A Socio- Cultural Study of Horses in Bicholim and Sattari Taluka

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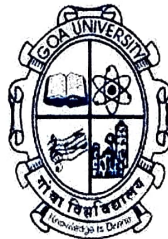
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DECLARATION BY STUDENT

I hereby declare that the data presented in this Dissertation report entitled, "A Socio- Cultural Study of Horses in Bicholim and Sattari Taluka" is based on the results of investigations carried out by me in the History Discipline at the D. D. Kosambi School of Social Sciences and Behavioural Studies, Goa University under the Supervision of Ms. Sneha Babi Ghadi 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 **"A Socio- Cultural Study of Horses in Bicholim and Sattari Taluka"** is a bonafide work carried out by **Ms. Samiksha Santosh Gaude** under my supervision in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **Mater of Arts in History** in the Discipline History at the D. D. Kosambi School of Social Sciences and Behavioural Studies, Goa University.

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CONTENT

PREFACE

The history of Goa has always been a subject of fascination in historical writing. The reconstruction of the history of Goa with the help of archival, inscriptional, archaeological, and ethnographic sources has provided immense knowledge about the different aspects of Goan history. Literature dealing with trade in Goa in general and horse trade in particular is available in a very large number. But very few have tried to reconstruct the history of trade with the help of an ethnographic approach.

The conquest of Goa by the Portuguese in 1510 was one of the major events that changed the entire history of the western coast of India. At the time of their arrival, it was the horse trade that helped the Portuguese establish their base in Goa. The horse trade that thrived and helped the Portuguese establish their foothold over the territories of old conquest subsequently declined in the latter half of the sixteenth century. Therefore, the research first tries to prove the importance of horses by comparing them under different dynasties.

The availability of horses to a few and their unavailability to many, with special focus given to the emergence of them being brought under the fold of religion, is something newly looked upon. Therefore, the conclusions about the importance of the horse trade concerning its assimilation into folk culture have been looked at from a historical perspective. The new ideas about the folk dance of *Ghodemodni* and the horse worship in these two talukas will be propounded for the first time through this dissertation.

Folklore has been one of the most important mediums for passing on the routines and rituals of ancient times from one generation to another. And folk songs and folk dance testify to the same. This dissertation will be my first attempt at assessing the importance of horses, more specifically in the region of Bicholim and Sattari taluka, and at understanding the presence of horses in the remaining taluka in general. This dissertation will help the readers understand the traces of the horse trade depicted through the oral traditions in the two talukas of Bicholim and Sattari.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I take this privilege with great pleasure to acknowledge my sincere gratitude to my mentor, Ms. Sneha B. Ghadi, for her scholarly guidance, support, and help throughout my research. The constant support provided by her made me pen down my ideas for the dissertation.

I would like to extend my heartfelt thanks to all the participants in the *Ghodemodni* dance who shared details about the specific dance form. My sincere thanks to all the teachers of the history discipline at D. D. Kosambi School of Social Sciences, Goa University, for their invaluable assistance in resolving our research-specific doubts. I am grateful to my friend Siddhi, who always accompanied me on visits to various places in the two selected talukas.

I am deeply thankful to my parents, Santosh and Sanjana, as well as my sisters, Sadhna and Supriya, for their unwavering encouragement and motivation. Lastly, I would like to thank all those whose contributions, whether direct or indirect, have played a part in the completion of this dissertation.

FIGURES

GLOSSARY

Bhut- Devil

Dekhni- Dance perfomed by Kalavants.

Devchar- Spirit or folk deity.

Dhalo- Female Folk Dance festival.

Dhangar- Folk dance performed by Shepherd community of Goa.

Dhol- A large drum.

Fugdi- Folk Dance of Women.

Garaane- Supplication to any God or Idol.

Ghodemodni- Folk dance using hobby horses.

Ghodo or Ghode- Horse or horses.

*Goph_* Folk dance of Goa, forming braid of strings and unweaving it.

Kambol- A Coarse blanket or rough woollen blanket

Kansalem- Large Cymbals made of bell metal.

Kapod - Nine yard Saree.

Kondo- Bamboo

Kunbi- A tribe of Peasants and farmers.

Mharu- Devil

Morulo- Folk dance of Goa

Musal- Folk dance of Goa

Rakhandar- Protector Deity.

Rath- Chariot.

Romat- Procession with music instruments during the festive celebration of *Shigmo.*

Roullo- Another name for the deity Ravalnath.

Shigmo- Festival celebrated during the spring.

Taati- It is used in the folk dance of *Ghodemodni* and is made out of bamboo.

Talvar- Sword.

Taso- Kind of drum played with two cane sticks.

Tonyamel- Folk Dance of Goa.

Vahan- Conveyance or the vehicle of the deity.

Virbhadra- Traditional dance with Hindu mythology.

<u>ABSTRACT</u>

The socio-cultural study of the horse trade examines how it is depicted in Goa through oral traditions. A thorough literature research has revealed its significance during successive dynasties that ruled over Goa, as well as the role played by the Portuguese in deploying it as one of their defense strategies. The study and analysis conducted on horse worship and the *Ghodemodni* folk dance as performed in the two taluka under investigation provided unique insights into the importance of horses in Bicholim and Sattari taluka. Furthermore, the research emphasizes the presence of horses, as found in other parts of Goa in brief. The ethnographic research method, which includes participant observation, personal interviews, and document and literary work analysis, helps to gain a better understanding of the themes of identity and resistance in Bicholim and Sattari taluka, all of which have an indirect connection to the horse trade.

Keywords: Horses, Bicholim, Sattari, trade, worship, *Ghodemodni.*

CHAPTER: 1 INTRODUCTION

Goa, which is located on India's western coast, has long been known for its trading activities. The lucrative horse trade was one of the grounds for competition between various dynasties to rule over Goa. Its contribution to the growth of the Goan economy is noteworthy. It is remarkable to observe how the horse that was traded as a commodity grew to be connected to faith. It has always been intriguing as to why horses show up in the sculptures of specific gods and at specific locations. They also appear on memorial stones, folk deity sculptures, and even people worshiping horses across Goa. The study will focus on the socio-religious component of Goan society and its linkages with horses. The research will also trace the economic circumstances in Goa before its conquest by the Portuguese. It will aid anyone who desires to study Goa's pre- and post-colonial history, with special reference to the horse trade.

The present study attempts to analyse the significance of horses in Bicholim and Sattari Taluka. To understand its significance, it is important to study the horse trade that existed in Goa in the pre-colonial and colonial periods. With the arrival of the Portuguese in Goa in the sixteenth century, several changes were introduced, which will also be discussed and analysed to compare the trade in the pre-colonial and colonial periods. The research deals with only these two taluka because they have a large number of horse depictions in folklore. The folk performances of *Ghodemodni*, along with horse worship, have carried forward the seeds of the profitable horse trade that flourished in Goa for generations.

1. 1. Identification of Research Problem

Many works are available to study on the subject of trade. However, very few have tried to analyse trade from a socio-cultural perspective. The study of the presence of horses in the socio-cultural life of Bicholim and Sattari Taluka will help to understand the trade that existed in pre-colonial and post-colonial Goa. The primary as well as secondary sources will be used to research, analyse, and study the horse trade in the selected taluka. This study will be an attempt to understand economic activity by studying socio-cultural life.

1. 2. Objectives

The research has objectives such as:

 • Assessing the socio-cultural significance of horses in Bicholim and Sattari Taluka.

 • To Research the history of the horse trade in Goa.

1. 3. Literature Review

Teotonio R. de Souza's book *Goa Through the Ages, Vol. II: An Economic History* is an important book as it deals with the economic history of Goa from the earliest times up to 1961. It is a compilation of articles written by different authors. It has stressed more on the topic of trade in Goa, which includes information on horse trade under different dynasties. It also provides statistical data, as mentioned by different travellers in their accounts, and provides an opportunity for future researchers to work on the data available. The book is also important as it provides information on the rivalry between the Thana Shilaharas and the Kadambas of Goa. The Thana Shilaharas wanted to capture the rich sea-borne trade carried by the Goa Shilaharas with the help of the Arab traders. These Arab traders were known as

the Nauvitta or Navayats, and their commercial settlements were known as Hanjaman.[1] The book includes references to numerous foreign travellers like Masudi, Ibn Battuta, Tom Pires, Duarte Barbosa, and Gaspar Correia that help in understanding more about the economic condition of Goa and serve as an important source of horse trade in Goa.

Another work of Teotonio R. de Souza *Medieval Goa Socio-Economic History* contains a wealth of information on Goan life throughout the medieval period. The author gives information on Portuguese and other rulers in brief, but it is sufficient to provide insight into the nature of Portuguese rule. Numerous primary sources on medieval Goa have been presented in the book, which is quite useful as it helps us to seek more documents relevant to the chosen research topic.[2]

The book *On the Spice Trail: Europe Discovers India in Goa* by Joseph Velinkar deals with the European journey to India in search of spices. The book is important as it provides the history of Goa before the arrival of Europeans. The numerous dynasties that ruled over Goa and the role that they played in the horse trade have been discussed by the author in the book. The book includes numerous wars that the Europeans, particularly the Portuguese, fought at different points in time to establish their power. References to the horse trade can also be cited in the book. Albuquerque, on his visit to Goa, saw horses and stables and therefore realised the importance of horses as a war weapon, on which he later established his control

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[1] Teotonio R. de Souza, *Goa through the Ages, Vol. II: An Economic History* (Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1990), 132.

[2] Teotonio R. de, *Souza Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History* (Panjim: Goa1556, 2009).

upon conquering Goa.[3] Albuquerque also gifted the Portuguese official's horses when they married the Goan locals, and this depicts the kind of value attached to horses during those days.[4] The author has also mentioned the Naitia Muslims, who belonged to Honnavar and Bhatkal but had shifted to Old Goa and were involved in the horse trade. It is also important to understand how the Portuguese monopolized the horse trade and earned a huge profit out of the income deriving from the tax levied on the importation of horses in Goa. Thus, in the first half of the 16th century, horses became a very valuable commodity and the most important branch of traffic.[5]

Robert Sewell's book *A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagara)* deals with the detailed study of the Vijayanagara Empire. The book includes information on the horse trade and gives details of the price paid by the Vijayanagara Rulers to purchase horses from the Portuguese. It gives brief chronological information on the role played by all Vijayanagara kings. This book is important as it helps in understanding the trade relations that existed later between the Vijayanagara Empire and the Portuguese. The battles that they fought, like the War of 1558, provide information on the horse trade as being one of the main factor responsible for the war to take place. The treaties signed among them are of utmost importance. The author has presented well the various causes that made the Vijayanagara Empire depend on the Portuguese for horses after the conquest of Goa.[6] The book helps in understanding how the

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[3] Joseph Velinkar, *On the Spice Trail: Europe Discovers India in Goa* (Goa: Goa, 1556, 2016), 74.

[4] Velinkar, *On the Spice Trail*, 78.

[5] Velinkar, *On the Spice Trail*, 207

[6] Robert Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagara)* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1982), 127.

Portuguese took advantage of the importance of horses as war weapons and tried to gain profit out of the horse trade.

The book *Kadamba Kula* by George M. Moraes gives a brief account of the importance of horses in the lives of Kadamba kings. It throws light on the tradition of horse sacrifice as performed by the Kadamba Kings. This book makes it clear that horse sacrifice was a popular tradition and that the Kings were given well-versed training to ride horses.[7] Maintaining cavalry of horses was an important part of the Kadamba army.[8] References to horses during the Kadamba period support the claim that the Kadambas of Goa developed the horse trade by supporting the Arab or Muslim merchants. Many instances of this have been cited in the book. The reference to 'Sadhan', who was appointed as Minister by Jaykeshi-I, is also useful for the study to prove the existence of the Muslim community in Goa during the Kadamba period.

The book titled *Sources of History of the Kadambas of Goa,* authored by S. G. Kadamb, is an important source to reconstruct the history of the Kadambas of Goa. The book is important as it provides numerous sources with the help of which one can relate the horse trade to Goa. The Curtorim Inscription is one such example that provides references to the horse trade in

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[7] George M. Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula: A History of Ancient and Mediaeval Karnataka (*Bombay: B.X. Furtado & Sons, 1931), 250.

[8] Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula: A History of Ancient and Medieval Karnataka*, 280.

Goa during the Kadamba period.[9] The titles adopted by the Kadamba Kings help to understand the nature of trade. The author has provided many sources other than the inscriptional sources for the study of Goa Kadambas.

The book *A Volume of Indian and Iranian Studies* is a compilation of many articles in which P. M. Joshi has written an article entitled "Relations between the Adil Shahi Kingdom of Bijapur and the Portuguese at Goa during the Sixteenth Century." The article deals with the kind of relationship that existed between the Adil Shahi Kingdom and the Portuguese in Goa. The need to keep an efficient cavalry force necessitated the Adil Shahi Kingdom to maintain cordial relations with the Portuguese at the initial stage, but after the decline of the Vijayanagara Empire, they tried to threaten the supremacy of Portuguese control in Goa, but that went in vain. The description provided by the author gives information on the number of horses imported to Goa and the condition in which they were brought. The author has referred to many foreign travellers who visited India during specific point of time. Although the article do not provide information on horse trade that existed prior to the arrival of Portugal in Goa and has only provided references to horse trade with regard to the Adil Shahi Kingdom and the Portuguese in Goa but is it very much useful in analysing the importance of horse as a significant component of military.[10]

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[9] S.G. Kadamb, *Sources of History of Kadambas of Goa* (Panaji: Broadway Publishing House, 2013), 2.

[10] P. M. Joshi, "Relations between the Adilshahi Kingdom of Bijapur and the Portuguese at Goa during the Sixteenth Century," in *A Volume of Indian and Iranian Studies,* ed. S. M. Katre and P. K. Gode (Bombay, Karnataka, 1939), 161–171.

There are many travelogues available that contain information on the horse trade in Goa. One such travelogue is that of Duarte Barbosa, whose work has been translated into English by Mansel Longworth Dames and is titled *The Book of Duarte Barbosa, Vol. I. An account of the countries bordering on the Indian Ocean and their inhabitants, written by Duarte Barbosa and completed about the year 1518 A.D.* Duarte Barbosa was a Portuguese official and was in the service of the Portuguese government in India from about 1500 until about 1516 or 1517. The author has described most of the port towns of India, like Goa, Banda, Bhatkal, Mirjan, Honor, Bracelore, Mangalore, Chaul, Dabhol, and so on. The book is important as it throws light on the importance of the horse trade during that particular point in time and the profit that the Portuguese gained after gaining control over it. The importance of the Port of Goa to Adil Shahis, Vijayanagara, and the Portuguese is briefly discussed, while also highlighting the role played by the other ports of India. Most importantly, theories about Goa being mentioned as Sindapur, Sindabur, or Cintacora are also discussed in the book. The book is important as it throws light on how Goa became important after the emigration of the Muslims from Honor and Bhatkal to Goa.[11]

Surendranath Sen has also edited the book titled *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri: Being the Third Part of the Travels of Jean de Thevenot into the Levant and the Third Part of a Voyage Around the World by Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri.* This book is important as it deals with the accounts written by two European travellers who visited India, namely Jean de Thevenot and Giovanni Francesco Gamelli Careri. Both visited Goa at different points in time, and that is why one can observe the differences in their writing during their visit to Goa.

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[11] Mansel Longworth Dames, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa, Vol. I. An account of the countries bordering on the Indian Ocean and their inhabitants, written by Duarte Barbosa and completed about the year 1518 A.D.* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1918), 170–181.

The former conducted an ambitious survey of the Mughal Empire, focusing more on its relations to *Indostan*, the New Moguls, and the people and countries of the Indies. The latter describes the things that he saw in India. The book is important as both travellers have described Goa as per their observations during their visits in the 17th century.[12]

The book titled *The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires: An Account of the East, From the Red Sea to Japan, written in Malacca and India in 1512–1515, and The Book of Francisco Rodrigues Rutter of a Voyage in the Red Sea, Nautical Rules, Almanack, and Maps, written and drawn in the East before 1515. Volume I* by Armando Cortesao is also relevant to the study. It is because Tom Pires has described Goa, with special reference to its port. According to Tom Pires, the Port of Goa was better than the Port of Chaul, and it imported horses from Hormuz, Persia, and Cambay, which were then supplied to the Deccan and the Vijayanagara Empire. The book is relevant as it provides information on the impact of Portuguese colonial rule over Goa that made Narsinga, the Vijayanagara ruler import horses from the other port. Details pertaining to the items taken in exchange for horses are also provided in the book.[13]

The book *The Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India The old English translation of 1664 by G. Havers, in two volumes* edited by Edward Grey, is one of the most important travelogues. Pietro Della Valle was an Italian traveller who visited India during the 17th century. The first

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[12] Surendranath Sen, ed., *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri: Being the Third Part of the Travels of Jean de Thevenot into the Levant and the Third Part of a Voyage Around the World by Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri* (New Delhi: National Archives of India, 1949), 171-273.

[13] Armando Cortesao, ed., *The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires, An Account of the East, From the Red Sea to Japan, written in Malacca and India in 1512–1515, and The Book of Francisco Rodrigues Butter of a Voyage in the Red Sea, Nautical Rues, Almanack, and Maps, written and drawn in the East before 1515. Volume I* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1944), 54–60.

volume includes the three letters and information on his arrival in Goa. He has described Goa and its inhabitants. According to him, the Portuguese in Goa kept good Arabian horses. The second volume includes five letters, starting with the traveller's departure from Goa to Onor. Both volumes are of great significance, as they both provide information on the horse trade that existed during their visit to Goa. The demand for the horses and the way the Portuguese officials made profit by selling the horses can also be known through the book.[14]

The Book *Goa-Kanara Portuguese Relations 1498–1763* by B.S. Shastry explains the relationship that was maintained by the Portuguese after their advent in Goa with the Kanarese region. The region was included within the principalities of Gersoppa, Barkur, Mangalore, Ullala, and Kumbala. The book is very useful to study the changes that took place after the arrival of the Portuguese in India. It is a good source to not only understand Goa-Kanara relations but also Portuguese-Vijayanagara relations. The author has mentioned many of the European travellers to support his claims. The book is also important as it provides causes for the rise of Portuguese power in Goa. The wars fought between the Portuguese and the rulers of the Kanara region indicate the importance of the horse trade, which suffered a major setback after it, got diverted from Honavar and Bhatkal to Goa.[15] The book also provides information on the numerous agricultural outputs taken from the Kanara region to Goa in exchange for horses.

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[14] Edward Grey, *The Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India From the old English translation of 1664 by G. Havers in two volumes* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1991), 249.

[15] B.S. Shastry and Charles J. Borges, eds., *Goa-Kanara Portuguese Relations (1498–1763)* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 2000), 15.

One of the most important books that deals with the horse trade is *The Cultural History of Goa from 1000 B.C. to 1352 A.D.,* written by Anant R. S. Dhume. The book has covered a vast period and has included the socio-political, cultural, and religious history of the lives of the Goan people. The book is important as it not only provides information on the political history of Goa but also discusses the influences that the different kingdoms left on cultural trends. The author has used literary, archaeological, and ethnographic sources to write the content of the book. And therefore, the methodology used will be of great advantage. The book is important as it has provided the origin of *Ghodemodni* in Goa[16] and the description of the performance of *Ghodemodni* at Thane in Sattari Taluka,[17] which is a classic example of the assimilation of horses in Goan culture. The activity of maintaining the horses in the older days is depicted through the performance of *Ghodemodni*. The book gives references to many of the sculptural pieces of evidence available to study the horse trade and trace its importance in the religious lives of Goan people. References to *Paikdev,* who is depicted with a horse and is also offered with the horses made out of clay or terracotta, can be found in the book.

The book titled *Typological Insights into Folklore of Goa* by Pandurang Phaldesai is also relevant to the study. The book deals with the different kinds of folk performances, like folk dances, folk music, and folk theatre. This classification of folklore by the author certainly helps to have a basic understanding of the similarities and differences prevailing in different

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[16] Anant R.S. Dhume, *The Cultural History of Goa From 1000 B.C. to 1352 A.D.* (Panaji: Broadway Book Center, 2009), 225.

[17] Dhume, *The Cultural History of Goa From 1000 B.C. to 1352 A.D.,* 251.

types of folklore. The book is important as it provides information with regard to *Ghodemodni*. The performance of *Ghodemodni* at Thane in Sattari Taluka is also discussed in the book.[18]

Similarly, the book *A socio-cultural history of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara* by V. R. Mitragotri is also related to the study topic. The book deals with the socio-cultural life of the Goan people. The span of time studied by the author is also huge. It also provides information on the numerous other deities, indicating the importance of horses in the religious field. For instance, folk deities like *Paikdev, Ravalnath, Vetal,* and many others, who are all always depicted along with a horse, are also discussed. The book is important as it provides information pertaining to the socio-cultural life of the Goan people.[19]

Goa: Its Tryst with Trade by Pratima P. Kamat deals with the history of trade in Goa. On the basis of this book, we may learn more about the Goan trade and also about the developments and changes that occurred in not only the horse trade but also in other types of trade. The book is important for an overall understanding of trade. According to the author, the depictions on the sculptures of certain deities and the performance of *Ghodemodni* in Sattari and Bicholim taluka are probably because of the lucrative horse trade.[20]

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[18] Pandurang Phaldesai, as *Typological Insights into Folklore of Goa* (Porvorim: Sasaai Publication, 2021), 48.

[19] V.R. Mitragotri, *A socio-cultural history of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara* (Panaji: Institute Menezes of Braganza, 1999), 164–183.

[20] Pratima Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade* (Panaji: Goa Chamber of Commerce and Industry, 2009), 83–84.

Another important book that is relevant to the study is *Tarini and Tar-Vir. The Unique Boat Deities of Goa* by Pratima P. Kamat. The book is an important source to understand the development of trade in Goa under different dynasties. It provides ample information on the different deities associated with trade. The book is of utmost importance because of its methodological approach. The author has not only used sources like sculptural, epigraphical, numismatic, archaeological, traveller's accounts, and secondary publications but also oral sources in associating different deities with trading activities.[21]

The Ethnography of Goa, Daman, and Diu by A. B. de Bragança Pereira is an important work for the study of the various castes in Goa and thus helps us to find out about the merchants who were involved in trade in general. Though specific details are not available about trade and commerce that existed in Goa, the ethnographic approach used by the author of the book to look at the history of Goa makes it important for the research work.[22]

Luis de Assis Correia's book *Goa Through the Mists of History From 10000 BC-AD 1958 A Select Compilation of Goa's Genesis* is of great use. The book helps to understand the history of Goa. The Muslim presence at specific locations in Goa is also relevant to the study, as it

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[21] Pratima Kamat, *Tarini, and Tar-Vir The Unique Boat Deities of Goa*. (Goa: Goa Institute for Culture and Research in History, 2008).

[22] A. B. de. Braganca Pereira, *Ethnography of Goa, Daman and Diu,* trans. Maria Aurora Couto (New Delhi: Penguin Books India Pvt. Ltd, 2008).

helps us understand more about the horse trade through the Muslim settlements at certain locations.[23]

The book *Folk Dances of Goa* by Vinayak Vishnu Khedekar is also important to the study as it deals with the numerous folk dances of Goa. It includes information on *Ghodemodni,* which is also taken into consideration in the research work. The book is important as it provides details of other folk dances in Goa as well.[24]

Another book dealing with the folk dances of Goa is *Kaleidoscopic Goa: A Cultural Atlas* by Pandurang Phaldesai. The book provides brief information on the folk dance of *Ghodemodni*[25] and also discusses Goa's contacts with the Persian Gulf and the role played by the Muslims under different rulers in Goa. The book is important as it provides information on Muslims who were involved in the horse trade.[26]

The book titled *The Heritage of Govapuri: A Study of the Artifacts in and Around the Pilar Seminary Museum* by Cosme Jose Costa includes brief information on the museum's collection. The book is important as some of the material remains displayed in the museum are directly related to trade. And therefore, the cataloguing of these numerous objects is of great use.[27]

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[23] Luis de Assis Correia, *Goa Through the Mists of History From 10000BC-AD 1958 A Select Compilation on Goa's Genesis* (Panjim: Maureen Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 2006), 118-126.

[24] Vinayak Khedekar, *Folk Dances of Goa* (Rajasthan: Udaipur West Zone Cultural Centre, 2010), 56.

[25] Pandurang Phaldesai, *Kaleidoscopic Goa: A Cultural Atlas* (Goa: Vasatrao Dempo Education and Research Foundation, 2004), 41.

[26] Phaldesai, *Kaleidoscopic Goa: A Cultural Atlas,* 137–141.

[27] Cosme Jose Costa, *The Heritage of Govapuri A Study of the Artifacts in and Around the Pilar Seminary Museum.* (Pilar: Pilar Publications, 2018).

1. 4. Research Design and Methodology

An attempt will be made to assess the sources in the context of social and economic developments. The study will use a qualitative technique since this form of study is interested in identifying the motivating elements behind human behaviour, which will help answer questions about why people act or believe in a certain way. The study is basically to research, understand, and analyse the importance of horses in the socio-religious lives of the people of only Bicholim and Sattari Taluka. This analysis will further help to trace the history of the horse trade in Goa. Research work will be based on primary and secondary sources. The major sources for the study are inscriptions, sculptures, foreign traveller accounts, Portuguese records, etc. The study region pertains to Goa and India. An attempt to study and analyse the ethnographic sources will be made to understand the social, economic, and cultural developments. This will prove to be of utmost importance because of the continuation of many of the activities that depict the influence and impact of the horse trade. Field work would also be conducted to understand the importance of horses in Goan society and to compare their significance in different parts of Goa.

The study is based on careful observation of a social unit and focuses on an in-depth study that will prove that the depiction of horses in the socio-cultural lives of the two taluka is because of the horse trade that has been carried out in Goa under different dynasties like the Kadambas, Vijayanagara, Bahamanis, and Portuguese. The research will also help to understand the reasons behind the performance of *Ghodemodni* in these two regions of Goa. The research will also try to analyse the motivating factor that led to the association of horses with religion. Therefore, the research mainly focuses on understanding horse worship and one of the most famous folk dances of Goa, *Ghodemodni*.

The study will enable us to understand the developments that took place in the horse trade before and after the advent of the Portuguese in Goa. This will incorporate a study of Kadamba, Vijayanagara, Bahamanis, and Portuguese rule in Goa in detail. The interview method would also be undertaken as another important source. The topic has never been thoroughly researched before; thus, it is expected to be challenging. To grasp the socio-cultural significance of horses in Goa, one must first understand their history. The purpose of this research is to comprehend and appraise the socio-cultural significance of horses in Goa.

1. 5. Scheme of Chapters

Chapter I: Introduction

This chapter includes information on the type of methodology used in the research work. A literature review will also be included in this chapter. It will include the review of books written in English, Konkani, Portuguese and Marathi language.

Chapter II: Horse Trade: A Historical Analysis

The development of the horse trade in Goa under different dynasties that ruled over it has been discussed in the chapter. The changes that took place in the trade after the conquest of Goa and the role played by the Portuguese in using the horse trade to control the political situation of the time have been analysed in the chapter. The chapter helps to compare the situation of the horse trade in pre-colonial and colonial Goa.

Chapter III: The Symbolic Representation of Horse in Goan Culture

The presence of horses in the cultural life of the people of all other taluka of Goa, exceptional to Bicholim and Sattari, has been discussed in the chapter in brief. The main aim of the chapter is to provide a general understanding of the depiction of horses along with specific

deities in other parts of Goa. The importance of horse as a symbol of power, nobility and honour will be discussed in the chapter in brief.

Chapter IV: *Ghodemodni* and Horse Worship in Bicholim and Sattari Taluka: A Socio-Cultural Analysis

This Chapter will present the importance of Horses in socio-religious life of the people of the selected taluka. Only two aspects of horse trade will be looked in the chapter which will include the study of *Ghodemodni* and the worship of horses at specific locations in the two taluka.

Chapter V: Conclusion – This chapter includes the main findings of this study.

The thesis will include glossary, bibliography, maps, photographs and appendices.

1. 6. Scope and Relevance

No significant work has been conducted on this particular topic, despite there being many books available on the overall trade in Goa. Emphasis on specific horse trade in general and horses in particular has not been given, and very few books deal with the topic. The literature survey reveals this void. The present study attempts to fill this gap by conducting a detailed analysis of the topic. The study attempts to provide information on the horse trade, which has not only contributed in the economic sphere but also in the socio-religious sphere. The study of the horse trade from a socio-cultural perspective will aid in looking at horse worship in Goa not only from a religious but also from an economic standpoint. People worship horses, and they play a significant role in many folk traditions. Horse worship is practiced in some parts of Goa. The study will try to trace how the worship of horses evolved in some of the locations. As a result, the study will alter perceptions of horse assimilation in Goan culture.

In addition to the information gleaned from primary sources and authentic records, the study will draw upon ethnographic customs to examine the significance of horses in Goa through observation and analysis of current customs. The study will contribute to the understanding of the association of horses with other deities in Goa. Many Goan deities, such as Ravalnath and *Paikdev*, are depicted with horses, and the clay horses are offered to the protector deities, or *Rakhandars.* One of the most famous folk dances of Goa is *Ghodemodni,* which highlights a significant component of Goan maritime history. The significance of horses to the Adil Shahi Kingdom of Bijapur and the Vijayanagara Empire will also be examined with the help of this study. It will also open new prospects for a further detailed understanding of the socio-religious relevance of horses in the State of Goa.

<u>CHAPTER 02: HORSE TRADE: A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS</u>

Goa, since ancient times, has been known for its trading activities. Its strategic location has played a vital role in dominating the trade under different dynasties that ruled over Goa. And therefore, the numerous ruling dynasties that ruled over Goa took advantage of their possessions to develop and obtain as much profit as possible. The very fact that Goa was ruled by many Indian rulers indicates the importance of Goa as a maritime polity.

2.1. Trade under the early ruling dynasties: Chalukyas of Badami, Rashtrakutas, and Shilaharas

Many dynasties ruled over Goa; references to trade in general and horse trade in particular may be traced back to the early Mauryan, Bhojas, Satavahanas, Chalukyas of Badami, Shilaharas, Kadambas, Bahamanis, and Adil Shah of Bijapur periods. The accession of Rashtrakutas led to an increase in the commercial activities of the Arabs in the Konkan region. Reference to the appointment of Muhammad the Tajjik as the Governor of Sanjana-Mandala in 926 A.D. indicates the importance that the Rashtrakutas gave to the Arabs. The Arabs extended their influence over Goa at the time of the Shilaharas, who were the vassals of the Rashtrakutas. The importance given by the Rashtrakuta rulers to the Arab merchants made the Shilahara rulers develop hostile relations with the Rashtrakutas. By then, Balipatana had become an important maritime centre under the Goa Shilaharas. It was during this time that the maritime trade networks of the Arabs expanded.[1]

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[1] Pius, Malekandathil, "Maritime Trade of Goa in Ancient and Early Medieval Times," *Purabhilekh Puratatva,* no.3 (2010): 11.

2.2. Trade under the Kadambas

Goa emerged as a maritime power under the Kadambas, which was one of the important developments that took place during their reign over Goa. The Goa Kadambas ruled over south Konkan as Mahamandaleshwaras or feudatories of the Chalukya emperors of Kalyani. The Kadambas followed the same policy of supporting the Muslims. They supported them as they played a dominant role in trading activities. The use of war horses became indispensable at the time, which made the Kadamba rulers take initiatives that could protect the interests of the traders trading in horses with West Asia.[2] The Muslim merchants were given positions in the administration. Jaykeshi-I appointed Sadhan, or Chaddama, the grandson of Muhammad, as a minister. Sadhan, who was a Muslim trader and a minister, constructed a mosque that acted as a centre of charity. The appointment of the Arab governor point out to the initiatives taken by the Kadambas to attract more merchants from Arabia.

The trade relations that existed during Kadamba regime can be known through a number of sources. The Goa Charter of Jaykeshi-I is important as it helps reconstruct the maritime history of Goa. The inscription also mentions the different places that frequently visited the port of Gopakapattana. And one among the country to visit Goa was Arabia. Jaykeshi-I ruled over Goa from 1052–1080 A.D. One of his main contributions to the commercial prosperity was that he organised a powerful navy with the help of Chaddama.[3] Panaji Plate of Jaykeshi-I mentions the customs duties levied by Jaykeshi-I on the merchant ships coming to the port of Gopakapattana from different parts of the country and overseas ports. This income derived was given to Majigidi (Masjid) of Chaddama, the Arab minister.[4] The importance that

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[2] "From periphery to the core: Political structure of Goa in the pre-Portuguese period," Goa University, accessed May 30, 2023,
https://www.academia.edu/32459769/Political_structure_of_Goa_doc
[3] Teotonio R. de Souza, *Goa through the Ages, Vol II: An Economic History* (Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1990), 129.
[4] D'Souza, *Goa through,* 132.

Jaykeshi-I attached to the Mosque of Sadhan can be seen in the tax that he levied on all the merchants coming to the port of Goa. The payment to the mosque had to be done by using the principal coin in circulation, *Gadyanacas*. Reference to Muhammad- the Arab ship-owning merchant can also be found in the times of Guhalladeva-I, who was rescued by the former from the shipwreck during his visit to Somnath. The Narendra Inscription of Jaykeshi-II refer to the voyage carried out by Shashtadeva. His voyage in the inscription has been described as, " When white plastered houses, alleys, horse stables, flower gardens, agreeably connected bazaars, parlour quarters, were charming the eye, the Lord of the ocean (Shashtha) duly proceeded on his ship over the sea in sport, along with the whole population of Gove with great pomp as far as the land of Saurashtra."[5] The trade continued to flourish under the later rulers of Kadambas, but not as much as it was during the reign of the first rulers like Guhalladeva and Jaykeshi-I.

Many of the *Viragals* or hero stones displayed in the ASI Museum depict naval warfare. It implies that the wars were frequent during the Kadamba period. The depiction of wars on the hero stone indicates the major wars that the Goa Kadambas fought with the rulers of Northern Konkan to retain their hold over the Indian Ocean. There is a village called *Bondir* in Goa. The term *Bondir* has been derived from the Persian term Bandar.[6] Many of the instances of fighting that took place between the Kadamba and the other rulers can be cited. The Thana Shilaharas fought with the Kadambas of Goa to capture the Hanjaman settlement, whose merchants mainly imported Arabian and Persian horses.[7] According to Marco Polo, who journeyed along the coast in the 1290s, the Kingdom imported around 2,000 horses from

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[5] George Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula A History of Ancient and Mediaeval Karnataka.* Preface Edited by Henry Heras. (Bombay: B. X. Furtado & Sons, 1931), 176.
[6] Nagendra Rao, "The Emergence of Maritime Polity in Goa (Tenth Century to Fifteenth Century CE)," *War in History, 0(0)* (2023): 03, https://doi.org/10.1177/09683445231161225.
[7] D'Souza, *Goa through,* 126.

Arab merchants who died within a year. Horses were not bred in India and that is why there was a great demand for the fine Persian horses of high value, and therefore a large sum of revenue was utilised for procuring horses from foreign regions, because of which the merchants involved in the trade never provided a cure to stop the death of horses as it facilitated the importation of horses in large numbers.[8]

2. 3. Trade under Vijayanagara Empire

The Vijayanagara rulers captured Goa in 1369. Goa was considered to be the best of Vijayanagara possession. They were interested in the horses imported to Goa because of which it was brought by them under their rule. [9] Ela served as the principal port of Vijayanagara rulers in Goa. Emergence of a new port called *Raibandar* can be attributed to the Vijayanagara Empire. The currency of Vijayanagara Empire was called as *Pagoda* or *Pratap* which the Portuguese sources refer to as Pardao.[10] The very first mention of Vijayanagara in the Portuguese records can be found in the memoirs of Pedro Alvares Cabral, who led the second expedition to India. According to him, the King of Vijayanagara was so powerful that he had many horses and elephants and an immense amount of wealth.[11]

Before the arrival of the Europeans in India, Vijayanagara received horses from the Arab traders. The Arabs had played a very dominant role in the trade until the arrival of the Portuguese on the western coast of India. The Arab traders exploited the Vijayanagara Kings

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[8] Hugh Murray, "*The Travels of Marco Polo* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1845), 217-296.
[9] D'Souza, *Goa through*, 137.
[10] Malekandathil, "Maritime," 17.
[11] Krishna Kumar Panjaje, "The Portuguese- Vijayanagar War of 1558 A Study in Military History" (M. Phil diss., University of Pondicherry, 2016), 12.

by also charging for the dead horses.[12] According to Tom Pires, Narsinga, the King of Vijayanagara, brought the horses from Bhatkal after Goa was taken by the Moors.[13] This is evident from the encouragement provided by the Vijayanagara Kings to the Arab traders to trade at the ports under their control. The importance of horses in the cavalry was realised by Saluva Narasimha who then tried to import horses from the newly conquered ports of Bhatkal, Honnavar, Bakkanur and Mangalapuram from the Tulu Kingdom.[14] And therefore it is important to note that Albuquerque initially wanted to take Bhatkal which was then under the dominion of Vijayanagara ruler only for the sake of controlling the horse trade. The Vijayanagara Emperor Krishna Deva Raya had made all the horses coming from Hormuz and Aden to be brought to his kingdom. The merchants involved in the trade derived huge revenue from this trade. It is because the Emperor paid the merchants whatever amount was charged for the horses. The King also took the alive and the dead at three, for a total of three thousand Pardaos. The merchants also brought him the tails of the dead horses, which were paid by the king for the rate. [15] Many of the inscriptions belonging to the Vijayanagara period mention Hanjamana and nakhara-Hanjamana guilds and their activities. This indicates the significance of horse trade to Vijayanagara Empire.[16]

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[12] K. N. Ganeshaiah, R. Uma Shaanker, and R. Vasudeva, "Bio-Resources and Empire Building: What Favoured the Growth of Vijayanagara Empire?" *Current Science 93, no. 2* (2007): 141, http://www.jstor.org/stable/24099299.

[13] Armando Cortesao, ed., *The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires, An Account of the East, From the Red Sea to Japan, written in Malacca and India in 1512–1515, and The Book of Francisco Rodrigues Rutter of a Voyage in the Red Sea, Nautical Rules, Almanack, and Maps, written and drawn in the East before 1515. Volume: I* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1944), 58.

[14] R. Subrahmanyam, "Vijayanagar," in *History of the Deccani Medieval Period (1295-1734) Volume I (Mainly Political and Military aspects)*, ed. H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi (Hyderabad, The Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1973), 107.

[15] Robert Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagara)* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1982), 307.

[16] Nagendra Rao, 'Muslim Merchants in Pre-Modern South Western India," *Indica* 43, no.2 (2006): 40.

2.4. Trade under Bahamanis and Adil Shah of Bijapur

The emergence of Bahamani rule in Goa also led to the capture of the Port city of Ella. When Goa came under the Bahamanis in 1356 there was a competition between the Bahamanis and the Vijayanagara Empire to establish their power over Goa, which began in 1375. They made Gopakapattana their regional headquarters.[17] Old Goa, or Velha Goa was built by the Muslims in 1479, five miles north of the old Hindu town of Ela, and was made into a horse trading centre.[18] The Bahamanis took the advantage of the banishment of the Arabs by Virupaksha-II, Emperor of Vijayanagara who then diverted the horses traded from Arab to the Port of Goa, making the military cavalry of Vijayanagara Empire less efficient.[19]

The Bahamani Kingdom disintegrated towards the close of the 15th century, which led to its split into five independent sultanates in the Deccan: Ahmadnagar, Berar, Golkonda, Bidar, and Bijapur. After the disintegration of the Bahamani Kingdom, Yusuf Adil Shahs new dominion included Miraj on the Ghats and Goa in the south and both were under the command of Bahadur Gilani.[20] Bijapur Sultanate was founded by Yusuf' Adil Shah in 1490. According to Tom Pires, the Moors, upon the occupation of Goa by the Portuguese, suffered a greater loss as the Kingdom of Goa was the most important of Adil Shahs possession in India.[21] The loss of Goa was a major setback to the Adil Shahi Kingdom both commercially and militarily because most of the income was derived by Adil Shah through the taxes levied

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[17] Pratima Kamat, *Goa Its Tryst with Trade* (Panaji: Goa Chamber of Commerce and Industry, 2009), 52.

[18] Joseph Velinkar, *On the Spice Trail Europe discovers India in Goa* (Goa: Goa, 1556, 2016), 71.

[19] R. Subrahmanyam, "Vijayanagar," in *History of the Deccani Medieval Period (1295-1734) Volume I (Mainly Political and Military aspects)*, ed. H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi (Hyderabad, The Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1973), 107.

[20] P. M. Joshi, "The Adil Shahis and the Baridis," in *History of the Deccani Medieval Period (1295-1734) Volume I (Mainly Political and Military aspects)*, ed. H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi (Hyderabad, The Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1973), 292.

[21] Cortesao, *The Suma Oriental,* 57.

on horses that were imported to Goa from Hormuz.[22] All the horses brought by the dealers of Hormuz to sell were placed in large stables in the fortress that were constructed by the King. And it was the duty of *Xabandar* (Consul for Merchants or Resident for Affairs of Trade and Commerce) to take care of the horses. The people needed to bring hay, corn, and mungo or mung (pulses) to feed the horses.[23] Cavalry was an important component of the army of Vijayanagara and Adil Shah of Bijapur. Both were engaged in long term struggle over the possession of Goa. After the loss of the port of Goa, Dabhol and Sangameshwar, Kamal Khan, regent to Sultanate of Bijapur made peace with the Portuguese. In one of the letter to Albuquerque he wrote, "*cabayo* desires your peace….because in losing Dabul he is altogether lost, for by no other way can horses come in…"[24] This show how important the horses were to the Adil Shahi Sultanate.

2. 5. Horse Trade under Portuguese Rule

The occupation of Constantinople in 1453 by the Turkish Sultan Muhamad II led to a change in commercial relations between the East and the West. The zeal of the Europeans to find a direct sea route to India and to curb the monopoly of the Mohammedans led to the discovery of the sea route to India by Vasco da Gama, who landed at Calicut in 1498.[25] One can say that the Portuguese set their foot on Goa, which was already a well-established trading centre. In the words of Pius Malekandathil, "The maritime trade of Goa before the European

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[22] Varsha Kamat, "Trade and Commerce under Yusuf Adil Shah (1489- 1510 A. D.)," in *Goa: Trade and Commerce through the ages,* ed. S. K. Mhamai (Panaji, Directorate of Archives and Archaeology, 2000), 51-52.

[23] Walter de Gray Birch, *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso DAlbuquerque, Second Viceroy of India Vol:III* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1877), 132.

[24] P. M. Joshi, "The Adil Shahis and the Baridis," in *History of the Deccani Medieval Period (1295-1734) Volume I (Mainly Political and Military aspects)*, ed. H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi (Hyderabad, The Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1973), 304.

[25] R. P. Rao, *Portuguese Rule in Goa* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House), 23.

expansion had assumed global character through the incorporation of its ports into the wider networks of international trade."[26]

2. 5. 1. Portuguese Conquest of Goa

At the time of the Portuguese conquest of Goa, it was flourishing as a trade centre and was one of the chief emporiums of trade on the western coast of India. Afonso de Albuquerque, who led the conquest of Goa, remarked that Goa was the only city on the western coast of India that enjoyed considerable revenue as compared to the other cities.[27] Duarte Barbosa, who visited India soon after the Portuguese conquest of Goa, also described the trade in Goa to be very lucrative under the Muslim ruler, claiming that he derived huge revenue from both the land and the sea. Goa traded with Mecca, Aden, Ormus, Cambay, and Malabar. The horses in Goa were in great demand, because of which the horse trade was thriving, as is evident from the prices paid by the buyers to purchase the horses. Ships laden with horses from Ormus (Hormuz) came to Goa. The price of each horse was around 200 or 300 Cruzados. Duties were also levied on these imported horses, generating huge amount.[28]

According to Tom Pires, who visited Goa in the 16th century, the horse trade yielded a large share of wealth. The horses from Hormuz and Persia were brought to Goa and Cambay, from where they were later taken to other parts of India. At the time of the Portuguese conquest of Goa, the price of one horse was worth 800 pardaos in Ela.[29]

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[26] Malekandathil, "Maritime," 1-31.
[27] Jose Nicolau da Fonseca, *An Historical And Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa, Preceded by a short Statistical Account of the territory of Goa* (Bombay: Thacker & C. o, Limited, 1878), 126
[28] Mansel Longworth Dames, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa Vol. I. An account of the countries bordering on the Indian ocean and their inhabitants, written by Duarte Barbosa, and completed about the year 1518 A.D. (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services,2002),* 178.
, and completed about the year 1518 A.D. (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services,2002), 170-181.
[29] Cortesao, *The Suma Oriental,* 58.

Timmayya persuaded Afonso de Albuquerque to lay siege to Goa. It is to be noted that one of the intentions of Timmayya in becoming the Governor of Goa with the help of the Portuguese was to develop the horse trade with Arabia and Persia.[30] However, after the conquest, the Portuguese made Goa the headquarters of the Portuguese Empire in India. By doing so, they secured a location for the Portuguese base in India, which they retained for the next 450 years until its reoccupation by the Government of India in 1961.

Therefore, one can say that Goa was an international port in medieval times that attracted not only Indian ships but also ships from the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, and East Africa. Afonso de Albuquerque used the horse trade to retain Goa under his control. The occupation of Goa proved to be of great advantage to them as it served as a good food-producing base and was also defended by the two rivers, Mandovi and Zuari. And thus, their naval superiority in the waters of the Arabian Sea changed the course of trade on the western coast of India.[31]

2. 5. 2. Monopolisation of the horse trade

At the time of the Portuguese arrival in India, the Arabs had established a monopoly over the horse trade. The Arab merchants had already displaced the local horse merchants who were also called Kudirai Chettis.[32] To retain their monopoly over trade, the Bahamanis used religion as a means to restrict other traders rather than the Arabs. An instance of the Russian

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[30] B.S. Shastry, and Charles J. Borges, ed. *Goa-Kanara Portuguese Relations (1498-1763)* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 2000), 36.

[31] P. M. Joshi, "Historical Geography of Medieval Deccan," in *History of the Deccani Medieval Period (1295-1734) Volume I (Mainly Political and Military aspects)*, ed. H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi (Hyderabad, The Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1973), 22-23.

[32] D. P. K. Pillay, "Arrival of Portuguese in India and its Role in Shaping India," *Portuguese Journal of Asian Studies*, no. 27 (2021): 40.

horse merchant who landed on the western coast of India in 1470 and was asked to convert his religion into Islam can be cited in this context.[33]

In 1515, a Portuguese protectorate was established over the Kingdom of Hormuz. This enabled the Portuguese to control and monitor the movement of horses at both ends of the routes, which increased the profit gained through the horse trade. Moreover, it helped the Portuguese strengthen their hold over Goa as the chief entrepot.[34] The capture of Goa and Hormuz by the Portuguese brought several changes to the course of the horse trade in India. Afonso de Albuquerque realised the importance of the horse trade in Goa, which had the potential to curb the trade taking place at the port of Bhatkal, which had also developed because of the horse trade. He knew very well that Narsinga (Vijayanagara Emperor) or the King of Deccan (Adil Shah of Bijapur) would come to Goa in search of horses along with their merchandise after the trade at Bhatkal was diverted to Goa because the horses were not only used for military purposes but also for personal usage by the captains and the principal lords.[35]

As a result of which Albuquerque made certain arrangements with regard to horse trade in Goa that enabled the merchant ships to come to the port of Goa. The ships from Hormuz came loaded with horses to Goa. Construction of great stables as well as the employment of three hundred peons to transport the supplies like grass and hay for the horses was some of

[33] S. K. Shukla, "Horse Trade in Medieval South Its Political and Economic Implications,"
Proceedings of the Indian History Congress 42, (1981): 311. http://www.jstor.org/stable/44141144
[34] Bert G. Fragner, Ralph Kauz, Roderick Ptak, and Angela Schottenhammer, eds., *Pferde in Asien*
(Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2009), 139.
[35] Birch, *The Commentaries,* 39.

the notable efforts taken by Albuquerque to develop trade.[36] The introduction of Cartazes brought about significant changes in the course of trade. Cartazes were a kind of license or passport that all the merchants carrying out trade had to issue. It regulated control over the major trade routes that connected India to the Persian Gulf. Ships sailing to the Indian Ports without Cartazes were confiscated. It was necessary for all the merchants as well as the rulers to issue Cartazes from the Portuguese officials to carry on their trade on the western coast of India. Despite the decline in the Portuguese maritime trade in the 17th and the 18th Century the practice of taking Portuguese passes for the ships continued to be in usage.[37] Passes were also procured to transport the horses from one place to another within the Portuguese dominated Goan territory.

Some of the acts with the help of which the Portuguese tried to monopolise the trade were: In 1572, the Portuguese prevented the Hindus from moving into the city on horseback, in sedan chairs, and palanquins.[38] The Portuguese in 1574 also prevented the Brahmanas, Vaidyas, and Pandits from traveling on horses, dolis, and palanquins. The first offense was punishable by a punishment of ten ashrafis, the second by a fine of twenty ashrafis and the confiscation of the vehicle's horse, and the third by enslavement.[39] Such strict laws were imposed by the Portuguese concerning the use of horses.

 The Portuguese made every attempt to monopolize the horse trade. Albuquerque wanted to develop Goa as the main commercial entrepot of the Portuguese in India, which could have been achieved only through the revenue derived from the horse trade, which could be used

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[36] Birch, *The Commentaries,* 40.

[37] K. S. Mathew, "Indian Shipping and Maritime Power of the Portuguese," *Purabhilekh Puratatva, Vol: IV no.2 (1986): 2.*

[38] Padmaja V. Kamat, "Ponda: A History of Temples" (PhD. diss., Goa University, 2011), 16.

[39] V.N. Kudva, *History of the Dakshinatya Saraswats* (Chennai: Samyukta Gowda Saraswata Sabha, 2010), 343.

for making payments to soldiers and sailors, maintaining political leverage, and establishing new institutions.[40]

2. 5. 3. Horse trade as a defensive measure

In the words of Afonso de Albuquerque, "Principle Spring of its Defensive Policy…"[41] The horses were very essential to the Vijayanagara Kingdom as war weapons. This is because the political formation and organization of the Vijayanagara Empire itself was based on military requirements. Cavalry played a very important role, due to which the Kings competed with one another by purchasing the horses from the Arab merchants at different rates.[42]

After the loss of the port of Goa to the Adil Shahi Kingdom, Bhatkal became the chief port of the Vijayanagara rulers, from where they regulated the importation of horses to their kingdom. According to Duarte Barbosa, large trade in many articles took place at Bhatkal, which also included the import of horses, which then started going to the port of Goa.[43] Upon realising the significance of the strategic location of the port of Bhatkal on the Kanara coast, the Portuguese sent an embassy to Vijayanagara under Pero Fernandes Tinoco and Fr. Salvador as ambassadors in 1505 to come into a treaty with the latter that would have enabled them to construct a fortress at Bhatkal. But this mission proved to be of no use. One more attempt was made by Albuquerque to seek permission from the Vijayanagara ruler to construct the fortress at Bhatkal in 1509. At this time, Albuquerque suffered defeat at the hands of Zamorin, because of which he once again sent Fr. Salvador to the Vijayanagara ruler, seeking his aid in attacking the King of Calicut. It is important to note that Albuquerque

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[40] R. R.S Chauhan, "Portuguese Horse Trade*,"* *Purabhilekh Puratatva*, Vol: I no.1 (1984): 16.

[41] Birch, *The Commentaries,* 39.

[42] K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India From Prehistoric Times to the Fall of Vijayanagar* (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), 306-307.

[43] Longworth, *The Book of Duarte,* 189.

offered assurance to the Vijayanagara Emperor concerning the sale of horses so as to deprive the Muslim Kings of the Deccan of its commerce in horses and to direct the trade of horses to the port of Bhatkal and to all other ports of the Vijayanagara Empire. But this too failed. In the year 1510, the port city of Goa was occupied by Afonso de Albuquerque, after which he attempted to establish friendly relations with his immediate neighbour Adil Shah of Bijapur, from whom he had acquired Goa.[44] This is evident from the letter written by Albuquerque to Adil Shah soon after the conquest of Goa, in which the former tried to develop friendly relations with the latter by offering him a safe passage to purchase horses.[45]

The Vijayanagara Emperor wanted to secure the horses traded in Goa so as to prevent them from falling into the hands of Adil Shah. So the Emperor sent his ambassadors to secure the horses by entering into a treaty with the Portuguese to arrange the terms pertaining to horse trade. Thus attempting to prevent them from falling into the hands of their enemy, Adil Shah. Adil Shah, on hearing the news of the visit of Vijayanagara ambassadors to Albuquerque, sent his ambassadors to Goa to come into an agreement of peace and also to secure the trade in horses.[46] Good-quality horses were imported by the Vijayanagara rulers and Adil Shah from the Persian Gulf. Both competed with each other to gain control over the supply of horses.[47] The Portuguese tried to take advantage of the animosity between the Vijayanagara and the Adil Shahi Kingdom by using the trade in horses as an important tool to indirectly control both the great powers of the time against each other and secure their hold over Goa.

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[44] Shastry and Borges, *Goa-Kanara Portuguese Relations (1498–1763)*, 61–62.
[45] Walter de Gray Birch, *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso D Albuquerque, Second Viceroy of India* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1875), 21.
[46] Walter de Gray Birch, *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso D Albuquerque, Second Viceroy of India* Vol:IV (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1875), 125.
[47] Longworth, *The Book of Duarte,* 189.

For instance, the very first clause of the contract signed by the Portuguese Viceroy Dom Garcia de Noronha with Nizam Shah on 22nd April 1539, included a provision according to which all the horses imported to Chaul from Hormus would have to be sent to the city of Goa and that Nizam Shah would have to pay duties to the King of Portugal for the horses bought to Chaul annually.[48]

2. 5. 3. A. *Treaty of 1514*

This particular treaty was concluded between Vijayanagara King Krishnadeva Raya and Afonso de Albuquerque, Portuguese Governor. This treaty provided exclusive rights to the Vijayanagara Emperor, who had to pay thirty thousand Cruzados per annum for purchasing the imported horses. The horses had to be collected from Goa by the Emperor's servants. This treaty also assured the Emperor support from the Portuguese side against Adil Shah of Bijapur only on account of the maintenance of their troops by the former.[49] This treaty was also continued by Achyutadeva Raya, the successor of Krishnadeva Raya, who every year purchased thirteen thousand horses.[50]

2. 5. 3. B. *Treaty of 1546*

This treaty was concluded on 26th February 1546, between Adil Shah of Bijapur and the Portuguese Governor of India, Joao de Castro.

Clauses:

1. Adil Shah gifted Salsette and Bardez to the Portuguese.

2. Adil Shah agreed to never wage war against the Portuguese.

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[48] Chauhan, "The Portuguese at Chaul," 87–88.
[49] Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagara),*" 128.
[50] Shukla, "Horse Trade," 314.

3. Adil Shah agreed to never refer to the sum of money given by him to the Portuguese Governor, Martin Afonso de Sousa.

4. To punish Meale Khan

5. The Portuguese Governor agreed to supply Adil Shah with the same quantity of lead and sulphur as supplied by the previous governors.

6. The Portuguese Governor also exempted Adil Shah from paying the additional duties charged on the purchase of thirteen horses annually.[51]

2. 5. 3. C. *Treaty of 1547*

This treaty was concluded on 19th September 1547, between the Vijayanagara king Rama Raya and the Portuguese governor Joao de Castro. The latter's predecessor, Martin Afonso de Sousa, had attacked and plundered the Port of Bhatkal and caused a lot of destruction in 1542. With this treaty, the former secured the monopoly of the horse trade.[52]

Clauses:

1. The Vijayanagara King was allowed to take all the horses coming from Arabia and Persia to Goa.

2. No horses were to be sold in the territories of Adil Shah of Bijapur.

3. The Vijayanagara King would have to force all the merchants in his kingdom to send their goods through ports where the Portuguese had factories.

4. The Vijayanagara Kings were prohibited from allowing the stoppage of any of the Moorish ships or fleets to his ports.

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[51] Frederick Charles Danvers, *The Portuguese in India In Two Volumes, Volume-I* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1992), 475.

[52] Sastri, *A History of South India From Prehistoric Times to the Fall of Vijayanagara* , 280.

2. 5. 3. D. *Treaty of 1547*

This treaty was signed between Nizam Shah of Ahmednagar and the Portuguese Governor General Joao de Castro on 06th October 1547.

Clauses

1. To maintain friendship between both and to help each other at times of war against all the kings exceptional to the King of Vijayanagara.

2. The Portuguese governor was prohibited from making peace with Adil Shah without prior notice given to Nizam Shah.[53]

It is evident from the numerous treaties and contracts concluded by the Portuguese, all of which contain clauses pertaining to horse trade that the Portuguese tried to control the politics of the time. They manipulated the politics by using one state against the other. This policy of Albuquerque to use each other is evident from the numerous treaties signed by him with the other rulers of India.[54] The treaties make it clear that restrictions were imposed on the Vijayanagara rulers. These treaties that the Portuguese signed with the rulers of the time made their hatred for the Muslim kings evident. The horse trade acted as a defensive policy for the Portuguese to use at times when needed. Therefore, it can be stated that the Portuguese used horses, which was associated with the economic aspect with which they controlled the political situation of the time. It is only because the Portuguese established

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[53] Shukla, "Horse Trade," 315.

Danvers, *The Portuguese in India In Two Volumes, Volume-I*," 478.

Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagara)*," 127.

[54] H. K. Sherwani "The Bahamanis," in *History of the Deccani Medieval Period (1295-1734) Volume I (Mainly Political and Military aspects)*, ed. H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi (Hyderabad, The Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1973), 202.

control over Goa, which was a hub of trade before their arrival that they were able to rule over it for the next 450 years. The horse trade, at its initial beginning, helped the Portuguese establish their political base in Goa. Thus, the monopolisation of the horse trade speaks for itself.

2. 5. 4. Decline of Horse Trade

Several factors can be attributed to the decline in the horse trade in the latter half of the 16th century. Firstly, the fall of the Vijayanagara Empire was one of the major reasons for the decline in the horse trade at the end of the sixteenth century. The Portuguese trade in horses suffered a huge setback owing to the fall of the Vijayanagara Empire in 1565. The Vijayanagara Empire was the chief buyer of horses imported by the Portuguese from Arabia and Persia. Diego de Couto says, " By this destruction of the kingdom of Bisnaga, India and our State were much shaken, for the bulk of the trade undertaken by all was for this kingdom to which they carried horses, velvets, satins and other sorts of merchandise by which they made great profits; and the customs house at Old Goa suffered much in the revenues so that from that day till now the inhabitants of Goa began to live less well; for baizes and fine cloths were a trade of great importance for Persia and Portugal and then it languished and the gold pagodas of which every year more than five hundred thousand were laden in the ships of the kingdom, were worth seven and a half and similarly every kind of a coin." According to Caesar Fredrick, the defeat of Vijayanagara incurred a huge loss by affecting the trade taking place at Goa. Philippo Sassetti, pointing out the completely perished trade at the two cities, says, "The revenue of the tax on the horses that came from Persia for Vijayanagara was from a hundred and twenty thousand to a hundred and fifty thousand ducats, and the present

revenue does not reach even six thousand."[55] Secondly, the use of horses by the Portuguese for private purposes also contributed to the decrease in the horse trade.

The animosity between the Portuguese and Dutch was also one of the factors due to which there was a decline in the horse trade. The arrival of the Dutch broke the monopoly of the Portuguese on the western coast of India. Following in their footsteps, the King of Portugal formed the Portuguese East India Company in 1628, but it was abolished after five years in 1633.

Persia and Mascat, which were occupied by the Portuguese, were recaptured in the seventeenth century. This stopped the Portuguese from controlling the horse trade at both ends of the trade route. Corruption among the Portuguese soldiers, restrictions imposed by religion on the Portuguese government in Goa, the importation of horses through other ports, and the emergence of the ports of Bombay and Surat were some of the other factors that contributed to the decline in horse trade. Although it declined from being the lucrative one, it continued because references to it can be found in the travel accounts of those who visited Goa in the 17th and 18th centuries. The horses were also being used in the 19th century by Portuguese officials as well as landed elites.[56]

Before the arrival of the Portuguese in Goa, regular trade in horses had already developed in the Arabian Sea. It originated from several ports around the Strait of Hormuz, such as Masqat and Hormuz.[57] The cavalry was an important component of the army of Vijayanagara and Adil Shah of Bijapur. Both were engaged in a long-term struggle over the possession of Goa.

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[55] T. V. Mahalingam, *Economic Life in the Vijayanagar Empire* (Madras: University of Madras, 1951), 123-124
[56] Chauhan, "Portuguese," 20-21.
[57] Fragner, Kauz, Ptak, and Schottenhammer, *Pferde in Asien,* 138.

The need to maintain an efficient cavalry force made both powerful rulers depend on the Portuguese. One can find the Portuguese favouring the Hindu rulers rather than the Muslims. The horse trade was the sole reason the Portuguese were able to maintain governmental dominance in the sixteenth century.

CHAPTER 3: THE SYMBOLIC REPRESENTATION OF HORSE IN GOAN CULTURE

Numerous animals are worshipped, and various legends and superstitions about their relationship to the deities are associated with them. These include the horse, lion, ass, dog, tiger, buffalo, antelope, elephants, rats, cats, mice, squirrels, jackals, bears, hares, crows, fowl, doves, pigeons, swans, birds, fish, and insects.[1] Similarly, many of Goa's deity sculptures depict horses, with some deities sitting on them. The Ravalnath, also known as Rawalnath, is a Goan folk deity who is frequently portrayed with a horse. Other deities' idols, such as *Paikdev* and Mharudev, depict those riding horses. The connection between horses and these deities is that the horse serves as their *vahana*, or vehicle.

2. 1. Horse and the Folk Deities

2. 1. 1. Ravalnath

In Goa the Khetrapal or Khshetrapal is said to be the one who protects a particular place. Kshetra means space and Pal refer to the obedient or the guardian. Ravalnath was also considered to be a Khetrapal. It is because khetra not only represent the field but also the female genitals which are also regarded as the field and is represented in the form of Santer or an anthill in Goa. And that is why the khetrapal is said to be protecting and guarding both.[2] Sateri has been associated with Ravalnath, representing the paradigm of both the kshetra and kshetrapal.[3]

Ravalnath images are standing (*sthanak*) with his left leg shown as slightly bent. He has four hands and holds a sword in the front right hand and in the front left hand a bowl of ambrosia (*amrit*) in the other right hand a trident (*trishul*) and in the other left hand a kettle drum

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[1] R.E. Enthoven, *The Folklore of Bombay* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1990), 348.

[2] Vinayak Narayan Shenvi Dhume, "Khetrapal," in *Konkani Vishwakosh- Khand:1,* ed. Manohar Sardesai (Talgaon: Goa Vishwavidyalaya, 1991), 563.

[3] Padmaja V. Kamat, "Ponda: A History of Temples" (PhD diss., Goa University, 2011), 35.

(*damaru*). He is adorned with a crown and *rundamala* and wears a *dhoti* and has a moustache. One lady attendant is shown on each side of his image with a flywhisk but occasionally two attendants on each side of Ravalnath with flywhisks are seen and sometime is also worshipped in the form of Linga. The earliest references to Ravalnath are from Hoysala period wherein the deity is mentioned as Ravloba as well as Ravaleshwar. Different scholars have opined different views with regard to origin of god Ravalnath.[4] Ravalnath who is described as the "folk deity of Gomantak" was meant to be demons of indigenous worship which later on got promoted into the hegemony of Bhutnath.[5] Ravalnath became a part of the new cult's pantheon after the Nathpanthis arrived. His popularity as the *Gramadeva* played a crucial role in gaining him the title of Kuladevata later on.[6] Thus the suffixes- nath or Ishvar added at the end of the name of the original name of the deity indicate the process of historical transformation. [7]

Ravalnath and the Khetrapal and Moolpurusha are worshipped in Goa as Panchayatans. Panchayatan refer to the family of gods who are regarded as the associates of the main deity worshipped in the temple. The deities associated with Panchayatans usually have their separate abodes in the temple compound and most of the major gods have their Panchayatan shrines.[8] And therefore one can find many of the Gaud Saraswat Brahmins having Ravalnath as their main deity.[9]

According to Vaman Varde Valavalikar, the origin of the term Raval can be traced back to

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[4] Mitragotri, V. R., *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara* (Panaji: Institute Menezes Braganza, 1999), 164-165.

[5] *Boletim do Instituto Menezes Braganca,* no. 129, 1981, 86.

[6] Padmaja V. Kamat, "Ponda: A History of Temples" (PhD diss., Goa University, 2011), 43.

[7] Alexander Henn, "Gods and Saints in Goa: Cultural Diversity and Local Religion," in *Memoriam Guenther- Dietz Sontheimer,* ed. Aditya Malik, Anne Feldhaus and Heidrun Bruckner (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 2005), 9.

[8] Kamla Manekar, *Culture and Religious Traditions in Temples of Goa* (New Delhi: Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Government of Goa, 2004), 18.

[9] *Bharatmitra,* October 1936, 129.

tadbhav of Rahul. The idol in the temple of Ravalnath in Mulgaon village and in Divchal in Bicholim taluka the image of the deity in the temple is shown leaning against a horse. Because of the depiction of horse along with Ravalnath, the deity is called as Ashwapati. And therefore this indicates the connection of the deity Ravalnath to Sanskritic origin. It designate Lord Mahdeva in his Ashwapati form. Usually Ravalnath is depicted with four hands. In one hand the deity is seen holding a trishul, Khadga (sword) Khatuanga (a saucer shaped vessel) and Lamru (rattle drum). [10] Ravalnath is also known as Bhutapati or the Lord of Spirits.[11]

The existence of the deity Ravalnath is proven by the fact that many of the temples belonging to the deity Ravalnath were destroyed during the very first decade of Portuguese colonial rule in Goa. The temple of Ravalnath existed in Goa or Tiswadi at Azossim, Bambolim, Batim, Calapur, Caramboli, Chimbel, Chorao, Caraim, Corlim, Cugira, Curca, Divar, Durgavarim, Goalim-Moula, Goa-Velha, Jua, Mandur, Morombim-o-grande, Neura-o-grande, Neura-o-pequeno, Orare, Siridao, Talaulim, Taleigao, Vanoi, in Bardez at Colva, Curtorim, Guirdolim, Macazana, Nagoa, in Bardez at Aldona, Assagao, Assonora, Colvale, Marna, Moira, Nachinola, Nagod, Nerul, Olaulim, Pilerne, Pirna, Pomburpa, Punora, Sangolda, Sinquerim, Siolim, Sircaim, Sirula, Tivim and Verla.[12]

2. 1. 2. *Paikdev*

The origin of the word *Paik* can be traced back to the Kannada word meaning Messenger. According to V. R. Mitragotri, the armies of the ancient rulers were not only dependent upon Kshatriyas. It is because the soldiers which are an important component of the army consisted of many who belonged to the lower strata of the society and tribes like *Paiks*. *Paik* refers to a

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[10] Manekar, *Culture and Religious,* 19.

[11] V.N. Kudva, *History of the Dakshinatya Saraswats* (Chennai: Samyukta Gowda Saraswata Sabha, 2010), 167.

[12] Panduranga S. S. Pissurlencar, "Tombo das Rendas que Suo Mag tem nas terras de Salcete e Bardes & nesta ylha de Goa," *Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama* 68 (1952): 37-54; *Bharatmitra,* November 1935, 200-202.

messenger who, in ancient times, was a hunter and soldier. The Vijayanagara army consisted of many of the soldiers belonging to the *Paiks*. They were originally Lingayats from the Gulbarga region of Karnataka who later became Hindus. Most of the Kumar *Paiks* are found in the Canacona taluka and the Uttar Kannada district.[13] The *Paik* is shown as a horse rider in many of the villages of Sanguem and Canacona Talukas. Paik is worshipped as a *parivar* deva in both the talukas. Bagil *Paik* or *Paik* at the door, *Gode Paik* or horse rider *Paik*, Razon *Paik*, and Kanna *Paik* are some of the types of Paik found in both talukas. The worshipping of the Kumar *Paiks* takes place owing to the sacrifice of their life that they made.[14] According to Parag D. Parobo, the *Paiks* were the foot soldiers who served as soldiers in the service of the Sonda Chiefs.[15] The deity of *Paikdev* which is usually worshipped in the taluka of Sanguem and Canacona in different forms as seated on horseback receives votive offerings of clay as well as brass horses.[16]

2. 1. 3. Mharu

Mharu basically refer to devil who is worshipped in Goa.[17] Sebastiao Rodolpho Dalgado in his dictionary has also defined Mharu to be a devil who is cruel in nature.[18] The Mharudev is also worshipped as having no form but instead the horse is worshipped in its place. The worship of Mharudev is usually found on the Usgao road at three specific places. Big idols are placed near the shrine to which people worship. Horse is also regarded as the vehicle of

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[13] V. R. Mitragotri, "A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara" (PhD diss., Goa University, 1992), 66-73.

[14] Mitragotri, "A Socio-Cultural History," 245.

[15] Parag D. Parobo, "Consciousness, Contestations, and Assertions from the Nineteenth Century to Post-Liberation Goa," (PhD diss., Goa University, 2022), 165.

[16] Anant R.S. Dhume, *The Cultural History of Goa From 1000B.C- 1352 A.D.* (Panaji: Broadway Book Center, 2009), 31.

[17] *Boltetim Do Instituto Menezes Braganca,* no.140, 1984, 15.

[18] Sebastiao Rodolpho Dalgado, *Glossario Luso- Asiatic.* New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 2012), 225.

this particular deity and is usually offered with terracotta horses.

2. 2. Horse- A Symbol of Nobility

Different animals like Bulls, Oxen, and Horses were used for the purpose of transportation. The terrestrial transport system in Goa included the usage of Carriages pulled by Oxen and horses, bullock carts, horse driven tongas, train or trem of two horses, tonga of one horse and machilas. The usage of three type of machilas in Goa can be found namely Cadeira or Chair Machila, Catre Machila and Coach machila. The machilas were generally used by the rich and the aristocratic people.[19] But the principal conveyance consisted of palanquins. The palanquins were known by different names in Goa like macas, Catres, Cadeirinhas.[20] The Portuguese government in Goa prohibited the use of palanquins because it promoted laziness among the population. Instead, the use of horses for transportation was implemented to improve the effectiveness of the Portuguese government's cavalry in Goa. This would provide them with capable horsemen to serve in cavalry when necessary.[21]

In 1574, the Brahmans, vaidyas and pandits were forbidden to travel on horses, dolis and palanquins; the first offence was to be punished with a fine of 10 ashrafis; the second with a fine of 20 ashrafis and confiscation of the horse of the vehicle; and the third with slavery. The usage of horses was restricted to certain class of people.[22]

According to Francois Pyrard of Laval, when the Portuguese Viceroys went on the streets in the palanquins, the Portuguese servants would assist them on horseback and even those who

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[19] Carmo Gonzaga Agapito D' Miranda, "Transport System of Goa in the Past," *Purabhilekh Puratatva,* Vol:VII, no. 2 (1989):55-67.

[20] Jose Nicolau Da Fonseca, *An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa*. (Bombay: Thacker & C. o, Limited, 1878), 165.

[21] "Archives Week Celebration," *Purabhilekh Puratatva,* Vol. IX no. 1 (1991): 96.

[22] V.N. Kudva, *History of the Dakshinatya Saraswats* (Chennai: Samyukta Gowda Saraswata Sabha, 2010), 343.

came to visit the viceroy would come to meet on either horses or in palanquins.[23]   Even during the wedding ceremony, even if the people did not have horses, they used to borrow them at a huge price so that they could ride to the churches.[24]

Some of the references to the market wherein the horses were sold:

Rua Direita

Rua Direita refers to the main street in the city which was famous for goods market. Different kind of luxury goods like horses, slaves were auctioned on the street.[25] Rua Direita, or High Street, was the town's main road, beginning at the Viceroy's Arch and running through the plaza. O Leilao, or the auction, was the name given to the roadway between the Terreiro do Paco and the Misericordia. Public sales were frequently heard along this stretch of route. It featured both the horse and the slave market.[26] According to John Huyghen Van Linschoten, the gentlemen, merchants, and others came to sell their Indian commodities at a place that was like a fair. It was the principal street in the city, which was a straight street called Leylon. Leilao is the Portuguese word for auction. The products on the street are sold by the cryers loudly. Goods like gold chains, costly jewels, pearls, rings, precious stones, captive slaves, both men and women, as well as Arabian horses, spices, dried drugs, sweet gummes, fine and costly coverlets, and many things from Cambay, Sunda, Bengal, and China were sold in this particular street.[27] This was the name of the street. This route led to Banastari. It was then

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[23] Albert Grey, *The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil, Vol:2* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1887), 90.

[24] Arthur Burnell and P. A. Tiele, eds., *The Voyage of John Huyghen Van Linschoten to the East Indies* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1885), 196.

[25] Teotonio T. R. D' Souza, *Goa: Roteiro Historico- Cultural* (Lisbon: Grupo de Trabalho do Ministério da Educação para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1996): 141-142.

[26] Penrose Boies, *Goa- Rainha Do Oriente- Queen of the East* (Coimbra: Imprensa Da Coimbra Limitada, 1960), 67.

[27] Arthur Burnell and P. A. Tiele, eds., *The Voyage of John Huyghen Van Linschoten to the East Indies* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1885), 184.

called Rua de Sao Paulo. Horses were put to the test in sports and races because of which it was densely populated.

Bairro das naus de Ormuz:

This particular place was near Ribandar and was close to Bainguinim. The two merchants Antonio Correia and Diogo Botelho lived in this particular area. Their houses had private docks that was used for the purpose of navigation and even the horses brought from Arabia and Persia came to this dock.[28]

2. 3. Horse- A Symbol of Power and Honour

The animal horse is a great symbol of power. It was a matter of honour and pride for the rulers to possess huge number of horses in their cavalry, which ultimately helped them to enhance their enemy. Therefore, the rulers having a huge number of horses in their military administration were considered to be more powerful.

Rathotsav refers to the chariot festival that takes place in Goa. One can find the artificial horses being used for religious purposes. The number of horses used at different places is also not the same. The deity is taken out on procession in the *rath* or the chariot as it is considered an honour for the deities to be riding on a horse.

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[28] D' Souza, *Goa: Roteiro Historico,* 141-142.

CHAPTER 4: HORSES IN BICHOLIM AND SATTARI TALUKA:

A SOCIO-CULTURAL ANALYSIS OF *GHODEMODNI* AND HORSE WORSHIP

4.1. *Ghodemodni:* A medium and a source

William R. Bascom has defined folklore "as the unwritten history of ancient societies preserved in the minds of the people and handed down through ages by the medium of language or practice.[1] Folklore is an important aspect of the oral tradition that has been passed from one generation to another by word of mouth. It includes within its fold the folk songs, folk tales, riddles, proverbs and other material passed and preserved orally by the people. The historical significance attached to the folk performances has made it viable to be studied by different branches of social sciences.

Goa being a repertoire of culture is known for a vast number of folk dances like *Morulo, Goph, Tonyamel, Fugdi, Dekhni, Dhalo, Dhangar* dance, *Virabhadra, Romat, Musal* dance. The study of the present sites representing the past will be an attempt to understand one of the spectacular folk dances of Goa that has carried forward the germs of the past to the present. History can also be reconstructed with the help of this particular oral tradition that despite not directly concerning to past testify the same.[2] It is one of traditions that has served and carried till today the shared beliefs and ideas of cultural community. The study has been limited to only two taluka of Goa namely Bicholim and Sattari. It is because the selected folk dance is mostly and largely performed in only these two taluka. The study of the selected taluka will help to understand and analyse the significance of the folk dance in Goa as well as the role

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[1] Wiliiam R. Bascom, "Folklore and Anthropology," *The Journal of American Folklore 66,* no. 262 (1953): 283-90.

[2] Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 28.

played by the horse trade in these selected two regions.

The selected form of folk dance for the study is *Ghodemodni*. It is performed mostly in the taluka of Bicholim and Sattari and also at only one place in Pernem taluka. Bicholim and Sattari form a part of the new conquest which along with Ponda, Pernem, Quepem, Sanguem and Canacona came under the Portuguese dominion only between 1763 to 1788.[3] The community life in Sattari has carried the routines and rituals of ancient times till today by the medium of folk songs and folk dance.[4]

The folk dance of *Ghodemodni* is performed mainly in the taluka of Bicholim and Sattari during the festival of *Shigmo*. It is performed on different days in different regions .The time, day, style and the participating families differ from each other irrespective of the fact that all the performers of the folk dance claim to belong to Kshatriya lineage. Exceptional are the cases where the horse dressed belong to other *varna* like Shudra. This particular folk dance is performed as a part of the ritualistic performance to be performed during *Shigmo*. *Ghodemodni* is performed mainly by men. As it has a ritualistic essence, women are prohibited from taking part in the performance. The attire of the performer resemble like that of the warriors, wearing dhoti type pant and *Mundaso* or *Pagoda* or the turban as the headgear. The face of the dummy horse that is kept in the main temple of the village throughout the year is removed only during the performance. It is then attached to the main body of the horse which is usually made out of bamboo called *taati*. The *taati* is wrapped up in colourful *Kapod*. The headgear of the horsemen is decorated with different kind of flowers. Usually, the local flowers available in the vicinity of the village are used for the purpose of decoration. Even the head of the horse is decorated with variety of flowers. In most of the villages the horsemen carries a sword in the hand whereas at very specific regions one can

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[3] Pandurang S. Pissurlencar, "Govyacha Itihasathil kahi prasanga," *Bharatmitra* Vol.36, no. 5 (1964): 144.

[4] Maria Couto, *Goa: A Daughters Story* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2005), 125.

find him carrying the branch of a tree. Before the commencement of the performance, the decorated *taati* attached to the effigy of dummy face of the horse is worshipped in the temple by the married women from the families of the Maratha community. It is then taken by the horsemen at a specific location in the vicinity of the temple. After doing its puja again by the men it is then tied to the waist of the horsemen. The *Ghode* or the horses visit the important temples in their respective villages and take rounds near the border of the village. The performance in most of the villages commences late in the evening and ends in mid-night and in very few exceptional cases in the morning. The number of horses performing the dance varies from region to region, so one can see two, three, four, five, or seven horses being used as per the number of villages or wards involved in this performance. Each of the *Ghodemodni* performance performed in different villages of Bicholim and Sattari taluka is unique in its nature and style. And therefore an attempt has been made to understand the importance of horses in these two regions of Bicholim and Sattari taluka by comparing the folk tradition of *Ghodemodni* in both the taluka.

Datta Chandrakant Parab, by observing the performances in different regions, has classified the folk dance of *Ghodemodni*. The classification of *Ghodemodni* has been done based on the dance speed of horses, the instruments used, the way horses dance, and the participation of different communities.

- *Ghodemodni* of one or two-three villages performed at one place.
- *Ghodemodni*, which is held every year, or held after a gap of three years.
- Differences in the pace of horse dancing and playing instruments.

- There is a difference in the characteristics of horses: those that look like heroes and those dancing like heroes.

- There are two types of depictions: those showing the importance of nature and those showing the relationship between the Earth and the Sun.

- Depiction of society through *Ghodemodni.*

- Depiction of unity between the Hindu and Muslim communities.

- Glorification of women through *Ghodemodni.*[5]

In Bicholim taluka, it is performed in Mulgaon, Borde, Divchal, Karapur, Sarvan, Mayem, Cudnem, Gavthan, Sankhali, Ladafe, Mauling, Kharpal, Advapal, Mencurem, Curchirem,Nanoda, and in Sattari, it is performed in the villages of Morlem, Paryem, Shiroli, Ravan, Thane, Charavane, Masorde, Surla, Velguem, Karanzol, Zarme, Honda, Saleli, Dongurli, Golauli, Rivem, Hivrem and also at Sasoli and Dodamarg in the bordering areas of Goa. The historical background of the ruling dynasties over Goa makes it evident that Bicholim, Sattari, and Pernem came under the Portuguese dominion only in the 18th century, which can be the reason why it is performed only in these regions. The instruments used in the performance are *dhol* (a large drum), *taso* (a kind of drum played with two cane sticks), and *kansalem* (large cymbals made of bell metal). A *talvar*, or sword, is also used during the performance. This tends to represent their martial spirit. No particular folk song is sung during the performance like the other folk dances. Only *Garaane* is put at the arrival of all the horses in the main temple, invoking all the main deities and the Gramdevatas of the village.

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[5] Datta Chandrakant Parab, "*Ghodemodni* ani Goeche Samaj darshan," *Ananya*, no. 15 (2021): 156–164.

4. 1. 1. Varying perspectives….numerous origins

Different perspectives are put forth by numerous scholars on the origin of *Ghode*modni. According to Anant Ramkrishna Dhume, the origin of the term *Ghodemodni* can be traced back to the word *Ghode-Mandani*, which means treatment (maintenance with proper feeding, cure of all diseases, etc.), and the training of horses which were later examined by the King through periodical exhibitions to evaluate the fitness of the horses.[6]

Datta Chandrakanth Parab opines that the origin of the word *Ghodemodni* can be derived from the two words *Ghode-Modni* and *Ghode-Mandani*. According to him, *Ghode-Modni* means horse-breaking, breaking the rhythm movements. *Ghodemodni* is performed by using the wooden mouth of the horse, the body of which is made out of the *Kondo* leaves, to form thin plates called *Taati,* which are then decorated with clothes, usually *Kapod*. While dancing to the sound of drums and beats with waist backing, first with one foot on the side as if drumming, then on the other side, once to the right and then to the left. The movement in the dance looks as if their dance is broken, because of which it is called *Ghode-Modni*. Another way of defining *Ghodemodni* would be that it originated from the word *Ghodde-Mandani*. Horses were traded in Goa, Maharashtra, and Karnataka even before the Vijayanagara Empire, owing to the great demand for Arab horses, which were stronger and more agile as compared to the Indian horses. The Arab traders brought horses from Arabia to the ports of Goa, Maharashtra, and Karnataka as they were in great demand and required for transportation and warfare. They sold the horses to the Indian merchants, who then sold them to the other rulers of India. There were shops in the markets reserved to facilitate the buying

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[6] Anant R.S. Dhume, *The Cultural History of Goa From 1000 B.C. to 1352 A.D.* (Panaji: Broadway Book Centre, 2009), 225.

and selling of horses. The Indian traders decorated their horses so as to attract buyers. And therefore, the horse market was like a festival with well-decorated, colourful horses, which can also be referred to as *Ghode-Mandani*. Another reason can be cited with regard to the performance of *Ghodemodni*. Many of the villages in north Goa were ruled by the Marathas of Maharashtra, who, in order to establish their rule, defeated the local people. And as a remembrance to the local fighters who lost their lives in the battle, dummy horses are used to represent those horsemen's. It symbolically depicts the worship of the souls of heroes who are regarded as the protectors of the villages.[7]

Tulshidas Mahadev Paryekar is of the opinion that *Ghodemodni* is a festival celebrated since the arrival of Portuguese in Goa. It is because many battles were waged between the Ranes and the Portuguese. When the soldiers working under the Ranes of Sattari returned back to their villages during *Shigmo*, they started performing *Ghodemodni*, because most of the *Ghodemodni* performances were held in the villages under the influence of Ranes.[8] According to Manisha Gawas, *Ghodemodni*, as a folk dance, is performed as a remembrance of the horsemen, who practiced with their horses to wage war against their Portuguese enemies.[9] According to Pandurang Phaldesai, *Ghodemodni* is performed by the Maratha Community with the intent of depicting a hoary past full of battles and bravery acts. The type of costume worn and the musical pattern indicate the great influence of Rajput tradition on this particular dance form. He further adds by quoting A.R. Dhume that Goa being a famous

[7] Parab, "*Ghodemodni* ,"152-154.
[8] Tulshidas M. Paryekar, "Sattaritila Shimagotsava," in *Mhadei Sattari Taluka Visheshank 1995–1996*, ed. Rajendra P. Kerkar (Valpoi, Gramin Vikas Shiksha Saunstha, 1996), 36–37.

[9] Manisha Gawas, "Loknach" in Sattari Rang –Antarang, ed. Naman Dinesh Sawant (Belgavi, Chandraprabha Offset Printer, 2019), 100.

maritime trade centre, *Ghodemodni* would probably mean *Ghode-Mandani*, or maintenance of horses. He adds by stating that *Ghodemodni* also reminds the victorious warriors returning back to their respective villages.[10]

"शिगम्याचो म्हूत काड्डून

घोडेमोडणीताल धरी

राज्य जिखून आयिल्ल्या म्हालगड्या विरांवरी.

इतिहासाची गवाय ही, संस्कृतायेच्यो खुणो

स्वतंत्रतायेचो पुरुशार्थ हो सगल्यांक देखदिणो."[11]

The folk dance of *Ghodemodni* has also been considered a war dance by Vinayak Vishnu Khedekar.[12] Pratima Kamat has also opined *Ghodemodni* to be a vibrant folk dance depicting lucrative horse trade.[13]

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[10] Pandurang Phaldesai, as *Typological Insights into Folklore of Goa* (Porvorim: Sasaai Publication, 2021), 48–49.

[11] Pandurang Phaldesai*, Goenchea Lokvedachem Saundaryashastra (Aesthetics of Goan Folklore)* (Porvorim: Sasaai Publications, 2017), 168.

[12] Vinayak Khedekar, *Loksarita: Gomantkiy Janjeevanakha Sumagra Abhys* (Panaji: Goa Kala Akadamy), 202-203.

[13] Pratima Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade* (Panaji: Goa Chamber of Commerce and Industry, 2009), 84.

4. 1. 2. *Ghodemodni* as a source….

The ethnographic study of *Ghodemodni* has brought to light the very important concept of Marathisation. In most of the places where *Ghodemodni* is performed, the men performing claim to belong to the ninety-six Kshatriya families. The Marathas of Goa, considered to be belonging to the Kshatriya clan, are further subdivided into two categories. The first category includes the Kshatriya Marathas, while the second category brings the Kunbi Marathas or Kulwadi within its fold. The difference between both sub-categories was based on the type of work they were engaged in. The former Kshatriya Marathas, who held land property, were mainly employed in government services, whereas the latter were mostly engaged in agricultural and allied activities.[14] In application of this concept of categorization, it is evident that the performers in the folk dance of *Ghodemodni* belong to the second category of Kulwadi Marathas. Their claim over Kshatriya status would be because of the military naukari. When the Ranes shifted their loyalties to the Portuguese from the Bhonsles of Sawantwadi, they were to keep ready the troops, which included individuals with military history as well as others in search of social mobility that could provide military support to the Portuguese as and when required.[15] And therefore, those working in the troops for the Ranes also claimed to be belonging to the Kshatriya lineage, like their masters, who also claimed Kshatriya-hood by invoking a Rajput lineage and then claiming to belong to the Maratha roots. Richard Jenkins writes with regard to the application of the term Maratha, "Besides these, the term is more particularly applied to the numerous tribes and families from whom the most celebrated Mahratta leaders have sprung. The number of these families is…ninety-

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[14] Varsha V. Kamat, "Socio-Political and Religious Life in Goa (1900–1946)" (PhD. diss., Goa University, 1996) 8.

[15] Parag D. Parobo, "Consciousness, Contestations, and Assertions from the Nineteenth Century to Post-Liberation Goa" (PhD. diss., Goa University, 2022), 132.

six."[16] Similarly, the Kunbi cultivators began calling themselves Marathas for having rendered their services to the Ranes, who themselves claimed to be Marathas. The support of the common people for Ranes to sweep out the intolerant Portuguese also helped them a lot.[17] Accordingly, in order to show that they were different from the other local population, they began glorifying their achievements in the military *naukari* through the performance of *Ghodemodni*. That is why one can see that the dressing of men into horses is restricted to certain families. In any of the villages where *Ghodemodni* is performed, only certain families belonging to ninety-six Kshatriya lineages are allowed to perform. This clear division created among them depicts their social mobility, which they gained either through their employment in the military *naukari* or through the commercialization of agriculture.[18] It has been rightly asserted by H. R. Ellis Davidson that the oral tradition survives in men's memory owing to the fact that it serves the interests of the society in which it is preserved.[19]

4. 1. 2. a. *Transformation: From being Agriculturists to warriors*

The connection of the Kunbi Marathas with *Shigmo* is worth noting. The performance of *Ghodemodni* by the Kshatriya Marathas shows their connection with their old roots of being engaged in agricultural activity. This is proven by the very fact that the traditional *Ghodemodni* is performed only during the *Shigmo*, which was a festival of the non-Brahmins and the agriculturists. *Shigmo* is a festival that can be attributed to the tribal communities of

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[16] Prachi Deshpande, "Caste as Maratha: Social categories, colonial policy and identity in early twentieth-century Maharashtra," *Indian Economic Social History Review* 4, (2004): 9–10.
[17] Kamat, "Socio-Political," 352.
[18] Prachi Deshpande, "Caste as Maratha," 13.
[19] H. R. Ellis Davidson, "Folklore and History," *Folklore*, Vol: 85 no. 2 (1974): 74.

Goa[20] and is one such occasion that brings people belonging to different sections together.[21] Those employed in the Maratha armies included the peasantry who returned back to their homeland during the fourth month of the year.[22] And that is why even today despite claiming to be belonging to Kshatriya lineage the traces of their origin can be found in the very fact that *Ghodemodni* is performed during *Shigmo*. And therefore, the folk dance of *Ghodemodni* is a dance that represents the most important component of Portuguese administration that is Military system**.** Thus, *Shigmo* was an important medium with the help of which people who had acquired social mobility could display their martial spirit.**[23]**

4. 1. 3. *Ghodemodni* as a medium

Above all, the folk dance of *Ghodemodni* depicts the lucrative horse trade that existed in the pre-colonial as well as colonial periods. The presence of horses in a folk tradition that has been passed over for centuries is one of the most important sources for understanding and analysing the significance of horses in Goa, especially in the taluka of Bicholim and Sattari. It is because the most important trading route of horses from Goa to the other Deccani Kingdoms passed through these two taluka through land and waterway.[24] The performance of *Ghodemodni* makes it clear to the fact that those employed in the cavalry were to be

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[20] Jayanti Naik, *Lokved Vimarsha* (Panaji: Goa Kala Akadami, 2020), 105.

[21]Parobo, "*Consciousness*,"43.

[22] Prachi Deshpande, *Creative Pasts Historical Memory and Identity in Western India, 1700-1960* (New York, Columbia University Press, 2007), 57.

[23] "Modi (Marathi) Documents (A selection of Marathi Documents)," *Purabhilekh Puratatva,* no. 1 Vol: VII (1989): 64-65.

[24] Pratima Kamat, *Tarini, and Tar-Vir The Unique Boat Deities of Goa.* (Goa: Goa Institute for Culture and Research in History, 2008), 60.

maintained by the Desais, so to serve the Portuguese in times of need.[25] In the words of Tanvi Bambolkar, "There is no denying that each dynasty and every settlement of folk, whether tribes or castes, have left some imprints on the societal and cultural heritage of Goa. Some of the noteworthy events and happenings have been documented even in Goan folklore. All these influences have contributed to the constitution of Goan society and helped to shape its distinct dynamics."[26] Similarly, the folk dance of *Ghodemodni* has carried the germs of history into contemporary times. It depicts the lucrative horse trade that thrived in Goa under different ruling dynasties.[27]

By studying the folk culture one can not only reconstruct the historical background of a particular region but also understand their lifestyle that differentiates them from each other. And therefore the folk performance of *Ghodemodni* can be regarded as a medium with the help of which those serving in the military were able to carry their legacy of being warriors through generations to the present. And as it is a part of oral tradition it is an important source indicating the significance of the horses in the cavalry during a certain point of time. Thus, with the help of the folk performance of *Ghodemodni* one can reconstruct different aspects of Goan history.

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[25] Frederick C. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India Being a History of the Rise and decline of their Eastern Empire Vol:II* (London: W. H. Allen & Co., Limited, 1894), 417.

[26] Tanvi S. Kamat Bambolkar, "Folk Theatre in Goa: A Critical Study of Select Forms" (PhD diss., Goa University, 2018). 5.

[27] Kamat, *Goa Its Tryst with Trade,* 54.

4. 2. Horse Worship

The presence of horses can also be seen in their worship at different places in Bicholim and Sattari Taluka. The worship of the dead ancestors was in vogue for millions of years.[28] The universal belief in the existence of communication between the dead ancestor and his living descendant can be found in Goa.[29] The unabsorption of the *devchars* in the Brahmanical fold led to their consideration as cacodemons.[30] The *devchars*, over a period of time, came to be absorbed and assimilated into the Vedic pantheon.[31] Similarly some of the shrines of *devchars* in Bicholim and Sattari taluka came to be absorbed into the cult of Shiva.

4. 2. 1. Horse as a *Vahan*

Horses play a very important role in the socio-cultural life of people. It is because the presence of horses can be seen in the temples dedicated to the deity Ravalnath and even a lot of shrines of *devchar* or *rakhandar* include the worshipping of horses. The presence of horse on the sculpture of Ravalnath is because of its consideration as the vehicle of the deity Ravalnath. It is interesting to note here the association of horses with the local deity Ravalnath. Ravalnath was considered as one of the folk deity which later on got promoted into the hegemony of Bhutnath.[32] Therefore this association of the horse with the folk deity of Goa depict the importance attached to the animal horse. Many of the temples of the deity Ravalnath or *Roulo* existed in Goa prior to the arrival of Portuguese. The existence of this temples and the depiction of horse justify the presence of horses in pre-Portuguese period. Ravalnath is depicted as a standing man figure with four arms holding a sword, trident, bowl

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[28] Dhume, *The Cultural History of Goa, 75.*

[29] Padmaja V. Kamat, "Ponda: A History of Temples" (PhD diss., Goa University, 2011), 24–25.

[30] Damodar D. Kosambi, *Myth and Reality* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1962), 152.

[31] Kamat, "Ponda: A History of Temples," 339.

[32] *Boletim do Instituto Menezes Braganca,* no. 129, 1981, 86.

of ambrosia and kettle drum.[33] The iconographic representation of a horse along with the deity Ravalnath indicates its importance in the pre-colonial period. In the villages of Mulgaon and Divchal in Bicholim taluka, the statue of Ravalnath is shown resting on a horse.

4. 2. 2. Resistance through symbolism

At many places in Bicholim taluka one can see the worship of the *devchar* or the *rakhandar* under a particular tree. In most of these shrines the *devchar* or the *rakhandar* has no form and therefore worshipped in an iniconic form. The most interesting part to observe is the idol of horses adorned and worshipped as the vehicle of this particular folk deity. Sebastiao Rodolpho Dalgado has defined *devchar*, *mharu* and *bhut* to be all demons.[34] Shri Konishwar Prasanna shrine is located at Amona. This shrine is dedicated to *rakhandar* who is said to be protecting the area which is there in his vicinity. The *rakhandar* has no form because of which the idol of the horse is placed in the main shrine and worshipped. The horse is worshipped for being the vehicle of the particular folk deity. The idol of two big horses is also placed outside the main shrine. It is evident from the things offered to the deity, like *kambol* and oil that the deity is the protector deity, or *rakhandar,* because these types of offerings are usually made to the local deities. But the name given to the shrine depict its affiliation to *Ishwar*. It is interesting to note that the shrine of a *rakhandar* is brought under the fold of Brahmanism by the application of the term *Ishwar* at the end of the name of the *rakhandar.* According to Indra P. Prabhushastri many of the folk deities are worshipped with an addition made to the names of the deities or the prefix of *Ishwar* or Nath used to indicate

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[33] Alexander Henn, "Shrines of Goa: Iconographic Formation and Popular Appeal," *South Asian Multidisciplinary Academic Journal*, 18 (2018): 7, https://journals.openedition.org/samaj/4533.

[34] Sebastiao Rodolpho Dalgado, *Glossario Luso- Asiatic* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 2012), 19.

the deity worshipped in the form of linga.[35] The term *Ishwar* which means all powerful lord is mostly applied as a suffix to the names of all Shiva Shrines.[36] Aside from the Konishwar *rakhandar*, there are three additional *rakhandars* located across the village of Amona. The other *rakhandars'* names are Chavdeshwar in Sawantwada, Vadeshwar in Gaonkarwada, and Amrutshwar. Small clay horses, each with a unique design, are being presented to the deity as a conveyance upon the accomplishment of their requests and therefore one can see the main God encircled by hundreds of clay or terracotta horses.

Another shrine to *rakhandar*, Shri Godbayeshwar Prasanna, may be seen in Navelim village. This shrine is located on the route from Amona to Surla. The Godbayeshwar is also known as *rakhandar*, and he is worshipped in an iconic form. Instead, the horse, thought to be the deity's conveyance, is worshipped in its place. In addition to this, two large horses standing near the shrine can also be seen. The word Godbai derives from a well or *bai* near the temple. When the horses used to pass by the well, they used to stop to drink water from the well, and hence the place came to be known after the horses. And therefore, the one protecting this well is worshipped as Godbayeshwar. The prefix Ishwar has also been used for the local deity.

In Surla village, on the way to the Shri Mallikarjun Temple in the Gaonkarwada, there is a shrine on the way. The shrine is of the *rakhandar*, wherein the terracotta horses as well as *Kambol* are also worshipped by the deity. Two big horses are placed inside the shrine. Similarly in the numerous shrines dedicated to the folk deity *rakhandar*, one can find the absence of any type of idol or a picture or sculpture of the *rakhandar*. The *rakhandar* is always worshipped in an iniconic form. Shri Kumarkhaneshwar Prasanna in Goankarwada,

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[35] Indra Prakash Prabhushastri, "Image Worship of the Puranic Deities in Goa: A Critical Study" (PhD. Diss., Goa University, 2022), 138.

[36] Jayant Bhalchandra Bapat, "The Yaksini Devi of Mangaon: Appropriation of a Jain Goddess," in *Conceiving the Goddess Transformation and Appropriation in Indic Religions, ed.,* Jayant Bhalchandra Bapat and Ian Mabbett (Monash: Monash University Publishing, 2017), 86.

Cudnem, Shri Vadeshwar Prasanna in Bordem, Shri Pauleshwar Prasanna, Navelim, Shri

Kareshwar Prasanna, Lamgao are some of the other shrines of *rakhandar* wherein one can

see the terracotta horses being offered to the folk deity on accomplishment of certain wishes.

Therefore the offering of horses to one of the folk deity in Goa is worth to be noted. The kind

of value attached to the animal horse and it being offered to the local deity can be known

through this.

Resistance is a way of asserting autonomy in the face of structural inequalities and it can be

both individual and collective, depending on the context. In the words of James Scott, "If the

exercise of domination depends upon a social context for its creation and maintenance, so

does the exercise of resistance."[37] The context in which the people began offering the

terracotta horses to the folk deity and began considering the horses as the vehicle of these

gods is something that has its link to the horse trade. One of the reason that can be attributed

to the emergence of the consideration of horses as the vehicle of the folk deities can be the

unavailability of the horses for the local people to use. In case of Bicholim and Sattari, the

Bhonsles of Sawantwadi were the feudatory of Adil Shah of Bijapur. With the declining

power of the latter in the middle of the seventeenth century, the former under Khem Sawant

declared their independence from their feudatory relation with Adil Shah of Bijapur.[38] Adil

Shah of Bijapur had also awarded the Ranes the fief of Sattari and the title of Sardesai owing

to the number of services rendered by them to the state during the regime of Adil Shah of

Bijapur.[39] And therefore it is evident that the titles of Desai and Sardesai were in usage from

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[37] James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 329.

[38] "Historic Fort of Terekhol," *Purabhilekh Puratatva* , Vol. IV no.2 (1986): 75.

[39] Pratima Kamat, *Farar Far (Crossfire): Local Resistance to Colonial Hegemony in Goa* (Panaji: Institute of Menezes Braganza, 1999), 162.

the time of Adil Shah of Bijapur.[40] But when Bicholim or Dicholi and Sankhali along with Pedne, Kudal Pargana, and Banda, together known as five mahals, came under the dominion of Bhonsles of Sawantwadi, the whole political situation changed in Goa.[41] Even in the treaty signed between the Bhonsles of Sawantwadi and the Portuguese on 7 April 1712 the Portuguese tried to protect the interests of Desais who were their vassals.[42] On 21 October 1746 a treaty of vassalage, obedience and fidelity, the Ranes as well as the other Desais of the region managed to swore their loyalty to the Portuguese.[43] The Ranes and the other Sardesais of both these talukas as mentioned above shifted their loyalties to the Portuguese.[44] And this was when the provinces of Bicholim, Sanquelim, and the fortress of Alorna, Rairi and Neuti were seized during the viceroyalty of Marques de Alorna from the Bhonsles of Sawantwadi.[45] The Act passed on 17 November 1896 consists of 38 sections. This act refers to the rights and estates of the Sardesai and the Desai families in Goa. The Desais of Sankhali mahal and Dicholi mahal held prominent positions in the administration.[46] During the latter half of the eighteenth century the Sardesais and the Desais were to supply troops to the colonial Government at the time of requirement. And in order to meet the military requirements they were given whole villages and the scattered properties in the villages.[47] Similar type of system was also prevalent during the Adil Shah regime wherein fiefs were awarded with an intent that they would maintain the horses and weapons which was an important component

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[40] Hiroshi Fukazawa, "A Study of the Local Administration of Adil Shahi Sultanate (A. D. 1489-1686)," *Hitotsubashi Journal of Economics* 3, no. 2 (1963): 38, http://www.jstor.org/stable/43295419

[41] S. K .Mhamai, *The Sawants of Wadi and the Portuguese* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1984), 7.

[42] Mhamai, *The Sawants,* 25.

[43] Kamat, *Farar Far,* 163.

[44] Parobo, "*Consciousness, Contestations*," 132.

[45] "Historic Fort of Terekhol," *Purabhilekh Puratatva,* Vol. IV, no.2 (1986): 7

[46] *Bharatmitra,* November 1935, 209-211.

[47] Parobo, "*Consciousness, Contestations*," 131.

of Adil Shah military administration.[48] A system of Desaidos, the feudal chiefs prevailed in the new conquest. They were allowed to retain their individual property and were assigned with the duty of collection of taxes, imposts and contributions.[49] These wealthier individuals like the Ranes and the Desais imported the horses in Goa during the latter half of the nineteenth century.[50] In the words of Anne Kane, "To understand how meaning is constructed we must find the conditions and mechanism which bring together these variables and which facilitate and allow change."[51] Therefore, the horses, which were so valuable at a certain point in time, and their unavailability to the locals contributed to their consideration of the folk deity.

Because the use of horses was restricted to few and only the rich could afford the horses.[52] Therefore the local people began associating the horse as the *vahana* of their particular folk deities. It is because people tend to use symbolism and narrative elements from their environment which they consider to be important.[53] The point to emphasize here is that the local people who had no access to horses found another way of depicting it by the medium of these folk deities. The sites at which these shrines are located are near the banks of the Mhadei River, which was one of the important means of travel during the early days. It is evident that the horses were imported from Arabia were brought to the port of Goa initially at Gopakapattana but later at Ella. The Arab horses were then taken to the Deccani Kingdoms by sea as well as land routes. The horses by sea were transported from Gopakapattana and later Ella by boat along the river Mandovi to Tarwaddo, Surla in Bicholim and from there by

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[48] Fukazawa, "A Study," 61.

[49] Benjamin, *Encyclopedia of* , 524.

[50] Antonio Lopes Mendes, *A India Portugueza Breve Descripcao Das Possessoes Portuguezas Na Asia* Vol: I (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1886), 115.

[51] Anne Kane, "Reconstructing Culture and Explanation: Narratives as Cultural Structure and Practice," *History and Theory* 39 (2000): 314.

[52] *Bharatmitra*, 1926, 149.

[53] Richard Startup, "Religion: Its Origins, Social Role and Sources of Variation," *Open Journal of Philosophy,* no. 10 (2020): 353.

land to Kothambi-Pale, thus entering into Sattari from where the horses were taken via the Ghats to the Deccan Kingdoms.[54] At Surla in Bicholim, on the bank of the river Mandovi, there is a passage named *Godyachi Paaz* from the Surla Tar mosque to come on top of the main road, named after the horses. This indicates that the horses came to this bank of the river, after which they were transported via the ghats to other regions. Thus the River Mandovi played a very important role in the region, with both historic and contemporary Portuguese cities on its banks. It originates in the Parvor Ghat in the province of Sattari, flows north-west of Ponda, then south-west of Bicholim and Bardez, and eventually empties into the port of Aguada after creating various islands and crossing Panjim or Nova Goa. Its main branches flow through the villages of Mapucá, Tivim, and Assonorá, as well as the provinces of Bicholim, Sanquelim, and Zambaulim.[55] And that is why studying the influence and assimilation of horses in the socio-cultural lives of Bicholim and Sattari taluka has become important. The study of the two important aspects of these two taluka, that is, the folk dance of *Ghodemodni* and the worshipping of horses as the vehicle of conveyance of the folk deities, indeed depicts the lucrative horse trade.

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[54] Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst,* 83.

[55] Jose Nicolau Da Fonseca, *An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa*. (Bombay: Thacker & C.o, Limited, 1878), 03.

CHAPTER: 5 CONCLUSION

The horse trade held profound significance in the history of Goa during both the pre-colonial and colonial periods. Each and every dynasty that ruled over Goa played an important role in developing the trade at Goa. More specifically the horse trade developed under the Kadambas of Goa because of which it turned out into a maritime polity. The horse trade in the pre-Portuguese period flourished owing to the contribution of different ruling dynasties over Goa who upon realising the importance of international trade developed the port of Goa. At the beginning of the fifteenth century Goa was a prominent port on the western coast of India trading with Mecca, Aden, Ormus, Cambay and Malabar.[1] The Portuguese upon the conquest of Goa firstly monopolised the trade. Afonso de Albuquerque upon his arrival in Goa saw to it that the horse trade was nowhere carried on the western coast of India. The horses were very much required for military requirements. The number of horses signified the might and the power of the rulers because of which the South Indian rulers always wanted to procure more number of horses.[2]

The monopolisation of horse trade served two purposes of Albuquerque. Firstly the horse trade enabled him to charge high import duties on the horses imported which ultimately filled up his coffers and secondly the horse trade served as a lever with which he could exert greater influence in the Deccan politics by controlling the two great powers of the time-Vijayanagara Empire and the Sultanate of Adil Shah of Bijapur.[3] Thus it can be asserted that the Portuguese kept their foothold on the well-established trading port of the time.

Pernem, Bicholim and Sattari together comprising the new conquest was captured by the

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[1] L. R. Kulkarni, "*Some Aspects* of the Life of the People under Bahamani Rule" (PhD diss., Karnataka University, 1977), 94.

[2] J. M. Richards. *Goa.* (London, C. Hurst & CO., 1982), 23.

[3] R. S. Whiteway, *The Rise of the Portuguese Power in India* (Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co., 1899), 152.

Portuguese between 1781 to 1788 from the Bhonsles of Sawantwadi.[4] And that is why it can be expressed in the words of Maria Couto, "The Vocabulary of life remains pristine, and their folk song and dance celebrate the routines and rituals of ancient times in a continuing process as lived today."[5] Folk performances have always been a source of local people of carrying forward the legacies and greatness of their culture from one generation to another. Similarly *Ghodemodni* has been one of such type of folk performance that upon analysing has brought to light more specific details pertaining to the selected folk dance.

The horses were a great source of symbolising power, nobility and honour. The power of horses can be known through it being an important component of military administration. The rich and the elite like the Portuguese used horses to depict their superiority. A number of laws that were implemented with regard to the usage of horses testify the same. Even the clauses pertaining to horses in most of the treaties signed by the Portuguese show how important the horses were to the Portuguese. In Goa many of the deities Rathotsava takes place. During the Rathotsava the deity is taken on procession in a chariot having horses attached to it infront. Sometime the idols are shown sitting on horses. It is regarded as the honour for the deities seated on horses.

The major transformation that took place in the socio- cultural lives of the people of Bicholim and Sattari taluka can be known through this dance. The participants of the folk dance mainly claiming Kshatriyahood throw light on social mobility that they gained through military naukari. Those who belonged to peasantry and could improve their social condition through their military naukari began differentiating them from the remaining peasantry force to create a distinction. In an effort to create this differentiation those who acquired social mobility claimed themselves to be belonging to the Kshatriya lineage, resulting into the creation of

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[4] Thomas Benjamin, ed., *Encyclopedia of Western Colonialism since 1450,* Vol: II (New York: Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2007), 524.

[5] Maria Couto, *Goa: A Daughters Story* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2005), 125.

division between the Maratha Community. Therefore the folk dance of *Ghodemodni* is one such example that tells us about the horses being used in the past in the military administration. It also bring to light the connection of these communities claiming Marathahood to their peasantry life through the performance of the dance during *Shigmo*, which itself have its origin to the peasantry life.

The way side shrines located at specific location in Bicholim and Sattari taluka firstly help to understand as to why these horses became so important that they were brought under the fold of religion. The incorporation of the horses was because of the resistance of the local people. The horses were mostly used by those who could afford them and therefore the local people began considering them as the vehicle of their respective gods.

It is also important to note that the trade route from where the horses were transported also passed from these two taluka. And therefore both, the folk dance of *Ghodemodni* as well as horse worship has direct and indirect connection to horse trade, traces of which can be found even today.

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APPENDIX-I
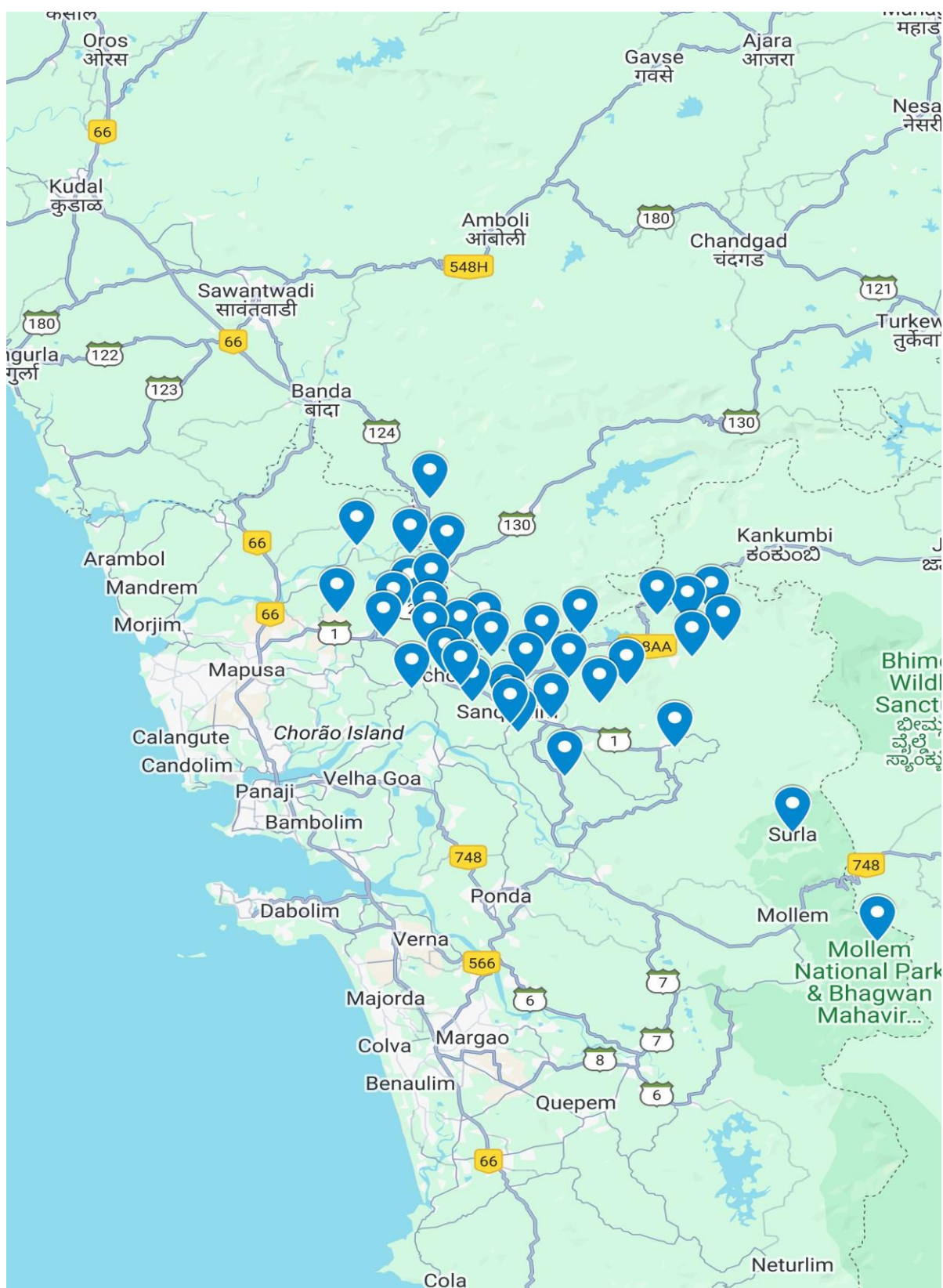
4. 1 Locations of *Ghodemodni* Celebration

4. 2. *Ghodemodni*, Bordem

4. 3. *Ghodemodni*, Thane Sattari

4. 4. *Ghodemodni*, Honda

4.5. Shri Konishwar Temple, Amona

4. 6. Shri Godbayeshwar Prasanna, Godbai-Amona

4.7 Shri Kareshwar Prasanna, Lamgao

4.8. Shri Mharudev Prasanna, Ghotmod

4. 9. Shree Mharu Prasanna, Usgao

(Picture Credit: Samiksha S. Gaude)