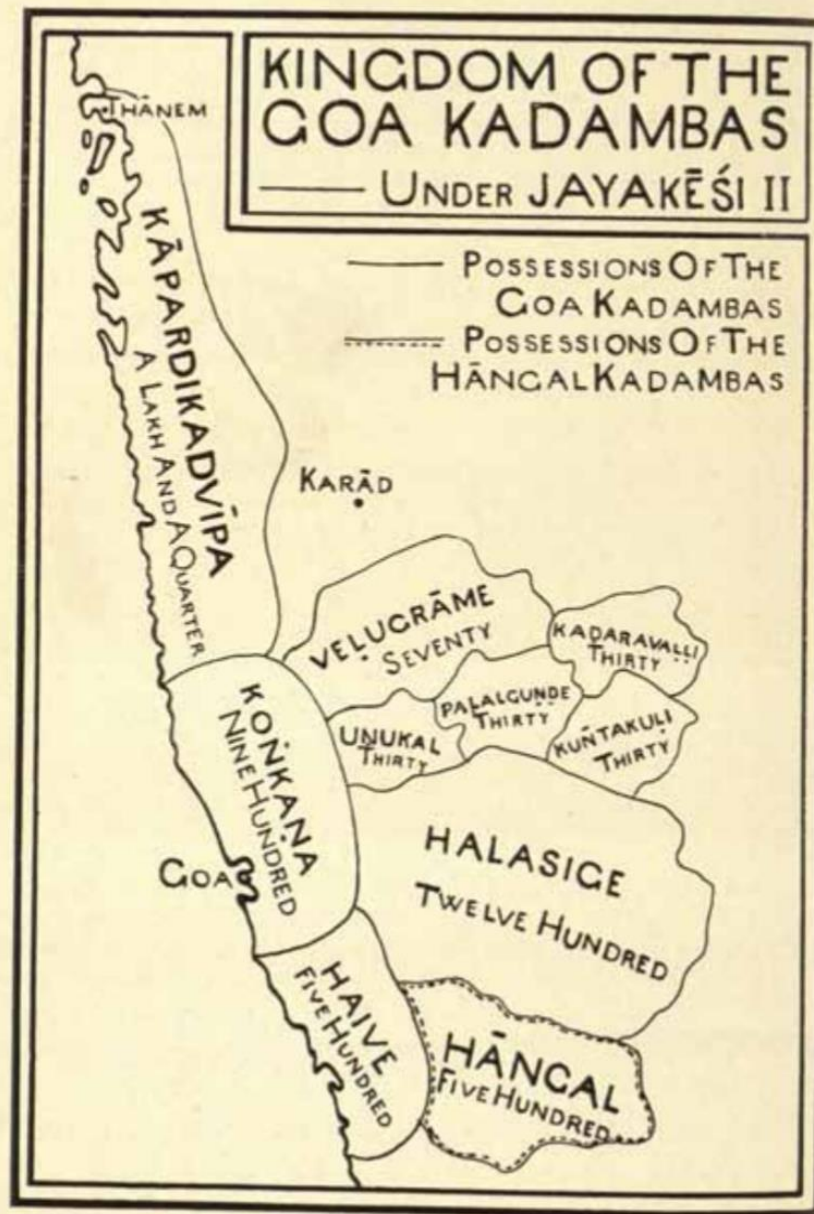


Fig 1.2: Map of Goa Kadambas

Source: The Kadamba Kula by George Moraes

## VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE

With the fall of Goa Kadambas, Goa witnessed constant wars between the emerging powers of Vijayanagra and Bahamani kingdom.<sup>42</sup> The foundation of Vijayanagara Empire was laid by the two brothers Harihara and Bukka in the year 1336.<sup>43</sup> They ruled over the region of Goa by sending their governors from their capital Hampi to the outlying province of Goa. These Governors were conferred with vast powers. Throughout the fourteenth century, the region of Goa underwent major transformations. The kings of Vijayanagara are known as the *rayas* (meaning the king). The Rayas of Vijayanagar set their eyes on the prosperous port of Goa because of their lucrative horse trade that brought in large amounts of money for the local authorities.<sup>44</sup>

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 was a co-founder of the Vijayanagara Empire. He ordered Madhava Mantri, his minister, to capture Goa for the Vijayanagara Empire from the Bahamani sultans. Goa was one of the important trading centres on the west coast. Under his reign the empire was divided into several rajyas and Goa was a part of the Aragagutti rajya.<sup>45</sup>

### Madhav Mantri

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

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<sup>42</sup> Mitragotri. 41.

<sup>43</sup> Robert Sewell. *A forgotten Empire*. (New Delhi: India Book Houde. 1884.) 1.

<sup>44</sup> Kamat Pratima. *Farar Far*. 21

<sup>45</sup> K.A.N. Satri. *A History of South India: from Prehistoric times to the fall of Vijayanagara*. (Madras:- Oxford University Press. 1958). 256.

reducer of the seven Konkan, Raya of Goa or Sovereign of Goa. He established the *Linga* of Saptakoteswara at Divar and built a dam called Mamchalasamudra 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.<sup>46</sup>

In 1377 Harihara II recaptured Vijayanagara empire from the Bahamani Sultan Mujahid.<sup>47</sup> Harihara under the command of Bachappa Odeyar sent an army and routed the Kadambas forever. He was the first king to give himself imperial titles such as *Maharajadhiraja*.<sup>48</sup>

Devaraya I was a peaceful ruler. He patronised art and literature and was responsible for the reorganisation of the Vijayanagara armies and chancing their sufficiency.<sup>49</sup> During his reign, five governors one after one ruled in Goa namely Vittana Odeyar – 1407, Savanna – 1412, Najanna Oossavi – 1413, Viruppa Dannayaka – 1417, Mallappa Odeyar – 1419.

Devaraya II was known as Pradhan Devaraya who is regarded as the one of the greatest monarchs of Karnataka, witnessed a remarkable military activity.

Under Vijayanagar, Goa formed a part of its Aragagutti *rajya* which included Tiswadi (Trinchadvaatika), Salcete (Shat Shasti), Ponda (Antruz), Saptate (Sattari), Dvadashadesh (Bardez), Bicholim and Pernem and by 1391, Sawantawadi too was added to it. But in 1448, Goa was separated from Chandragutti.<sup>50</sup> Due to silting, the port of Gopakapattana had lost its importance. On the other hand Ela, a new port, was created.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Epigraphia Indica XLII. 112 -116

<sup>47</sup> Olivinho Gomes. *A Concise history of Goa*. (Panaji: Directorate of Official Language. 2010). 48.

<sup>48</sup> Robert Sewell. *A forgotten Empire*. 48.

<sup>49</sup> M. N. Venkata, Ramanappa. *Outline of the South Indian History*. New Delhi: Vikas publishing House Pvt. Ltd, 1987. 164.

<sup>50</sup> Pratima Kamat. *Farar Far*. 21.

<sup>51</sup> Kamat Pratima. *Farar Far*. 22

Vijayanagar court was adorned by respectable courtiers and able generals, scholars, eminent poets, artists, and envoys from various countries.<sup>52</sup> After the downfall of Vijayanagara's control over Goa, the region was headed by the local chieftains, the Naiks of Goa and continued till the establishment of the Bijapur sultanate.

#### Governors of Goa under Vijayanagar rule

1. Vassanta Madhava – 1379
2. Mallappa Odeyar – 1378
3. Narahari – 1391
4. Bachappa Odeyar – 1396
5. Mai Sinai Vagle – 1403
6. Vittana Odeyar – 1407
7. Savanna – 1412
8. Najanna Gossavi – 1413
9. Viruppa Dannayaka – 1417
10. Mallappa Odeyar – 1419
11. Trimbak – Deva – 1424
12. Handiya Raya – 1430
13. Mallarasa Odeyar – 1435
14. Irugappa Odeyar – 1443

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<sup>52</sup> M. N. Venkata, Ramanappa. *Outline of the South Indian History*. New Delhi: Vikas publishing House Pvt. Ltd, 1987. 165.

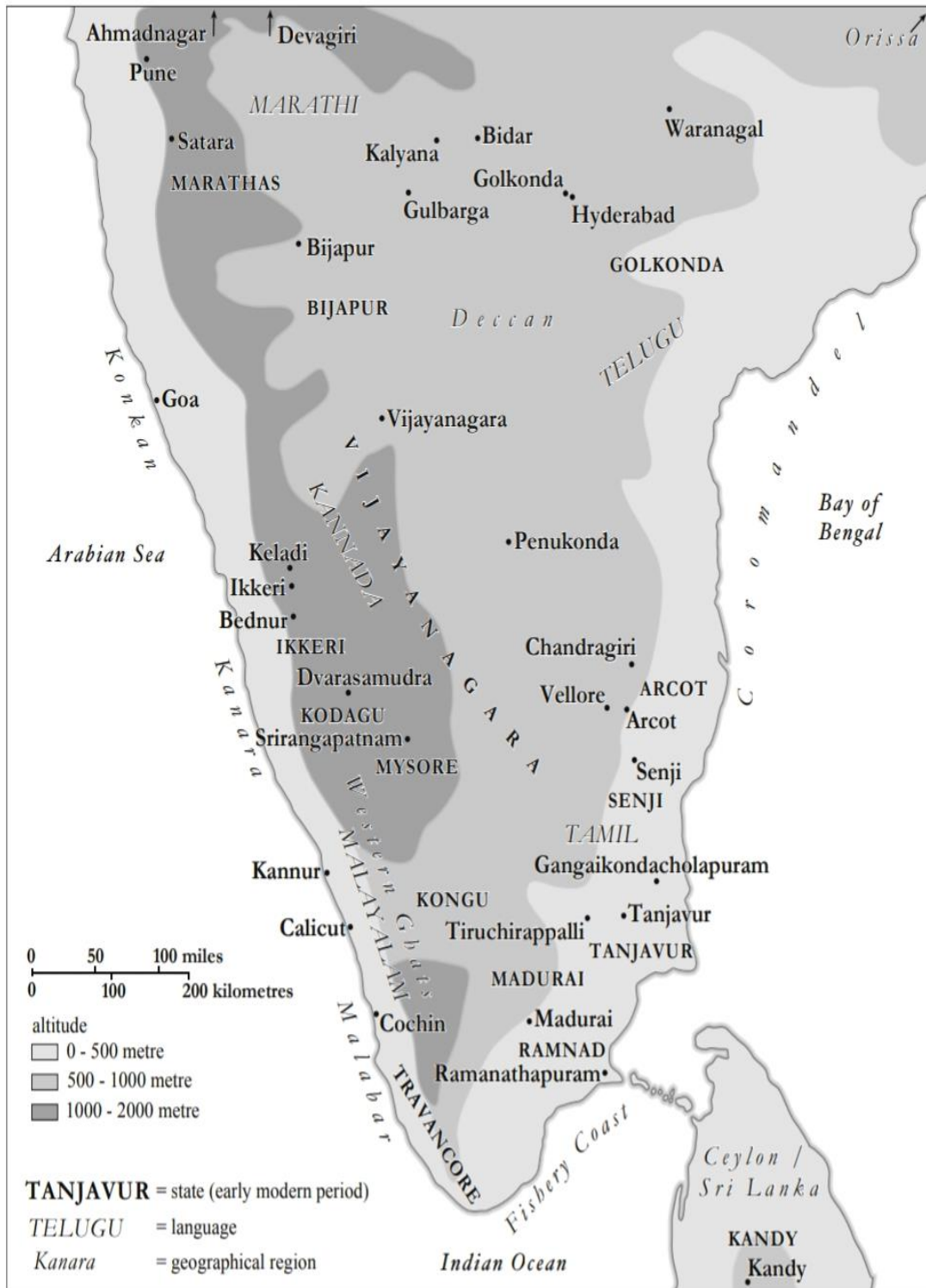


Fig 1.3: Map of Vijayanagara Empire

Source: *Heirs of Vijayanagara* by Lennart Bes

### CHAPTER 3: COURTLY CULTURE IN THE SHILAHARAs PERIOD

In the eighth century A.D. the Konkan region was ruled by the Shilaharas known as the South Konkan Shilaharas or the Goa Shilaharas. They mainly ruled over the region from the ‘*Sahya-mountain to the sea*’ (Samundratira Sahyantadesha) under the overlordship of the Rashtrakutas of Malkhed. They ruled over the region from AD 750 to 1020 while the North Konkan Shilaharas and the Kolhapur Shilaharas also extended their rule over the region in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries. The South Konkan or Goa Shilahara dynasty is probably the oldest of the three Shilahara<sup>1</sup> and contains 900 villages. The Shilaharas were known for their patronage of Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism. Temples, coins, sculptures, and inscriptions are of much importance that deal with the activities of the period.

Inscriptions of the Shilaharas are of great importance but they are very few in numbers. These inscriptions gave information about the working of the courtly culture in the Shilahara period including polity, society, economy, and culture. Daud Ali in his work informed that

The inscriptions themselves provide interesting evidence, as they typically involved the work of several men who performed distinctly different tasks, often with varying degrees of literacy - one who composed the eulogy, one who drafted the grant and wrote it on bark or palm leaf and/or the surface onto which it was to be copied, and finally one who engraved the document onto some permanent material like copper or stone.<sup>2</sup>

The Shilaharas king had Kannada as their mother tongue.<sup>3</sup> Some records include the names and some terms that are in Kannada. However, the records of the Goa Shilaharas are mostly in Sanskrit language with few Marathi words and lines combined in the composition. Sometimes the inscriptions are written partly in verse and in prose. In the region of Goa and Maharashtra,

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<sup>1</sup> Aditi Shukla. “Sanskrit, State and legitimacy in Goa (4<sup>th</sup> century Ad - 1565)”. (Panaji, Goa University, 2021). 88

<sup>2</sup> Daud Ali. *Courtly culture and political life in early Medieval India*. (New Delhi: Cambridge University Press. 2006), 82.

<sup>3</sup> V.V.Mirashi. *Corpus Inscription Indicarum. Vol VI. Corpus Inscription Indicarum. Vol VI.* vi-vii

the rulers did not use the Kannada language because the people did not understand that language. Even though the language of the king was different from the people, the king gave importance to the language of the people at court so that he could gain legitimacy of their authority. Thus, it can be understood that the king used a language suitable for the people. Yet, there are Kannada inscriptions found in the region of Kolhapur Shilahara, as Kannada was the language of the people.<sup>4</sup> It would indicate that the court comprises some officials who had the knowledge of Kannada.

Sheldon Pollock discusses Vernacularisation. It is possible that Kannada was one of the languages used in the court. Kannada, during the ninth to eleventh century transformed into an language for literature and political expression.<sup>5</sup> The Thana copper plates dated AD 1017 of Arikesarin of the North Konkan Silaharas were found in Thana. These inscriptions made use of the Sanskrit language and utilised Nagari characters. The Chinchani plate dated AD 1034 of the reign of Chhittaraja of the North Konkan Silaharas was found in the district of Thana. The inscription was in Sanskrit with Nagari characters.<sup>6</sup> As stated by the Sheldon Pollock, Sanskrit was regarded as the “language of the gods”.<sup>7</sup>

All the records mentioned the weekday on which the record was issued. The Balipattana grant of Rattaraja of Saka 932 was issued Sunday on the occasion of Uttarayana Sankranti.<sup>8</sup>

Although the Shilaharas were feudatories of the Rashtrakutas, they were responsible for administering the Southern Konkan region and trade activities carried out through the Western Sea. Under the Shilaharas, the largest administrative unit was the *desas*. Konkana was called *Mahadesa* and it comprises several *desas*. The *desas* in North and South Konkan were divided into *vishayas*. The record of the Shilaharas mentions several *vishayas* such as Panada Vishaya,

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<sup>4</sup> Aditi Shukla. “Sanskrit, State and legitimacy in Goa (4<sup>th</sup> century Ad - 1565)”. 89.

<sup>55</sup> Sheldon Pollock. *Cosmopolitan and Vernacularisation in History*. 229.

<sup>6</sup> V.V. Mirashi. *Corpus Inscription Indicarum. Vol VI. lvii*

<sup>7</sup> Sheldon Pollock. *The Language of the Gods*. 12.

<sup>8</sup> V.V.Mirashi. *Corpus Inscription Indicarum. Vol VI. Inscriptions of Silaharas*. (New Delhi: The Director General, Archaeological Survey of India. 1977). 193-199

Chikkalada vishaya, Mahirihara vishaya, Varetika vishaya, Shatshasti vishaya (so named because it contained sixty-six villages), Anitapalla vishaya, Karakuta vishaya, Mandaraja vishaya, and Katashadi vishaya. There are no significant records about the South Konkan Shilaharas as very few inscriptions are known from that period. During the period when the Shilaharas of North Konkan extended their power to the South Konkan, they made Pranala (or Panala) *desa* comprising the territory around Panhale in the Dapoli taluka of the Ratnagiri district, the centre of power. This region was called Pranala vishaya in one record.<sup>9</sup>

### Composition of the Court

#### King

The form of government in all three states of the Shilaharas was monarchical.<sup>10</sup> The king had absolute authority in the court and had the power to appoint governors and ministers. In addition to this, the king also had the liberty to declare war and or peace. The Shilaharas called themselves Kshatriyas.

According to the Yajnavalkya Smriti, the primary duty of a Kshatriya i.e. a ruler is the protection of his subjects. The Smriti says further that the king receives one-sixth of the religious merit of his subjects if he protects them properly. If he fails in this duty and the subjects act irreligiously, he incurs half of the sins committed by them.<sup>11</sup>

One of the principal duties of the king was to see whether all castes acted according to their respective *dharma* as laid down in the sacred works. The Shilaharas like other rulers of the period said to have been alive to this royal duty. In order to secure religious merit the king make *mahadanas*.<sup>12</sup>

The Shilaharas were very fond of assuming higher titles *birudas*.<sup>13</sup> They styled themselves as *Mandalika* which means the ruler of a district, province, or *Mandala*. It is also the title of a

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<sup>9</sup> V.V.Mirashi. *Corpus Inscription Indicarum*. Vol VI. xxxvi

<sup>10</sup> V.V.Mirashi. *Corpus Inscription Indicarum*. Vol VI. xxxviii

<sup>11</sup> V.V.Mirashi. *Corpus Inscription Indicarum*. Vol VI. xli

<sup>12</sup> V.V.Mirashi. *Corpus Inscription Indicarum*. Vol VI liv

<sup>13</sup> V.V.Mirashi. *Corpus Inscription Indicarum*. Vol VI. xxxviii

feudatory chief. An inscription refers to the reign of the Shilahara king, *Mandalika Rattaraja*.<sup>14</sup> But their early records do not mention the higher titles than Mahasamantas as they were the feudatories of Rastrakutas. However, when their power and prestige increased, they began to assume higher titles, though of a feudatory type, such as *Maha-samata-sekhara* or *Maha-samant-adhipati*. As the power of the Shilharas increased, they began to assume imperial titles such as *Rajadhiraja*, *Konkanachakravartin*, etc.<sup>15</sup> The Thana Shilharas carried the title of *Mahasamntadipati*. Thus, the South Konkan Silaharas, the North Konkan Silaharas and the Kolhapur Silaharas used titles that indicated their feudatory status.<sup>16</sup> The Kharepatan copper plates dated AD 1095 of Anantadeva I of the North Konkan Silaharas referred to Anantadeva with the title of *mahamandaleshvaradhipati* in one part and in the other he referred to as Anantadevaraja with the title of *mahamandaleshvara*. In another section of the inscription, he called Anantadeva with the title of *Mahamandalika*.<sup>17</sup> Anantadeva III assumed the imperial title *Maharajadhiraja* and *Konkana-Chakravartin*.<sup>18</sup> Chhintarajadeva has obtained the right to the five mahasabdas<sup>19</sup> and he was adorned with all royal titles such as *Mahasamantadhipati*, ‘the lord of the city of Tagara,’ ‘a king of the Silahara family,’ ‘a scion of the family of Jimutavahana,’ ‘(he) who has the ensign of the golden Garuda,’ ‘(he) who is a born Vidyadhara,’ ‘(he) who is an ocean of pride,’ ‘(he) who has surpassed the world in liberality.’<sup>20</sup> Thus there is a possibility that the kings were announced in the court which allowed him to obtain greater respect among the members of the court.

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<sup>14</sup> V. V. Mirashi. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*. 184

<sup>15</sup> V. V. Mirashi. *Corpus Inscription Indicarum*. Vol VI. xxxix

<sup>16</sup> Christopher H. de Souza. “Craftsmen and Artisans in Goa (A.D. 1000 to 1700)”. (Panaji, Goa University, 2020). 3

<sup>17</sup> V. V. Mirashi. *Corpus Inscription Indicarum*. Vol VI. 115 – 116, 120

<sup>18</sup> V. V. Mirashi. xx

<sup>19</sup> They to the privilege of enjoying the sounds of five musical instruments, or five titles beginning with *mahat*; five official designations beginning with the word *maha* in the North and five kinds of musical instrument in the south; South India, it was the same as *panca – mahaninada* i.e. the sound of the five great musical instruments called the *panca – mahavadya* enumerated by some as a horn, a tabor, a conch shell, a kettle drum, a gong; in some parts of North India. DC Sircar. *Indian Epigraphic Glossary*. Delhi. 230.

<sup>20</sup> Mirashi. 69

The Shilaharas king Aiyapa of South Konkan Shilaharas was regarded as a *Vigigishu* (*Vigigishu* means one who wishes to conquer or the ambitious king)<sup>21</sup> ruler who invaded Chandrapura and was said to have bathed there with coconut water signifying his victory over the principality.<sup>22</sup> Avasara was mentioned as knowledgeable about the principles of political science.<sup>23</sup> It is possible that the king used this knowledge in the court. Adityavarman and Avasara II aided the rulers of Chandrapur and Chemulya or modern Chaul. Bhima said to have annexed *Chandramandala*. Avasara was a man of noble nature and a moral and peaceful ruler. However, Aparaditya I was himself a great scholar and a liberal patron of Sanskrit learning. His court was graced by great poets which is indicated by the beautiful verses descriptive of him and his administration which occurs in the Panhale plate of his son Vikramaditya.<sup>24</sup> Aparajita appears as a god of love to young women and a clear intellect. He had beautiful bodily splendour and engaged himself in noble activities as well as he had filled the three worlds with his matchless fame and was skilled in arts.<sup>25</sup>

In most traditional monarchies, the eldest son always inherited the throne from his father. This practice has been in place for centuries and it ensures a smooth transfer of power. This enabled the new ruler to maintain continuity in leadership in the court. However, there are instances where the reigning king appoints a younger son to govern over specific provinces. This practice has been adopted in some cultures to ensure a more effective distribution of power and resources. By distributing power to able individuals, the monarch can ensure that the kingdom is well-managed. It also ensures distribution of resources and the well-being of the state is maintained. Among the North Konkan Shilahara, King Aparaditya intended to give North

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<sup>21</sup> Shyam N. Bhat and Nagendra Rao. "History of Goa regarding its Feudal feature", *Indian Historical Review*, vol. 40, no. 2 (2013) 260; Daud Ali. *Courtly culture and political life in early Medieval India*. (New Delhi: Cambridge University Press. 2006), 33.

<sup>22</sup> V.T. Gune *Gazetteer of the Union Territory: Goa, Daman and Diu. Part I: Goa*. 1979. 85 – 86.

<sup>23</sup> V.T. Gune *Gazetteer of the Union Territory*. 86.

<sup>24</sup> V.V.Mirashi. *Corpus Inscription Indicarum. Vol VI*. lxxiii

<sup>25</sup> V.V. Mirashi. *Corpus Inscription Indicarum. Vol VI*. 26

Konkan to Haripaladeva and South Konkan to Vikramaditya to prevent dissension in the family after his death.<sup>26</sup>

In the administration of the state, the king was assisted by Governors (*rashtrapatis*), Collectors (*Vishaya patis*) village headmen (*grama patis*) and a ministry consisting of

1. *Pradhan* – chief minister,
2. *Amatya* – finance minister,
3. *Sandhi-Vigrahika* – minister for war and peace,
4. *Pauras* of Nagar or town – head of city,
5. head of *Hanjaman* or settlements of *Shrenis* – head of guilds, artisans, traders, etc.<sup>27</sup>

The governors of the provinces were often military officers called as *Dandadhipati*. When Shilaharas conquered South Konkan, they constituted the northern part of it into a separate province, with Pranalaka as its capital.<sup>28</sup> The Shilaharas must have appointed several Kshatriyas to high posts in their kingdoms. There are many *Samantas*, *Thakurs*, and *Prabhus* mentioned in the Shilaharas record probably belonged to the Kshatriya caste.<sup>29</sup>

The king appointed Counsellors (*Mantrins*) and Ministers (*Mahamatyas*) for the various departments. Their names together with their official designation occur in several records of the Northern Shilaharas and are useful in chronological discussion. In North Konkan the ministers were generally five in number, looking after the ministration.

1. The *Mahapradhana* (called Sarvadhikari in one record) or Chief Minister
2. The *Mahamatya* or Chief Administrator
3. *Maha – sandhivigrahika* or the Minister for Foreign Affairs
4. The *Prathama Chhepati* or the Senior treasury officer

<sup>26</sup> V.V.Mirashi. *Corpus Inscription Indicarum*. Vol VI. xviii

<sup>27</sup> V.T.Gune *Gazetteer of the Union Territory: Goa, Daman and Diu. Part I: Goa*. 1979. 90

<sup>28</sup> V.V.Mirashi. *Corpus Inscription Indicarum*. Vol VI. xlii

<sup>29</sup> V.V.Mirashi. *Corpus Inscription Indicarum*. Vol VI. lix

5. *Dvitiya Chhepati* or Junior treasury officer.<sup>30</sup>

In some of the inscriptions it also mentioned about the *Rajaguru* or the Royal priest who seems to have exerted considerable influence at the royal court. There are instances where in the South Konkan Shilaharas and Kolhapur Shilaharas mentioned Hadapa or Hadapavala who seems to be the betelbox – bearing attendant of the king. There might be several betel box bearers in the court of Shilaharas. As Daud Ali mentioned

there may have been more than a single betel-bearer at court but that the office was seen to be crucial for the king's engagement in court rituals—the betel-bearer had to be literally on hand for the fresh preparation of betel. This included on the one hand the preparation of betel for the king.<sup>31</sup>

In the Pattanakudi plate of Avasara II there is a reference to arecanuts. The three merchants agreed to give two lakhs of arecanuts to the court. From this it can be assumed that there might be betel box bearer in the court of Avasara II.<sup>32</sup> Berlin Museum Plates of Chhittaraja dated AD 956, had information about the footstool of King Kapardin I who belonged to the North Konkan Shilaharas. The stainless footstool was covered with the splendour of fresh jewels on the heads of all the kings.<sup>33</sup> It may refer to a description of royal splendour and wealth, symbolizing the power and authority of the king.

Inscriptions of Shilaharas show the poetic talent of the writers. There is nothing much known about the court poets of the South Konkan Shilahara.<sup>34</sup> But in the Pattanakudi plate there was mentioned about the poet Devapala. He wrote the records about the three merchants. One of the most interesting facts about the court routine during the Shilahara period was that the king before granting anything to the donee, bathed in the holy water. Then gathered people from all

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<sup>30</sup> V.V.Mirashi. *Corpus Inscription Indicarum. Vol VI.* xliii

<sup>31</sup> Daud Ali. "The betel – bag bearer in medieval south Indian history: a study from inscriptions". (Delhi: Primus Books 535 - 558 (2018)). 543.

<sup>32</sup> Mirashi. 183.

<sup>33</sup> V.V. Mirashi. 68

<sup>34</sup> V.V.Mirashi. xxiii

the towns and villages. It enabled the people to visit the court and witness the act of the donation by the king.

During the period, there was an improvement in the status of women in regards to their right of inheritance. In the Ballipattana plate of Shilahara Rattaraja dated A.D. 1010, the king makes a grant for the religious merit of his granddaughter, Annana.<sup>35</sup> In one of the inscriptions of South Konkan Shilahara king Rattaraja, the *Devadasis* are called *darikas*.<sup>36</sup> The Devadasis are the temple dancers, who entertained the god with singing and dancing.<sup>37</sup> Thus, they may have some connection with the court.

### **Brahmanas**

In the Shilaharas period, Brahmanas had an honoured position in the society. They were promoted by giving grants. Many of the Brahmin families had a hereditary connection with the royal court and that perhaps they maintained personal relationship with the royal Patron.<sup>38</sup> The Brahmins dedicate themselves to learning and performing religious rites. The learned Brahmanas who received royal grants were expected to perform eight duties, one of which was observation of national duties (*rashtra – dharma – nirikshana*). They also engage in the practice of giving and receiving gifts. Their ministerial positions in the Shilaharas court were often passed down through the generations within the same family.

In Goa, most of the ministers were Saraswat Brahmins originally from Goa.<sup>39</sup> A Senavai Brahmana was mentioned in the Balipattana plates of Rattaraja.<sup>40</sup> It was recorded that a plot named Kalvala from the village of Bhaktagrama and a orchard of betelnut near the agrahara of village Palaure was given to Sankamaiya, son of the Brahmin Senavai Brahmin of Goa.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> V. V. Mirashi. 193 – 199.

<sup>36</sup> V.R. Mitragotri. *Bhojas to Vijayanagar*. 76

<sup>37</sup> V. V. Mirashi. 1

<sup>38</sup> Ali Daud. *Courtly culture and political life in early Medieval India*. (New Delhi: Cambridge University Press. 2006), 50

<sup>39</sup> Dhume. 304.

<sup>40</sup> Mirashi. lvii

<sup>41</sup> Anant R. S. Dhume. *The Cultural History of Goa from 1000 BC to 1352 AD*. (Panjim: MAPP printers.) 304

Although the brahmanas were involved in religious activities and held ministerial positions in the court at the same time some brahmanas were the merchants in ancient times. They were involved in commerce by the sea – route. Being the members of the group, ‘Shreni’ and so the members were considered as Shrenapatis deteriorated in Prakrit form to Senavai. As merchants by profession through generation, the male generation had to be proficient in writing and counting. He represents perhaps a group of Brahmanas, who over time, came to be known as the Senavai Brahmanas.<sup>42</sup>

The Balipattana plate of Rattaraja dated A.D. 1010 mentioned the certain gifts made by Rattaraja to Sankamaiya, son of a brahmana Nagamaiya. While granting gifts, the King announced in the court that:

‘Be it known to you. On the occasion of Uttarayana Sankranti, on Sunday the first *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Paushya (i.e. Paushya) in the (*cyclic*) year Sadharana in the year nine hundred increased by thirty-two, which have elapsed by the era of the Saka king, in figure 932, the illustrious Rattaraja, adorn with all royal titles, has, by pouring water in his hand on the hand (*of the donee*), granted to Sankamaiya, son of the Brahmana *Senavai* Nagamaiya, a rice field given to him as a means of livelihood of a Brahmana named Chhathavaiya ..... for ( religious merit of) his granddaughter Annana.<sup>43</sup>

From this record, it can be claimed that Rattaraja king, on an auspicious day made a grant to the brahmana. It was held with a ceremony in the court, where in the king announced by pouring water in his hand on the hand of the donee. All the residents of five great *Mathas*, guilds, artisans, and chief *Amatya* were called in his court to witness the event. Additionally, the king also announced that announced in the court that his son and grandson must have to preserve this gift and they should treat it as a tax-free land with the exemption of the sons and grandsons of the Brahmana. This has been written by the son, named Lokaparya, of the

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<sup>42</sup> Mirashi. Ivii -lviii

<sup>43</sup> Mirashi. 193 – 199.

*sandhivigrahika*, the illustrious Devapala.<sup>44</sup> An important thing that can be noted here is that Brahmanas had the most important position in the court during the Shilaharas period as they were provided with lands, orchards, and rice fields as a religious gift for their meritorious work and on the other hand their families could enjoy their rights.

Daud Ali stated that

King wanted their princes to be educated by individual teachers living in hermitages or household communities supported by the royal largesse.<sup>45</sup>

Likewise, there are also references to the Acharyas in the inscriptions of Shilaharas. As they played a significant role in the court. There are some inscriptions which records the grant to Acharya. The Kharepatana plate of Rattaraja, records the grant of three villages: Kushmandi, Asavanire and Vadagule to a Brahmana by the name Atreya. He was the disciple of Acharya Ambhojashambhu of Shaiva sect. The purpose of the grant was to meet the expenses involved in the worship of the god Avveshvara and the maintenance of the temple. After the grant was made Rattaraja announced that the regular and irregular people were not allowed to enter the village. In addition to this, they were also provided with *gadyana* and *dharana* from every ship coming from the foreign land. Along with this, the beneficiaries were also allotted families of female attendants, oil men, gardeners, potters, and washermen. The inscription dated AD 1191 of the Kolhapur Silaharas mentioned the Brahmana who were involved in crafts such as the engraving of inscriptions.<sup>46</sup> It is possible that the king interacted with his ministers in the court. Thus, it is noted that the brahmanas were not only involved in the religious activities but also in engraving.

The Janjira plate of Aparajita dated A.D. 993 informs that king Aparajitadevaraja in the presence of his councillors made a grant. The king donated an orchard to the brahmana Kolama,

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<sup>44</sup> Mirashi. 199

<sup>45</sup> Daud Ali. *Courtly culture and political life in early Medieval India*. 49.

<sup>46</sup> Mirashi. 267-73.

Kolama mastered in Vedas and Samveda. He had performed obligatory rights such as *bali*, *charu*, *vaisvadeva*, *agnihotra* for the king. It can be claimed that the king invited several learned brahmanas to his court. As a result, the king granted them money or a land or their religious performance.<sup>47</sup> An inscription was found at Thana of Arikesarin of the North Konkan Silaharas dated AD 1017. It informs that the king made a grant to the family priest. The purpose of the grant for the performance of six religious duties and for the studying and teaching of the sacred text.<sup>48</sup>

The Bhandup Plate of Chhittaraja dated AD 948 provide information about the illustrious Shilahara king *Mahamandalesvara* Chhittaraja and his ministers (*pradhanas*): *Sarvadhikarin* Naganaiya, *Sandhivigrahika* Sihapaiya, *Karnata-Sandhivigrahika* Kapardin and Srikarana.<sup>49</sup> As Daud Ali quoted “counsellors played a far greater role than the king himself, and in this sense the powerful minister was certainly a king-maker”.<sup>50</sup> Likewise, ministers of King Chhittaraja are shouldering the burden of his government and are looking after the administration.<sup>51</sup>

Shilahara king treat the audience of the court with great honours and respect. While making any announcement in the court the King says, “assembled princes, counsellors, the family priest, ministers, the principal, and subordinate officers as well as the head of the *rashtra*, *vishayas*, towns, village officials and non-officials, government servant and village people as also artisans, guilds and the three classes of townsmen and others”:

I – having bathed at an excellent *tirtha* on Sunday, the fifteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Kārttika in the Saka year 948, the cyclic year being Kshaya, on the occasion of a solar eclipse. (1) have given with great devotion, and as a gift free from taxes, confirming it with the pouring out of water, to the great Brahmana Amadevaiya, the son of the Brahmana Nodamaiya, who is

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<sup>47</sup> Mirashi. 35

<sup>48</sup> Mirashi. 44-46.

<sup>49</sup> Mirashi. 55.

<sup>50</sup> Daud Ali. 58

<sup>51</sup> V. V. Mirashi. 59

always engaged in the performance of the six duties of sacrificing for himself and others, studying (the Vedas etc.) and teaching them to others, and so forth, who is proficient in the performance of sacrifices, who belongs to the Parasara gotra and the Chhandoga Sakha, for the performance of his six religious duties, viz, sacrificing for himself and others, studying and teaching of the sacred texts and so forth, for the reception, daily and occasional, of the guests who may come in and out of season, for the performance of *bali*, *charu*, *vaisvadeva* and *agnihotra* and so forth and for the maintenance of his family-the field of Vōdanibhatṭa extending to its limits, together with all its produce, which is situated in the village of Noura, included in the vishaya of Shatshasti comprising the prosperous city of Sthanaka, the boundaries of which are as follows: on the east the boundary of Gomvani, on the south the boundary of Gora- pavali, on the west a royal road; on the north-east the boundary of Gomvani, which is not to be entered by *chatas* and *bhatas*, not to be assigned and not to be attached."<sup>52</sup>

During Shilaharas period, giving grant to the brahmana was followed with a ceremony. In the ceremony was held in the court itself. The king in the presence of all poured water from his hand to the donee. As a results, brahmana hold over the land as well as his generations enjoyed it. Generally, the main objective of the grant was to provide for the performance of the usual six duties of the Brahmanas, of the obligatory and occasional rites and of *bali*, *charu*, *vaisvadeva* and *agnihotra*.<sup>53</sup>

### **Merchants and Craftsmen**

The administration in the town and village was carried on with the help of committees on which merchants, artisans and trade guilds were represented. Members of the committees are called Mahajans.<sup>54</sup> They are the part of the king's court. It is noted that when the King make any grants, he called all the residents of the town.<sup>55</sup>

The family of merchant-bureaucrats received exemption for their *pravahanas* or coastal craft from the payment of duties at the ports in the Konkan that they traded with. The next generation

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<sup>52</sup> Mirashi. 59

<sup>53</sup> Mirashi. 55

<sup>54</sup> Mirashi. xlii

<sup>55</sup> Mirashi. 185

of this merchant family, Kudukula and Maliya, too, received similar tax exemptions. Thus, the ship-owning merchant by virtue of the wealth that his commercial enterprises commanded, performed crucial administrative functions which, in turn, enhanced his power and prestige in the coastal society.<sup>56</sup>

The Pattanakudi plate of Avasara II dated A.D. 988 records the three merchants namely Nagai – sreshthin, Lokkai – sreshthin and Adityavarman. In the court of Avasara II there were *Revana* – Mantrin, Ukkai – *sreshthin*, Nagapala – *Amatya*, Pulena – *Hadapa*<sup>57</sup> and other principal royal officers, artisans (*hanjamanas*) and guilds (*nagaras*). In their presence, the three merchants had paid 40 *dinars* as *padapuja* (*nazarana*) to the reigning illustrious king Avasara II. The reason for this was confirmation of two *jivalokas* so that they would get hereditary rights in the villages Kinjala and Pulisa. In addition to this, for the expenditures of Hadapa in connection with it those three merchants are supposed to give two lakh of areca-nuts every year. But the share of Nagai – sreshthin was released and he was free from the tax.<sup>58</sup>

The major source of wealth for the king was land revenues.<sup>59</sup> The Balipattana grant of Rattaraja of 1010 AD mentions the highly fertile paddy field Kalvala, which could produce two crops in a year. It shows that the kings were interested in increasing their resource base through agrarian surplus. On the other hand, there was internal as well as external trade, apart from agricultural production, which was carried on during the said period. The trade was carried out through the waterways as well as land. During the period when the Kolhapur Shilaharas ruled over South Konkan the trade with foreign countries developed immensely. A system of taxation was created for the traders who arrived at the ports with their vessels. The taxation system separated the foreign ships and Indian merchants with the foreign merchants having to pay a greater

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<sup>56</sup> Pratima Kamat. *Goa: It's Tryst with Trade*. (Panaji: Goa Chamber of commerce and Industry, 2009) .103

<sup>57</sup> Hadapa is a Kannada word meaning 'a betel box bearer'. *Hadapavala*, an attendant in the royal palace, who is included among the eighteen *tithas* (dignitaries) of the state. A king's regular attendant.

<sup>58</sup> Mirashi. 178 – 183.

<sup>59</sup> Daud Ali . *Courtly culture and political life in early Medieval India*. 45

amount. The Kharepatan plates dated AD 1008 of Rattaraja of the South Konkan Silaharas inform of these additional dues in a religious donation. As they were the assigned of a gold gadyana and dharana from ships that arrived from foreign places and Kandalamuliya repectively. But there was exemption from payment to the ships from Chemulya or Chaul and Chandrapura or Chandor in Goa.<sup>60</sup>

The Kharepatan copper plates dated AD 1095 of Anantadeva I of the North Konkan Silaharas mentioned that the two merchants of Ballipattana or modern Kharepatan were provided with some privileges in the court in the presence of some royal officers, viz. the Mahamatya Srimali Khetaya Thakura, the *Mahasandhivigrahika*, *Sri-Amuka*, the Senior Treasury Officer (*Prathama-chhepati*) *Sri-Lakshmaneyaprabhu*, and the Junior Treasury Officer (*Dvitiya-Chhepati Sri-Amuka*). In the case of the Senior Treasury Officer Lakshmanaiyaprabha, he was mentioned in both the Vadavali grant and the Panhale plates.<sup>61</sup> Ranabir Chakravarti calls the Shilaharas ‘a coastal polity’ as they earned revenues from the tolls levied on the ships involved in sea trade.<sup>62</sup> The taxation system for the Saivite ascetics that involved payment in the form of Gold coins makes it clear that the state had carved out a proper revenue system.

Craftsmen were also involved in the courtly practices. These were goldsmith, grass-smith, carpenter, masons, and blacksmith. Records Of This Community Initially Appear In The Eighth-Ninth Centuries AD.<sup>63</sup> People from the earliest times were involved in craft production and many artisans in the non-urban areas were reliant on certain people. Those craftsmen work for the people as they get rewarded for their work. Some people are experts in the works. The Kharepatan plates dated AD 1008 where certain Shaiva ascetics were allocated families of potters, oilmen, washermen, and others. Thus, it can be noted from this that the people also

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<sup>60</sup> Mirashi, 184-87.

<sup>61</sup> Mirashi. 115 – 116, 120

<sup>62</sup> Ranabir Chakravarti. ‘An Emergent coastal polity: The Konkan Coast under the Silaharas (Tenth to Thirteenth centuries AD).’ 136

<sup>63</sup> Christopher H. de Souza. “Craftsmen and Artisans in Goa (A.D. 1000 to 1700)”. 31

donated in religious donations. These Kharepatan plates dated AD 1008 are of Rattaraja of the South Konkan Silaharas. During the period of Shilaharas, the craftsmen were independent and were able to better their social position. This was due to the growth of commerce and trade.<sup>64</sup>

### **Art and Architecture**

The king encouraged art and architecture. It is possible that craftsmen also participated in court deliberation. There was an influence of the Rashtrakutas on the art and architecture of South Konkan Shilahars. The carvings of the sculptures were similar. The sculptures from the time of the South Konkan Silaharas show a gradual thinning of the earrings and lips. The faces are also longer. A stone sculpture of Sadashiva which has a bud motif is usually seen in Rashtrakuta art.<sup>65</sup>

A stone carving of the head of Brahma was found. It is belong to the Silahara period and is dated to c. AD 900. The sculpture eyes were closed. It appears as if Brahma is in a meditative state. Another stone sculpture of Sadashiva with five faces was found during an excavation in the area of the Holy Spirit Church in Margao. This sculpture has two faces. They are broad, two other faces are smaller and placed on the shoulders while one face is on the top. The sculpture was believed to be of the period c. AD 1000.<sup>66</sup>

In the Saptakoteshwar Temple of Opa a pair of Nandi figures and a pair of the elephant figures are depicted opposite to each other in all the four corners of third tiers. A circular domical sikhara with octagonal base adorned the fourth tier and finally a stupi crowned the shikhara of the temple. It is seen that Shri Saptakoteshwar temple of Opa khandepar is the only temple in Goa having sculptures of animals placed on its roof.

There are at least three major viragals or hero stones from Goa, now in the Goa Museum, showing engagements on the sea. These hero stones on stylistic ground have been assigned to

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<sup>64</sup> Mirashi 183-85

<sup>65</sup> Mitragotri 212 - 213

<sup>66</sup> Mitragotri 200-1

about the twelfth century. The first shows a large ship, possibly at a dockyard. Two cylindrical logs are depicted below the ship, suggesting that the ship was being lowered into the sea. Flanking the ship is the image of a kneeling man who is being pierced by a lance-like weapon. The other viragal presents a ship in battle with an important person on board having an umbrella above his head. This seems to be a fairly large vessel. The panel also depicts a few smaller, crescent-shaped boats on which fighters are visibly handling weapons. These battle scenes could have captured the memories of coastal clashes between the Silaharas and the Kadambas of Goa.<sup>67</sup> The sculpture represents the royal appreciation of the heroic deeds of the soldiers. Such incidents could be narrated in the court meetings. The Miraj inscription of the rule of Vijayaditya of the Kolhapur Silaharas mentioned Vira-Bananja merchant community, and others donated certain dues. It mentioned about the shoemaker, potter, goldsmith, and basketmaker.<sup>68</sup>

The South Konkan Shilaharas and North Konkan Shilaharas were ardent Saivas.<sup>69</sup> The record of Pattanakudi plates of Avasara II venerates Shiva in the opening lines. While describing the mythical origin of the Shilaharas, it is discussed that Jimutvahana served himself to the *garuda*, to save the life of *naga*. It shows that the family worshipped Vishnu as well as Shiva. The Kharepattana grant of Rattaraja also mentions a grant dedicated to the worship of Lord Shiva in a temple called Avveshwara, probably constructed by Rattaraja's father, Avasara III. Similar processes are observed under the Goa Kadambas when the God in the temples constructed by the kings and their consorts have been named after their names. The same grant also mentions the patronization of Shaiva ascetics of the Mattamayura clan. The third grant of the Goa Shilaharas also venerates Shiva in the opening lines.

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<sup>67</sup> Ranabir Chakravarti. "An emergent coastal polity: The Konkan Coast under the Silaharas (tenth to thirteenth centuries AD)". 136

<sup>68</sup> Mirashi. 241 – 245; Barnett, "Two Inscriptions from Kolhapur and Miraj: Saka 1058 & 1066," 40n8.

<sup>69</sup> Mirashi. xlix

It can be thus said that during the period of Shilaharas, the King was the head of all. He enjoyed supreme power and he had all the powers in the court. For the smooth functioning of the court, the king also appoints several ministers who were proficient in learning. They are considered as learned people and their advice are considered in the court. In addition to this, all the residents of towns and villages were the part of the courtly culture. More significantly, one of the important aspects about the Shilaharas courtly culture was that the king gave importance to the language of the people. Although the king language differs from the people but the king used the language that was suitable for the court audience.



Fig 2.1: Saptakotesvar Temple, Opa

Photo Credit: Yogini Gaude

## **CHAPTER 4:**

### **COURTLY CULTURE UNDER GOA KADAMBA**

With the decline of the South Konkan Shilaharas, the Goa Kadambas ruled over the region of Goa. They ruled as a feudatory of Chalukyas of Kalyani after A.D. 950.<sup>1</sup> It is evident from their inscriptions as they were *mahamandaleshvaras* or feudatories. Though the Kadambas acted as the feudatories of the Chalukyas of Kalyani later they emerged as the independent rulers with the capital Chandrapur, the modern Chandor and provincial capitals in the region of the district of Dharwar. Thus, the coastal region was related to inland Karnataka. Places where these inscriptions were found in Goa as well as in the Dharwar and Belgaum districts included Golihalli, Kittur and Halsi.

#### **Royal Edicts**

Inscriptions are the most significant source of dynasty information, which highlights the expansion and development of the agrarian economy and the rise and dissemination of religious concepts that are significant for the court and society, which indicates that the political system is changing. Copper plates and stone inscriptions produced by the craftsmen were a vital source of information for the administrators.

Inscriptional evidence suggests that when works of public benefit were carried out by someone, they were rewarded with a grant of land. Further, families of those who died while defending the village from attacks or those preventing the capture of cattle also received gifts.<sup>2</sup> In India, the royal court's literature has been created from ancient times. Sanskrit writings were authored by Brahmanas, who were courted by rulers. One of the reasons for the ruler's support was the elaborate royal genealogy created by the brahmanas, which raised the dynasty's importance.

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<sup>1</sup> R. N. Gurav. "The Kadambas of Goa and Their Inscriptions." Unpublished PhD Thesis. Karnataka University, 1969. 42

<sup>2</sup> Christopher H. de Souza. "Craftsmen and Artisans in Goa (A.D. 1000 to 1700)". 94

The Goa Kadamba's mother tongue was Kannada. They used Kannada language in their court as most of their records are composed mainly in the Kannada. There are few inscriptions that are in Sanskrit language. Thus, it can be assumed that the Goa Kadambas mostly used Kannada language in their court. Through these inscriptions the records of all the courtly activities of the Kadamba king and the council of ministers were recorded. Additionally, the names of the kings in the family, such as Chattayya, Chatta, Guvaladeva, Guhallā, and others, are in Kannada. Similarly, the names of their queens, like Nayavvedevi, Mailavvedevi, Gauravvedevi, Boppadevi, Chattaladevi, Mailaladevi, Hampadevi, and many more, are in Kannada.<sup>3</sup>

There are no literary compositions extant that can be attributed to the courts of the Goa Kadambas, which quite different to the highly learned status of the Kadamba rulers. They not only claimed to be highly learned and have knowledge of the Vedas, Puranas and other Brahminical texts but also promoted learning by establishing centres of learning called *brahmapuris*. The only sources that help to build a history of the dynasty are the inscriptions and their coins. A few records of Goa Kadambas mentioned that the inscriptions were composed by the Brahmanas, as they were the authors of the record that praised the kings, mentioned their genealogies, and mentioned the land grants and other important processes of the kingdom. Hence the brahmanas knew both languages, Sanskrit as well as Kannada. In the king's court, he may use the language that was suitable for the court and converse with the king and the audience. Thus, the inscriptions are engraved in both the languages.

The inscriptions of Goa Kadambas were in prose as well as in *kavya* form. Some are a mix of prose and poetry.<sup>4</sup> From the sources of the kings of the family given in the inscriptions, it was found that their *lanchchana* was the lion. This *lanchchana* appears also on the coins issued by

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<sup>3</sup> R. N. Gurav. "The Kadambas of Goa and their inscriptions." 10

<sup>4</sup> Aditi Shukla. "Sanskrit, State and legitimacy in Goa (4<sup>th</sup> century Ad – 1565)". 251.

them and on the seals of their copper plates. Their banner was *vanara-mahadhynja*. The family was heralded by the musical Instrument Parmatti. Their sign manual contained the legend Sri Sivachitta-vira-Permadideva-Malavara-Mari. The legend *Malavara Mari*<sup>5</sup> and another *one Sri Malega Bhairava*<sup>6</sup> also found on their coins and crest. Thus, the seal of the *Kiri-Halasige* copper plate grant of Jayakeshi III contains the legend *Sri-Vira-Jayakeshideva-Malavara-Mari*.<sup>7</sup>

### Composition of the court

#### King

The kings of Goa Kadambas hold the epithet *banavasi-pura-adhiswara*, meaning the ‘Lords of Banavasi’. This indicates that the Goa Kadambas were descendants of the Banavasi Kadambas, and their genealogy begins with Guhalladeva I. The king was the supreme of the state and carried on the administration assisted by a cabinet of ministers.<sup>8</sup> From the earliest period, the duty of the king was to protect his subjects and ensure their well-being.

According to George Moraes,

the King was the supreme head of the state and he enjoyed unlimited powers, surrounded by fabulous pomp. He held the highest position in the kingdom, exercising authority over both politics and religion. While the royal preceptor played the role of spiritual advisor, the monarchy was not bound by any religious organization. In addition to this, it also mentioned that a good king was the abode of learning, lustre, prudence, sportiveness, profundity, high-mindedness, valour, fame, and delicacy; a friend of things living, spurning the riches of others, making gifts to priests, chiefs and the learned, honouring them and keeping their company. Further, he was a man of unimpeachable moral character. He did not have any desire for other people's wives. Finally, a good king always gave shelter to those who fled to him for protection, even though the individual sometimes happened to be his enemy.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Malava-Mari meaning ‘the slayer of the Malavas or people of the ghaut country’. George M. Moraes. *The kadamba Kula – A History of Ancient and Medieval Karnataka*. (Bombay:- B.X. Furtado and sons. 1931). 200.

<sup>6</sup> George M. Moraes. *The Kadamba Kula – A History of Ancient and Medieval Karnataka*. 377

<sup>7</sup> R. N. Gurav. “The Kadambas of Goa and their inscriptions.” 8.

<sup>8</sup> R. N. Gurav. *The Kadambas of Goa and their inscriptions*. 1969. 304.

<sup>9</sup>G. M. Moraes. *The Kadamba Kula – A History of Ancient and Medieval Karnataka*. 258.

The records of Goa Kadambas mentioned about their hereditary title *Banavasipuravaradhishvara* or supreme lord of Banavasi, the best of the towns, *Sminhalanchhana* or lion crest, which appears on the seals of the two copper plate grants of their family that have come to notice and on the gold coins of Permadi and Jayakeshin III, they carried *Vanaramahadhvaaja* or great banner of a monkey, *Permatti Turvamana* or heralded in public by sounds of the musical instrument called Permatti.<sup>10</sup> Besides this, they also carried royal titles such as *Samadhigata Panchamasabdas* or possessed of five great sounds of musical instruments and *Mahamandaleshvara* or the great feudatory. Several titles were carried by the rulers such as *Konkana Chakravarti* or the emperor of the Konkan, *Parameshvara*, *Paramabhattacharaka*, *Prachanda-danda-mandala*, *Paschimasamudradhipati*, etc. Panjim Copper Plates of Jayakeshi I mentioned that Kadamba Jayakesin had attained the titles *Shri Malega Bhairava*, *Malavara Maari*, *Panchamahasabdas* and *Maha-mandalesa*. Guhallu was styled as the *Vyaghra-marin* or 'the tiger slayer'.<sup>11</sup> The Asoge plated of Jayakeshi II mentioned that Kadamba Jayakeshi II attained the title *Rayapitamaha*.<sup>12</sup> The Goa Kadambas are depicted in their records as advocates of an ideal social structure. Unlike the king, the queen also carried titles.

As in the Degamve inscription of A.D. 1174 queen Kamaladevi was regarded as *rajahansi*, at the lotus feet of Parvati and King Sivachittavirapermadideva as *rajahansa*, at the lotus feet of the holy lord Uma.<sup>13</sup> It is possible to claimed that all these titles of the King and Queen were announced in the court. As when the king makes any grants, all the details of the event are engraved. From this it can be noted that, title were first announced and then the grant was made in the presence of the audience of the court.

<sup>10</sup> Copper plate grant of Viravarmadeva in Newsletter of Historical Archives of Goa, Vol. I, No. I, 1977, 55

<sup>11</sup> J F Fleet. *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*. (Madras: Asian Educational services. 1988) 567.

<sup>12</sup> G. H. Khare, "Asoge Plates of Kadamba Jayakesin (II); Saka 1055," EI 26 (1941-42): 306.

<sup>13</sup> J F Fleet, Degamve Inscription of 1174 AD, *Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol 9. 272-277

The Kadamba kings were having great knowledge of Vedas, Vedangas, Puranas, *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata*, *Laws of Manu*, and other sacred texts. Thus, they patronized learning. As a result, their court flourished with many learned men.<sup>14</sup> This initially helped the king in smooth functioning of the administration in the court. Shashtha II was surrounded by learned men.<sup>15</sup> The practice of making *danas* might be a traditional practice of the court from the earliest period. “The Shilaharas king tried to secure the religious merit by making *mahadanas*.”<sup>16</sup> Similarly in Goa Kadambas, inscriptions records of religious donations like *brahmadeyas*, *devadanas*, settlement of Brahmanas in *agrhara*, *brahmapuris*, hero stones, records concerning economic activities and so on.<sup>17</sup>

Nagavarmma was compared to Cupid in terms of physical appearance, Vyasa in terms of conscience purity, Vishwakarma in terms of architecture, and the preceptor of Gods in terms of knowledge and as *dharmarthasastra-vidbhut* (meaning knowing all *dharmasastra texts*), as mentioned in the Gandevi inscription of Shashthadeva II.<sup>18</sup> Shashthadeva II was described as having knowledge in Vedas and Puranas. He was considered as the great poet among the poet.<sup>19</sup> This would indicate that there may be court poets flourishing during his reign. It also possible that the king might participate in the courtly activities, as through which he was regarded as the great poet.

Based on sources found Daud Ali had mentioned that the king’s activities may be divided into four tiers or levels.

Firstly, there were the king’s most ‘private’ activities – like sleeping and relieving natural functions which were generally not detailed in literally or prescriptive accounts, and for which he was probably attended only by his most trustworthy palace guards. Second was a more restricted set of activities which were attended not only by bodyguards but variously by the

<sup>14</sup> George M. Moraes. *The kadamba Kula – A History of Ancient and Medieval Karnataka*. 301.

<sup>15</sup> A S Gadre. Important Inscriptions from Baroda state. 64 -71.

<sup>16</sup> Mirashi. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*. liv

<sup>17</sup> Aditi Shukla. Sanskrit, State and legitimacy in Goa (4<sup>th</sup> century Ad – 1565). 102

<sup>18</sup> Savai-Verem plates of Guhalladeva II, The Kadamba Kula. 387-393

<sup>19</sup> George M. Moraes. *The kadamba Kula – A History of Ancient and Medieval Karnataka*. 392 – 393.

royal preceptor, chief counsellors, queens, concubines, intimate servants and the most trusted subordinate princes. These included his bathing, a strikingly ritualised event in which he was showered with scented water from golden pitchers by court women; dressing and adornment; eating, in which he was accompanied by only the most intimate of princes of his own rank; pleasures and diversions with palace women. Third, there were the daily activities in the hall of assembly, where the king sat on a throne or couch before a gathering of members of his household, subordinate kings and visiting supplicants. Seated in the centrally located hall of meeting, the king received homage, heard petitions, announced proclamations and distributed favours and honours. This formed the central political event in the daily routine. Finally, there were those activities that took the king into the outer courtyards of the palace or encampment and sometimes beyond, like military reviews, marches and processions. Such processions were conceived as moveable assemblies; the king or other members of the royal family were attended by a retinue of palace servants, ministers and subordinate princes.<sup>20</sup>

Likewise, in the Marcella copper plates of Shashthadeva II, the king's daily bath in the water of the Ganges was mentioned. In addition to this S. G. Kadamb quoted: "*Viprairbrahmasamaihi stutah pratidinam yah snaati Gangaajalaihi*" – this was probably used by the brahmanas at the time of performing Abhishek (bath) of God's image in the temple. He invokes by reciting a special sacred hymn, not only the Ganges but six other sacred rivers along with no descend into the waters proposed to be used for the Abhishek. In ancient India, the King was considered God incarnated on the earth and accordingly, the Brahmanas used to recite the hymn as preparatory to the King's bath.<sup>21</sup> Jyotsna Kamat gives a glimpse of the Karnataka Kadamba court. It gave detailed account of clothes and '*shringar*' rituals. one sees the grandeur of the Karnataka court, something the Kadambas undoubtedly brought to Goa. Kamat described the royal baths of the court and the luxurious dress of nobility. No scent was used in the bathing ritual. The bath was kept clear and clean to deodorize the body.<sup>22</sup>

Generally, the king occupies the most prominent position in the court. He sat on the throne and conducted his daily deliberation. But before that, the king also visited several holy places and

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<sup>20</sup> Daud Ali. *Courtly culture and political life in early Medieval India*. 110 -111.

<sup>21</sup> S. G. Kadamb. *Sources of History of the Kadambas of Goa: Inscriptions*. 52 -65.

<sup>22</sup> Cited by Jyotna Kamat, Wendell Rodricks. *Moda Goa.: History and style*. Uttar Pradesh: Harper Collins. 2012. 71 -72

gave away presents of gold to the learned.<sup>23</sup> From this, it can be noted that the king was religious and at the same time patronised education. As a result, there can be more learned people flourished during the period. There is a reference to the footstool of Shashthadeva II was found. It was “kissed by the rays emanating from the crowns of all the kings and his quality of bravery was increased naturally.”<sup>24</sup> There are also coronation ceremonies of the king held at the court which was mentioned in the Narendra inscription of Jayakeshi. From this, we get to know about the daily activities of the king and the court.

During the reign of Jayakeshi I, when the king was having his meal, he called his parrot to come out of the cage. But the parrot says a word Puss. It means that there was a cat. The king looked everywhere but he did not find a cat. Thus, he forced the parrot to come out of the cage and promised that if the cat made any harm to him then he will kill himself. The parrot then come out of the cage. Immediately the cat jumped upon the parrot and killed him. When the king realised that his parrot was dead, he burnt himself to death.<sup>25</sup> Thus, it can be noted here is that the king also has pet in their court. They had too much affection toward themselves.

### **Women (Queen and courtesans)**

Daud Ali mentioned that the king had numerous wives and each of them lived in a separate quarter from the king generally known as *Antahpura*.<sup>26</sup> Likewise, during Goa Kadamba period polygamy was witnessed. The king had married several wives, and the favourite among them was probably the chief queen. One of the queens was designated as the crowned queen, Patta – Mahadevi, Prathama – Mahtshi or maha – rani. According to Daud Ali ‘Relations of friendship, fealty and even favour could be established through the gift of a virgin (kanyadana). In some cases, the gift of a king's daughters to an overlord's household was expected as a sign

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<sup>23</sup> R. N. Gurav. “The Kadambas of Goa and their inscriptions.” 62

<sup>24</sup> George M. Moraes. *The Kadamba Kula – A History of Ancient and Medieval Karnataka*. 392 – 393.

<sup>25</sup> Moraes. 187.

<sup>26</sup> Daud Ali. *Courtly culture and political life in early Medieval India*. 502.

of loyalty'.<sup>27</sup> In the case of Goa Kadambas the friendship subsisting between the two royal families seems to have been strengthened by the marriage. When Kadamba king Shasthadeva sailed with great pomp from Gova to Sourashtra, he received in marriage a daughter of Mummuri of Thaneya with a rich dower. His son Jayakesin I gave his daughter in marriage to a neighbouring king named Permadi<sup>28</sup> with a pouring of water, lavishly bestowed on him abundant ornament, many vessels, a treasury, and wedding gifts without count.<sup>29</sup> Jayakesi II gave his daughter in marriage to Somesvara's son Vikramaditya.

The queens were educated and they had the knowledge of the *dharmasastras*. As a result, she took part in administration in the court and in religious activities. Along with king, she also took part in public functions. The duty of the queen was to treat her subjects, both rich and poor, without distinction. But no fixed powers and functions of the crowned queen are mentioned.

Like the king, the Queens also had the power in administration. They made grants in the court and established *agraharas and brahmapuris*. The Queens held certain villages as their personal property during their lifetime.<sup>30</sup> If she was public-spirited, she interested herself in many public works such as the establishment of the *agrahara* and the building of temples and shrines.<sup>31</sup> Kamaladevi, the chief queen of Permadi, was a great patron of learning. When she was residing at Gopakapuri, everyday she heard about the excellence of the brahmanas as well as about the praises of grant of land. It was mentioned in the puranas and dharmasastra. Thus, having heard about them, she developed great interest and brought them with honour from many countries and established them in the region. The brahmanas of great dignity, acquainted with the *vedas* and *vedangas*. They well versed in *nyaya, mimamsa sankhya, yoga, vedantas, smritis, itihasa*

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<sup>27</sup> Daud Ali. *Courtly culture and political life in early Medieval India*. 51.

<sup>28</sup> Epigraphia Indica. Vol. 13. 299.

<sup>29</sup> George Moraes. *The Kadamba Kula*. 181.

<sup>30</sup> R. N. Gurav. 'The Kadambas of Goa and their inscriptions.' 1969. 313

<sup>31</sup> George M. Moraes. *The kadamba Kula – A History of Ancient and Medieval Karnataka*. 261.

and *puranas*, taking delight in the performance of the six duties and sustaining the right of the *varnasrama* dharma. Kamaladevi with the assistance of Permadi founded a few *agraharas*. In these *agraharas*, *Veda*, *Vedangas*, *Nyaya*, *Mimansa*, *Sankhya*, *Yoga*, *Vedanta*, *Smriti*, *Itihas* and *Purana* were taught. She was also credited with having the Narayan temple and Mahalaxmi temple.<sup>32</sup>

There were references to courtesans in the inscriptions of the Goa Kadambas which formed an integral part of the society. As there were streets designated for courtesans. It was known as *suligere* (*sule* in Kannada for prostitute). There was a reference to the eyebrows of a Yavana ladies in the Mangundi inscription of Jayakeshi III. Yavana means Indo Greek women. It can be claimed that courtesans were never disrespected. Thus, their profession was not looked down upon in those days. Rather, they served as the most respectable members of the society. The king and the nobles took pride in associating themselves with the courtesans.<sup>33</sup> They wore sari and bodice. They had various styles of tying their hair, in knots, braids and otherwise. They wore bangles and several ornaments. They put on the saffron mark on their forehead.<sup>34</sup>

The Narendra inscription belonging to the reign of the Jayakeshi mentioned the provision for the Governor of the women's quarter, master of the robes, and high Chamberlain of Mailal-Mahadevi.<sup>35</sup> An inscription from Tambur informs that Vikramaditya VI of the Western Chalukya dynasty gave his daughter, Mailaladevi gold jewellery as a gift. An inscription from Dodwad informs that women who kneel before the queen of Jayakesi III wore jewellery in their hair. These instances show that jewellery was utilised and the local craftsmen possibly prepared it.<sup>36</sup>

## **Yuvaraja**

<sup>32</sup> Mitragotri, V.R. *Bhojas to Vijayanagara*, 71.

<sup>33</sup> Moraes.418 -427; Mitragotri. *Bhojas to Vijayanagar*. 76 – 77

<sup>34</sup> R. N. Gurav. 492.

<sup>35</sup> V. R. Mitragotri. 83.

<sup>36</sup> Souza, "Craftsmen and Some Political and Religious Aspects in the Goa Region (AD 1000 to 1510)," 3177.

Like the Shilaharas, the Goa Kadambas kings observed the practice of allowing the next heir-apparent to rule the region. The king added to his office of supreme administrator and judge that of the commander in chief. One of the princes designated as Yuvaraja (heir apparent), during the lifetime of the ruling king, as enjoyed by the *smritis*. Thus, Permadideva was designated *yuvaraja* by Jayakeshi II during his lifetime. Further Vijayaditya designated *yuvaraja* during the lifetime of Permadideva. The kadamba *mahamandalesvaras* ruled their kingdom with the help of their governors and other administrative officials. The governor seems to have been almost always a member of the royal family, either a brother or uncle of the reigning king. Often, they reigned collectively. But when the king did not have a close relationship with the yuvaraja, an ordinary minister was appointed for the office. The governor thus appointed exercised both the executive and the military functions. He was the head of the government and commander of the army.<sup>37</sup>

### **Administration and Courtly Culture**

For effective administration, the kingdom was divided into many administrative units.<sup>38</sup> The kingdom was divided into districts or *Vishaya* such as Tasa Vishaya, which were further subdivided into *Desha* like Antarya, Gopaka, etc. The districts were classified according to the number of residences in each of them. Palasika or Halshi 12000, Konkan 900, Banavasi 12000, Velugrama 70, Haiva 500, Hangal 500. The district was headed by a *Dandanayaka* who was both civil and military head of the district. The village or grama was the smallest administrative unit and Gaunda was the village headman. The *Nagaras* or cities had their administrative organisation which was headed by *Nagarapatas* or *Hanjamanapramukha* or heads of settlements of traders and artisans, etc.<sup>39</sup> For the administration at the centre, there are mentions of the council of ministers of the king, *sandhi-vigrahika*, *rajapurohita* and *rajadhyaksha*.

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<sup>37</sup> George M. Moraes. *The Kadamba Kula*. 267

<sup>38</sup> George M. Moraes. *The Kadamba Kula*. 264

<sup>39</sup> V. T. Gune. *Gazetteer of the union Territory Goa, Daman and Diu*. 117.

In the king's court, the mandalikas, the ministers, the nobles, the court officials, and the royal preceptor were present. One of the features of the Kadamba court was that the philosophical discourse was often held among the ministers and the kings also took part in it as he was learned, men. From this, it is evident that many scholars flourished at their court. The qualifications of these ministers were expected to combine administrative talents with a highly moral course in life. They were the person who had received a liberal education, for it was expected of them that they should be 'intent on the affairs of the whole world'. Birth was perhaps another qualification since the official had to be a man of majesty who would not stoop to mean.<sup>40</sup> Their patronage of literary men was gathered from the fact that they made gifts of lands to and remitted taxes from, the learned Brahmans.<sup>41</sup> The complicated duties attached to the royal office demanded constant discussion with the ministers. The latter were five in number, and they formed a cabinet. According to the nature of the work they fell under five categories, namely the agent of the household (*manevergade*), the councillors (*tantrapalas*), the minister of state (*pradhana*), the steward of betel bag and the secretary of the council. The king generally greatly valued their opinion. Consequently, the influence these ministers exerted on the monarch must have been great.<sup>42</sup>

Jayakeshi was a wise administrator and he peacefully governed his vast kingdom. In this, he was assisted by his ministers and generals who were greatly responsible for the peace and prosperity that flourished in the country during his reign.<sup>43</sup> Likewise, the king and the ministers also carried the title which would show their social status in the court. The ministers were designated as the *mahapradhana*, *mahamatya* or the chief minister. The office of *mahapradhana* was sometimes joined with the offices of *senadhipati*, *mane – verggade* and *badapavale* as in the case of Babhana *danda – natha*. Likewise, Chattavya was *senadhipati*

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<sup>40</sup> George Moraes. *The Kadamba Kula*. 262.

<sup>41</sup> George Moraes. *The Kadamba Kula*. 262.

<sup>42</sup> George Moraes. *The Kadamba Kula*. 262.

<sup>43</sup> George Moraes. *The Kadamba Kula*. 193.

and *hadapavala*.<sup>44</sup> Mostly, ministers of kings in the medieval days were generals in the army. The collection of taxes and expenditures was usually done by the civilian.

A twelfth century record Goa Kadamba mentions prince Vira Permaḍi. It was recorded that the one *daṇḍanatha* Chavana, is given the titles chief minister (*mahapradhana*). There are also general (*senadhipati*), steward of the household (*maneveggade*), treasurer (*guptabhaṇḍari*), and betel-bag bearer (*hadapavala*). They all belong to king's court. In such scenarios, it is difficult to imagine that titles like 'master of robes', 'steward of the household' and 'betel-bag bearer' were anything more than honours given to *daṇḍanayakas* on specific occasions at the Chalukya and Kadamba courts.<sup>45</sup>

### Councillors

The king's council of ministers was typically well-versed in the political, rhetorical, and logical sciences. Their expertise provides the king aid in solving daily issues that arise in the court by sharing their knowledge. They were the advisers of the king both in times of peace and war. The mention of a full-fledged ministry would show that the administration of the government was carried on systematically by the Kadambas of Goa. The order laid down in the smritis that the king should have seven or eight ministers. The names of the minister are preserved in the inscriptions. The preservation of the names of the ministers is a valuable thing.<sup>46</sup> A full-fledged cabinet of ministers was mentioned in the Marcella plates (AD. 1038), together with the names and subjects dealt with by them. They have been detained while writing about Guhalladeva II.

The composition of the cabinet was as follows:

- Two *Mukhya svikaranas* (finance minister)
- One *Odhyanksha* (president)

<sup>44</sup> R. N. Gurav, "The Kadambas of Goa and their inscriptions," 1969, 307

<sup>45</sup> Daud Ali, "The betel – bag bearer in medieval south Indian history: a study from inscriptions". (Delhi: Primus Books 535 – 558, 2018), 545

<sup>46</sup> R. N. Gurav, "The Kadambas of Goa and their inscriptions," 75

- One *Pratihastaka* (vice president)
- Three *Pradhans* (minister)
- One *Mahalla* (antahpura - *adhyaksha*)
- One *Sandhi – vighraha* (minister for foreign affairs)
- One *Purohita* (head of religious activities of the royal household.)<sup>47</sup>

Gopaka copper plates of Guhalladeva III mentioned that in the court of King Tribhuvanamalla, there was a presence of chief priests, prime ministers, and representatives of towns and rural areas.<sup>48</sup> It also mentions that the composer of the grant was a *Brahmana* poet who also happened to be the royal preceptor. The same inscription records the hereditary offices held by various brahmanas namely *paprika*, astrologer, *dharmadhikari*, *purohita*, *preceptor*, educational instructors and *yajnika-pravare*. Apart from the educational and military qualifications they had the following qualities in them:

Narendra Inscription:

1. *Kula – kramagataru* (born of noble families)
2. *Naya -suddharu* (possessing clear political wisdom state policy)
3. *Aptaru* (reliable)
4. *Saryadol* (brave, heroic)
5. *Arminol* (might, daring)
6. *Chaturyadol* (skill, texterity)
7. *Mantra-ni schvadol* (expert in advice and decision)
8. *Nij -esa-bitadol* (in securing good of master)<sup>49</sup>

The name of one of the ministers of Jayakeshi was preserved in the Goa plates of Guhaladeva III. The name is Naganna son of Kalapa, resident of Panaji. Chhadama was the chief minister

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<sup>47</sup> R. N. Gurav. "The Kadambas of Goa and their inscriptions". 1969. 306

<sup>48</sup> Epigraphia Indica. Vol. XXX. 71 – 77.

<sup>49</sup> R. N. Gurav. 'The Kadambas of Goa and their inscriptions.' 308

of Jayakeshi for some years.<sup>50</sup> Another inscription of Guhalladeva III mentioned about three ministers – Kalpa, his son Nagana and his latter son Kelima are mentioned for three kings – Shashta II, Jayakeshi I, and Guhalladeva III respectively. This would indicate that ministers are appointed in hereditary consideration. A similar kind of position was found in the Marcella plate wherein it is stated that the most of *purohitas* in the ministry were passed on to a younger brother by the elder one due to old age and change was accepted by Guhalladeva.<sup>51</sup>

Palanquins were used in the city during Jayakeshi I's rule, and their poles were ornamented with jewels. The palanquin users wore gold earrings indicating the wealth of his reign. The Panjanakhani inscription mentioned Jayakeshi's I servant Annaya, who was described as the Dharma Mantri of Panjanakhani and as a connoisseur of music, vocal and instrumental and dancing.<sup>52</sup> The Betur inscription of 12<sup>th</sup> century A.D. mentioned about the death of Jaya, the Prabhu of Bettugi and servant of Poshthadeva, the gatekeeper of the army camp of the crowned king. Thus Poshthadeva was holding the post of chief gatekeeper, *padijora* the army camp of the ruling king and the deceased Jaya served under him in the army camp. From this inscription, we get to know that the servants of the kings and doorkeepers were also given respect, as their death was also recorded in the inscription.

During the reign of Jayakeshi I, the administration of the city was placed in the highly competent hands of Sadano, who was a minister of Jayakesi I and who established a *mijiguti* or *mesquita* in Gopakapura. At Minister Sadhan's request, King Jayakesi I introduced a special tax structure for all the ships and ships that arrived from different places to the port of Goa. The taxes were to go towards the upkeep of the *mesquita* established by Sadano. The taxes were collected in coins called *gadyanacas* and *dracmas*. A *mesquita* refers to a mosque. Gopakapura referred to the port of Goa Velha. The selection of Sadana, a Muslim, by the

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<sup>50</sup> R. N. Gurav. 'The Kadambas of Goa and their inscriptions'. 94

<sup>51</sup> R. N. Gurav. 'The Kadambas of Goa and their inscriptions.' 306 - 307

<sup>52</sup> Dr. K. V. Ramesh: Four inscription from Goa, Epigraphia Indica, vol XXXVII. 284 – 287.

Kadamba king for one of the most important jobs is another confirmation of the approach of the Kadamba rulers to other faiths. They were secular. There was no divide or prejudice on grounds of religion. The Muslims were an integral part of society in those times.<sup>53</sup> At this time the capital was served by an important highway called the *Rajavithi* or the *Rajpath* which linked it to Ela (Old Goa), which in later centuries developed into another port capital.<sup>54</sup>

A Santa Ana copper plate dated A.D. 1099, an inscription of Tribhuvanamalla records a grant of 10 Nishkas to Naageshwara temple at Priol in Ponda in June 1099 A.D. The donee of the grant was Naagadevaarya who was an expert in scripture and medicine. This occasion was graced by the King Tribhuvanamalla and the feast was held at Bhairava temple at Priol along with his Pradhan and the Chief Priest.<sup>55</sup>

The Mantrimandal of Shasthadeva II was composed of Chhadama Mukhya Swikarana or the originator of the family; Shasthadeva II its president, Govind Pratihastaka or his deputy, three mantrins or minister Shriyamai, Damapai and Madhava, Mahalla or steward Khentapai; *Sandhivigrahika* or minister for external affairs Bhallapai; Rajapurohit or Preceptor Govardhana. They are described as Nayashila or knowing principles of polity.<sup>56</sup>

The minister of Jayakeshi II learned in Shastras, grammar, logic, polity and philosophy. Sometimes an ordinary person of merit was also raised to the highest office in the state. An Arab Chhadam Nauvittaka owner of merchant ships was appointed as Maha Pradhan by Jayakeshi I setting aside all his ministers probably because of his experience in trade and navigation.<sup>57</sup>

One of the notable aspect about the Kadamba kings was that they all valued education, which led to many intelligent people prospering at their court. The state's educational system was set

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<sup>53</sup> Romesh Bhandari. *Goa*. (New Delhi: Lotus Collection. 1999). 31.

<sup>54</sup> Pratima Kamat. *Farar Far*. 18 – 19.

<sup>55</sup> S. G. Kadamb. *Sources of history of The Kadambas of Goa: Inscription*. 160.

<sup>56</sup> V. T. Gune. *Gazetteer of the union Territory Goa, Daman and Diu*. 116.

<sup>57</sup> V. T. Gune. *Gazetteer of the union Territory Goa, Daman and Diu*. 117.

up by the brahmanas, wherein they taught Vedic subjects of *Veda*, *Vedanta*, *Sankhya*, *yoga*, *nyaya*, *tatva*, *mimiansa*, *astrology* and others in the *agraharas* and *brahmapuris*. The Gopaka copper plates of Guhalladeva III, the Degamve Inscription of 1174 AD and the Savai-Verem plates of Guhalladeva II mentioned the subjects of religious significance in the educational institutions. Nagavaramacharya seems to have been the poet who composed the Halsi inscription of Sivachitta. Goa plates of Shashthadeva II mentioned the king Shashthadeva gave to his guru, the Rajaguru and Dikshita Jyeshtha – Vishnuvarman of the Gargya gotra – a rice field named Kinjalauga in the north-west part of the village of Salibhatti near the god Murtti-Narayana in the north part of the city of Gopakapuri.<sup>58</sup> The inscription of the Kadamba dynasty makes us aware of the academic titles borne by the kings. Thus, one of the Vijayaditya's birudas was that of *Sarasvatibhushana*<sup>59</sup>.

### **Religious Elites**

Religion is one of the fundamental principles that has preserved life and transmitted culture from one generation to the next. Throughout the period, religion and its associated code of conduct served as an essential factor that allowed life to develop. During the period, Goa Kadambas patronised Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism. But there are no epigraphical record that provide information about the Buddhism. One of the main block to the Saiva religion's growth has always been Jainism. Worship of Siva began to deteriorate with the spread of Jainism.<sup>60</sup> The dominion of Kadambas was not willingly accepted by the population under their sway in Goa due to their Jain religion.<sup>61</sup> Yet, in one of the inscriptions the famous writer Hemachandra mentioned about the two Buddhist jatis present in the court of Jayakeshi I. There are possibilities that people from different religion flourished the court of Kadamba rulers.

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<sup>58</sup> Indian Antiquary vol. XIV. 288-291

<sup>59</sup> George Moraes. The Kadamba Kula. 301.

<sup>60</sup> Moraes. 252 – 253.

<sup>61</sup> Dhume. 308.

Brahmanas, since earlier period may have flourished in the royal court. The Karhade brahmin who settled in Goa took up professions which were handed down through the generations. Accordingly, some are named *Kirwant* (those who perform the rituals of incineration), *Ghaisass* (who perform duties in temples), *Kramavant Joshi* (astrologers as well as performers of rituals of incineration) and *Joshis* (astrologers).<sup>62</sup> They are honoured in the court and treated with great respect. They were associated with the royal household and the posts such as readers of the puranas, astrologers, priests, teachers and experts in performing sacrifices.<sup>63</sup> In addition to this Brahmana settlement are encouraged as a means of expanding agricultural settlements. An inscription of the times of Vikramaditya VI and Kadamba Jayakesin II dated A.D. 1125 mentioned a grant of land made by the Kadamba *Mahamandalesvara* Jayakesin II and his senior queen Mailala-devi for the maintenance of Siva temple.<sup>64</sup> There are epigraphical records that shows that the king believed in the Brahmanical faith. As in the Curtorim Inscription it was mentioned about the rulers of the Goa Kadamba dynasty performed eighteen *asvamedha yajnas*.<sup>65</sup> The *Mahajanas* were well-versed persons having qualified themselves in the various lores of traditional Hindu Brahmanical learning, such as the *vedas*, the *vedangas*, the *upangas*, *nyaya*, *mimamsa*, *sankhya*, *yoga*, *Vedanta*, *smriti*, *itihasa*, *nurana*, *Jyotish*, *tarkka*, *vyakarana*, *Arthasastra*, etc.<sup>66</sup> They were seen as the guards of the ideal social structure and the source of the king's legitimacy. To gain support for the establishment or maintenance of state society, the brahmanas used appropriate language, figures of speech, mythological legends, to praise the king.

Granting land to the Brahmana or an individual was considered one of the most meritorious practices during earlier times. A copper plate grant of Kadamba Tribhuvanamalla dated Saka

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<sup>62</sup> Dhume. 312.

<sup>63</sup> Nagendra Rao. "The state and village communities and the brahmanas in Goa (1000 – 1600 CE)." 7

<sup>64</sup> Epigraphia Indica. Vol. XIII. 299

<sup>65</sup> Kadamb. *Sources of history of The Kadambas of Goa: Inscription*. 7 -14.

<sup>66</sup> R. N. Gurav. "The Kadambas of Goa and their inscriptions." 415.

1028 mentioned that during the reign of the king Tribhuvanamalla in the region of Gopaka, Kelima in the court had made several patronage in favour of the Brahmana hailing from different parts of the country. This patronage was done in the presence of the king and along with his priests, the chief ministers and representatives of the towns and rural areas. Further in the inscription it was mentioned that Kelima granted several fields, gardens and houses for the maintenance of the brahmana. From this, it was mentioned that not only the king but sometimes his officials too had the right to grant to the brahmanas in the king's court and he was favoured by the king.

The classification of the granted land as "common property" is the most important aspect of the donation. While granting the land to the brahmanas it was decided that those who took advantage of this grant were required to divide the income equally among them. Also, the Brahmanas who had ownership rights were not allowed to sell their land or share it with outsiders.<sup>67</sup> In addition to these, the rulers also made provision of irrigation facilities as well that aided in agrarian expansion. The irrigation facilities provided were in the form of tanks, lakes, rivers, and wells that are mentioned in the records of land grants. Provisions were made for the maintenance of the tanks as well. The tanks served the purposes of water libations to the worshipped deity as well as for the irrigation of the associated agricultural lands. Narendra Inscription of Mallikarjuna temple,<sup>68</sup> Copper plates of Guhalladeva III<sup>69</sup> and Mugad Stone Inscription of Guhalladeva III<sup>70</sup> are some of the examples where the records mention the construction and maintenance of tanks associated with the temples.

The Curtorim inscription of Kadamba king Viravarmadeva dated 1049 CE mentioned Tundukapur, a piece of land given to a learned brahmana named Madhavarya who belonged to Kaushika Gotra and in addition to this, the brahmana were exempted from all taxes. The king

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<sup>67</sup> Epigraphia Indica. Vol. XXX. 72 – 73

<sup>68</sup> Epigraphia Indica. Vol. XIII. 298 – 316.

<sup>69</sup> Epigraphia Indica. Vol. XXX. 71 – 77

<sup>70</sup> Kadamb. 147 – 148.

made this grant in the court, in the presence of his council of ministers such as Narayan Purohit or chief priest, two pradhans or minister for war and peace. In addition to granting the Brahmanas special status, the court also had the authority to punish the Brahmanas for violating any conditions of this land gift. The punishment was in the form of a fine. Thus, the buyer and the seller were liable to pay 500 coins as a fine. In addition to these rules and regulations, the inscription also established certain guidelines, such as:

- Member has a right over his share as long as he stays on the property.
- In some cases, a Brahmana may decide to leave his property. In this situation other members of the community own the right to share and enjoy the property.
- The person who leaves the property has no right to claim his share.
- The community can punish such a person as per the provisions of the edict. However, the community can accept a new member based on the collective decision.
- At the same time, the new entrant needed to obtain the permission of his potential neighbour.<sup>71</sup>

The twelfth-century inscription described how the king functioned in the court. The community convicted a few individuals for indulging in illegal activities. According to this inscription, the Brahmanas of Halsi and God Narasimha obtained the right over twelve shares. After spending 500 *nishkas* or gold coins, the community bought ornaments for God. A Brahmana had stolen this ornament. When the Kadamba king got to know about this, he punished the Brahmana by taking three of his shares and giving them to God as payment for the deity's loss of the ornament.<sup>72</sup>

The practice of making grants in the court along with the discussion with ministers in the court was quite common with kings of the dynasty.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Nagendra Rao. "The state and village communities and the brahmanas in Goa (1000 – 1600 CE)". 7- 8

<sup>72</sup> Nagendra Rao. The state and village communities and the brahmanas in Goa (1000 – 1600 CE). 7- 8

<sup>73</sup> R. N. Gurav. The Kadambas of Goa and their inscriptions. 76.

In the court, the praises were engraved on copper plates and stones and were read out to the public by the official. Sanskrit language, being regarded as the sacred medium of expression of the *dharmaśāstras*, was employed by the *brahmanas* to project veneration for the same. The Degamve inscription of 1174 AD, composed by Govindadeva compares the marriage of Jayakesi to Mailamahadevi to that of Lord Ram and Sita. He describes the qualities of Queen Mailamahadevi by comparing her command to that of Vishnu, teaching practices of religion to the Vedas and sustaining everything like Earth herself. Since *dharma* was the channel of achieving legitimacy, Sanskrit was considered the perfect vehicle to effect it.<sup>74</sup>

It has been noted that the king before making any grant or before announcing anything in front of the court first discussed with the council of his ministers. In Degamve inscription it was mentioned that the king made an announcement,

Let this be well considered by my lord of holy thoughts; through thy kindness I have already had many villages allotted to me, in such manners as to be adapted for any purposes that I may wish and among them I now wish to make grant to the *brahmanas*.<sup>75</sup>

### **Craftsmen**

Craftsmen, merchants, artisans are the part of the Kadamba court. The Asoge plates dated AD 1134 of Jayakeshi II of Goa Kadambas record the grant of a village for the maintenance and worship of a temple. These inscription mentioned that Somadeva, of Upamanyu gotra drafted the inscription. The artisan Ramadeva was the engraver.<sup>76</sup> The Goa Kadambas Degmave inscription describes the construction of a temple that is believed to have taken place between AD 1174 and 1176. It also describes the people who were involved in the construction; Bagoja, the son of Tippoja, was referred to as a *pratapasutradhari*; Tippoja, the *sutradhari* of Bankeswaradeva, was the son of Holoja, the *sutradhari* of Huvinabage. The inscriptions suggest

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<sup>74</sup> J F Fleet, Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society, Vol IX, 272-277.

<sup>75</sup> J.B.B.R.A.S. Vol. IX. 274 – 277.

<sup>76</sup> G. H. Khare, "Asoge Plates of Kadamba Jayakesin (II); Saka 1055," EI 26 (1941-42): 304- 07.

that the craftsmen were exceptionally skilled and excelled in their craft, as evidenced by the epithets to their names.<sup>77</sup> The Tambur inscription of Jayakesi II of the Goa Kadambas dated AD 1144 informs that a Jain *nakara-jinalaya* was built by a family of artisans. It mentions the names Jatoja and his wife Jakauve. Keta and Mudda were their sons. The names of women artisans and those involved in craft production do appear to a small extent in certain inscriptions.<sup>78</sup>

The Bailur inscription of the Goa Kadamba ruler Permadideva informs of four *hittus*. These included the *akkasale* Singoja, *kammara* Dasoja and *madivala* Soppayya. The word *akkasale* was a Kannada or Telugu word that referred to a goldsmith. The records of Goa Kadambas are inclusive of several instances of land grants given to Brahmanas individually and in groups. They are for the prosperity of the kingdom of Goa Kadambas.

The Panjim plates of Jayakesi I of the Goa Kadambas dated AD 1059 record the grant of the deserted village of Laghu Morambika in Gopaka-dvipa. The donee was an officer by the name of Chhadama. The grant informs that the family of the donee was a Tajiya or an Arab family settled at Chemulya. Chhadama was the son of Madhumada and the grandson of Aliyama. Chemulya is modern Chaul. Morambika was believed to be modern Morambi. Gopaka-dvipa is the island of Goa. Besides the mention of various terms, it informs that no one was to exact *vetthi* or *vetti* or forced labour. The mention of forced labour in the inscription of this period indicates that the practice was known in Goa.<sup>79</sup> The Managundi inscription dated AD 1203 informs that the sunka-adhikaris Devayya and Chandayya granted some tax to the temple. This was the talasarige tax on the oil mills. These inscriptions indicate that under the Goa Kadambas, income from crafts was transferred to the temples. There appears to have been a feudalisation of commerce and crafts in the Goa region as well.<sup>80</sup> The panel depicting Jayakesi II's reign at

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<sup>77</sup> J.B.B.R.A.S. Vol. IX. 294 – 295.

<sup>78</sup> Souza, "Craftsmen and Some Social Aspects in the Goa Region (AD 1000 to 1510)," 13-14.

<sup>79</sup> Moraes. 394 – 400.

<sup>80</sup> Gurav. 334.

Orlim displays the sculptures' excellent design that combines various people and their expressions. The King's displayed in the center, wielding the sword aggressively in his right hand. The enemies are occasionally shown engaged in fighting, and the two defeated chiefs are seen honouring the might of Guhalladeva's descendent at the feet of the King. The way the King and the Queen are portrayed as having a calm interaction while accompanied by some attendants contrasts well with this war scenario, which is so vividly described.<sup>81</sup> Further noteworthy proof of this richness of design is the enormous Nandi found during excavations at Chandor in May 1930 by Fr. Heras. The head of Parsvanatha is severed and resting on a pedestal in a stone statue located at Narva, Goa. 1150 AD is the year that the carved date on the pedestal represents. Sivachitta Permadi, the Goa Kadamba ruler, is portrayed in the stone statue. As the Goa Kadambas' emblem, the lion was used. A lion with one paw raised is shown in a sandstone sculpture in Pilar. These sculptures made of stone demonstrate the skill and labour of the artists. Ships and battleships are included in several of Goa's hero stones.<sup>82</sup>

### **Merchants**

Agriculture and trade were two important occupations in the Kadamba period. They were controlling the important trade route from Goa to Dharwad and Belgaum. There was also a wealthy trading and industrial class among its inhabitants.

The said *Setti* must be a person of the Vaishya caste and his profession probably that of merchant. In fact, we note that the families of the Vaishya caste had embraced Jainism, perhaps because despite their riches they, on the social ladder, could not scale high positions. But these families abandoned Jainism and embraced Hinduism and the priests came to be named Gurav.<sup>83</sup>

The Goa Charter of Jayakeshi I informs that the mercantile community in that city consisted of traders from all quarters.<sup>84</sup> In the case of Goa Kadambas, the mercantile villages are called the

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<sup>81</sup> Moraes. 316.

<sup>82</sup> Moraes. 315 – 317.

<sup>83</sup> Dhume. 307.

<sup>84</sup> George M. Moraes. 284.

pattanas, which contributed towards the development of the state. The members of the trading associations gave grants for the construction and maintenance of temples as well as educational institutions.<sup>85</sup> The inscription provides detailed information about the flourishing trading community that traded goods including camphor, perfumes, betel leaves, gold, silver, cotton fabric, food, paddy, pepper, fruits, oil, spices, and other similar items.

There were *Banajigas* (merchants) engaged in trade. The reference to these *Banajigas* from Savai Vere, Narve, Khandepar, Kapilagram, Bandivade and Taligram are mentioned in the Khandepar copper plate of 1358 A.D.<sup>86</sup> Some inscriptions mentioned that the ship-owning merchants who conducted trade were able to gain political power and their ships were exempted from paying certain dues upon arrival at certain ports. A minister under Jayakesi I of the Goa Kadambas is thought to have been from an Arab family that owned ships.

The Panjim plates of Jayakesi I of the Goa Kadambas dated AD 1059 record the grant of the deserted village of Laghu Morambika in Gopaka-dvipa. The donee was an officer by the name of Chhadama. The grant informs that the family of the donee was a Tajiya or an Arab family settled at Chemulya. Chhadama was the son of Madhumada and the grandson of Aliyama. Chemulya is modern Chaul. Morambika believed to be modern Morambi. Gopaka-dvipa is the island of Goa. Besides the mention of various terms, it informs that no one was exact *vetthi* or *vetti* or forced labour.<sup>87</sup>

The records show that guilds served as the local banks and treasury and also they were the centre of activity of the city. They arranged for feasts at religious functions and also probably made provisions for play and pagents for the entertainment of the citizens. The guilds having

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<sup>85</sup> Alvita Mary D'Souza, "Reconstructing the Urban Maritime History of Goa: A Study of the Port Capitals of Chandrapur, Gopakapattana and Ella" Unpublished PhD Thesis, 2007, p.233.

<sup>86</sup> V. R Mitragotri. 72

<sup>87</sup> Moreswar G. Dikshit, "Panjim Plates of Jayakesi (I); Saka 981," in *Indica: The Indian Historical Research Institute Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volume*, ed. B. G. Gokhale (Bombay: St. Xavier's College, 1953), 89-94

spread all over the country rendered valuable service to the people by ministering to all their wants, economic, social and religious.<sup>88</sup> The trade and industries are regulated by guilds (*shrenis*) of trading settlements like *Hanjamanangar*.<sup>89</sup> The royal road called the *raja-vitti* was an important road under the Goa Kadambas.

### **Tax**

A large portion of the state's revenue came from taxes. The tax system included the payment of taxes in the form of *gadyankas* and *drachmas*. It was seen that there was use of *gadyankas* and *drachmas* in the court of the Goa Kadambas. In the inscription dated AD 1053 of Jayakesi I of the Goa Kadambas. It mentioned that Jayakesi I permitted the collection of certain taxes on commercial ships which arrived from different places at the port of Goa. The taxes were to be collected in coins called *gadyanacas* and *dracmas*. The coins referred to in the inscription were the *gadyanas* and *drammas*. Thus, trading activities were present in the region.<sup>90</sup> Apart from this Tambur inscription dated AD 1144 mentioned the tax that was levied on artisans or *binnanis*, that is, the *dasabandha* tax also called the *dasavamda*, The *dasabandha* also mentioned in the Panjim plates dated AD 1059. The Panjim plates dated AD 1059 of Jayakesi I of the dynasty of the Goa Kadambas record the grant of the village of Laghu Morambika in Gopaka-dvipa. There are *mandapika*<sup>91</sup> during the period of Shasthadeva II. The Ganadevi inscription records a of a *mandapika* during A. D. 1042 at a market place.<sup>92</sup>

It further informs that the property was to be free from the collection of various taxes including the *dasabandha*. The mention of the *dasabandha* in an inscription of the Goa Kadambas indicates that the tax was known in Goa.<sup>93</sup> The land-grant charters, which state that the granted lands were exempt from all taxes, indicate the existence of a tax system. In addition, the

<sup>88</sup> George Moraes. *The Kadamba Kula*. 285-286.

<sup>89</sup> V. T. Gune. *Gazetteer of the union Territory Goa, Daman and Diu*. 118.

<sup>90</sup> Panduranga Pissurlencar, "Inscricoes Pre-Portuguesas de Goa. 6 – 7.

<sup>91</sup> The term *mandapika* means a custom house or a market pavillion. *The Indian Epigraphic Glossary*. 198.

<sup>92</sup> A S Gadre. Important Inscriptions from Baroda state. 64 -71.

<sup>93</sup> Panduranga Pissurlencar, "Inscricoes Pre-Portuguesas de Goa. 18 – 19.

Jayakesideva Goa charter specifies the taxes assessed on traders arriving at and leaving from the port of Gopakapattana. It further says that the mijiguti, which served as a port trust, would seize the heirless families' property in the event of their death.

### Coins

The Panjim plates dated AD 1059 of Jayakesi I of the Goa Kadambas make mention of *nishkas* called *bhairavas*. It also refers to coins called *gadyanakas*. The *gadyanakas* were the same as the *gadyanas*. The coins were also named after deities. Such coins included the *bhairava nishkas* and the *bhairava gadyanas*. *Nishkas* and *gadyanas* were usually gold coins. The copper-plate grant believed to be dated to AD 1107 of Tribhuvanamalla of the Goa Kadambas refers to the *bhairava nishkas* and the *bhairava gadyanas*. There is also a reference to a coin called the *brihat bhairava gadyana*. This coin was probably of the *bhairava* type but larger than the usual size.<sup>94</sup> The craftsmen during the Goa Kadamba period were extremely skilful as the coin of Jayakesi I of the Goa Kadambas' reign featured a lion with its front paw lifted. It also contained a Devanagari legend along with the figure of a trident. Another coin contained a Gajasimha figure and it had an elephant's trunk, a lion's mane and a tail. The coin contained a Devanagari legend along with a trident figure. This coin is distinctive in that it features the Gajasimha figure rather than the lion, which was connected to the Goa Kadambas. These coins do not have a date on them, but the palaeographic study of the inscribed words indicates that they belong to the eleventh century AD. There is no mention of the ruler as well, however, they are believed to be from the period of Jayakesi I. This is because the words *Sri-malege-bhairava* which occur on the coins also appear on the seal of the Panjim copper plate granted to this ruler. It is believed that these coins were the gold *bhairavas* as indicated in the copper-plate grants. A gold coin belonging to the reign of Jayakesi II was found in Pedne in Goa. The coin had the figure of a lion with one raised foreleg. There is also the presence of old Kannada

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<sup>94</sup> P. B. Desai, "Copper-Plate Grant of Kadamba Tribhuvanamalla; Saka 1028," EI 30 (1953- 54): 71-75

characters and on the reverse are Nagari characters. The smallest coin was known as Pana and weighed about 6 grains. The lion on the seals of the copper plates of Shashtha -Deva II and Jayakeshi I of the Kadambas of Goa.

Goa Kadambas worshipped Sri Saptakoteshwara as their family god. Inscribed on the coins of Jayakesi I, Jayakesi II, Shivachitta Permadi, and Soyideva is the legend Sri Saptakoteswar Varavira Jayakesideva. In addition, the inscription mentions the existence of Brahmanism and Jainism during the Goa Kadambas kingdom. In the court of Goa Kadambas, the king gave a grant for the construction and maintenance of Jain Bastis. They also provided patronage to Muslims in addition to Hindus. It has proof of this in Gopakapattana, where Kadamba king Jayakesideva I constructed a mijiguti. Since the Arabs were already living in Goa and engaging in trade, this activity was more about their commercial practices than religious ones.

To sum up it can be said that the king always held a supreme position in the court. They made grants for the brahmanas to perform religious sacrifices for their betterment. Along with the king the queen are too involved in the state matters. They took equal part with the king in the courtly discussions. They too had the opportunity to make grants in the court. It is noted that in Goa Kadambas courtly culture the women are given great respect. They have independent status in the court. Brahmanas to hold important position in the court and they are treated with great respect. The brahmanas are part of the court and their advices are considered by the king in the courtly matters. Besides them there are people from Buddhist and Jainism who holds an significant position in the court. Not only this the Goa Kadambas too patronised Islam and appointed muslim ministers in the court.



Fig 3.1: Tambdi Surla Temple

Photo Credit: Yogini Gaude



Fig 3.2: Inscription of Viravarmadeva

Photo Credit: Yogini Gaude



Fig 2.3: Inscription of Shasthadeva I

Photo Credit: Yogini Gaude

## **CHAPTER 5:**

### **COURTLY CULTURE UNDER THE VIJAYANAGARA**

The Vijayanagar Empire was founded in the year 1336 by enthusiastic brothers Harihara and Bukka. Madhava Mantri was a minister of the Vijayanagara Empire. He conquered the territory in the Konkana region. The western part of their possessions had several provincial divisions which included Konkana, Haive, Barakuru-rajya, Mangaluru-rajya and others. Madhav Mantri captured Goa by 1359 A.D. He made Govapuri the capital of Aragagutti kingdom with subordinate officials<sup>1</sup> and established Vijayanagara rule in the area in the name of the Goa Rajya. There was constant struggle between the Bahamanis and the Vijayanagara rulers to capture Goa. In 1369 A.D. the Vijayanagara rulers recaptured Goa from the Bahamanis control. But in that same year the Bahamanis captured Goa. From 1369 to 1378 Goa was under the control of Bahamani Sultanate. But in 1380 A.D. Emperor Harihara II had defeated the Bahamanis. Goa was then declared as the capital of the whole of Konkana province and remained under Vijayanagara rule until 1472 A.D.

Goa was a separate territory and called Goveya-rajya. A *rajya* refers to a district or a province. Since the province lay very far from the centre and their capital it became necessary to rule it through the governors directly under them.

#### **Inscription**

The Vijayanagar Empire swayed their hold over Goa in 1379 AD with Madhava Mantri as the governor of the Goa Gutti kingdom. Vijayanagara inscriptions are significant as they provide insight into their rule and the courtly culture that was prevalent during that time. Being the adherents of the Hindu faith, the records of the rulers are found to be in the Sanskrit language as well as in Kannada and Telugu. The Panjim plates dated AD 1391 of the rule of Harihara II

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<sup>1</sup> V.T. Gune. *Gazetteer of the Union Territory: Goa, Daman and Diu. Part I. 1919.* 126.

of the Vijayanagara dynasty made use of Sanskrit. It had Telugu and Nagari characters.<sup>2</sup> Through these inscriptions, it can be noted that the rulers of Vijayanagara had ruled Goa through the appointed governors who ruled over the provinces on their behalf. Some of these governors belonged to the natives of Goa. Mai Sinai Waglo who was born in Goa was appointed as the Governor of Goa.<sup>3</sup> Most of the inscription mentions a legend of the goddess named Brahmani which was found in both Karnataka and Goa. From these inscriptions, it can be known that the Kadambas were replaced by the Vijayanagara not only in Goa but also in Karnataka and they followed the policy of combining Goan and Karnataka territories due to administrative convenience.<sup>4</sup>

In addition to this, the inscription has interesting details concerning the conditions imposed on the donees. If a Brahmana migrates from the village, other village members enjoy their share. Second, an outsider could become part of the village community with the consent of the donees provided the new person occupied an unoccupied plot. While doing so, the new entrant also should obtain the permission of the person belonging to the neighbour of that plot of land. The members of the village had to obtain the permission of others before selling and giving the land as a gift to another person. The parties involved in such a transaction would be punished if the donee failed to obtain such permission from other donees, indicating the collective nature of the decision-making process.<sup>5</sup>

One of the most significant features of the inscriptions was that, although the monarchs promoted Sanskrit education, their records also included Muhammadan-style titles for themselves. The records introduce the kings with the title of *Hinduraya Suratrana* which means

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<sup>2</sup> *Epigraphia Indica XLII*. 112 -116

<sup>3</sup> Pratima Kamat. *Farar Far*. (Panaji, Goa: Institute Menezes Braganza, 1999). 21.

<sup>4</sup> Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. VII, 40.

<sup>5</sup> S. S. Ramachandra Murthy, "Panjim Plates of the Time of Harihara II, Saka 1313," *EI* 42 (1977-78): 112-15.

Sultan of the Hindu kings.<sup>6</sup> This title was said to be of Vijayanagara origin. There is another instance where a record mentions the son of Bukka, Bhaskara with the title of Bhavadur which refers to a title borrowed by Muhammadan Bahadur. Besides the king, the governors and other council of ministers also carry titles.<sup>7</sup>

## King

The Vijayanagara period had a monarchical system of government with a king reigning as the supreme head of state, in comparison with the reign of the Shilaharas and Kadambas. The working of the government depends largely on the personality of the sovereign.<sup>8</sup> However, the rulers of Vijayanagara did not dare to call themselves the King. Rather some brahmans composed text also did not refer to them as the king.<sup>9</sup> Kingship was based on the principle of absolute monarchy. The king was always the head of the court. There was also a council of ministers to advise and assist the king in the matter of administration.<sup>10</sup> To manage justice in the court, the king took the help of the chief justice/*dharma-adhayaksha* and minor judicial officers who would preach the code of conduct and the principle of *dharma*. They also preside over hearings and give their decisions to the king. The king trusted them and consulted with them in privacy.<sup>11</sup> Thus, it can be noted that the king took collective decisions in the court. One of the primary duties of the King was to always ensure the happiness of the people and to listen to the appeals and remove all their difficulties. However, the king exercised absolute authority in executive, judicial, and legislative matters. His words were final as he was the highest court of appeal and the supreme lawgiver.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Philip B. Wagnor. "Sultan Among the Hindu King: Dress, Titles and the Islamicization of Hindu Culture at Vijayanagar." 874.

<sup>7</sup> Aditi Shukla. "Sanskrit, State and legitimacy in Goa (4<sup>th</sup> century Ad - 1565)". (Panaji, Goa University, 2021). 142

<sup>8</sup> T. V. Mahalingam. *Administration and social life under Vijayanagar*. (Madras: University of Madras 1940). 9

<sup>9</sup> Robert Sewell. *A Forgotten Empire*. 25.

<sup>10</sup> M. N. Venkata, Ramanappa. *Outline of the South Indian History*. New Delhi: Vikas publishing House Pvt. Ltd, 1987. 189.

<sup>11</sup> M. N. Venkata, Ramanappa. *Outline of the South Indian History*. 190.

<sup>12</sup> M. N. Venkata, Ramanappa. *Outline of the South Indian History*. 189

During the times when the minor succeeded the throne, a regent was appointed to take care of the younger ruler and to look after the administration. Members of the royal families were appointed as the *Amatyas*, provincial governors, and military generals. The selection of the ruler appears to have been made in the presence of the minister and nobles.<sup>13</sup> In all Hindu kingdoms, the coronation was considered as an important ceremony. The coronation of the ruler will provided them legal sanction and conferred on him the title to govern.<sup>14</sup> This ceremony was held in the court (Durbar) and it was attended by the subordinate kings and other members of the court. The details of the ceremony as followed,

the brahmana Purohita placed a filler of gold on the forehead of the king, and after due prayers and the chanting of the relevant mantras poured the *abhisecana* water on the king.<sup>15</sup>

The king was also the supreme head in all civil, military, and judicial matters. He was to frame rules and regulations as laid down by the law of *Dharmashastra*. He 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.<sup>16</sup>

The king provided official administrative training to the Yuvaraja, a crown prince. A portion of the kingdom was entrusted to the Yuvaraja's administration, with the king observing from a distance and directing the Yuvaraja's control. The princes of the Vijayanagar empire were sent out by the king to govern as provincial lords. They took the titles of Odeya or Udaiyar. On the other hand, officials are also appointed as they are the knowledgeable with wide experience. These officials are selected as the provinces governor so that they could benefit the state by filling the position with credit. These governors were known as *Dandanayakas*. They had their

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<sup>13</sup> T. V. Mahalingam. *Administration and social life under Vijayanagar*. 14.

<sup>14</sup> T. V. Mahalingam. *Administration and social life under Vijayanagar*. 10

<sup>15</sup> T. V. Mahalingam. *Administration and social life under Vijayanagar*. 10.

<sup>16</sup> Alvita Mary D'Souza. "Reconstructing the urban maritime history of Goa: A study of the Port capitals Chandrapur, Gopakapattana and Ella". 161

courts, had their officers, maintained their armies and ruled their territories without being interfered with by the central authority so long as they regularly discharged their obligations to the imperial sovereign.<sup>17</sup>

A stone inscription dated A.D. 1377 belonging to Harihara II mentioned that the governors of the Vijayanagara king had control over Gove as well as the adjoining regions. In one instance, the governor who controlled Gove was later placed in charge of other regions. This was noticed in the case of Bachanna Odeya of Gove who was the *mahapradani* during the rule of Bukka II. The designation *mahapradani* referred to an administrator or a chief minister. Bachanna Odeya also served as the governor of Mangaluru in AD 1406, of Barakuru in AD 1411 and of Honnavara in AD 1415.

The king of Vijayanagara and his court led an extravagant and luxurious life. The court of almost every Vijayanagar king was adorned by many scholars<sup>18</sup> by respectable courtiers and able generals, men of letters, eminent poets, artists and envoys from various countries.<sup>19</sup> The Vijayanagara Rayas are credited for bringing the extravagant and formal court to a height throughout several centuries. A fourteenth-century inscription mentions Goveya Simhasana meaning the throne of Goa.<sup>20</sup> During the reign of Devaraya II, he was known as Pradhan Devaraya who is regarded as one of the greatest monarchs of Karnataka and witnesses a remarkable military activity. The empire was extended in all directions. The people enjoyed peace and plenty. There was religious harmony as the king followed a policy of tolerance. He was so liberal that he employed Muslims in the services of the state. It was believed that he kept the Quran beside him always. He enjoyed the title *Gajabentekara*.

When Abdur Razaak, a Persian, visited the Vijayanagara court in about 1442-1443 A.D., he provided information about the people and the wealth of the rulers.

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<sup>17</sup> T. V. Mahalingam. *Administration and social life under Vijayanagar*. 200.

<sup>18</sup> T. V. Mahalingam. *Administration and social life under Vijayanagar*. 6

<sup>19</sup> M. N. Venkata, Ramanappa. *Outline of the South Indian History*. 165.

<sup>20</sup> Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. VII, 244.

He says that in the king's treasury, there are chambers with excavation in them, filled with molten gold, forming one mas. One the inhabitant of the country whether high or low, even down to the artificers of the bazaars, wear jewels and gilt ornaments in their ears and around their necks, arms, wrists and fingers.<sup>21</sup>

Earlier the Vijayanagara kings was given the Sanskrit title *Mahamandalesvara*. *Mahamandalesvara* means the great lord and not the king.<sup>22</sup> They did not use the imperial titles such as *rajadhiraja* (king of kings) and *rajaparamesvara* (supreme lord of kings). These titles were not adopted until the reign of Harihara 11 (1377-1404).<sup>23</sup> Later, when they declared themselves as independent rulers, they began to assume imperial titles. The king Harihara I having titles *Mahamandalesvara*, *Purva-paschima-samudrapati*, *Sri-Vira-Hariyappa-Vodeya*, *raya-rajayuru* and *raya-vadvpitamaha*.<sup>24</sup> Harihara II styled himself as *Rajadhiraja* meaning the 'Kings of Kings' or emperor.<sup>25</sup> He was the first king who himself gave imperial titles under the style of *Maharajadhiraja*. The Governor of Goa Madhava Mantri also carried the title *Govapuradhis* or lord of Goa. One of the most important change that can be noticed during the Vijayanagara period was that there was an adaptation of the title *hinduraja* – *suratrana* meaning the 'Sultan among the Hindu kings'. In the view of Philip B. Wagoner, the titles had nothing to do with the religion but it indicated the willingness of the Vijayanagara king to adopt the political discourse of Islam.<sup>26</sup> On the other hand, the word *suratrana* represents a Sanskritization of the Muslim title Sultan.<sup>27</sup> The Vijayanagara rulers did not assert that they were sultans but claimed to have the status of sultans. The word sultan was a Muslim title. During the period of the Vijayanagara rule, the surrounding regions saw the rule of the

<sup>21</sup> M. N. Venkata, Ramanappa. *Outline of the South Indian History*. New Delhi: Vikas publishing House Pvt. Ltd, 1987. 154

<sup>22</sup> Robert Sewell. 25.

<sup>23</sup> Philip B. Wagoner. 862.

<sup>24</sup> V. Venkayya. Nallur grant of Harihara II. *Epigraphia Indica*. Vol. III. 115

<sup>25</sup> Robert Sewell. 26.

<sup>26</sup> Noboru Karashima. *A Concise history of South India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014. 210.

<sup>27</sup> Philip B. Wagoner. 863.

Delhi Sultanate, the Bahmani Empire and then the successor states. Thus, Vijayanagara rulers took up this clothing and title.

### **Dress**

The way the Vijayanagara king adopted the Islamic titles, there was also Islamicisation at the Vijayanagara court. They adopted the Islamic-inspired, Persianate clothing.<sup>28</sup> The men wore clothing that was similar to clothes worn in the Muslim world. In the fourteenth or early fifteenth century *kabayi* and *kullayi* was introduced in the Vijayanagara Empire. *Kullayi* was a high conical cap of brocaded fabric.<sup>29</sup> The *kabayi* means an elite garment. It was worn solely at the court of Vijayanagara and its dependents. Rather it was not worn at any other court in South India. This signifies that the Vijayanagara rulers to use this to distinguish themselves from the other Hindu kings. However, the evidence generally indicates that traditional Indian attire was still the standard even in the courts throughout most of the South Indian coastal zone. Earlier men in South Indian courts typically wore nothing over their arms and chests. They prefer to drape a long rectangular piece of loosely tailored cloth (*ambaram*) over their shoulders. Similarly, South Indian emperors usually wore jewelled crowns (*kirita or karanda-makuta*) or narrow fillets (*patta*). On the other hand courtiers and leaders wrapped their heads in turbans (*sirovesthi*).<sup>30</sup>

Much detailed information about this can most probably be found in the foreign traveller accounts. The Varthema account has information about what he saw in the sixteenth century in the court Vijayanagara and states that:

Their dress is this: the men of condition wear a short shirt and on their head a cloth of gold and silk in the Moorish fashion, but nothing on the feet. The common people go quite naked except for a piece of cloth about their middle. The king wears a cap of gold brocade of two spans long

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<sup>28</sup> Lennart Bes. *The Heirs of Vijayanagara. Court Politics in Early Modern South India*. (Leiden University Press, 2022). 397.

<sup>29</sup> Philip B. Wagnor. 853.

<sup>30</sup> Philip B. Wagnor. 859.

and when he goes to war he wears a quilted dress of cotton and over it, he puts another garment full of golden piastres and having all around it jewels of various kinds. His horse is worth more than some of our cities, on account of the ornaments which it wears.<sup>31</sup>

## Queen

Women occupied an honourable position in the society. Some of them were highly learned and even proficient in wielding the sword. The earliest epigraphic reference to the word *Bhavin* occurs in the Marathi inscription of 1402 AD from Veluz village in Sattari taluka. *Bhavin* refer to a Dancing girl attached to temple.<sup>32</sup> Thus, the inscription records the grant of three and a half *tanka* per annum to a *Bhavin*.<sup>33</sup> Women occupied an honourable position in the society. Some of them were highly learned and even proficient in wielding the sword.<sup>34</sup>

When Barbosa visited the Vijayanagar court he commented that women in the Vijayanagara empire were taught from childhood to sing, play, and dance. On the other hand, Nuniz in his work commented that,

A large number of women were employed in the palaces as dancers, domestic servants, and palanquin bearers. He also states that ladies of the harem could only be contacted through them. There were also wrestlers among them. He further states that the king employed women who wrote “all the accounts of expenses that are incurred inside the gates (palace) and others whose duty it is to note all the affairs and compares their books with those of the writers outside, (out of the palace) he has woman also for music, who play instrument and sing and dance. Even the wives of a king are well versed in music.” Nuniz concludes his narration by saying that “he has judges, as well as bailiffs and watchmen who every night guard the palace and all these are women”. The court poet Allasani Peddana goes back to the extent of saying that they “excelled in learning and dancing” (Devadasis).<sup>35</sup>

There are no queens in the Goa under Vijayanagara. But there is a possibility of governors following the central courtly practice in goa.

## Administration

<sup>31</sup> K.A. Nilakant Sashtri. *A History of South India from Prehistoric to the Fall of Vijayanagara*. (London: Oxford University press, 1958). 311.

<sup>32</sup> D. C. Sirdar. *Indian Epigraphia Glossary*. 53

<sup>33</sup> V.R. Mitragotri. *Socio-Cultural History of Goa, from Bhojas to Vijayanagara*. (Panjim: Institute Menezes Braganza, 1999). 76

<sup>34</sup> M. N. Venkata, Ramanappa. *Outline of the South Indian History*. 185

<sup>35</sup> M. N. Venkata, Ramanappa. *Outline of the South Indian History*. 186-7

The Vijayanagar Empire was divided into several *rajyas* out of which Goa was a part of the Araga or Maleha *rajya*. It includes Banavasi, Chandragutti and Goa.<sup>36</sup> The Konkana-900 was a strip of land between the Ghats and the sea and appears to have had Honnavar as its capital. Goa to the northwest of Karwar constituted a separate principality called Goveya *rajya*.<sup>37</sup> It was separated into numerous provinces to ensure the proper functioning of the government administration called *rajyas*. 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. In 1390 A.D. Aragagutti province was separated for efficient administration and Mallapa Odeyar was posted as its viceroy. Chandragutti was a part of the Goa Kingdom.<sup>38</sup> Rajulu or the Kshatriyas were generally associated with the ruling dynasties assisting them in the matters and affairs of the state.<sup>39</sup>

Each province was under a governor called *nayaka*. They are the military chiefs held the titles of *Nayaka*. They controlled revenue rights over land or territorial grants. These titles are given to a person who belonged to a family or to a nobility class. The important offices were generally the Prime Minister, chief treasurer, keeper of the royal jewels, and the prefect of the police. Apart from them are also people from lower rank who help them.<sup>40</sup> In one instance, the governor who controlled Gove was later placed in charge of other regions. This was noticed in the case of Bachanna Odeya of Gove who was the *mahapradani* during the rule of Bukka II. 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

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<sup>36</sup> K. A. N. Sastri. *A History of South India: from Prehistoric times to the fall of Vijayanagara*. (Madras:- Oxford University Press. 1958). 256.

<sup>37</sup> Karnataka Inscription. xi-xii.

<sup>38</sup> V. T. Gune. *Gazetteer of the union Territory Goa, Daman and Diu*. 126.

<sup>39</sup> M. N. Venkata, Ramanappa. *Outline of the South Indian History*. 185.

<sup>40</sup> M. N. Venkata, Ramanappa. *Outline of the South Indian History*. 191.

government as well as required to send military assistance in time of need. They enjoyed wide powers within their area.<sup>41</sup>

The village assembly was the lowest unit of the state. These assemblies were like 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 the form of agricultural produce. The central government maintained contact 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 Sanklim were part of the Vijayanagara Empire and ruled by the governor of Goa. The nayaka families within the Vijayanagara Empire seem to have commenced with an appointment to the rank of the betel-bag bearer.<sup>42</sup>

### **Councillors**

Attendees in the court included the *kulkarni*, or account and *paini* or guards for the bunds, and professional managers known as *kamats*. Within 24 hours of noticing a crack in the bunds, the bous had to fix it. Bous represented the farmer's association. The members would bear the cost of the expenses acquired. In addition, the king appointed Bhojakas and Ayuktas as revenue and land tax collectors to collect the money earned from the cultivation of Khazan land. The gaunkars often sold these khazans to people or put them up for sale. The money made from these was put toward several things, such as giving community services and paying the government's land tax. The *joneros* received *jono* or a portion of the income. By the *chattas* and *bhattas*, or constables, they received help. If the king did something illegal, he had to give evidence to a court of the people, often known as a convention.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Alvita Mary D'Souza. "Reconstructing the urban maritime history of Goa: A study of the Port capitals Chandrapur, Gopakapattana and Ella". 161 – 162

<sup>42</sup> Daud Ali. *Courtly culture and political life in early Medieval India*. (New Delhi: Cambridge University Press. 2006). 551

<sup>43</sup> Alvita Mary D'Souza. "Reconstructing the urban maritime history of Goa: A study of the Port capitals Chandrapur, Gopakapattana and Ella". 163– 164.

## Religious Elites

Brahmanas were an integral part of the court and they followed the traditional profession of a teacher and a priest. Likewise, some brahmanas also performed the duties of soldiers and an administrator. They also secured the right to obtain the gift from the king and taxes on ferry dues. Domingo Paes in his narration mentioned that there were among Brahmanas, not only priests and lettered men but also officers of the town and cities in the service of the king attending to government work; others were merchants and still others lived by their property and cultivation and the fruits which grow in their inherited grounds.<sup>44</sup> The Brahmanas were also regarded as the managers of the villages assigned to them. They also had the Sudra craftsmen's services during this procedure. The charter also says that before to granting the right to the Brahmanas, it studied the Goa Kadamba inscriptions.

The gift of a village to multiple Brahmanas by Madhava-Mantri, who controlled (Gova) GOA as an official of the Vijayanagara king Harihara II, was recorded in copper plates dated to AD 1391 during that period. It also mentioned additional places in the copper-plate inscription. A few of these were Tissuari (Tiswadi) or Trinchadratika. Furthermore, included were Dvadasha-desha, which was Bardes (Bardez), Shatt-Shastti, which was Salcete, Saptati, which was Sattari, and Antruz, which was Ponda.<sup>45</sup> There were thirty settlements referred to as Trinchadvattica, or Tissuari. Bardez, which stood for the area of twelve places, was known to as Dvadasha-desha and Shatt-Shastti meaning sixty-six settlements.<sup>46</sup>

An inscription of A.D. 1391 of Harihara II<sup>47</sup> informed about the land grant given to the brahmanas by Madhav Mantri. Madhava Mantri gave Mamchalapura to twelve Brahmanas as

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<sup>44</sup> M. N. Venkata, Ramanappa. *Outline of the South Indian History*.185.

<sup>45</sup> M. N. Venkata, Ramanappa. *Outline of the South Indian History*. 39.

<sup>46</sup> Panduranga Pissurlencar, "Um passo do cronista Barros elucidado à luz duma inscrição Sânskrita," OP (2nd series) 18 (1937): 40n17.

<sup>47</sup> Epigraphia Indica XLII. 112 -116

an agrahara. In the inscription, the names, gotras, and qualities of the Brahmanas are stated along with the village income. The village Govali yielded an annual income of 128 *tankas* and 22 *jitals*. The village Mauli, on the other hand, yielded an income of 239 *tankas* and 12 *jitals*. The beneficiaries of this grant were given concessions from the payment of taxes such as *panga* and others. In addition, irrigation facilities were also provided. For example, there was the construction of a tank, Mamchala-samudra, with an embankment, which allowed the landowners to store water that could be used to cultivate crops. The landlords were allowed to cultivate areca nuts in this area. In addition, there was the creation of the *Brahmapuri*, or a colony of the Brahmanas. This land grant was made in the court in the presence of the deities Saptanathadeva and Triyambakadeva and scholars belonging to various regions. The beneficiaries belonged to different regions as the record mentions their places of origin.<sup>48</sup>

The list of the brahmanas whom Madhava Mantri had granted agrahara was as follows:

<b>Sr. No.</b>	<b>Name of the donee</b>	<b>Gotra</b>
1.	Govinda bhatta	Atri
2.	Viththala bhatta	Naidhriva
3.	Somathatha Bhatta	Kausika
4.	Isvara Bhatta	Gautama
5.	Govinda Bhatta	Bharadvaja
6.	Hamadri pandita	Kausika
7.	Kesava shadangavit	Atri
8.	Krishna Bhatta	Naidhriva
9.	Govinda Bhatta	Bharadvaja
10.	Padmanabha Bhatta	Bharadvaja

<sup>48</sup> Nagendra Rao. 'The State, Village Communities and the Brahmanas in Goa (1000–1600 CE)'. 9.

11.	Janardana patta vardhana	Kasyapa
12.	Vamana Bhatta	Kausika

Besides Brahmanas, there are gaudas or the peasants also mentioned in the inscriptions. An inscription that belongs to 1417 CE informed that in the Gove-Gutti kingdom, there was a person named Rama Gauda who died, and his wife Bomma Gaudi performed sahagamana or sati. On the other hand, the inscription also gives details about the non-Brahmanas who acted as landowners.

A stone inscription dated AD 1377 of the reign of Harihara II of the Vijayanagara dynasty found at Kalapur (Calapor) in Santa Cruz near Panjim informed that the Vijayanagara king made a gift to the temple of Vatesvara. Like Goa Kadamba, Vijayanagara rulers also gave importance to agriculture expansion which would earn them profit. The rulers granted land to individuals and a community, thus the state ensured agricultural expansion, which allowed it to collect tax from the landowners. Granting a land to the Brahmana was considered to be an important courtly practices. In the Harihara II inscription dated A.D. 1402 mentioned about the Anantras Gosavi. During his reign Mai Shenvi, Hari Sawant, Kume Naik, Durg Sawant, Lakhani Sawant was provided with the land grants for their religious merit. The grant was made in the presence of God Ravalnath.<sup>49</sup>

Another inscription of Harihara II dated A.D. 1414 provided information about the donation given to the temple Mahalaxmi. The resident of Bandiwadi village Ram Nayak, Nangan Nayak, Ram Prabhu, Mangesh Prabhu had made donations. From this it can be claimed that the wealthy people from the village made grants to the temple so that their status will increase in the court.<sup>50</sup>

### **Merchants**

<sup>49</sup> S. G. Tulpule. *Prachin Koriv Marathi lekh*. 301 – 305.

<sup>50</sup> S. G. Tulpule. *Prachin Koriv Marathi lekh*. 305 – 314.

The Vijayanagar rulers focus on the Goa Gutti kingdom for trade, industry, crafts, agriculture, and commerce for their prosperity. Goa was classified as a port, Ponda and Panchamahall formed a part of the Kudal division of the subha of Dabhol (Mustafabad) and so did Pernem, Bicholim and Sattari.<sup>51</sup> Throughout the subcontinent, mercenary soldiers made up Vijayanagara's army. Arabian horse commerce was vital to the court's military activities. The carvings of Arabs with horses and that of the use of horses in the warfare of Vijayanagar kings, on the archaeological remains bear testimony to the horse trade.<sup>52</sup> The major ports where the maritime trade was carried out were Chandrapura, Gopakapattana, and Ella. The port of Gopakapattana was moved to Ella in Old Goa on the river Mandovi due to the silting of the Zuari. The newly established port was wider and deeper and quickly developed into an important centre of trade and commerce, especially for the horses from Ormuz that were required by the rulers of Vijayanagar.

Motikiratalu or the Vaisyas were the merchants who carried on trade and commercial activities.<sup>53</sup> Nalavajativaru or the Sudras were considered inferior in their status. They were rendering manual service and followed the different professions to earn their livelihood.<sup>54</sup>

### **Craftsmen**

Craftsmen were also present in the Vijayanagara court as they were significant for the administration. There were royal portraits carved into the stone. An example can be seen in Goa, where Madhava Mantri, the Vijayanagara emperor, ruled. He is portrayed in this portrait sculpture holding an arrow quiver, a sceptre, and a bow. He was seen with a necklace, anklets, and armlets on. Therefore it can be known that the governors too ornamented themselves. The craftsmen provided the diverse groups in society with different goods.<sup>55</sup> A Panjim plate

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<sup>51</sup> Pratima Kamat. *Goa: Its tryst with Trade*. 54.

<sup>52</sup> V T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu, Part I*. 128.

<sup>53</sup> M. N. Venkata, Ramanappa. *Outline of the South Indian History*. 185

<sup>54</sup> M. N. Venkata, Ramanappa. *Outline of the South Indian History*. 185

<sup>55</sup> Christopher H. de Souza. "Craftsmen and Artisans in Goa (A.D. 1000 to 1700)". 55

produced by a craftsman in AD 1391 during the reign of Harihara II records the grant of a village and taxes. Most significantly, the record states that the grant was made after referring to the grants of the Goa Kadambas.<sup>56</sup> A hero stone dating back to the Harihara II period of the Vijayanagara dynasty was discovered in Goa. The stone, which is believed to date back to AD 1380, commemorates an individual who lost their life in battle. The inscription on the stone reveals that the deceased person's sons erected it. The hero stone was carved by Anamandacharya.<sup>57</sup> Calapur inscription is the only circular stone inscription of Vijayanagara period with hole in the centre. From 11<sup>th</sup> century the village was already known in Konkan as a major salt producer.

### **Art and Architecture**

The Vijayanagar kings were great builders.<sup>58</sup> During the initial period, the relationship of Vijayanagar with Goa was mainly related to social and religious matters. Madhav Mantri, the first general of Vijayanagar in Goa, rebuilt the Kadambas' Saptakoteshwar temple and re-established the deity there. As it has been already mentioned in Chapter 4, the Saptakoteshwar temple was built by Kadambas. But due to religious oppression the temple was destroyed by the Bahamanis. Later Madhava Mantri reinstall the Linga and built a temple. There were several brahmanas who had fled their homes due to the brutality of Muslim invaders by establishing *agraharas* or *brahmapuris* in Kochre village of Sawantawadi, where Karhade brahmanas were re-established, twelve Rigvedi brahmanas in Tiswadi taluka of Goa, naming it Machalapura and so on. As a learned man, he must have been concerned with public education. His successors were also brahmanas, who were well educated and encouraged learning. With their knowledge, the Rajya Goa Gutti was expanded in all directions.

### **Religion**

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<sup>56</sup> Epigraphia Indica XLII. 112 -116

<sup>57</sup> Christopher H. de Souza. "Craftsmen and Artisans in Goa (A.D. 1000 to 1700)". 39

<sup>58</sup> T. V. Mahalingam. *Administration and social life under Vijayanagar*. 6

The Vijayanagara period continued the tradition of the worship of Shiva as well as Shakti worship. The Hosahalli inscription of Harihara II, dated 1384 AD, mentions the grant given to an *agrahara* in Kamalapura near Chandragutti established by Kame, the *dandanayaka*. It mentions that the shares given to the brahmanas in the presence of god . It indicates that the rulers of the Vijayanagara Empire were followers of Shaivism. The tradition of Vaishnavism is indicated by the worship of Lord Narsimha. Other than Shaivism and Brahmanism, they also patronized Jainism. Mitragotri states that the tradition of the worship of Ravalnath, a gana of Lord Shiva, was initiated under the Vijayanagara rule.<sup>59</sup>

The trade and commerce in the Vijayanagar Empire was linked to the annual religious festivals that were celebrated with great pomp and show in the state. Festivals like holi, Diwali, mahanavami and dussehra were the major festivals along with local festivals like jatra related to the local village deities. The celebration of festivals was the time when the markets were flooded with various commodities.

### **Coins:**

In the period of Vijayanagara, the coins of copper, gold, and silver were in circulation. This coins were known as the *gadyana*, *Varaha*, *pon*, *Pratapa*, *kati*, *pana* and *haga*. *Gadyana* was also known as *Varaha* and *pon*. Harihara II used the *patapa*. It was a smaller denomination gold coin that was equivalent to half of a varaha. On the other hand, there was Kati, a smaller denomination of coins. The coins were usually carrying symbols of their emblem such as Hanuman, Garuda, Bull, Elephant, Uma Maheshwar, Lakshmi Narayan, Lakshimi Narasimha, Saraswati Brahma, and were inscribed in Kannada and Nagari. The Inscription of Vijayanagara Harihara II 1391 refers to two types of coins *rayya tankas* and *jaithalas* which refers to *tankas* and *jintals* and *karuka* or a small coin. From this, it is known the governors of Vijayanagara

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<sup>59</sup> Hosahalli Inscription of Harihara II, 1384 AD, Journal of Bombay Historical Society, Vol I.

used this type of coins in their court. These coins were used either while giving donations to the temple or while giving grants to the person for their religious merits.<sup>60</sup>

A stone inscription dated AD 1402 of the period of the Vijayanagara rule was found at Veluz in the taluka of Sattari in Goa. It records that payments were made for certain services and to the temple servants who were involved in the worship of the deity called Ravalnath. The payments included one tanka to the priest and four tankas towards lighting of the lamp. There were also six tankas to the washerman and three tankas to the other temple servants.<sup>61</sup> Thus, it is seen that in some cases, the artisans were paid in cash as well.

In an inscription of Vimana Mantri of 1348, mentioned about the *Vanis* or *Vanias* that constituted the majority of the trading class. They claimed to be vaishyas and are the traders by occupation. Apart from them sonars or goldsmiths (*svarnkar* – worker in gold) are also mentioned. They claimed their descent from the Vishvakarma, the divine architect and calls themselves as the Panchals. During that period a man is allowed to his mother's brother's daughter but not his mother's sister's daughter.<sup>62</sup>

To conclude, it can be said that the Vijayanagara rulers took interest in the social and religious development of their subjects. A thorough analysis of the secular culture of the ruling class of Vijayanagara can reveal how much Islamic-inspired forms and practices influenced Indic courtly life throughout the Vijayanagara period.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Epigraphia Indica XLII. 112 -116

<sup>61</sup> V. R. Mitragotri. *A Socio-cultural History of Goa from Bhojas to Vijayanagara*. 111-112.

<sup>62</sup> Panduranga Pissurlencar, "Um passo do cronista Barros elucidado à luz duma inscrição Sânscrita," OP (2<sup>nd</sup> series) 18 (1937): 29.

<sup>63</sup> Philip B. Wagnor. 'Sultan among Hindu Kings: Dress, Titles, and the Islamicization of Hindu Culture at Vijayanagara.' 852

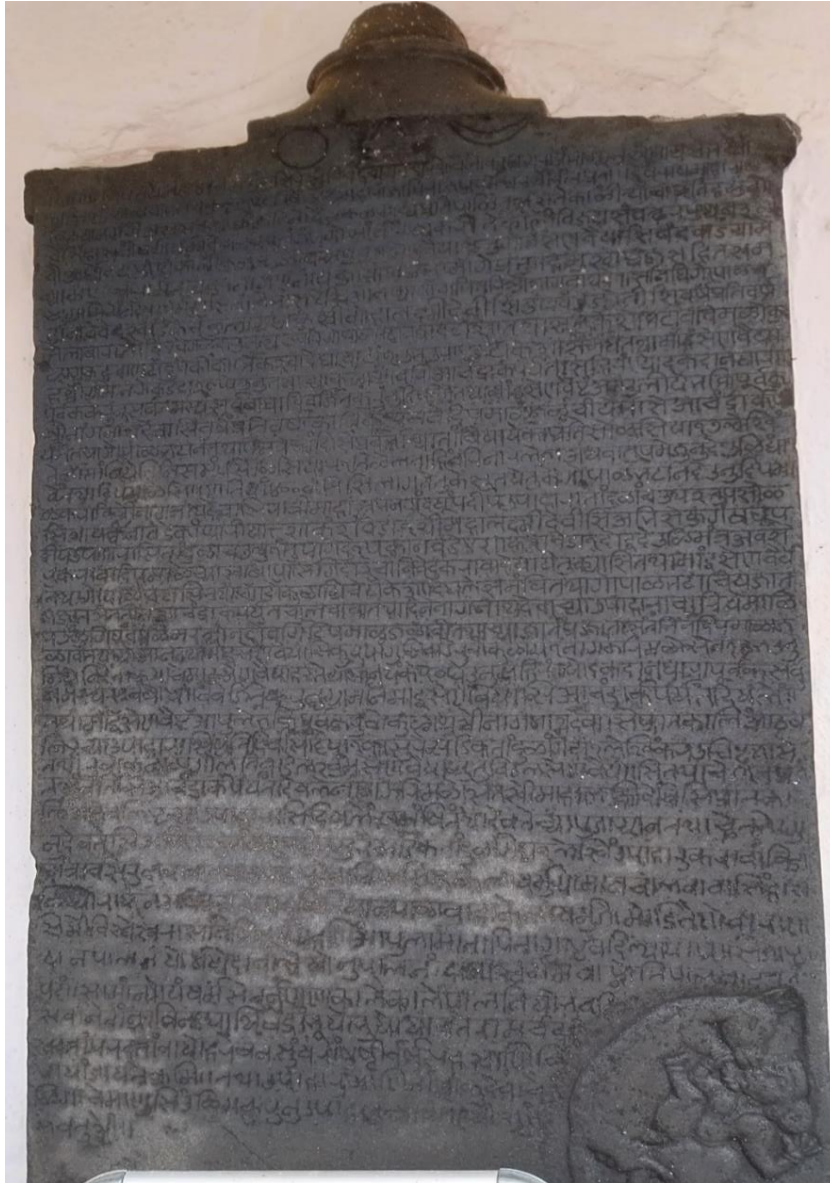


Fig 4.1: Shilalekh of Vijayanagara period.

Photo credit: Yogini Gaude

## CONCLUSION

This study focused on the courtly culture in Goa from 8<sup>th</sup> Century to 1472 AD. Courtly culture functioned as a great barrier between the high and low. The culture of the Court was documented by the great arenas of discourses. It can be based on the advising men and a huge body of verse and prose literature that shows the lives of the people. Inscriptions played a very significant role in understanding the courtly culture of the Goa from the 8<sup>th</sup> century to 1472 AD. They provide most of the important aspects of the courtly culture. In addition to this, language plays very prominent in the courtly culture. It has been noticed that the Shilaharas and Goa Kadambas used Kannada and Sanskrit languages in their court. However, their inscription was found in Kannada and Sanskrit languages. But later Sanskrit and Marathi inscriptions were found. From this, it was known that the Vijayanagara rulers used Sanskrit and Marathi languages in their court.

One of the most important positions in courtly culture was held by the King. The king was regarded as the supreme head of the state and was always given the position of the ‘God’. During the reign of Shilaharas and Goa Kadambas in the region of Goa, there was a monarchical form of government. The King always stood at the center of the court surrounded by his councils of ministers. The king with the help of his council of ministers, makes decisions in the court. It was noticed that the king’s councils of ministers were generally well-educated and skilled person. In the Vijayanagara period, the king appointed governors in the region to rule over the region. It was observed that the king either inherited their titles or they were given titles because of their superiority. It was then during the Vijayanagara period the rulers began to use Islamic-influenced titles. Not only the king but the council of ministers were also provided with titles.

The council of ministers of the king was composed of the members of the household of the king and the Brahmins. The council of ministers of the king was very skillful and educated. Brahmanas were regarded as an important part of the court. They had the knowledge of *Vedas*, *Vedangas*, *Shastra*, *Nyaya*, and *astrology*. These brahmanas served as the best advisors to the king in his administration. It is noticed that during the Shilahara period, the King gave grants to the brahmanas which were held with a ceremony. Similarly, Goa Kadambas too granted land to the brahmanas. They gave grants to the Brahmins to secure their religious merit. Not only brahmanas, rather merchants, artisans, and craftsmen were also provided grants by the king. Similarly, during the Vijayanagara period, the rulers also granted land, fields, or some amount of money to the locals. Thus, it was seen that they were also present in the court of the king.

It was evident that the courtly culture placed a high value on 'education'. The King was a learned, and always supported education in their kingdom. He donated gifts to the *acharya*. During the Goa Kadambas period, there was a reference to the *agraharas* or *brahmapuri*. The queen was also educated and took part in the courtly deliberation along with the King. The queens were also supporters of education. Queen Kamaladevi was a patron of learning. She brought brahmanas in the region. As they were well versed in *nyaya*, *mimamsa*, *sankhya*, *yoga*, *vedantas*, *smritis*, *itihasa* and *puranas*.

Other people are witnessed in the court of the king. During the Shilaharas period, it was seen that when the king made grants in the court, he called out all the residents of the towns and villages in the court. After that, the king made grants in their presence. Most of the inscriptions mention the presence of the locals in the court. It was also noticed in the Shilahara period that when the brahmanas were granted land, they were provided families. In addition to this, they were exempted from the taxes. Likewise, during the Goa Kadamba period nobles and religious heads were also exempted from taxes.

In the Vijayanagara period it was witnessed that court ceremonies were celebrated with great pomp. The officials of the Vijayanagara belonged to the nobility or sometimes officials who belonged to the natives of the region. It was also witnessed in the Vijayanagara period that grants were given to the brahmanas. apart from them there were servants of the temples or local people were granted land by the ruler.

The governance of the Shilaharas, Goa Kadambas and Vijayanagra Empire are similar. It was observed that the Vijayanagara emperor followed the Goa Kadambas rule. The only one thing that make the Vijayanagara rulers different from other kings was the adoption of the Islamic culture. The rulers of Vijayanagara partially adopted the court etiquette, dress, titles and other aspects of the court culture.

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