

Land Grants and the State Formation in Goa from 4th – 14 C.E

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I hereby declare that the data presented in this Dissertation report entitled, "Land Grants and the State Formation in Goa from 4th -14th C.E" is based on the results of investigations carried out by me in the Department of History at the Goa University under the Supervision of Dr. Nagendra Rao and the same has not been submitted elsewhere for the award of a degree or diploma by me. Further, I understand that Goa University or its authorities will not be responsible for the correctness of observations or other findings given the dissertation.

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This is to certify that the dissertation report “Land Grants and the State Formation in Goa 4th – 14th C.E” is a bonafide work carried out by Ms Shreeya Sharan Keny under my mentorship in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the History discipline at the D.D Kosambi School of Social Sciences and Behavioural Studies, Goa University.

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PREFACE

The dissertation is about the study of the land grants and state formation from 4th-14th century C.E. The study focuses on the rule of the dynasties in Goa from the 4th-14th century that includes the rule of the Bhoja, Konkan Maurya, Chalukya of Badami, Shilahara and Kadamba dynasty. Besides the study of the land grants the dissertation also covers the study of the state, economy, religion and administration of the rulers. All these are studied in the context of obtaining legitimacy in the state. The dissertation begins with an introduction chapter, where the historical background of Goa and the dynasties is discussed. The main part of the dissertation discusses about the inscriptional records of the grants made by the rulers and discusses about land grants as a strategy to obtain legitimacy. Through the study of the inscriptions the genealogy, origin, strength and the extent of the rule is known. Study of all these aspects was important in state formation.

For the study of the inscriptional records, referring to primary sources was important also secondary sources such as books and articles were referred to get in depth understanding of the dynastical rule.



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GLOSSARY

A

Aitereya Brahmana – An ancient Hindu text

Ayukta- Village officials

Ashvamedha Yajna-Sacrifice of a horse

Ahara- Food

Agrahara- Primary education institution of ancient times

Arya Sangha- Members of Buddhist assembly

Amatya – Minister in charge of finance

B

Bhojika Amatya- Minister of revenue and finance

Bhojaka – Village headman

Brahmapuris- Schools of higher learning of ancient times

Bhismaparva- A book of Mahabharatha

Bhaujya- Constitution adopted by the Bhojas

Banavasipuradhisvara- The lord of excellent city of Banav



Brahmana- Elite caste people in Hindu society

C

Chaturbhuja- Four armed

D

Desha- State

Danda-Fine

Dosha- Fault

Dharma maharaja- A virtuous King

Dandanayaka – Head of the district under Goa Kadamba

Dwadasha- Gramadesha- A district constituted of twelve village

G

Gramavridddhas- Council of elder people

Grama- Village

Griha Stana- A house site

Go pachara- A pasture land

Gotra – A lineage or clan assigned at birth

Gomant- A land of cows.



Gomantak- A land of paradisi

God Indra- King of Gods

Gavunda- Village headman during Kadamba period

K

Kara- Major tax

L

Lichchavis- Indo –Aryan tribes

M

Mukuta- A crown

Mahamandaleshwara- The great feudatories

Mallas- A tribal clan

Matha- Residents of Hindu monk

N

Nidhi –Treasure trove

Nikshepa- Deposits

Nanasamasta manumarichibhir-acharita-padapadma-The one whose lotus like feet were sprinkled by the rays of sun in the form of many feudatory chieftains

Nivaratanas- Way of measuring land



Nagar- Town

Nagarpati- Head of towns in Goa Kadamba period

P

Palidavas- A banner of Chalukyas of Badami

Preshya Kula- A batch of workers

Padhyapuja- A ritual of cleaning feet

Paramati Turyamana- Heralded in public by the musical instrument of Paramati

Purana – An ancient hindu literature

Pauranic- Legendary

Pradhan- Prime Minister

Pauras of nagara- Assembly of town

Parmeshvar- Highest supreme ruler

Paramabhataraka- A sovereign king

Prachanda-danda-mandala- A fiery king

R

Rajya- Kingdom

Rahasyadhikari- Private secretary of the king



S

Saptarishis- The seven sages

Sarvatantradhikari- Chief administrator of the king

Sthayins- Village officials

Shila- Stone

Suvarnagarudadhvaja- Golden eagle

Shaivites- Worshippers of Shiva

Sudra- People of lower caste

Simhalanchana – Possessed of lion crest

Samadhigatha Panchamahashabdah- Possessed of five great sounds of musical instruments

Sanghi vagrahika-Minister in charge of war and peace

Shri Shashthadeva Prathishtapakah Shri Kamadeva Bhumipaalah-The illustrious king
Kaamadeva is the establisher of illustrious Shashthadeva

Sunaparant- The golden land

Smriti- An ancient text containing teachings on religion

Shreni- An association of traders



U

Upakara- Minor tax

V

Vishaya- Districts

Vyaaghraantakaari- The one who killed lion

Vanaramahaadhwaja- Carrier of great banner of monkey

Veda- Earliest Hindu scripture

Vamsa- Generation



ABSTRACT

The dissertation is about the land grants and the state formation of Goa from 4th-14th century. It deals with the study of the dynasties and the state under them through inscriptional records. During this period, Goa was ruled by dynasties such as Bhojas, Konkan Maurya, Chalukya of Badami, Shilaharas and Kadamba. Several inscriptions are studied in order to understand the state under them, their administration and the strategies of legitimacy used by the rulers. The research was done to understand whether the land grants made by the kings led to the transition from pre state to the state polity. The study was made by referring to primary as well as secondary sources. The inscriptional evidences served as the primary sources of the study. Secondary sources such as the books and articles were utilized. Subsequently, the number of the grants and the donees increased. The increase in trade and agriculture was noticed over time leading to state formation. The kings made land grants in order to gain support of the donees to obtain legitimacy.

Keywords

Goa, Rulers, Brahmanas, Legitimation, Land grants, Copper plates, Inscriptions, State formation.



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Historical Background of Goa

Goa is known from different names such as Gowa or Gova. The name Goa is also a Sanskrit meaning as 'go' means a cow and Goa is said to be a cowherd place. The people of Goa were called as *Gomantas* which means the residents of the *Gomant*. The reference to the term 'Gomantas' is found in the *Bhismaparva* of the Mahabharat *purana*. The term *Gomant* also appears in the Shilahara charter, it is referred in the Kolhapur charter of the Shilahara king Gandharaditya. It is learnt that the Shilahara king Jatiga who was the founder of the Kolhapur Shilahara branch and this is the earliest record wherein the word *Gomant* appears for the first time.¹

Goa is also known as the land of islands. Goa has physical features such as Sahyadris, plateau, river basins and the alluvial flats. According to the *Pauranic* traditions, Parashuram the sixth incarnation of God Vishnu is said to have reclaimed the land of the Konkan from the sea.² According to another story, God Shiva is said to have deserted his wife and leaving the Himalayas took abode in *Gomantak* under the name of

¹ V.T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory Goa, Daman and Diu: Part 1*, (Panaji: Department of District Gazetteers, 1979), 1.

² V.T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory Goa, Daman and Diu: Part 1*, 58.



Gomantakesha until he was discovered by his wife³. It is also believed that the *Saptarishis* or performed penance for seven million years and pleased by this god Shiva came personally to bless them in the name of Saptakoteshvara.⁴

Goa was referred to as *Sunaparant*, and '*Sunaparant*' is identified with Zambaulim in Goa⁵. There are also evidences to the existence of Buddhism in ancient Goa. The existence of the Buddhist establishments dating back to the pre- Christian era are discovered in places such as Rivona, Lamgao, Priol, and in Zambaulim. Buddhism was well accepted and respected by the earliest known rulers of Goa namely the Bhojas, as evident from the record of the donation of village Saundarika to Buddhist vihara by king Asankita.

Along with Buddhism, Jainism also flourished in Goa before the Christian era. There are remnants of Jainism as the Jain Basti at Neminath in Bandora in Ponda district. The structure is of the laterite stone with the roofed shrines⁶. In addition to this the evidence of the Jaina evidence is discovered at Cudnem, the Jain shrine. The cultural remains of the dynasties ruling Goa have been found in the parts of Goa.

Early Settlers

³ Ummesh Kakkeri, *Shree Mangesh*, (Tilakwadi, Belgaum: Janhavi Publications, 2006), 1-3.

⁴ V.T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu: Part 1*, 58.

⁵ V.T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu: Part 1*, 58.

⁶ Gerald Pereira, *An Outline of Pre- Portuguese History of Goa*, (Goa: Gerald Pereira, 1973), 25.



The evidences of the Pre historic period divide the history of Goa into the Paleolithic age or the old stone age, Mesolithic age or the middle stone age, Neolithic age or the new stone age⁷. It is known that the earlier people were hunters and gatherers. The Paleolithic age or the old age was when the man was a hunter. The archeologist mark the first was in the period of 5,000 B.C. The Paleolithic man must have lived on the bank of the rivers or lakes. Light stone implements are found from the Mandovi and Zuari river basins, the discovery of the Chopper from Shigao near Dudhsagar⁸ are the evidences to this. The Paleolithic age is further divided into the lower old age, the middle and the upper stone age.

Nandakumar Kamat discovered a stone ring on the bank of the Zuari river, which belonged to the iron age or the Neolithic age. The heavy hollow ring showed the fine action of human hands and the use of heavier stone tools⁹. The discovery of the petroglyphs of Goa by Nandakumar Kamat are the evidence of pre- historic Goan shamanistic practice¹⁰. In the Mesolithic period man lived in the artificially created structure and were involved in maritime food resources apart from hunting and

⁷ Aditi Shukla, "Sanskrit, State and Legitimacy in Goa 4th Century A.D- 1565," (PhD thesis, Goa University, 2021), <http://hdl.handle.net/10603/440980>. 5.

⁸ Shukla, "Sanskrit, State and Legitimacy in Goa," 5.

⁹ Nandakumar Kamat, "The Mystery of the Neolithic carved stone ring of Bandoda," *Navind Times*, 3 March, 2024, 8.

¹⁰ Nandakumar Kamat, "Prehistoric Goan Shamanism," *Panorama*, May 9, 2010, <https://nandakumarkamat.blogspot.com/2011/05/prehistoric-goan-shamanism.html?m=1>



gathering¹¹. Use of small stone blades, flakes found in the Rivona and the Quepem region clears that there was a development in the lifestyle and the use of tools in Mesolithic period when compared to the old stone ages¹².

The Neolithic phase began in 6000 B.C. By this time man had transformed his means of food. The use of the tools was also developed and they began to use polished tools. Historical evidences further shows that the evolvement of men as hunters and gatherers in the stone ages has slowly evolved into the craftsmen, farmers and herdsmen in the Neolithic period. The tools related to the Neolithic period are also discovered at Tambdi Surla and Old Goa.¹³ The petroglyphs found at Usgalimol, Pansalimol, Mauxi and Kajur belongs to the pre- historic period. Nandakumar Kamat has dated the petroglyphs in 2500 B.C- 1500B.C¹⁴. P.P Shirodkar on the other hand dates the petroglyphs to the era of 8000B.C- 6000 B.C¹⁵. More than 125 forms were found scattered in the area on the banks of the Kushavati river. On the basis of the DNA based work of Nandakumar Kamat, it is possiblity that the Kushavati shamans must have

¹¹ M. Nambirajan, *Coastal Archaeology of Western India: With Special Reference to Goa*, (Goa: Kaveri Books, 2007), 54.

¹² Nambirajan, *Coastal Archaeology of Western India*, 56.

¹³ Nambirajan, *Coastal Archaeology of Western India*, 107.

¹⁴ Nandakumar Kamat, "Stone Age Gallery," *Goa Today*, 1993, 4-6.

¹⁵ P.P Shirodkar, "Stone Age Bruisings and Rock Carvings of Goa- How old they are? (Unpublished Seminar Paper, Department of Archives, Archaeology and Museums, Panaji, 1994).



belonged to the first wave of humans to step in Goa. Most probably they can be the earliest Dravidians¹⁶.

The Megalithic stones have been found in some parts of India and Goa. The stones in Goa are found in parts such as Cansaulim, Verna, Shigao, Quepem, Dovorlim and Canacona. However in Goa the rock art found in Khazur are datable to the Iron age or the Mesolithic period. Another discovery was the sculpture of the laterite stone depicting a female figure with a small child in the arms, discovered in Curdi. This discovery is also suggested to have belonged to the Megalithic period.

Ancient Rulers of Goa

Bhojas ruled Goa from the fourth to the sixth century.¹⁷ The race or ethnicity of the Bhoja rulers is unknown as the records of the Bhoja dynasty do not offer data about their genealogy or gotras.¹⁸ The Bhojas are believed to have belonged to the Yadava clans of Dwarka and ruled Goa as the feudatories of the Satvahanas. The Bhoja period appears to have comprised of Goa, North Kanara district and parts of Belgaum district.¹⁹ The rule of the Bhojas is attested by the findings of six copper plates which

¹⁶ Nandkumar Kamat, "Prehistoric Goan Shamanism," *Panorama*, May 9, 2010, <https://nandakumarkamat.blogspot.com/2011/05/prehistoric-goan-shamanism.html?m=1>.

¹⁷ V.T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory Goa, Daman and Diu: Part 1*, 65.

¹⁸ Shukla, "Sanskrit, State and Legitimacy in Goa," 64.

¹⁹ Pratima Kamat, *Goa: Its tryst with trade*, (Panaji: Goa Chamber of Commerce and Industry, 2009), 47.



throw light on their rule and administration. Some of the inscriptions related to the Bhojas are found in Goa and some are found in the adjoining regions.

The earliest known Bhoja ruler is king Devarajabhoj. He is said to be from the family of Gominams.²⁰ Shri C.R Krishnamacharlu, from the reading of the Shiroda plate stated that Devaraja belonged to the Gominas. However, Shri N. Laxminarayan concluded that king Devarajah belonged to the Bhoja kingdom deciphering the word Gominam as Bhojanam. According to the Shiroda copper plate of Devarajabhoja found in Goa his reign was known to be the prosperous and the victorious one. While in one of the inscription of Devarajabhoja is described as equivalent to lord *Indra*²¹ and this proves that he must be a very powerful ruler. The other kings of the Bhoja dynasty are king Asamkita, Asankitavarman, Kapalivarman and Prithvimallavarman.

King Asamkita is a Bhoja ruler who is known through a set of three copper plates.²² The copper plates bear the seal of an elephant in the motion.²³ The grant of the village to the Buddhist vihara is noted by the king. It is notable that king Asamkita valued Buddhism and helped in patronizing Buddhism.²⁴

²⁰ C.R Krishnamacharlu, "Shiroda Plates of Bhoja Devaraja," *Epigraphia Indica* 24, (1937): 143.

²¹ C.R Krishnamacharlu, "Shiroda Plates of Bhoja Devaraja," *Epigraphia Indica* 24, (1937): 143.

²² A.D Furtado, *Goa: Yesterday To- day Tomorrow*, (Goa: Furtado's Enterprises, 1961), 21.

²³ P. B Dessai, "Hiregutti Plate of Bhoja Asankita," *Epigraphia Indica* 28, (1950):73.

²⁴ N. Bhat and Nagendra Rao, "History of Goa with Special Reference to its Feudal



The king who is known from three copper plates found by agriculturalists²⁵, which was buried in an iron box at Kapoli in the Belgaum district throws light on the existence of the Bhoja king Asankitavarman. King Asankitavarman is known as the devotee of Shiva from his records.

The Bhoja ruler Kapalivarman is known from two copper plates found in the temple at Arga, South of Karwar.²⁶ The grant records the gift of the piece of land named Pukkoli-Khajjana in the village of Sivapuraka to Svamikaraja. Prithvimallavarman is the next known ruler in the Bhoja line. He is known from the Bandora inscriptions that records the gift of the lands of Vrishabini Kheta and Prithvi Parvatta.²⁷

The system of village council must also be existing at the time of the Bhojas and this council was called as *Gramavridhdhas*, this system was continued under the Konkan Mauryas.²⁸ It is probable that this village council must have helped the headmen to maintain law and order in the village and carry the work of public utility. The headmen of the village was called as *Gram Bhojaka* and must be responsible for the collection of the taxes.²⁹ As mentioned in the *Aitereya Brahmana*, the Bhoja administration was not

Features," *Indian Historical Review* 40, no.2 (2013): 254.

²⁵ A.M Annigeri, "Two grants of Bhoja king," *Epigraphia Indica* 31, (1987): 234-235.

²⁶ Annigeri, "Two grants of Bhoja king," *Epigraphia Indica* 31, (1987): 232-233.

²⁷ G.S Gai, "Two Grants of Bhoja Prithvimallavarman," *Epigraphia Indica* 33, (1959): 61-64.

²⁸ Dhume, *The Cultural History of Goa*, 186.

²⁹ Dhume, *The Cultural History of Goa*, 187.



hereditary but the kings were elected by the people and hence followed the process of the election. According to the *Aitereya Brahmana*, the Satavat clan chiefs were named as Bhojas and were governed by the tribal constitution known as Bhaujya constitution, in such type of constitution the authority was vested only for the chosen representatives³⁰. Under the Bhojas, the villages were considered as important smallest units of administration. The territory of the Bhojas was divided into three levels namely *desha*, *vishaya* and *grama*.

Bhojas had administration comprising of *Bhogika Amatya*, *Sarvatantradhikari*, *Rahatsya Adhikari*, *Bhogikas*, *Ayuktas* and *Sthayins*³¹. The Bhogika or Grama Bhojaka meant village headmen. It is possible that these officials were king's subordinates. The *Ayuktas* and the *Sthayins* are known to be the village officials, which mean that the village officials also considered important in the Bhoja administration. The presence of the village officials into their administration provides a possibility of the village commune system into their administration.

J.F Fleet says that the Konkan Mauryas were perhaps the descendants of the Mauryas of Patliputra founded by Chandragupta Maurya. Fleet also states that the capital of the Konkan Maurya dynasty was Puri.³²

The Konkan Mauryan rule in Goa are known from the two copper plates of king

³⁰ B.D Basu, *Aitereya Brahmana*, (Allahbad: Sudhindra Nath Vasu, 1922), 14.

³¹ Shukla, "Sanskrit, State and Legitimacy in Goa," 80.

³² J.F Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese districts of the Bombay Presidency*, (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1882), 6.



Chandravarman and Ajitvarman. The self-government was enjoyed during the period of Konkan Mauryas by the village communities and speaks about the existence of republican tribes, he says that the *Shakyas, Mallas, Lichchavis and Vajjanis* which belonged to the mountain clan were accustomed to the life of independence.³³ The Jatakas refer to the existence of the village headmen who was a hereditary officer and he was kept in charge of the collection of revenue hence the villages were not independent units under the Konkan Mauryas. There were no regular and periodical meetings in the villages as was the case among the *Shakyas* and *Vajjanis*.

The Aihole inscription of Pulakeshi II also has the mention of Konkan Mauryas.³⁴ The inscription mentions the defeat of the Konkan Mauryas at the hands of Chalukyas of Badami. The Chalukyas were eyeing Goa and hence they waged wars against the Konkan Mauryas and were successful to defeat them. Pulakeshi II successfully besieged the Mauryan capital Puri, ending their rule. The Aihole inscription states that he subdued Puri in a Naval war with hundreds of ships. The Chalukyas vanquished Konkan Mauryas and held sway on the territories of Goa from 540 A.D to 728 A.D.³⁵

Badami Chalukya ruled Goa in the 6th century. The Chalukya dynasty was established by Pulakeshi I. The descendants of Pulakeshi I came to be called as the Chalukyas of Badami. Under the Chalukyas, Goa was governed from Revatidvipa called as modern

³³ Dhume, *The Cultural History of Goa*, 214.

³⁴ F Keilhorn, "Aihole Inscription of Pulakesin II," *Epigraphia Indica* 6, (1900): 1-11.

³⁵ Keilhorn, "Aihole Inscription of Pulakesin II," *Epigraphia Indica* 6, (1900-1901): 1-11.



Reddi situated in the Ratnagiri district of Maharashtra.³⁶ The Nerur grant of Vijayaditya dated 705 A.D describes the province of Revatidvipa as Iridige.³⁷ Thus Goa seems to have been comprised of Revatidvipa or Indrige under the Chalukyas of Badami.

According to Gune, the Chalukukya are said to be the princes who belonged to the Manavya gotra and are said to be nourished by the seven mothers. The banner of the Chalukyas are called as the *Palidhvajas* or the flag consisting of the rows.³⁸ The headquarter of the Chalukyas of Badami was Revatidvipa was located on the coast of the sea. The trade relations were noted between Persia and Chalukyas in the Konkan through the Raibandar. This is evident finding of the silver coins in Raibandar region.³⁹ The presence of Raibandar on the banks of river Mandovi claims that it might be used by dynasties as a port for trade. The word Raibandar also means the king's port.⁴⁰

The king Pulakeshi I is said to have performed *Asvamedha Yajna* and is said to have the knowlege of Ramayana, Mahabharata and the laws of Manu.⁴¹ The geneology of the

³⁶ Pratima Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade*, (Panaji: Goa Chamber of Commerce Industry, 2009), 48.

³⁷ V.T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory Goa, Daman and Diu: Part 1*, 73.

³⁸ V.T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory Goa, Daman and Diu: Part 1*, 74

³⁹ Alvita Mary D' Souza, "Reconstructing the Urban Maritime History of Goa- A Study of the Port Capitals of Chandrapura, Gopakapattana and Ella," (Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Goa University, 2007), <http://hdl.handle.net/10603/12459>, 49.

⁴⁰ Shukla, "Sanskrit, State and Legitimacy in Goa," 87.

⁴¹ V.T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union territory of Goa Daman and Diu: Part 1*, 74.



Chalukyan kings is said to have begun from with the stating of the merits of king Pulakeshi I who had performed the *Ashvamedha Yajna*.⁴² The Chalukyas are said to have well protected their territories by the appointment of ministers and governors. However the rise of the Rashtrakutas gave a blow to the Chalukyan rule in Goa. The Rashtrakuta king Krishna I, ended the rule of the Chalukyas. This is evident in the Rashtrakuta and the Chalukya records. The Rashtrakuta records narrate that "Krishna I, carried away the fortunes of the Chalukya family, wearing the garland of waving *palidhvajas*, thus confirming the claim of the Rashtrakutas."⁴³

Shilaharas ruled Goa as the feudatories of the Rashtrakutas.⁴⁴ The Shilaharas have several branches such as the North Shilaharas or Thana, Kolhapur Shilaharas or Valivade, and South Konkan Shilaharas or Goa Shilaharas.⁴⁵ The North and the Kolhapur Shilaharas styled themselves as 'the supreme lords of Tangara' and have hailed from Tangarapura, this is identified with the village Ter in Osmanabad district of Maharashtra. Unlike the other two branches the Goa Shilaharas described themselves as *Simhaleshvara* or the best of *Simhala* kings, the kings of Goa. The name *Simhala* kings

⁴² J.F Fleet, "Sanskrit and Old Kanarese Inscriptions," *The Indian Antiquary* 7, (1984): 43-48.

⁴³ Durga Prasad Dikshit, *Political History of Chalukyas of Badami*, (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1980),189.

⁴⁴ Shukla, "Sanskrit, State and Legitimacy in Goa," 88.

⁴⁵ V.T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union territory of Goa Daman and Diu: Part 1*, 83.



is also engraved on the records of the South Konkan Shilaharas.⁴⁶

The Shilaharas claim their origin from Jimutvaha and it is mentioned in their records. Jimutvaha's is credited to save a serpent named Shankachuda from an eagle and offered himself as food to the eagle. It is mentioned that Jimutvaha was sitting on a stone when he offered himself to the eagle and hence his descendents earned the name as Shilahara. Shila means stone and *ahara* meant food.⁴⁷ However the Jimutvaha's story was added to Shilaharas origin for the validation of the family lineage. All three branches of the Shilahara dynasty had *suvarnagarudaduvaja* as their symbol. As engraved on the Chikodi copper plate the eagle is in the human form, with two arms and fluttering wings above his shoulders. The eagle is shown wearing *Mukuta* on his head and is seated on his haunches with two hands folded.⁴⁸

The Shilahara administration in Goa was well planned, it consisted of a *Pradhan*, *Amatya*, *Sanghi Vagrahika* and *Pauras of Nagar* or town. The Shilahara records state that the towns were administered by the committees consisting of the representatives of the important classes or by the heads of the *Shrenis* and or *mathas*.⁴⁹ From the Kharepatan plates of Rattaraja, it is known that a person could also claim his right over

⁴⁶ V.T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union territory of Goa Daman and Diu: Part 1*, 83-84.

⁴⁷ Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency, Vol 1, part II, 535-536

⁴⁸ V.V Mirashi, "Chikodi grant of Avasara III," *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* 6, (1977): 178-182.

⁴⁹ Dhume, *Cultural History of Goa*, pp 235-239; V.T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory Goa, Daman and Diu: Part 1*, 90.



a land under the charter: - "The claim under a charter is allowed when it bears a royal signature, possesses a seal insignia and is properly drafted accompanied with possession"⁵⁰

The Shilahara rulers were Shaivites. In the kingdom of the Goan Shilaharas the Shaiva sect of Hinduism was predominant. The grant issued by Rattaraja throws light on the temple institutions of the Goa Shilahara.⁵¹ The rule of the Shilaharas in Goa ended with the invasion of the Chalukyan ruler Jayasimha III.⁵²

The Kadambas ruled Goa as Mahamandaleshvaras or the feudatories of the Chalukyas of Kalyani.⁵³ The Kadambas ruled Goa from the late tenth to the early fourteenth century. It is known that the progenitor of the Kadambas was the Trilochana Kadamba.⁵⁴ The Kadamba phase was well developed with strong navy, army and are said to be powerful from the titles adopted by them. The Kadamba inscriptions describe them as the abode of learning.

The Kadamba rulers such as Jayakeshi I were very powerful and ambitious. The rule of Jayakeshi I was known as the golden rule of the Kadambas. He built strong navy as he felt the need to defend and protect his territory and dominate the seas. His charter

⁵⁰ V.V Mirashi, "Kharepattana grant of Rattaraja," *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* 6, (1977): 183-192.

⁵¹ V.T Gune, *The Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu: Part 1*, 91.

⁵² V.T Gune, *The Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu: Part 1*, 89.

⁵³ Olivinho Gomes, *Goa*, (India: National Book Trust, 2004), 44.

⁵⁴ C.F Saldanha, *A Short History of Goa*, (Bombay: Imprensa Nacional, 1957), 29.



states that he built a powerful navy and also ships and had a well- developed trading system. The Kadamba kings also made charities to the poor, as evident from the inscription of Jayakeshi I, it is stated that he established a charitable residence place for the poor and the pilgrims in the city of Gopakapattanam. It is also known that he provided free facilities to the poor thus the problem of poverty must have vanished by the time.⁵⁵

The tax system was well organized in the Kadamba period. The successor of Jayakeshi was also known to be kind and charitable ruler and is said to have established charitable institutions. The Kadamba kings were also great patrons of art and culture.⁵⁶ The Kadamba monarch Shivachitta Permadi deva is known to have promoted the social, cultural and educational institutions. The king also established several Agraharas throughout for the learning of the *Vedas*, *Smritis*, Astronomy. Shivachittas wife Kamaladevi is said to be the patroniser of art and architecture and has built several temples for the public worship.

The Kadambas were patrons of education and built *Agraharas*. The Brahmins who were engaged in teaching were provided lands for the purpose of *Agraharas*, in order to constitute as an educational center. The Goa Kadambas initially had Chandrapur or Chandor as their capital. The Goa Kadambas also shifted their capital from Chandor to

⁵⁵ Joao Antonio Jacinto Da Costa, *A History of Goa from the Earliest Times to the Day of its Liberation from the Portuguese in December 1961*, (Panaji: Ramakant Printers, 1982), 73-75.

⁵⁶ Dhume, *The Cultural History of Goa*, 283-285.



Gopakapatnam, might be due to the surge in trade of the Kadambas.⁵⁷

The kingdom during the Kadamba reign was divided into districts and *Vishayas* which was further sub divided into Desha. Further every district was headed by a *Dandanayaka*, who acted as both the civil as well as the military head of the district. The village was called as *grama* which as the smallest administrative unit, the village headmen was called as *Gavunda*. The cities were called as *Nagaras* and were headed by *Nagarapatis*, which was the city organization or the head of the traders and artisans. The sources of the revenue during the Kadamba period was known as the major tax *Upakara*, the minor were known as *Kara*. The concept of *Danda*, *Dosha* and *nidhi* also existed.⁵⁸

The power of the Kadambas in Goa started declining with the entry of the Yadavas of Devagiri over the Kadamba territories. Shashtadeva ascended the throne with the help of Kamadeva, his brother in law. Kamadeva was a Ratta chieftain.⁵⁹ He was the son of Lakshmideva and was called as Kavana or Kama. Kamadeva is known as the establisher of Shastadeva in the Goa copper plate of Shastadeva. The last reference to the reign of Kamadeva was found in the period of 1264. After him, Kamadeva ascended the throne and took the Kadamba administration in his hands. The reign of Kamadeva saw political turmoil. The Yadava of Devagiri by the time held sway over Goa and

⁵⁷ V.T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory Goa, Daman and Diu: Part 1*, 101.

⁵⁸ V.T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory Goa, Daman and Diu: Part 1*, 116, 117.

⁵⁹ Da Costa, *A History of Goa from the Earliest times to the Day of its Liberation from the Portuguese in December 1961*, 88-90.



appointed Vicchana as a governor of the Southern province in Goa.⁶⁰

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The research includes objectives such as

1. To study about the dynasties ruling over Goa from the 4th- 14th century and the society under them.
2. To understand the system of land grants made in early medieval Goa and to trace its origin.
3. To study about the types of inscriptions to understand about the nature of the grants made to the donees also to know about the various reasons the grants were made.
4. To understand the nature of state polity under the dynasties ruling over Goa from the 4th- 14th century.

SOURCES OF STUDY

The dissertation deals with the land grants and the state under the dynasties. The grants issued by the rulers of various dynasties were recorded on the copper plates in the form of inscriptions. For the study of the grants the work such as *Kadamba Kula*, by G.M Moraes, J.F Fleet, V.V Mirashi was important in understanding the inscriptional evidences of the dynastical rule also the observations made by them helped to understand about the rule of the dynasties in a better way. *Epigraphia Indica*, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, the *Corpus Inscription Indicarum* served as the primary sources of the study,

⁶⁰ V.T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu: Part 1*, 120-122.



providing the record of the inscriptions issued by the rulers which was an evidence of the king's and the dynasties ruling Goa. *The Journal of Bombay branch of the Asiatic Society, the Gazetteer of Goa, Daman and Diu part 1, the Maharashtra state Gazetteer* and *the journal of New Indian Antiquary* were referred for the study, they provided information on the dynasties and also the inscriptional evidences to their rule. The resources utilized to conduct the research included the Goa University Library, Krishnadas Shama State Central Library and also the Department of Archives and Archaeology.

The secondary sources of information were also utilized for the study to gain in depth understanding of the topic. The books, articles, newspaper articles, Ph.D thesis of Aditi Shukla, Alvita Mary D'Souza were referred. The books on pre- history, ancient and medieval dynasties throwing light on various aspects of the dynasties were referred. The works of Nagendra Rao, Olivihno Gomes, Pratima Kamat, C.F Saldanha, B.P Sahu, Nandakumar Kamat, P.P Shirodkar, Joao Antonio Jacinto Da' Costa, S.G Kadamb were important to understand the history and the structure of Goa.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

V.T Gune has made a significant contribution to the study of the history of Goa in *The Gazetteer of the Union Territory Goa, Daman and Diu, part 1*,⁶¹ wherein he described the history of Goa in the pre- historic times. The history of Goa since the period of stone age

⁶¹ V.T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory Goa, Daman and Diu: Part 1*, (Panaji: Department of District Gazetteers, 1979).



to the evidences of the ruling dynasties and explained the social and cultural aspects. He also informs the inscriptional records of the dynasties that ruled over Goa. The ancient rulers of Goa, the medieval rulers of Goa, Portuguese rule in Goa, the struggle for freedom to the time of liberation, and also the period of post- liberation is discussed. The book also discusses about the cultural remains of the pre historic Goa.

B.D Chattopadhyaya informs about the structure of medieval Indian polity in his work "Political Processes and the Structure of Polity in Early Medieval India."⁶² He states that the processes of state formation as complex and also speaks of agrarian expansion in state. He describes his views on the state formation.

B.P Sahu has mentioned about the state formation in the "Legitimation, Ideology and State in Early India."⁶³ He states about the authority of the king in order to validate their status and legitimation, this as necessary for the local state formation. He has emphasized the importance of the inscriptions by stating that apart from making the territorial extent of the empire, they provided the useful information about the state.

*An Outline of the Pre- Portuguese History of Goa*⁶⁴ by Gerald Pereira. The writer has written about the political background of the early medieval Goa. The book serves as

⁶² B.D Chattopadhyaya, "Political Processes and the Structure of Polity in Early Medieval India," *Social Scientist* 13, no.6 (1985), <https://doi.org/10.2307/3520317>.

⁶³ B.P Sahu, "Legitimation, Ideology and State in Early India," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 64, (2003).

⁶⁴ Gerald Pereira, *An Outline of the Pre- Portuguese History of Goa*, (Delhi: G. Pereira, 1973).



the real critical history of Goa from its earliest times. The book provides the understanding of the history from the study of the ruling class in Goa. The book deals with the detailed study of the pre- Portuguese Goa and also the growth and the development of feudalism.

*A History of Goa from the Earliest Times to the Day of its Liberation from the Portuguese in December 1961*⁶⁵ by Joao Antonio Jacinto da Costa provides information about the dynasties which ruled Goa in the earlier and the medieval times and also about the Portuguese rule. The book also provides information regarding the land grants made medieval Goa and also during the Portuguese period. The book offers narrative of the historical events that took place from the earliest times until the period of Portuguese rule.

*Coastal Archaeology of Western India*⁶⁶ by M. Nambirajan is based on the extensive fieldwork carried out in Goa. The book brings to light numerous sites ranging from the Lower Paleolithic to the Early Historic Period. The findings of the book are helpful in understanding the human settlement in the pre- historic period. The book also helps in providing evidences of the rock arts such as petroglyphs which are considered important in studying the early period.

⁶⁵ Joao Antonio Jacinto Da costa, *A History of Goa from the Earliest Times to the Day of Liberation from the Portuguese in December 1961*, (Panaji, Goa: Ramakant Printers, 1982).

⁶⁶ M. Nambirajan, *Coastal Archaeology of Western India*, (New Delhi: Kaveri books, 2007).



*The Kadamba Kula: A History of Ancient and Medieval Karnataka*⁶⁷ by George M. Moraes. The book reveals different branches of the Kadamba Kula which were quite influential in Karnataka. The Kadambas were acknowledged as independent rulers of Karnataka. The book has work of not only of the history of the Kadamba family but a complete history of the Western Karnataka. The entire history of the Kadambas is narrated by the author in the book. It showcases the entire Kadamba geography and also the unpublished inscriptions of the Kadamba monarchs.

*Sources of History of Kadambas of Goa*⁶⁸ by S. G Kadamb. This book highlights the importance of the Kadamba rule in Goa focusing on the inscription and the coins issued by them and thus this book contributes greatly towards researching the history of Goa Kadamba. The book deals with 72 inscription concerning Goa Kadambas. This book not only specifies the inscriptions but also discusses about the views of the scholars on the inscription. The book discusses and clears the meanings of the titles discussed in the Kadamba inscriptions. The translated versions of the Kadamba inscriptions are also available in this book.

Aditi Shukla's Ph.D. thesis named "Sanskrit, State and Legitimacy in Goa (4th century AD- 1565)"⁶⁹ is an important work to study about the state in Goa. The thesis provides

⁶⁷ George M. Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula: A History of Ancient and Medieval Karnataka*, (Bombay: B.X Furtado and Sons, 1931).

⁶⁸ S.G Kadamb, *Sources of History of Kadambas of Goa*, (Panaji, Goa: Broadway Publishing House, 2013).

⁶⁹ Aditi Shukla, "Sanskrit, State and Legitimacy in Goa (4th century AD- 1565)," (PhD



information about the history of Goa from the pre historic time to the period of 1565. The work discusses the dynasties in detail from their administration to the grants made by them and also the fall of the dynasties.

The *Gazetteer of Maharashtra*⁷⁰ provides factual and detailed information about the history of the places. The work helps to understand the extent of the kingdoms. It gives information about the rule of the kings and provides evidences through inscriptions and the cultural remains of their reign.

The text *Aitereya Brahmana*⁷¹ mentions the names of Bhojas and also explains about the different aspects of their administration and the constitutions adopted by them. The text also describes the geographical importance of Goa in the early medieval period. This also provides the historical traditions of the people belonging to Goa.

"Land Grants in Early Medieval Goa"⁷² by Nagendra Rao explains the system of land grants made in the early medieval period. It also speaks about the nature of the polity in early medieval Goa and also about the brahmanical traditions. The work speaks about the development that took place in the Kadamba period and also highlights the difference in the inscription of the pre- Kadamba and Kadamba period.

thesis, University of Goa, 1969), <http://hdl.handle.net/10603/440980>.

⁷⁰ V.V Mirashi, *Maharashtra State Gazzetter*, (Bombay: Directorate of Government Printing Stationary, 1960).

⁷¹ B.D Basu, *Aitereya Brahmana*, (Allahbad: Sudhindra Nath Basu, 1922).

⁷² Nagendra Rao, "Land Grants in Early Medieval Goa," *Indica* 41, no.1 (2004).



*Goa*⁷³ by Olivinho Gomes is important in understanding Goan society in the pre colonization era. It provides information about the administration, trade and the grants of the rulers in pre- Portuguese focusing on the Bhoja, Satvahana, Chalukya of Badami, Rashtrakuta, Shilahara, Bahamani, and Vijayanagara dynasty. The book provides an overview of the historical background, economic and social complexion of the state.

*Goa: Its Tryst with Trade*⁷⁴ by Pratima Kamat provides information regarding the historical background of Goa, the origin of Goa, the etymology, the cultural remains of the pre- historic period, the petroglyphs and also the rule of the several dynasties that ruled over Goa. This book is important in understanding Goa from the pre- historic times and it also discusses the rule of Bhojas, Konkan Mauryas, Chalukyas of Badami, Shilahara, Kadambas and so on by providing inscriptional evidences to their rule.

*The Cultural History of Goa: From 10000 B.C- 1352 A.D*⁷⁵ by Anant Dhume is important to understand the history of Goa from the past that is from the Neolithic age to the period of the middle ages. The book deals with the formation of the kingdom in Goa, the rise and the fall of several dynasties from Bhoja to the Kadamba. The book also shares the views of the scholars on the inscriptions issued by the kings.

⁷³ Olivinho Gomes, *Goa*, (India: National Book Trust, 2004).

⁷⁴ Pratima Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade*, (Panaji: Goa Chamber of Commerce and Industry, 2009).

⁷⁵ Anant Dhume, *The Cultural History of Goa: From 10000 B.C – 1352 A.D*, (Panaji: Broadway Book Center 2009).



Goa: Yesterday To-day Tomorrow,⁷⁶ a book by A.D Furtado provides an insight into Goa's past, present and discusses about the unknown future. The book discusses about the historical, geographical and sociological views of the author on Goa. The book discusses the history of the dynasties and rulers in detail highlighting their administration, the reforms undertaken by them, the economic developments, achievements and also the fall of their dynasties.

*Goa*⁷⁷ by Romesh Bhandari discusses about the rich and long archaeological, cultural and also religious history of Goa. The book discusses about the cultural remains of the pre- historical Goa. The author discusses the history of Goa from the pre- history to the Portuguese era. The pre- Portuguese history, Portuguese conquest of Goa, the advent of Christianity in Goa, the early settlers of Goa, the religion is discussed by the author.

*A Short History of Goa*⁷⁸ by C.F Saldanha discusses the history of Goa in brief. The book deals with the pre- history of Goa and along with the it also discusses the kings that ruled Goa but in brief. The book discusses about the Kadamba history and also about the rulers, their strength, achievements, the cultural influence on Goa and their fall.

The newspaper article of *Navhind Times*, "The Mystery of Neolithic Carved Stone Ring of Bandoda"⁷⁹ by Nandakumar Kamat deals with the evidence of the existence of the

⁷⁶ A.D Furtado, *Goa: Yesterday To- Day Tomorrow*, (Goa: Furtado's Enterprises, 1961).

⁷⁷ Romesh Bhandari, *Goa*, (Panaji: Lotus Collection, 1999).

⁷⁸ C.F Saldanha, *A Short History of Goa*, (Bombay: Imprensa Nacional, 1957).

⁷⁹ Nandakumar Kamat, "The Mystery of the Neolithic carved stone ring of Bandoda," *Navind Times*, 3 March, 2024, 8.



Neolithic men found by N. Kamat in Bandoda region of Ponda taluka. After getting the stone ring for a detailed scientific examination, it pointed out to be the Neolithic settlement at Bandoda.

“Pre- historic Goan Shamanism,”⁸⁰ by N. Kamat discusses about the findings of the scattered on the banks of the Kushavati river. N. Kamat calls these these as the evidence of the pre- historic Goan Shamanism practice. The finding of the petroglyphs serves as an important evidence of the human existence.

*The Political History of Chalukyas of Badami*⁸¹ by D.P Dikshit deals with the political History of the Chalukyas of Badami and their administration. The book covers titles such as the origin of the Chalukyas, the rulers of Chalukyas of Badami, the titles adopted by the kings and queen of the dynasty while ruling Goa and discusses about the decline of Chalukya power in Goa.

Alvita Mary D’ Souza’s Ph.D thesis “Reconstructing the Urban Maritime History of Goa”⁸² deals with the trade in Goa and the work is important to study about the administrative

⁸⁰ Nandakumar Kamat, “Prehistoric Goan Shamanism,” *Panorama*, May 9, 2010, <https://nandakumarkamat.blogspot.com/2011/05/prehistoric-goan-shamanism.html?m=1>

⁸¹ D.P Dikshit, *Political History of Chalukyas of Badami*, (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1980).

⁸² Alvita Mary D’ Souza, “Reconstructing the Urban Maritime History of Goa- A Study of the Port capitals of Chandrapura, Gopakapattana and Ella, (Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Goa University, 2007). <http://hdl.handle.net/10603/12459>.



aspects of the dynasties such that of the Bhojas, Satvahanas, the Kadambas. The society under the dynasties is also discussed in the thesis.

Epigraphia Indica is the official publication of the Archaeological Survey of India from the year 1882 to 1977. The *Epigraphia Indica* comprises of 43 Volumes. It discusses the study of the ancient inscriptions. The journal is important to study about the grants issued by the kings as well as the geneology and also study of the inscription helps to know about the titles adopted by the kings and queens which provided an insight about their strength and achievements. The Volume 3 was referred to study the 'Kharepattana plate of Rattaraja' by F. Keilhorn.⁸³ The plate speaks about the Shilahara grant of Rattaraja. Volume 6⁸⁴ is important and was referred for the study of Aihole inscription of Pulakeshi II belonging to the dynasty of Chalukya of Badami. Volume 24⁸⁵ of *Epigraphia Indica* is important to study about the Bhoja grant of Devaraja by C.R Krishnamacharlu, the Volume discusses the Shiroda plates of Devarahjabhoj in detail. *Epigraphia Indica* Volume 28⁸⁶ served important in the study to learn about Hiregutti copper plate of the Bhoja ruler Asankita. The plate was found outside Goa and hence its study was

⁸³ F. Keilhorn, "Kharepattana grant of Rattaraja," *Epigraphia Indica* 3, (1895): 292-297. <https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.108298>.

⁸⁴ F. Keilhorn, "Aihole Inscription of Pulakeshi II," *Epigraphia Indica* 6, (1900): 1-11. <https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.56623>.

⁸⁵ C.R Krishnamacharlu, "Shiroda Plates of Bhoja Devaraja," *Epigraphia Indica* 24, (1937): 143. <https://archive.org/details/in.gov.ignca.34064>.

⁸⁶ P.B Desai, "Hiregutti Plate of Bhoja Asankita," *Epigraphia Indica* 28, (1949): 73. <https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.70002>.



important to understand the extent of the Bhoja territory. Volume 31 of *Epigraphia Indica*⁸⁷ as referred to study about the other to plates of the Bhoja emperors in Goa by A.M Annigeri. The first plate referred were the Arga plates of Kapalivarman and the second plate referred were the Kapoli plates of Bhoja king Asankitavarman. Volume 33 of *Epigraphia Indica*⁸⁸ was referred to study about the grants made by Bhoja king Prithvimallavarman, by G.S Gai. The plates were important to study the land grants made by Bhoja king Prithvimallavarman. The plate not only spoke of the land grants but also discusses about the rule of king Prithvimallavarman.

Volume 34 of *Epigraphia Indica* by G.S Gai⁸⁹ deals with the Gadivore grant of Shasthadeva II. The grant is important when studying the history of the Kadambas. This records the grant of a village by the king.

The Corpus Inscription Indicarum Volume VI⁹⁰ is a comprehensive collection of inscriptions in India. The book also includes the histories of the dynasties along with the

⁸⁷ A.M Annigeri, "Two Grants of Bhoja Kings: Arga Plates of Kapalivarman; Kapoli plates of Asankitavarman," *Epigraphia Indica* 31, (1987): 232-236. https://archive.org/details/epigraphiaindcavol31_891_S/page/267/mode/1up.

⁸⁸ G.S Gai, "Two grants of Bhoja Prithvimallavarman," *Epigraphia Indica* 33, (1959): 61-64. https://archive.org/details/epigraphiaindicavol33_21_X.

⁸⁹ G.S Gai, "Gadivore Grant of Shasthadeva II," *Epigraphia Indica* 34, (1963): 105-108. <https://archive.org/details/dli.calcutta.06117>.

⁹⁰ V.V.Mirashi, "Pattanakudi grant of Avasara II," *Corpus Inscription Indicarum* 6, (1888): 178-183, <https://archive.org/details/dli.ernet.108176/page/n427/mode/1up>.



inscriptions belonging to these dynasties referred for the present work by V.V Mirashi to study about Shilahara inscription such as the Chikodi grant of Avasara II, Kharepattana⁹¹ and Balipattana grant of Rattaraja⁹² of the Shilahara dynasty.

The *Indian Antiquary Volume IV*⁹³ is a journal of oriental research in archaeology, History, religion. It is a collection of articles and research papers on the topics related to History. The volume 4 of the Indian Antiquary was referred to study about the inscription of Chandravarman, a Konkan Maurya king by G.M Dikshit. Volume 19 of the *Indian Antiquary*⁹⁴ was referred to study about the Mukuta inscription of Mangalesha, one of the ruler of Chalukya of Badami. Volume 14⁹⁵ of the journal was referred to study about the Goa plates of Shasthadeva III of Goa Kadamba.

Indian Epigraphical Glossary, a book by Dinneschandra Sircar⁹⁶, provides explanation

⁹¹ V.V Mirashi, "Kharepattana grant of Rattaraja," *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* 6, (1888): 183- 193. <https://archive.org/details/dli.ernet.108176/page/n427/mode/1up>.

⁹² V.V Mirashi, "Balipattana grant of Rattaraja," *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* 6, (1888): 193- 199. <https://archive.org/details/dli.ernet.108176/page/n427/mode/1up>.

⁹³ G.M Dikshit, "Sivapura Plates of Chandravarman," *New Indian Antiquary* 4, (1875), <https://archive.org/details/in.gov.ignca.5780>

⁹⁴ J.F Fleet, "Mukuta Pillar Inscription of Mangalesha," *Indian Antiquary* 19, (1985): 11, 12. <https://archive.org/details/dli.calcutta.06227>.

⁹⁵ J.F Fleet, "Goa plates of Shashthadeva III," *Indian Antiquary* 14, (1885): 288, 289. https://archive.org/details/indianantiquary1885vol.14_991_P.

⁹⁶ D.C Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, (Delhi: Delhi Motilal Banarasidass, 1966).



to number of Sanskrit words mentioned in the inscriptions. The Glossary offers a collection of words mentioned in the inscription of the dynasties in Sanskrit or Dravidian languages. The book makes it easier to understand the inscription and was useful in the present study to understand certain words such as 'Mahamandalika' which meant feudatories.

The journal of Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic society Volume 9⁹⁷ was referred for the study of the Halshi inscription by J.F Fleet. The inscription belongs to the Goa Kadambas and is important in the study of Goa Kadamba history.

The book *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts of Bombay Presidency* by J.F Fleet,⁹⁸ includes the history from earliest times. The book discusses the early dynasties in detail. The book is well researched and authoritative work which gives the history of the Kanarese districts uptill the year of the Muslim conquest. The dynasties that ruled Goa from the fourth to the fourteenth century had also extended their territories outside Goa in the region of Kannada the book serves an important source in the present study. The book contains the history of the dynasties such as Rashtrakutas, Chalukyas of Badami, Shilaharas, and the Rattas.

The History of Goa with special reference to its Feudal Features by N. Shyam Bhat and

⁹⁷ J.F Fleet, "Halshi Inscription," *Journal of Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 9, (1867-1868): 280-286. <https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.55138>.

⁹⁸ J. F Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese districts of the Bombay Presidency*, (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1882).



Nagendra Rao⁹⁹ deals with the history of Goa from the fifth to the eleventh century. The article analyses the inscriptions issued by Bhojas, Konkan Mauryas, Chalukyas of Badami and Shilaharas to study about the feudal features that were present during that time. The article also discusses about the land grants, the role of the Brahmanas, the administration.

Shree Mangesh by Ummesh Kakkeri¹⁰⁰ deals with the history of the Shifted Mangesh temple from the Cortalim village to Priol in Ponda taluka however the book also includes a myth related to the origination of Goa related to Lord Shiva. This was important to discuss in the historical background of Goa.

Stone Bruisings and the Rock Carvings of Goa- How Old they are? By P.P Shirodkar¹⁰¹ deals with the study of pre- historic Goa. The paper discusses about the rock carvings found in Pansalimal and dates the carvings. The paper is important to study the pre-historic period of Goa.

CHAPTERISATION

The dissertation deals with the study of the land grants and the state from the period of 4th- 14th century. The study has been conducted by referring to the Primary as well as

⁹⁹ N. Shyam Bhat and Nagendra Rao, "History of Goa with special reference to its feudal features," *Indian Historical Review* 40, no. 2 (2013): 249- 266.

¹⁰⁰ Ummesh Kakkeri, *Shree Mangesh*, (Tilakwadi, Belgaum: Janhavi Publications, 2006).

¹⁰¹ P.P Shirodkar, Stone Bruisings and Rock Carvings of Goa- How old they are?, (Unpublished Seminar paper, Department of Archives, Archaeology and Museums, Panaji, 1994).



the secondary sources.

The first chapter is the 'Introduction.' This chapter consists of the historical background of the area undertaken for the study which is Goa. The chapter also includes the sources of the study, the literature review and the chapterisation. The chapter begins with the historical background about Goa. It discusses about the etymology and the origin of the region of Goa. The chapter further discusses about the cultural remains of the religious sects in Goa, a brief geography of the region. The next part of the Chapter discusses about the early settlers of Goa into which a pre- historic setting of Goa is discussed. The remains of the pre- historic men, the rock art and several other findings of the Paleolithic, Mesolithic, Neolithic and Megalithic period are discussed. This part of the chapter throws light on the development of men through all these ages. Next, the ancient rulers of Goa are discussed in the chapter. The study covers the period from 4th to the 14th century, the study begins from the rule of the Bhoja empire in Goa and extends to the period of the Kadambas. In the first chapter a background of the rule of the dynasties are mentioned, the religion and society under them is focused also the rise and the fall of the dynasties is mentioned in the Introduction chapter in brief. Further in this chapter the literature review and the scheme of the chapterisation is discussed.

The second chapter is titled as 'Land Grants and State from the period of Bhojas to Shilaharas.' This chapter discusses about a brief background about the state formation and the pre Kadamba state structure. The chapter discusses about the grants made by the Bhoja kings in Goa referring to their inscriptions. The primary sources are utilized to study about the inscriptions concerning land grants of the dynasties. The study not only



discusses about the land grants but several aspects known from their inscriptions such as their genealogies, titles adopted by them and their administration is also discussed. In this chapter the study of the inscriptions is made of the Bhoja, Konkan Maurya, Chalukya of Badami and Shilahara. The types of land grants made by them and the names and the gotras of the donees are discussed. The chapter also discusses about the the strategies used by the rulers to rule. Majority of the grants were made to the brahmanas because the kings needed their support to rule, some were also made to the traders to keep good relations with them to boost trade hence the idea of the legitimacy is focused. Based on the inscriptions studied and the development noted in every phase of dynastical rule, the Kadambas are said to have ruled Goa as a core territory so with special reference to state formation Goa was divided into pre- Kadamba and Kadamba phase. This chapter deals with the pre- Kadamba dynasties ranging from Bhojas to Shilaharas.

The third Chapter is titled as 'Land grants and state under the Goa Kadambas.' The chapter begins with the brief introduction about the origin of the Kadambas providing some inscriptional evidences and then discusses about the inscriptions issued by the Kadamba rulers concerning land grants. The Kadamba inscriptions also throws light on their administration, genealogies, titles of the rulers apart from the grants made by them. Most of the Kadamba inscriptions throw light on their genealogies and few of them discuss the land grants made by them. The chapter focuses on the inscriptions and the development of the state under the Kadambas.

The Chapter four of the dissertation is the 'Conclusion' chapter, this chapter includes main findings of the study conducted. This will summarize the entire dissertation for the



clearer understanding of the research. The conclusion is followed by the bibliography of the work.



Chapter 2

LAND GRANTS AND STATE FROM THE PERIOD OF BHOJAS TO SHILAHARAS

The study of the state with aspects such as state formation, the role of ideology and the structure of polity in the ancient and medieval period has been the concern of study of several scholars. The earliest efforts to understand the structure of polity especially in the ancient and the medieval period was made by D.D Kosambi and R.S Sharma¹. In the meantime scholars shared their ideas about the process of state formation and all of them do not share the same perspective about the formation of the state in ancient and medieval period. According to B.P Sahu, 'the Brahmanical ideology consistently posited a series of dualist constructs such as the Aryan and non- Aryan, the dvija and Sudra.'²The Brahmana and the Khasatriya had built up mutual conflict as they constituted the elite power in society.

B.P Sahu speaks about legitimation, power and authority.³ Legitimation occurs when the power of the ruling entity is through consent and mutual understanding and not through coercion. According to him kings displayed support for the religious institutions, brahmanas and their representatives and used wide range of other strategies to strengthen their authority over the state. The authority that people in power exercised

¹ B.P Sahu, "The State in Early India: An Overview," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 55, (1994): p 89.

² Sahu, "The State in Early India: An Overview," p 90.

³ B.P Sahu, "Legitimation, Ideology and State in Early India," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 64, (2003): p 44.



involved the use of these institutions, groups and their belief systems.⁴ In early period rulers participated and patronized activities and events such as the land grants to temples and brahmanas that strengthened their legitimacy, this in turn increased their authority.⁵

From the 4th – the 14th century Goa is ruled by dynasties such as Bhoja, Konkan Maurya, Chalukya of Badami, Shilahara and Kadamba.

BHOJA

The first known inscription belonging to the Bhoja dynasty in Goa is the Shiroda plates of Bhoja king Devaraja.⁶ Shiroda is located in the Ponda taluka. This record dates back to the fourth century C.E.⁷ The plate is written in Sanskrit but has some Prakrit expressions inserted on it. The plate was issued from Chandrapura, modern day Chandor which was the capital of Bhojas in Goa. Chandor was situated on the banks of river Paroda in the South of Goa.

The inscription states the gift of the villages Thanniyarka- Kottinkayya and Jiyaya to two Brahmins named Govindasvamin and Indrasvamin of the Bharadvaja *gotra* along with a *griha stana* and *go-prachara*. The charter was written or composed by

⁴B.P Sahu, "Legitimation, Ideology and State in Early India," Proceedings of the Indian History Congress 64, (2003): p 45.

⁵ Sahu, "Legitimation, Ideology and State in Early India," p 46.

⁶ V.T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory Goa, Daman and Diu: Part 1*, p 65.

⁷ C.R Krishnamacharlu, "Shiroda Plates of Bhoja Devaraja," *Epigraphia Indica* 24, (1937): p 143.



Rajyadhikrita or private secretary of the king named Prabhakara. This inscription is the only evidence of Bhoja king Devaraja's rule as the king is not known from any other sources. Although Jiyyaya is not identified evidently but Thanniyarka Kottinkayya is identified as a place named Thana Cortalim in Salcete taluka. The charter also adjoins the grant of the grass for the pastures and also the fuel to the donees. The inscription is dated in the twelfth year of his victorious and prosperous reign of the king which could mean that Devaraja had a conflict with some people or the kings and he could have defeated them. The inscription shows the delegation of authority of the tolls to the Brahmanas, thus it is evident that Brahmanas were active participants in the activities such as the managements of the farm lands and toll collection.⁸

Two copper plates belonging to the period of Bhoja king Prithvimallavarman are found in Goa.⁹ The copper plates are found in Bandora earlier called as Bandiwadi in Ponda taluka.¹⁰ These copper plates are issued from Vrishabhini Kheta which is not identified satisfactorily and Prithviparvata. The characters of these plates could be resembled to early Kadamba grants probably the Kadambas of Banavasi. The inscription could be dated much later to the Shiroda plates and could be dated somewhere from the sixth or the first half of the seventh century A.D. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. The first inscription is issued from the Vrishabini kheta by king Prithvimallavarman. This

⁸ N. Bhat and Nagendra Rao, "History of Goa with Special Reference to its Feudal Features," 251.

⁹ V.T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu: Part 1*, 65.

¹⁰ G.S Gai, "Two Grants of Bhoja Prithvimallavarman," *Epigraphia Indica* 33, (1959): 61-64.



inscription also does not display any titles for the king. The copper plate says about the grant of the field surrounded by hills in the village of Bhagala Pillika in the Kupalapakatadesha. The inscription also states that the grant was made by the king on the merit of his mother Chetasadevi and on the request of his brother Satrudama. Chetasadevi is described as Nellikabalika in the grant. The grant was made to Madhavarya of Agnivesya *gotra*. Although the inscription mentions the characters such as king's mother and brother but the formal donation was made by the king himself.

The second grant is issued from Prithviparvata.¹¹ The place of Prithviparvata can be identified with the village of Parvat near Chandor. In this record also Prithvimallavarman is introduced without any royal title. The absence of the royal title is noted even in the second grant. The grant records the field called Kapoti- Khajjana in the village of Malar from Diwadi Island. It suggests that this grant was made by the king on his own merit. The donee belonged to Bharadwaja *gotra*. The land granted was a rice field. The absence of the title in both the grant of Prithvimallavarman could be an indication that he was not a very powerful king.

The issue of the grant of the land showcases that in the period of Bhojas the Brahmanas were provided high status and grants were given to them as gifts and the lands were exempted from taxes.¹² The Bhoja king had the support of the Brahmanas, which increased their legitimacy in the state. Brahmanas were intelligent as well as

¹¹ G.S Gai, "Two Grants of Bhoja Prithvimallavarman," *Epigraphia Indica* 33, (1959): 61-64.

¹² Shukla, "Sanskrit, State and Legitimacy in Goa (4th century AD- 1565), 67.



learned people who knew about the *vedas* and the scriptures hence the support of the Brahmanas was considered important for the rulers. The rulers relied on the Brahmanas for the religious matters and hence gave them land grants as gifts.

Other grants of the Bhoja dynasty include the Hire Gutti copper plate in North Kannara district issued by king Asamkita for the maintenance of Buddhist Vihar to *Arya Sangha*, The Kapoli copper plate in Belgaon district on the border of Goa by king Asankitavarman, the copper plate of Arge near Karwar issued by king Kapalivarman.¹³

The Hiregutti copper plate records the of the village Sundarika, situated in Dipaka Vishaya for the construction of the Buddhist vihara.¹⁴ The gift of the village was entrusted to the *Arya Sangha*, the assembly of the Buddhist monks. The charter ends with an exhortation to protect the charity bestowed upon the Arya Sangha and the imprecation against its violators. Hence King Asankitavarman protected the grant made for the construction of Buddhist vihara by putting certain curse on those trying to violate it.

The language of the Hiregutti epigraph is Sanskrit and begins with the praise of Lord Buddha. Lord Buddha is described as one whose feet are licked by the rays of the shining jewels and a reservoir of countless virtues. Through the praise of lord Buddha made in the inscription it is possible that King Asamkita admired Buddhism. The inscription also describes king Asamkita as the moon in the lineage of the Bhojas, and that the Bhojas were endowed with fortune to have him in their lineage. These plates can be ascribed to

¹³ V.T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu: Part 1*, 66.

¹⁴ P. B Dessai, "Hiregutti Plate of Bhoja Asankita," *Epigraphia Indica* 28, (1950): 73.



the end of the 6th century A.D.

The copper plate inscription of king Asankitavarman records the grant made by chief Elakella of the Kaikeya lineage at the instance of the king.¹⁵ The grant was made of the valley Vamsavatika to a Brahmin Naagasharman of the Harita *gotra*. The king in the grant is described as Maharaja. The grant was written by Madhava, who appeared to be the son of Govinda Bhogika. Since the word Bhogika meant village headmen at the time of Bhojas, it is probable that Govinda Bhogika was a village headmen at the time of king Asankitavarman's rule. However the king himself was said to be the executor of the grant. The donor of the grant Elakela is introduced as Kaikeya in the inscription. The Kaikeya lineage also finds mention in the Kadamba inscriptions¹⁶ can be an indication that the Bhojas also shared good link with the Kaikeyas.

Yet another copper plate was discovered at village Arge near Karwar on the Southern border of Goa issued by king Kapalivarman. The grant records the land Pukkoli-Khajjana from the village Shivapuraka to Swamiraja for the religious purpose and it is known from the inscription that Swamiraja had gifted the same land to Brahmin Bhavarya of the Kaudinya *gotra* so that the merit could also accrued to him.¹⁷ The charter describes king 'Dharmamaharaja' which meant the king of dignified status. The

¹⁵ A.M Annigeri, "Two grants of Bhoja Kings: Kapoli plates of Asankitavarman," *Epigraphia Indica* 31, (1987): 234-236.

¹⁶ Shukla, "Sanskrit, State and Legitimacy in Goa (4th century AD- 1565), 71.

¹⁷ A.M Annigeri, "Two grants of Bhoja Kings: Arga plates of Kapalivarman," *Epigraphia Indica* 31, (1987): 232-233.



donee Swamiraja of the grant could be the same as the Chalukyan chief who was said to be defeated by the Chalukyan king Mangalesha.

The characteristics of the Bhoja administration however clarify them as the pre- state society. Not many lands were granted during this period, when compared to the land grants of the Kadamba period. Dhume states that the Bhoja administrative staff was restricted, the reason could be that Bhojas believed that restricted number of staff was justifiable and hence during the Bhoja time Goa experienced complete peace and order¹⁸.

KONKAN MAURYA

There are only two copper plate grants of the Maurya kings found in Goa territory. The Shivapur plates of Chandravarman and the Bandora plates of Ajitvarman. From the Shivapur copper plates king Chandravarman of the Konkan Maurya dynasty is known. These plates were obtained in Goa by Shri V.R Varde Valaulikar.

On the paleographical ground the Shivapur plate of Chandravarman was dated 6th and 7th century A.D.¹⁹ In this inscription the king Chandravarman is described as "*Nanasamasta-manumarichibhir-acharita-padapadma*," which means the one whose lotus like feet were sprinkled by the rays of the sun in the form of many feudatory chieftains, which is an indication that the king was a feudal lord. The set of the grants consisted of three sets of copper plates out of which the information regarding the first and the second set of the sheet is available whereas the third sheet is missing. The

¹⁸ Anant Dhume, *The Cultural History of Goa: From 10000 BC-1352*, 201.

¹⁹ G.M Dikshit, "Sivapura Plates of Chandravarman", *New Indian Antiquary* 4, (1941): 181.



inscription records the grant of the land to the Maha- vihara at Sivapura. The actual date of the grant is on the tenth day of the dark half of the month of Chaitra. Maha-vihara is the name given to a Buddhist monastery. According to G.M Dikshit, the word Maha-vihara was used for Buddhist and sometimes Jaina monastery thus it is not clear that the land was granted for the Buddhist or jaina sect.

Another copper plate was found at Bandora, Ponda Goa.²⁰ The plates were issued by king Ajitvarman. The characters in the plates are similar to those of the Bhoja king Prithvimallavarman. The language of the grant is Sanskrit and the inscription is assigned to the period of 6th or 7th century. The style of the record is very much similar to the Bhoja grant records. The grant was issued from the region of Kumaradvipa. In the grant the Konkan Maurya king, Maharaja Ajitvarman addresses the inhabitants of *dwadasaha- gramadesh*, which means a desha or district constituted of twelve villages and the present and the future officials such as the *Bhojakas*, *Ayuktas* and *Sthayins* from Kumaradvipa, the king grants one hala of Khajjana land and a piece of land including the house site, a garden and also a tank. Some of the land is also reclaimed from the forest by employing four batches of workers or *preshya- kula*. This gift is exempted from all the taxes by the king. The grant is dated in the tenth day of the seventh fortnight of Hema i.e. Hemanta. The donee was Hastyarya of the Harita gotra. The gift of the land was made by the king for securing the final bliss and merit for himself. The grant was executed by the king himself. The charter is addresses in a similar way like that of Prithvimallavarman, so it is clear that the village administrative system existing at the time of the Bhojas was maintained by the Konkan Mauryas, as

²⁰ G.S Gai, "Bandora Plates of Ajitvarman," *Epigraphia Indica* 33, (1959): 293-297.



we find the reference to *Bhojakas, Ayuktas and Sthayins* common in their records.²¹ V.T Gune identifies the place 'Kumara-dvipa' with Kumbarjuve situated in the Tiswadi taluka.²²

CHALUKYA OF BADAMI

The Chalukyas of Badami was marked with eight copper plates.²³ One of the copper plates was found within the territory of Goa at the beginning of the reign of Pulakeshi II and is dated 610 A.D whereas the others are found at Nerur in the Ratnagiri district at the Northern borders of Goa. One record is issued by Prince Mangalesha dated about 500 and 578 A.D. It refers to the grant of the village Kundiwataka from the Konkana Vishaya, which is identified with the village Cudnem from the Bicholim taluka of the Goa region.²⁴ The Aihole inscription of Pulakeshi II, also provides evidence to the rule of Badami of Chalukyas.²⁵ This inscription describes him as Satyashraya Shri Prithvivallabha Maharaja. The inscription speaks about the strength and the achievements of Pulakeshi II. The inscription also speaks of the grants of twenty-five *nivartanas* from a village Kuvalahasu to a Brahmin acharya of Vatsa gotra.

The Goa grant was issued by the viceroy of the Chalukyas of Badami known as

²¹ Dhume, *The Cultural History of Goa*, 210-214.

²² V.T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu: Part 1*, p 72.

²³ Shukla, "Sanskrit, State and Legitimacy in Goa (4th century AD- 1565)," 84.

²⁴ V.T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu: Part 1*, 76.

²⁵ F Keilhorn, "Aihole Inscription of Pulakesin II," *Epigraphia Indica* 6, (1900): 1-11.



Satyashrayaa Dhruvraja Indravarman from Revatidvipa,²⁶ this place has been identified with the village Redi from Vengurla in Ratnagiri region corresponding to 610 A.D. It is situated in the Northern border of Goa. The grant further describes that Indravarman was governing over four *Vishayas* from his headquarters in the region of Revatidvipa. The grant records the village Karillika in Khetaharadesha to a Brahmin. The place Khetaharadesha is identified with the Kheda taluka of the Ratnagiri district.

The Aihole inscription records an event of victory over Revatidvipa, identified as modern Redi in Ratnagiri region. The inscription records war fought between Swamiraja and Mangalesha, a Chalukyan ruler. After achieving victory over Revatidvipa, Mangalesha placed Satyashraya Dhruvraja Indravarman as a governor of four *vishyas* and *Mandalas* in Revatidvipa.²⁷

Another grant is of land by Vijayamahadevi to a Brahmin Aryaswami Dikshit, the village Parishvasu on the Southern border of the land.²⁸ The village is identified as Parcem from the Pernem taluka of Goa. The grant is dated as 659 A.D. Vijayamahadevi was the wife of king Chandraditya. After the death of her husband she ruled as a regent queen of her minor son. The other grant of Vijayamahadevi was found at Kochre in Vengurla taluka on the Northern border of Goa. The grant refers to the Khajjana land from the village Kochre to a Brahmin of Vatsa gotra. The name of the donee is unknown from the

²⁶ V.T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu: Part 1*, 73

²⁷ J.F Fleet, "Makhuta Pillar Inscription of Manglesha," *Indian Antiquary* 19, (1985): 11-12.

²⁸ V.T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu: Part 1*, 74-75.



grant but the grant is dated same as the Nerur grant i.e. in 659 A.D.²⁹ The two grants issued by Vijayamahadevi were after the death of her husband, when she served as a regent of her minor son. Unfortunately her son's subsequent death led to the accession of Vikramaditya I to the throne.³⁰ Vijayamahadevi describes Vikramaditya as a favorite son of his father in her Nerur grant and in the Kochre record Chandraditya the elder brother of Vikramaditya is described with the title of Maharaja but his subordination can be noted in Nerur record as he is mentioned after Vikramaditya.

The Nerur record of Vijayaditya, the grandson of Vikramaditya is dated in 700 A.D.³¹ This inscription records the grant records the grant of the village Nerur itself which is situated between the village Valavali and Sahamyapura on the bank of the river Vilige which is identified with one of the division of Konkan made by the king. Another grant of Vijayaditya records the grant of village Hikulamba to eight Brahmins such as Devaswami of Bharadwaja gotra, Karkaswami of Kaushika gotra, Yajnaswami of Bharadwaja gotra, Devaswami of Mudgala gotra, Gargaswami of Atreya gotra, Rudraswami of Kashyapa gotra and Dasavarma of Vatsa gotra.

The period of the rule of Chalukyas of Badami was known to be pre- state. Goa was however not the central focus of the administration of the Chalukyas of Badami . The territories were handed over to the minister Satyashraya Dhruvraja Indravarman after king Manglesha stood victorious in his battle with Swamiraja, whose capital was

²⁹ V.T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu: Part 1*, 79.

³⁰ V.T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu: Part 1*, 80.

³¹ J.F Fleet, "Chalukyan grant of Vijayaditya" *Indian Antiquary* 9, (1880): 129.



Revatidvipa. This reference to allocation of minister to the region is evidence that Goa was not the main focus of their administration and just a peripheral region to expand their territory.

SHILAHARA

Three records of the Goa Shilahara have been discovered.³² One is the Chikodi or the Pattanakudi grant of Avasara III dated 910 A.D, the Kharepatna grant dated in 930 A.D and the Valipattana grant dated 932 A.D belonging to Rattaraja. The inscriptions are engraved in Sanskrit language. The Chikodi grant of Avasara III³³ records that the merchants, Nagai Shreshtin; Lokai Shreshtin; Adityavarman were given a present of forty dinars at the Padhyapuja of king Avasara III thereby obtaining the confirmation of the king to their hereditary rights over the places named Kinjal and Pulisa, which were also the source of their livelihood. The Chikodi inscription also states that the portion of royal share betel nuts were received from the three donees of the grants. The Chikodi plate mentions of Jimutvaha and connects the family of the Shilahara to him.

The Kharepatana plate of Rattaraja³⁴ records the grant of three villages named as Kushmandi, Asavanire and Vadagule to a brahmana named Atreya. This brahmana

³² Shukla, "Sanskrit, State and Legitimacy in Goa (4th century AD- 1565)," 89.

³³ V.V Mirashi, "Chikodi grant of Avasara III," *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* 6, (1977): 178-182.

³⁴ V.V Mirashi, "Kharepattana grant of Rattaraja," *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* 6, (1977): 183-192.



belonged to the clan of Shaiva sect.³⁵ The grant was made to meet the expenses in the worship of god Avveshwara and the maintainance of temple and also the maintainance of the family of the priest. Some other additional gifts were also provided of one gadyana of gold from every vessel coming from the foreign lands, a dharana of gold from every ship coming from 'Kundalamuliya' to the donee. The inscription is in Sanskrit language. The Kharepatan plate begins with the praise of god Shiva which indicates that the king might be a Shaivite ruler. Through this inscription it is also understandable that Rattaraja was a subordinate of Paramabhataraka Maharajadhiraja Satyasraya because in the inscription Rattaraja is referred as the Mandalika of Parambhataraka Maharajadhiraja Satyasraya, known to be a Chalukya king.

The last record of Goa Shilaharas is the Balipattana grant of Rattaraja.³⁶ The record is composed in a Sanskrit language. The record describes Rattaraja as Mahamandalika Shri Rattaraya Raja. It records the grant of the land Kalvala from the village Bhaktagrama and also a garden of Areca nut in a village of Palaure to a brahmana Shankamaiya belonging to the family of Shenvi brahmanas. Although this grant mentions Rattaraja as Mahamandalika but it doesn't mention of Rashtrakutas nor Satyasraya like the Kharepattana grant. This was perhaps the earliest reference to the Shenvi brahmanas in Goa. The inscription states that the land given was a rice field in the village Kavala and an Areca nut orchard in the village Palaure.

³⁵ F. Kielhorn, "Kharepatan plates of Rattaraja," *Epigraphica Indica* 3, (1895): 292-297.

³⁶ V.V Mirashi, "Balipattana grant of Rattaraja" *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* 6, (1977): 193-199.



The Goa Shilahara kings adopted the title *Mahamandalikas* or *Mandalika* which means feudatory chief.³⁷ The Shilaharas ruled Goa as the feudatories of the Rashtrakutas and being the feudatories of the Rashtrakutas they were responsible for administering Goa. The Shilaharas had to fulfill certain responsibilities. They had to assist their feudal lords in wars.³⁸

The era of Goa Shilaharas can be termed as the pre- state structure as the Shilaharas could not expand their resource base to the extent.³⁹ Under the Shilahara rule the evidences focus on the domination of the intermediaries. The rule of the South Konkan Shilaharas ended with the invasion of the Chalukyan Jayasimha III⁴⁰ in the tenth century and the Kadambas came to power in the Konkan region. The Kadamba rule led to the state formation in Goa i.e. the society transformed from the pre-state to the state polity.⁴¹ Goa developed faced pre- state society from the period of Bhojas and transformed to state polity by the end of the tenth century with more developments.

In the pre- Kadamba era Goa served as a peripheral territory and over the period there as a transition of Goa as a core territory. During the period of the pre- Kadamba phase few inscriptions and sources providing information on the polity and society exist which does not provide much information about the political structure of the society.

³⁷ D.C Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, (Delhi: Delhi Motilal Banarasidass, 1966), 196.

³⁸ Dhume, *The Cultural History of Goa: From 10000 BC- 1352*, 235.

³⁹ Shukla, "Sanskrit, State and Legitimacy in Goa (4th century AD- 1565)," 93.

⁴⁰ V.T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu: Part 1*, 89

⁴¹ Shukla, "Sanskrit, State and Lagitimacy in Goa (4th century AD- 1565)," 95.



In the pre state structure the major economic activity of the state was the agricultural production, also non- agricultural and trading activities happened to exist during the period but the major focus was given for agriculture. From the six copper plates of the Bhoja dynasty only three belong to Goa, this reflects that Goa as one part among the other regions which they ruled. It is possible that Goa was a periphery of the Bhojas.

The Bhoja rule was followed by the rule of the Konkan Mauryas. Based on their records it can be noted that the Konkan Mauryas also considered Goa as a periphery and not a core territory. The Konkan Mauryas were the subordinates to Kalachuris. Next were the Chalukyas of Badami who defeated Konkan Mauryas and attacked the region of Goa. Chalukyan grant of Goa⁴² refers to the Satyashraya Dhruvraja Indravarman as the governor of the Chalukya which indicates the Chalukyas kept governors to take charge of their territories. The Shilaharas rule was also called as pre- state because they assisted their overlords resulting in the relationship of superiors and inferiors. The study of the state society of Goa can be called as the study of

⁴² V.T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu: Part 1*, 73.



CHAPTER 3

LAND GRANTS AND THE STATE UNDER THE GOA KADAMBAS

Goa, being situated on the West coast of India was a prominent region especially in the eleventh century. This was due to the emergence of the Kadamba dynasty. The attempts made by the rulers to control Goa, indicates political and strategic importance to Goa. The appearance of the Kadambas can be traced from the fourth century in Karnataka, when Mayursharma asserted his independence from the Pallavas.¹

The Goa Kadambas claimed their descent from their mythical ancestor Trilochana Kadamba. Trilochana Kadamba is said to have originated from the sweat of Shiva which fell on the ground during his fight with demon Tripura. Evidence to this is the Curtorim inscription² wherein Viravarmadeva describes himself as the *Vamsa* of Trilochana Kadamba. The Gandevi inscription³ describes the Kadamba origin from the sweat of Shiva which fell under the Kadamba tree. The Halshi inscription⁴ describes that the drop of the sweat fell from the forehead of Triyambaka which led to the origination

¹ George Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula: A History of Ancient and Medieval Karnataka*, (Bombay: B.X Furtado and Sons, 1931), 16.

² S.G Kadamb, *Sources of History of Kadambas of Goa*, (Panaji: Broadway Publishing House, 2013), 2-6.

³ S.G Kadamb, *Sources of History of Kadambas of Goa*, 65-69.

⁴ J.F Fleet, "The Halshi Inscription," *The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 9, (1867- 1868): 280-286.



of Jayanta. The Santa Ana copper plate is the inscription concerning Tribhuvanamalla,⁵ a Goa Kadamba king. The inscription is dated 1099A.D. The inscription is in Sanskrit language and Naagari script and was found in Santa Ana village in Goa. The record deals with the origin of Kadambas to Trilochana Kadamba, a person born under a Kadamba tree from the drop of sweat of God Mahesha i.e. Shiva.

The Land grants provide information regarding the family of Goa Kadambas, the myths related to their origins, their genealogies and also about the achievements. The land grant records provided information to the grants of lands made, which legitimized the positions of the kings.

The Curdi inscription of Shastadeva I belongs to the 10th century.⁶ This inscription have been found in Curdi village of the Sanguen taluka. The inscription is found on the stone slab of the Mahadeva temple. The inscription begins with the name 'Shashta' and contains the long titles adopted by Shashtadeva such as *Parameshwara*, *Paramabhattaraka*, *Prachanda- danda- mandala*. These titles on the inscription indicates Shastadeva I as an independent monarch of Chandor. On the Paleolithic ground, Gune dates the inscription in the 10th century. It seems that the Curdi inscription is an evidence of that Shashtadeva established his control over Goa and had annexed Chandrapur to the dominion of the Kadambas. Although the inscription has no record of

⁵ S.G Kadamb, *Sources of History of Kadambas of Goa*, 159-160.

⁶ S.G Kadamb, *Sources of History of Kadambas of Goa*, 77-79; V.T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu*, (Panaji: Department of District Gazetteers, 1979), 94.



land grant, it is considered important since it is said to be ancient most inscription of the Goa Kadambas.

The Gadivore grant of Shashtadeva II⁷ is written in Sanskrit language with Nagari characters. The dated in the eighth year of the king's reign. The inscription has been discovered at Bandora in Goa state. The inscription records the grant of the village Gadivore situated in Ajagave- Kampana of Panasadesa for the prosperity of the king's kingdom. The donation was made to Lakshmidhara and his brothers whose names are not mentioned. The donees belong to the Atreya gotra. The gift was made as a permanent endowment and was engraved as a copper plate grant. Along with the gift the donees were granted with privileges such as *nidhi* or treasure trove, *nikshepa* or deposits, *danda* or fine, *kara* or major tax and *upakara* or minor tax. The gift was free from tax and in the inscription it was noted that the gift was free from the interference of the royal officials in its enjoyment by the donees. Ajagave is identified with modern Ajagao in the Bardez taluka.

The Mercella plates also called as the Savoi Verem⁸ copper plates were found in the region of Tivare in the Ponda taluka of the Goa state. The plates were issued by Guhalladeva II in 1038 A.D. The plates record the grant of the village Savoi verem to a

⁷ G.S Gai, "Gadivore Grant of Shashtadeva II," *Epigraphia Indica* 34, (1963): 105- 108; S.G Kadamb, *Sources of History of the Kadambas of Goa*, 420-423.

⁸ S.G Kadamb, *Sources of History of Kadambas of Goa*, pp 52-58; George Moraes, *Kadamba Kula*, 387-393; V.T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu; Part 1*, 97, 98.



brahmana named Naarayan Bhatta Pattavardhana by the king Guhalladeva II on the recommendations of the elder brother of the donee who was in the position of the minister of religious affairs in the court of his father Shastadeva. The copper plate describes the king to be powerful because the king had destroyed many powerful kings and affluent. The Mercella plate also traces the genealogy of the Kadambas. According to these plates the king Kantacharya is the first king of the Kadambas to rule Goa and his son Nagavarma was next followed by Nagavarma's son Shashtadeva I, who was also called as *Chaturbhuja*. He was succeeded by Guhalladeva II, his son Shastadeva II and then comes Jayakeshi I.

The Curtorim inscription⁹ was issued by the king Viravarmadeva of the Goa Kadamba dynasty in 1049 A.D. The inscription was found in the fields of Curtorim. The set consist of three copper plates. The seal also has a lion crest and the inscription begins with the words "Shree Malege Bhairava." The inscription is in Naagri script and the language used is Sanskrit. The inscription traces the origin of the Kadambas to Trilochana. The inscription the Kadamba monarchs Guhalladeva, Shashtadeva II and also Viravarmadeva. All the above three monarchs have the hereditary titles such as *Banavasipuravaraadhishwara*, *Simha Laanchhana*, *Vaanaramahaadhwaja*, *Permatti Turyamaana*, *Samadhigata Panchamahaashabdas*, *Mahaamandaleshwaras*. The inscription concerns a grant of a piece of land called Tundukapura in Kudatarikaagrahaar of Chhat sathi desha by the Kadamba monarch Viravarmadeva to a learned Brahmana, named Maadhavarya belonging to the Kaushika gotra in the

⁹ S.G Kadamb, *Sources of History of Kadambas of Goa*, 2-6; V.T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu: Part 1*, 63.



presence of the council of ministers comprising of the Naarayan Purohit or the chief priest of the monarch, two Pradhans or the ministers named Govinda and Maadhavarya, the *Sanghi Vagrahika* or the ministers in charge of war and peace. The inscription was issued from his capital Gopaka. The land granted had the value of 21 Bhairava Gadhyaanakas, the gold coins of the Kadambas each weighing 4.75 gms in general. The gift of the land was given tax free.

It is known from this inscription that Viravarmadeva is known only by the Curtorim inscription and his name is not found anywhere in their genealogies as a successor of Shastadeva II. The inscription also states that Viravarmadeva is the elder brother of Jayakeshideva I and both the brothers jointly ruled over Gopaka. Another most important thing understood is that the shifting of the capital from Chandrapur to Gopaka is not by Jayakeshideva I but by his elder brother king Viravarmadeva.

The Panjim copper plate of Jayakeshideva I¹⁰ dated 1058 A.D are important to study about the geneology and it also records the grant made by Jayakeshideva I. The inscription describes Jayakeshideva I as an expert in the Naval warfare and describes him with the title such as *Simhalaanchhana*. The inscription traces the geneology of the Kadamba and describes king Guhalladeva I as *Vyaaghraantakaari* which meant the one who killed lion. In the inscription the son of Guhalladeva is mentioned as Shashtadeva and his son as Jayakeshideva. The plate records the grant of the village 'Laghumorambika' by Jayakeshideva to an Arab in the name Chhadama. The donee was

¹⁰ George Moraes, *Kadamba Kula*, 394-400; S.G Kadamb, *Sources of History of Kadambas of Goa*, 107-113.



to pay annually thirty- five Bhairava nishkas. The grant of land to an Arab indicates that Kadamba king Jayakeshideva had good relationships with the Arabs. The Goa plates of Jayakeshideva also indicate the trade with Arabs. Hence it is possible that the Kadamba kings had good trading relationships with Arabs.

The Santa Ana copper plate¹¹ is dated in 1099 A.D records the grant of ten nishkas to the Naageshwara temple in Priol situated in the Ponda taluka. The donee of the grant is named as Naagadevaarya who was known to be the expert in scriptures and medicines. The inscription belongs to king Tribhuvanamalla and the inscription connects the origin of the Kadambas to Trilochana Kadamba. Another copper plate related to king Tribhuvanamalla¹² describes the details of various fields, gardens and houses purchased by Gandagopala or the Kelima in the region of Goa for the maintenance of brahmapuris. The inscription describes the three generations of the Kadambas, Shashtadeva, his son Jayakesi and Shashtadeva's grandson Tribhuvanamalla, also the succession of their subordinate officials are also described. Kalapa, his son Nagapa and grandson Kelima hence Kelima must have served Kadamba king Tribhuvanamalla. Kelima bore the title Gandagopala. Kelima constructed a tank in his name called it Gandagopala and had established settlement for Brahmanas, and invited twelve families of the Brahmanas to reside in the new settlement. The lands were provided to

¹¹ S.G Kadamb, *Sources of History of Kadambas of Goa*, 159, 160; V.T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu Part 1*, 102.

¹² S.G Kadamb, *Sources of History of Kadambas of Goa*, 167-170; Anant Dhume, *The Cultural History of Goa: From 10000 BC- 1352*, (Panaji: Broadway Book Centre, 2009), 281, 282.



learned Brahmanas who held the posts such as the readers of the Puranas, astrologers, priests, teachers and were experts in making sacrifices. The twelve brahmanas belonged to the gotra of Sankha, Bhalandana, Bharadvaja, Atri, two families of brahmanas belongs to Vatsa and Sandilya gotra and three of the family belongs to Kaushika gotra. Certain rules were specified by Kelima for the equitable enjoyment of the properties by the beneficiaries as well as fines for the violators, this indicates that the settlement was well protected. The member could claim his share so long as he remained in the settlement. When he left, his share was distributed among the remainder members. The member could not sell his share as both the seller and the purchaser were fined 500 coins. A new member could occupy the deserter's house provided all other residents in particular agreed for the same.

The inscription further speaks about the temple or goddess Bharti or Saraswati known to be the Goddess of speech. A piece of land was granted for the goddess and the priest in charge of the temple also received a house. It is known from the inscription that three houses were built separately for the priests of the Goddess Saraswati temple, one house for the Brahmana who delivered lectures to the public in religion and Puraanas; the other for a supervisor of the Brahmapuri and the third house was built for the scribe. The temple of goddess was established and for its expense a rice field in the region of Margao in Salcete was also purchased. The inscription is dated in 1106 A.D.

As evident from the Kadamba records, they were patronisers of the religious institutions and made charities. They also gave lot of importance to the Brahmanas and considered them as preachers of dharma. During the Kadamba regime the land grants were provided to the Brahmanas for the validation of the kings authority. This is evident from



the fact that the kadambas made land grants to the Brahmanas.

It is also evident from the Kadamba records that the Kadambas mostly gave lands only to the learned Brahmanas.¹³ As there is a record of establishments of brahmapuri and agraharas, higher educational institutions wherein the Brahmanas who taught in these institution were provided lands to reside. As per the grant of the Kelima land was provided in reference to the construction of the houses for twelve families of Brahmanas to reside. The Brahmapuris conducted training in the *Vedas, Upanishadas, Shastras, Smritis and Puranas*.¹⁴ The Goa Kadambas hence supported the cause of learning and made grants of land to the Brahmanas to pursue their Brahmanical studies.

The Halshi inscription¹⁵ records the grant of the Tribhog rights over the village called Bhalakaa from Kaalagiri Kampana of the Palasi Vishaya to God Narsimha for the Ashtopachaaras of the God, made by Vishnuchitta. The plate refers to 1172 A.D. The inscription is also important to study about the genealogy and also makes a mention of the intellect of the Kadamba king Jayakeshideva II, who himself solved the problem of the theft of the ornaments of God Narasimha. It is mentioned that all the ornaments of God Narasimha, were deposited in the house of the Vaishnava Padmanaabha. The total worth of the ornaments were five hundred nishkas but Padmanaabha appears to have

¹³ Shukla, "Sanskrit, State and Legitimacy in Goa, 104.

¹⁴ Dhume, *The Cultural History of Goa*, 281.

¹⁵ J.F Fleet, "The Halshi Inscription," *The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 9, (1867- 1868): 280-286; S.G Kadamb, *Sources to Study History of Kadambas of Goa*, 80- 83.



stolen the ornaments but Jayakeshhideva found it out and the ornaments were recovered by selling the property of Padmanaabha. It indicates that during this time the punishments committed for any crime were huge.

The inscription mentions the grant made for the worship and the rituals in the temple of Goa Narasimha in Halashi. The temple was given the grant of fields along with the exemption of tax to the donees. The grants were made in the presence of the king, queen and the ministers. The lands were granted to twelve Brahmanas who were given the right of grass, cattle and wood along with the land. One of the share of the land was also given to the temple of God Narasimha.

Another grant is noted of the village Kansaarpaal by Naagadeva,¹⁶ who is said to be the grandson of Bhairava. This person was known to serve Kadamba king Tribhuvanamalla Soyideva. Naagadeva's family had served the king for generations. The position of Naagadeva in the Kadamba administration is not clear. From the Kansaarpaal plates it is clear that ancestors of Naagavarma prospered under the patronage of the Kadambas. Naagadeva granted the village named 'Varande' of Pedne taluka to a coppersmith named 'Lashhumasethi' The copper plate was granted from the temple of Shree Kalika which is said to be under the direct sway of the donor Naagadeva.

The Goa plates of Shashthadeva III¹⁷, the copper plates are found in Goa. The copper

¹⁶ S.G Kadamb, *Sources to Study History of Kadambas of Goa*, 493- 498; V.T Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu: Part 1*, 112.

¹⁷ S.G Kadamb, *Sources to Study History of Kadambas of Goa*, 413-415; J.F Fleet, "Goa Plates of Shashthadeva III," *Sanskrit and Old Kanarese Inscriptions* 14, (1885): 288, 289.



plates are dated in the first year of his reign, in 1246 A.D. The inscription records the grant of rice field "Kinjalauga" near the temple of Goveshwara to the Raajaguru Vishnusharma Dikshit of Gargya gotra. The rice field was situated in the village of 'Sulibhatti' in the North of Govapuri. The donee is said to be Shashtadeva's guru. The inscription also has a legend marked as "Shri Shashthadeva Pratishtaapakah Shri Kaamadeva Bhumipaalah," Through the title of the inscription king Kamadeva, the brother in law of Shasthadeva III is introduced as the establisher of Shashthadeva.

Most of the Kadamba grants glorify the achievements and praise of the kings. The inscriptions are related to the genealogies of the Kadambas. The Land grants made during the Kadamba period are lesser. The Kadamba period noticed expansion in trade and commerce. Gopakapattanam became an important trading centre in Goa as can be seen from the Goa plates of Jayakeshi I.¹⁸

The Kadamba period witnessed change of the state from pre state structure to the state polity. The Kadambas had to enjoy autonomy over the state for which they needed the support of the subordinates, this support as sought by them with the help of the religious ideas and institutions. The Kadambas displayed themselves as the upholders of the socio- political order. The legitimizing strategies used by the Kadamba monarchs such as distributing the resources, support of the Brahmanas, claim to genealogical links allowed them to be perceived as the moral agents in the eyes of the society.

¹⁸ Nagendra Rao, "Land Grants in Early Medieval Goa," *Indica* 41, no.1 (2004), 19.



CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSION

The study was based on the state and land grants by various dynasties from the 4th- 14th century. The study also highlighted the society, administration, religion of the rulers. In order to study all these aspects it as required to refer to the inscriptions issued by the kings of the dynasties from 4th- 14th century. The records of the kings that ruled over Goa such as the Bhoja, Konkan Maurya, Chalukya of Badami, Shilaharas, Goa Kadambas were studied. The inscriptions not only provided information about the grants made but also focused on their genealogies, administration and the nature of their rule.

The first chapter of the dissertation focused on the historical background of Goa, which provided an insight about the social and cultural history of the region. The study of the origin of Goa and its brief etymology is made in the first chapter. The chapter further discusses about the cultural remains of the early settlers of Goa. The stages of development of pre- historic men such as the Paleolithic age, the Mesolithic, the Neolithic age is discussed by providing discoveries of the scholars such as Nandakumar Kamat. The discoveries are allotted to certain period of pre- history which helps in understanding the human settlement and development over ages. The work of N. Nabiranjan, P.P Shirodkar, N. Kamat is was significan for the study of pre- historic period.

The next part of the chapter discusses about the ancient rulers of Goa. The dynasties ruling Goa which falls under the period of the present study from the 4th- 14th century is discussed in this part of the chapter. The rulers, administration, religion is discussed



providing understanding of the situation of Goa under every dynastical era from the period of 4th- 14th century. The chapter also discusses the fall of these dynasties and for this purpose the inscriptions of the kings ruling Goa from the 4th- 14th century was studied. The books such as gazetteers of Goa, Maharashtra, and the work of G.M Moraes were significant and provided information on the dynastical era with the inscripational evidences of their rule. The second last part of the chapter includes the review of literature of the articles and the books used for the study. The last part contains a brief description of the content included in all the chapters of the dissertation.

The second chapter is titled as LAND GRANTS AND THE STATE FROM THE PERIOD OF BHOJAS TO SHILAHARAS. This chapter includes an introduction about the concept of state formation and clears the concepts of legitimacy, authority and power which are important to understand in the nature of the state. The chapter discusses the inscriptions of the dynasties which includes the land grants made by the kings and also discusses the nature of the state under the dynasties of Bhoja, Konkan Mauryas, Chalukyas of Badami and the Shilaharas. The study of the grants is made not only with regard to land grants but inorder to study the state structure, the study of the inscriptions is necessary with regard to their administration.

The Bhoja dynasty in Goa is known from its first record in Shiroda and from it King Devarajabhoj is known to be the first ruler of this dynasty to rule Goa. The second king Prithvimallavarman is known from his to grants found in the region of Bandora of the Ponda region. The chapter further discusses the land grant made by the Bhoja king Asamkita for the Buddhist Vihara to Arya Sangha shows that the Bhoja society also



comprised of the Buddhists. Granting lands was considered a way of strengthening the legitimacy which the Bhojas might have obtained by providing lands to the Buddhists. The record also mentions imprecations in order to protect the grant given to Arya Sangha.

All six Bhoja records are of land grants, this indicates that the Bhojas considered land grants as a strategy for validation of power.

The next part of the chapter discusses about the Konkan Mauryas, known from two records found in Goa. The first grant is made for Maha vihara and the other grant records the gift of the Khajjana land, forest land and also a residential land with a house - site, garden and a tank given to the Brahmana of Harita gotra. From the record of the Bhojas and Konkan Mauryas, the mention of certain officials was common which indicated that the administration of the Bhojas was continued by the Konkan Mauryas. One of the grant of the Chalukya of Badami records that the region of Revatidvipa was controlled by a governor appointed by the Chalukya monarch Mangalesha, which indicated that the Chalukya monarchs did not rule the territories in Goa directly but kept the governors in charge of some places in Goa. From the records of Chalukyas of Badami in Goa it is observed that the Chalukyas made grants to the Brahmanas who were considered elite sections of the society and their support was considered important for increasing the legitimacy of the kings.

The last part of the chapter discusses about the Shilaharas. The chapter discusses about the three Shilahara records, dealing with their grants of lands. The first grant records the lands given to the merchants which is an indication of the presence of



mercantile community in their region. The second record is concerning the grants of the villages to the Brahmana of Shaiva clan. This grant records the maintenance of the temple and its priests with the gift of the provisions of gold coins with every ship coming from a region of 'Kundalamuliya.' This grant also mentions about trade indicating the existence of trade in this period. The third grant records the grant of the village to a Brahmana, indicating their importance in the society. The Chapter ends with a conclusion considering the period from Bhojas to Shilaharas as pre- state era due to their indirect control over Goa, considering Goa as a periphery and not a core region of their control.

Chapter three is titled as 'LAND GRANTS AND STATE UNDER THE KADAMBAS.' The period of the study of this chapter is from the 10th- 14th century. The entire chapter discusses about the Kadamba period in Goa. The Goa Kadambas claim their origin from a mythological descent Trilochana Kadamba. This claim is supported in the chapter by the Kadamba records of Curtorim inscription, Halshi inscription, Santa Ana Copper plate which traces the origin of the Kadambas to Trilochana Kadamba who is said to have emerged from the drop of sweat of Shiva. The Kadamba records are not only concerned of the land grants but also include myths related to their origin, their genealogies and achievements. The Kadamba records also include high sounding titles adopted by their kings showing their strength and power.

The earliest Kadamba inscription belongs to king Shashtadeva I. This inscription was found in Curdi. The inscription introduces king Shastadeva as the powerful Kadamba king, describing him with the titles such as 'Parameshwara.' The inscription mentions about the achievements of Shastadeva I. Next is the Gadivore grant of Shashtadeva II.



The inscription records the grant of the village 'Gadivore' to Brahmanas with privileges. The gift of the land was free from the interference of the royal officials which indicates that the land was given with complete protection and was free from restrictions. Another copper plate grant is the Savoi- Verem vopper plate records the grant of the village Savoi to a Brahmana. The Mercella plates also provides an account of the geneology of the Kadambas. The record states that Kantakacharya was the first Kadamba king of Goa followed by his son Nagavarma, his son Shashtadeva I, succeeded by Guhalladeva II and the son of Guhalladeva II was Shastadeva II and then came Jayakeshi I. The same geneology is discussed by G.M Moraes in his work Kadamba Kula.

Further, Curtorim inscription by Viravarmadeva is discussed in the chapter. The inscription describes the monarchs Guhalladeva, Shashtadeva II and Viravarmadeva with high sounding titles. The inscription records the grant of the land to a Brahmana. The Panjim plates of Jayakeshideva I also provides an account of the genealogies of the Kadambas and mentions Shashtadeva as a son of Guhalladeva and Jayakeshideva as a son of Shastadeva. The inscription records the grant of the land to an Arab by Jayakeshideva indicating good trading links with Arabs. Another copper plate records the grant of ten nishkas to a sculptor for the Naageshwara temple. One of the copper plate also records the establishment of brahmapuri by Kelima known to serve king Tribhuvanamalla. The record mentions about the benefactions made to twelve brahmana families. The purchase of land of house-site, garden, fields for the Brahmanas was made by Kelima. The record indicates a communal settlement with rules and regulations made to be followed by every resident. The plate also records the



construction of the Saraswati temple and records the purchase of the field in Salcete area for the maintenance of temple and the family of the priest.

Next inscription described is the Halshi inscription which records the Tribhog rights granted over a village by king Vishnuchitta. The inscription also discusses about the punishment given by Jayakeshdeva for the theft of the ornaments of God Narasimha in Halshi. Another grant made by the Kadamba official in the presence of the king is the Kansaarpaal grant of the village 'Varande' to a coppersmith. The grant was made by Naagadeva who served Kadamba king Tribhuvanamalla Soyideva for generations. The grant made by officials indicates the importance of the royal officials. Next discussed inscription is of the grant of the field to a Brahmana of Gargya gotra. This grant is called as the grant of Shashtadeva III but it describes with the title 'Shri Shashthadeva Pratishtaapakah Shri Kaamadeva Bhumipaalah which means the establisher of Shashthadeva III to the Kadamba throne is Kaamadeva, known as the brother in law of Shashthadeva III. Kaamadeva belonged to the Ratta dynasty.

The last part of the chapter discusses about the strategies used by the Kadambas for the legitimacy. The trade and commerce expanded during the Kadamba period. The developments of the society led to the change in the state structure.

MAIN FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

The main findings of the research are as follows

1. Donation of the land grant was one of the strategy used by the kings to obtain support of the donees to obtain legitimacy in state leading to state formation.



2. The lands donated by the Bhojas were for the Brahmanas, hence their main source of obtaining legitimacy was the support of the Brahmanas. The Bhojas adhered to the Brahmanical religion and supported Buddhism.
3. The Konkan Mauryas too made land grants in order to gain support of the locals and certain similarity in the record of the Bhojas and the Konkan Mauryas can be found which can be an indication that they continued with the administration of the Bhojas and did not introduce their own system of administration. They are also referred as pre- state polity.
4. The Chalukyas of Badami held control of Goa as a peripheral territory. They kept the governor in charge of their territories in Goa however their records also contain genealogies, which was a source of legitimacy.
5. The Shilaharas used their mythical origin to obtain legitimacy and also one of the land grant provided to the merchants indicate the presence of merchant community in Goa during their rule.
6. The Goa Kadamba rule was a transition of pre- state polity to a state society. Their inscriptions included land grants and are an account of their genealogies, achievements and origin which were a source of obtaining legitimacy. The Kadambas also contributed in the construction of brahmapuris and gave grants to Arabs. During the Kadamba phase trade became an important resource base in the state.



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