Political processes of Goa Kadambas

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Abstract: *The Goa Kadambas emerged in the tenth century AD and established their kingdom in Konkan including Goa. Initially hailing from the family of Banavasi Kadambas, they ruled Goa for almost four centuries. The Goa Kadambas inscriptions and coins are the sources for the study that help in understanding the political processes as well as the stage of state formation during their rule. The state administration, agrarian expansion, maritime trade of the Kadambas gives an insight into their administrative capabilities. This paper is an attempt to bring to light the various aspects of statehood in the state of Goa Kadambas. This paper argues that the Goa Kadambas, though occupying a relatively smaller geographical territory, was an emerging state and not just a ruling lineage.*

Keywords: *Inscriptions, Alupas, State, geographical territory, economy, trade, agrarian expansion, Kadambas, Goa*

Introduction

The Kadambas emerged as rulers in the mid-first millennium AD. Originally hailing from Banavasi as their capital, they later established their houses as the Kadambas of Banavasi, the Kadambas of Hangal, The Kadambas of Goa, and so on. Though the Kadambas ruled Banavasi from the fourth century AD, the house of Goa Kadambas came to existence by the end of the first millennium, the tenth century AD in Goa. From then onwards, they continued to rule till the mid of the fourteenth century, for over four hundred years.

The Goa Kadambas ruled in Goa approximately from 950 AD to 1350 AD[1]. The Kadambas won over the Goa Shilaharas and established their might. This marked the beginning of a new era in the history of Goa under the Kadambas. Though they have been termed as the first indigenous state system in the western coastal region of Karnataka and Goa[2], when the pre-Kadamba history of Karnataka is studied, it is found that the Alupa Dynasty was the first indigenous dynasty that ruled over South Kanara[3] since the second century AD[4]. This dynasty was later taken over by the Kadamba kings and they continued to control the territory as the feudatories of the Banavasi Kadambas and in later periods as the feudatories of rulers of other dynasties[5]. The Aluvas or Alupas also find mention in the Panjanakhani inscription of Jayakeshideva I of Goa Kadambas, where it is mentioned that Jayakeshideva I conquered the Alupas, the Shilahara ruler of North Konkan and the Lata ruler[6].

The re-emergence and establishment of Kadambas in Goa should be considered as the beginning of 'state' formation in the erstwhile feudal territory of superior powers. They demarcated their geographical territory and created a resource base that was capable of generating a surplus. The nucleus of power remained well within their geographical limits. The present article endeavors to analyze the stages of state formation of the Kadambas of Goa. It also tries to evaluate the nature of early medieval history in the South-Western coastal land in the above light, especially because Kadambas has not been conferred the title of 'state' by historians[7].

The inscriptions, which are mostly religious and social grants and coins of the Kadambas are the key sources of study for this article. Seventy-two inscriptions are available for the study. However, it remains obscure as to why there is a complete absence of literature in any form of the mentioned period, despite the proclaimed high learning status of the kings and their interest in religious and social activities as well as the presence of highly learned Brahmins and poets[8] in the court of Kadamba kings. The Kadambas are also associated with the issuing of *Padma-tanka* gold coins which were later imitated by the Chalukyan kings who replaced the lotus motif in the center with that of a boar[9].

Pre-Kadamba History of Goa

Goa has been called a part of Parshuram Kshetra[10], but no historical evidence has yet been found to justify this claim. For the time for which historical evidence is available, it is known that Goa was ruled by several dynasties

before the advent of Kadambas. Starting from the Bhojas of Chandrapur, who ruled from around fourth century AD, the Satvahanas, the Konkan Mauryas, the Shilaharas, several dynasties held their sway over Goa. These dynasties ruled as the feudatories of major kingdoms and Konkan was a part of their peripheral territories. At the time when the Shashthadeva I rose to power in the tenth century AD, the Goa Shilaharas were ruling over some parts of Goa. He defeated them and took over the reins in his hands. The inscriptions of the Goa Kadambas, though limited in number, give a fair idea about their administration and their political processes. B.D. Chattopadhyaya suggests that the political processes of a state should beseen in parallel terms with contemporary economic, social, and religious processes[11].

The Origin of Kadambas

The Kadambas originated from Banavasi and established the ruling lineage in the present-day state of Karnataka. Their historical significance has always been undermined which is seen in the form of little importance is given to them by historians. The Banavasi Kadambas originated when Mayurasharma rose against the Pallavas and established his independent kingdom with Banavasi as its capital in the fourth century AD. However, in the seventh century, they were dispossessed by the Western Chalukyas of Badami. In the tenth century, the Kadambas reemerged as kings and continued to rule in Konkan and other areas of Deccan till the mid of fourteenth century.

Goa Kadambas

The Kadambas ruled over South Konkan were called the Goa Kadambas and they continued to rule in the same territory for almost four hundred years. The pieces of evidence of Goa Kadambas have been found in Goa and Khanapur and Sampagaon talukas of Belgaum and a few in the northern and north-western part of the Dharwar district, adjacent to Goa territory[1]. The records mention 'Gove' as their capital and therefore they are known to be of Goa Kadambas. An important fact to be noted here is that though the Goa Kadambas originated from the Banavasi Kadambas, they mention their genealogy in their inscriptions. The inscriptions of Goa Kadambas mention their genealogy from Shashthadeva I where he has been termed as the founder of the dynasty of the Goa Kadambas. The Gadivore grant of Shasthadeva II mentions Trilochana Kadamba, also called Jayanta, as the progenitor of the Kadamba race. Though they mention the origin of the race from the mythical 'Trilochana' Kadamba, they do not mention any of the Banavasi Kadambas in

their genealogies. In the Gadivore grant of ShasthadevaII[12], the genealogy is started with Guhalla I, then Shastha I, Jayakesin I, Vijaya I, and so on. There is no mention of Banavasi Kadamba kings like Kakushthavarma, Mrigeshvarma, Shantivarma as the kings in the Goa Kadamba family[13]. Also, on studying the inscriptions of Goa Kadamba kings, it is observed that they mention Chandrapura and Gopakapattana as their capital cities. The name of the capital city in the inscriptions of early Kadambas is found to be Banavasi. This indicates that the branch of Goa Kadambas was attempting to become a separate kingdom. The Marcella plates of Shashtha Deva records the achievements of Kadamba chiefs before they established themselves as the feudatories of the Chalukyas, which shows that they were men of consequence and that the progenitors of the Goa Kadambas were powerful[1]. However, the Sanskrit inscription of Shashthadeva II mentions him with the name of *pashchimasamudradhish*[14]. The mentioned grant is devoid of any mention which shows that Shashthadeva accepted the suzerainty of any lord.They held a different identity and held sway over the Konkan area.

Geographical territory of Goa Kadambas

The Goa Kadambas ruled over a large part of Konkan. The inscriptions give a fair idea about their territorial extent. The state extended from Kapardikadvipa in the north of Goa extending up to Thane to Haive five hundred which is the North Kanara in the South. The Eastern areas included Velugrame, the present-day Belgaum, Unukal, and Sabbi, Kuntakuli, which is northeast of Hangal, Hanungal that is Hangal, Kadartoli in Sampgaum taluka, Palalgunde, Palsige that is modern Halsi and Kavadidvipa[15]. The kingdom reached its zenith of expansion under the rule of Jayakesi II. The nucleus of the Kadamba territory always remained within their territories. The inscriptions mention the names of Gopakapattana, Palsige, Chandrapur as the Kadamba capital towns. The capitals were changed by the emperors as the economy and sea-trade developed and also depending upon the military campaigns of the neighboring kings, which must have been important for the sustenance and growth of the state.

Economic Expansion

The Panjanakhani inscription mentions the term *padavalēndra* for the Kadamba king Viravarma which has been identified as the Kannada equivalent of Sanskrit epithet *paśchima-samudr-ādhīśvara*[16]borne by the rulers of Kadamba dynasty[17]. This makes the fact evident that they were the masters of

the western coastal region. It may also imply that they held sway in the sea-borne trade with foreign countries. The foreign trade was booming during those times and attributed to a major share of the kingdom's earnings. The inscriptions mention the flourishing mercantile community that dealt in gold, silver, cotton, cloth, victuals, paddy, pepper, fruits, oil, spices, camphor, perfumes, betel leaves, and other such articles[18]. The Goa Charter of Jayakeshi I, issued from Gopakapattana is a significant evidence that projects the commercial prosperity of the city of Gopakapattanam under the Kadamba rule. It narrates that the Kadambas were having trade relations with as many as fourteen countries[1] and that the city owed its prosperity to the wise administration of a minister of Jayakeshi, whom he appointedas the governer of the Konkan[19]. It also mentions the building of a *mijigiti* which was a mosque at the port of Gopakapattana. This building was not simply a place of worship; rather it became a center for tax collection which was fixed for every kind of ship and boats that arrived on the port, which established it as a port trust kind of institution. The taxes were obligatory and were levied in terms of *Gadayanakas* and *Drammas*[20]and the defaulters were punished. It also states that there was increase in trade as well as in the wealth of the people. This is indicative of the good economic and trade conditions of the Goa Kadamba kingdom. The Gandevi inscription mentions the construction of a *mandapika* or pavilion at the market near Gandevi in Gujarat by Shastha II while he was on a pilgrimage to Somanath temple. It is significant to note that Shastha II probably wished to extend his trade and commerce relations with the African countries through the Gandevi port. He even wished to reconstruct the Somanath temple that was destroyed by Mahmud of Gazhni. A Konkan king reaching a far off land of Gujarat and being able to carry out the aforesaid actions show the might of his kingdom. The Panjankhani inscription also mentions about the minister of Kadamba king who successfully defended the city of Panjim. This is suggestive of the strong army maintained by the Kadambas. This suggests that the Kadambas were a strong state who intended to expand their powers even in distant lands.

The Goa Kadambas issued gold and silver coins in their kingdom. The *padmatanka* coins, *Gadayanka*, *drachamma*, etc find mention in their inscriptions.

The Goa Charter of Jayakesi I mentions *Gadayanas*as the currency that was used during the 11th century[21]. It is significant to note here that state issues and uses currencies when there is a spurt in trade and commerce. The prosperous maritime trade of Goa Kadambas is made evident in the Gudikatti and Gandevi inscriptions.

Trade and agriculture were the main sources of revenue of the Kadamba period. Other than the Goa charter of Jayakeshi, the Panaji copper plates also mention about the busy trade conditions of the state. It mentions that the trade was carried out overseas as well as inland through roads[22].The mention of sea trade, construction of buildings, agriculture, the performance of temple rituals, circulation of gold, silver coins, are indicative of various kinds of trades and guilds that were a part of the Kadamba state economy. The use of iron instruments for farming and growing crops show the emergence of agricultural production. This is substantiated with the presence of iron ore in the state. It might have been put to use for constructions as well. The temple construction and the deities were carved out of stones which must have been carried out by skilled laborers. For designing the temples and the deities, specific people might have been appointed. The gold and silver coins are indicative of the presence of mint in the state. Special gold coins, *padma tanka*, were issued by the Kadambas, the design of which impressed the Chalukyan kings who later imitated and issued similar coins. Apart from these, local industries like spinning, weaving, brass, carpentry, jewelry, ironworks, basket making, and extraction of oil were flourishing in the Kadamba state. Shipbuilding must also have been a significant industry which becomes evident with the mention of maintenance of the fleet of ships by the kings.

State Administration

Romila Thapar suggests[23] that the presence of a state is evident by the use of political control and that of an administrative structure. She goes on to say that the reference to units of administration and official designations point towards a monarchial system. The constituents of the seven limbs of state, the *saptānga*[24], and other indications like the reference to Kadamba army fighting against Annalladeva[25] while defending Chandrapur, to the treasury from the evidence of Kadamba coins and revenue collection to the capital from references to Gopakapattana and Chandrapur and the recognition of territory under their control are reflected in the pieces of evidence of the Goa Kadambas which confirm to the presence of a state system.

The kingdom of the Goa Kadambas has been mentioned here as a state as they were into a process of state formation. The lineages that ruled over Konkan before the advent of the Kadambas[26], appear simply as a line of kings under the same hereditary name, where the evidence does not project the relationship between the kings[1]. On the other hand, the Kadambas genealogy is reflected in their epigraphs. B.D.Chattopadhyaya states that a state society is represented by

ruling lineages, has covered all nuclear regions, and has progressed well into peripheral areas[27]. The Goa Kadambas are seen to have a stable locus and the kings tried to expand their territory in the adjoining areas. The inscriptions make it clear that the Goa Kadambas reached the zenith of their power and greatness during the time of Jayakesi II[28]. His son Permadi-deva is also said to have declared independence and proclaimed himself the "*Konkana Chakravarti*"[29] meaning the emperor of Konkan. This shows that though the Goa Kadambas were the feudatories of the Chalukyas at some time, they were eager to free themselves and declare independence. A desire to declare their state as an independent state is evident in Permadi-Deva's proclamation in his inscriptions and no mention of being the feudal lords in Jayakesi I inscriptions.

The kings ruled supreme in the matters of administration. They functioned with a council of ministers wherein there were *dharma mantris, sandhivigrahi, purohit,* and other ministers who carried out the tasks assigned to them and reported back to the king. The geographical territory of the Goa Kadambas was quite expanded, hence some minister or governor might have been appointed for its administration. Other than that there were village communities that looked after the functioning of the village. The village officials[30] were responsible for the maintenance of law and order. They also looked into the collection of taxes. The grants to *agraharas* and *brahmpuris* indicated the share of every Brahman, temple, tank, other inclusions of the institution. This leads to the understanding of the administration at every level of the state. It shows that the administrative system was well established.

Agrarian Expansion

Another aspect of a state society that shows evidence in the Goa Kadambas was the agrarian expansion or the expansion of agricultural production. As suggested by Romila Thapar, the inclusion of virgin land, which includes the *khajjana* land, the forest land, or wasteland, into agriculture results in the expansion of the agrarian economy[31]. B.D. Chattopadhyaya includes agrarian expansion as one important aspect for considering a kingdom as a state[32]. The inscriptions speak of the several land grants which were given to the Brahmanas where they were offered the *khajjana*[33] land for agriculture purpose. The Panjim plates of Jayakesi I mention the word *khajjana* thrice[34] as *Pavara-khajjana*, *Kalp-Akhya-Khajjana,* and *Prativa-(ba)la-Khajjana*. Another grant belonging to KadambaTribhuvanamalla, a copper plate grant, mentions the term *khajjanaka*[35]. Few Portuguese documents also mention the presence of the *khajjana* lands in Divar Island that were employed for agricultural purposes[36]. The mentioned grants provide description

wherein the kings have gifted pieces of land, including *khajjana* land, to some Brahmanas. It shows that the kings aimed to bring the uncultivated land under agriculture. This practice of gifting lands to the Brahmans can be traced back to the ancient Indian tradition of giving *Dana* and *Dakshina* to the Brahmans in exchange for some religious work done by them for the donor[37]. In the present context, probably they carried out the ritual processes in the state, *puja* rituals of the deity in temples, perform the *yajnas* or sacrifices[38] for the kings, and also fulfilled the educative purposes[39] in the state for the people. The Brahmanas were also holding important posts in the king's council. Kings consulted them before carrying out any significant administrative tasks.

It is significant here to keep in mind that the system of community ownership of land and proprietorship existed in Goa since long ago and it continued during the Goa Kadamba kings too, though with little changes. In *Gauncari* system[40], the control of the village land, economy and village socio-religious life rested with the Gaunkars. It also meant that the generation, distribution and utilization of agrarian surplus or revenue rested with the communidade. With the kings depending upon the land revenue as a source for carrying out their administration, they were much interested in bringing the village economy under their control. It started with the encouragement given to learning, which enabled the learned people to take up position of kulkarnis of village communities. The Kadambas made several land grants for creation and maintenance of centers of learning like brahmapuris and agraharas[41]. This led to a gradual change in the structure and functioning of village communities in the form of increase in importance of Kulkarnis. The Brahmapuri established by Kadamba queen Kamaladevi at Degamve, brings out the real nature of the institution. This Brahmapuri was allotted fifty shares of revenue from the communidade for its smooth functioning, carrying out annual festivals and also for the maintenance of the complex[42]. Similar practice must have been in practice in other villages of Goa too, as indicated by the fact that the gaunkars provided a share of agrarian surplus of village produce to the temple authorities for the maintenance of the cult. The Kadamba kings fixed the share of learning centers to one-sixth of the surplus produce, while the remaining part was allotted for the maintenance of the cult.

The grants were also given to the highly learned Brahmins on the suggestion of their Brahman ministers. This brings us to the fact that the donee Brahmanas were well educated and learned. They were proficient in the study of Vedas, Puranas, astronomy, astrology, Ayurveda, logic, and reasoning and it was these

qualities that made them the beneficiary of king's gifts. The inscriptions also mention unclaimed forest lands being gifted to Brahmanas which were to be reclaimed after getting the forest cleared by the workers and thence employed for agriculture. This means that the kings were interested in increasing the agricultural areas and thereby helping in increasing the production and the state economy.

The gifts or grants were made tax-free to the donee Brahman and his generations to come[1], which is possible when the state is earning in surplus. The Kudatari inscription of Kadamba King Viravermadeva states that a piece of land in Kudatariagrahaar was gifted to a learned Brahman and was exempted from all taxes. The gifted piece of land valued at twenty-one *Bhairava Gadyanakas*[43] which was a gold coin of the Kadambas. This in a way also provided for welcoming the Brahmanas from outside areas to settle in the Kadamba state. The Kadamba kings claim of Brahmanic origin, belonging to Manavya gotra. Such patronization of the Brahmans shows that they were interested in the continuation of Brahmanic or Vedic culture in their kingdom. The Brahmans were allowed to enjoy the produce of the gifted land and the village officials were instructed to safeguard their rights[44]. The mention of agriculture also indicates the involvement of peasants or laborers. Inclusively they contributed towards the growth of the economy. There are mentions of tanks associated with temples, *agraharas, brahmpuris,* and land grants which mean that the irrigation facilities for the agricultural lands were also looked after.

Conclusion

The discussion is suggestive that the Goa Kadambas were not just a ruling lineage; they can be called a kingdom that functioned as a piece of state machinery. One can recognize all the attributes that are assigned to a kingdom to be called a state. The economical processes, the political and administrative processes are evolved and appear as an organized and stable system. A very important point to note here is change. The concept of Oriental Despotism concedes to the 'unchanging' state and in-fact appears as absolutism of the monarch. Every state grows, develops, and faces different situations that cause it to bring out a change in its various aspects. The territories or the areas held by the state keep increasing or decreasing depending upon external military raids by neighboring kings, revolts from within the country, changes in the economy, and many other factors.

End Notes:

[1]S. G. Kadamb mentions this in *The Kadambas of Goa*, p.1, V. T. Gune has mentioned 973 AD to 1300 AD as the period of Goa Kadambas in *The Gazetteer of Goa, Daman and Diu*, Part I, p.91, V. R. Mitragotri has mentioned that the reign of the Kadambas of Goa extended from the mid-tenth century to the later part of thirteenth century in *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa*, p.29.

[2]As mentioned by Yogender Dayma in his paper, Economic processes in the Early Kadamba State in *Proceedings of The Indian History Congress, Vol.67* (2006-2007), pp.118-127 and in Political Processes in the making of Early Kadamba State, *Proceedings of The Indian History Congress, Vol.68* (2008), pp.102- 114

[3]K. V. Ramesh, *A History of South Kanara*, p. 26

[4] The Alupas find mention in Ptolemy's Geography as *Olochoera*which has been identified as AluvaKheda. This shows that the Western coastal region was occupied by the Alupas or Aluvas since the second century at least, Edward Luther Stevenson(Trans. and Ed.), *Claudius Ptolemy The Geography* , p.154. The Kadambas of Banavasi emerged in the fourth century AD and won over the Aluva territory. Later in the inscriptions, the Aluva king, Pasupati, is stated to be the feudatory of BanavasiKadambas. When the Kadambas were dispossessed by the Chalukyas, they gained independence for some time and later again appear as the feudatories of the Chalukyas, K.V.Ramesh, *A History of South Kanara*, pp.1-34

[5] K. V. Ramesh, *A History of South Kanara,* pp.38-39.

[6]K. V. Ramesh, Four Stone Inscriptions from Goa, E.I., Vol. XXXVII, pp-284-287.

[7]B.D.Chattopadhyaya in his paper' Political Processes and Structure of Polity in Early Medieval India mentions that he is doubtful in using the terminology of 'state' in relation to the Kadambas. He states that the reason for it being the absence of a static territorial limit. Hermann Kulke, *The State in India 1000-1700 AD*, pp.195-232.

[8]The Panaji plates of Kadamba king Jayakeshi I mentions that the poet of Vishwarupa composed the Aravalem Cave Sanskrit inscription and the verses of the inscription are in *anustubh* meter. V.R.Mitragotri, A Socio-Cultural history of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijaynagara,p.268.

[9] See Walter Elliot, *The Coins of Southern India*, pp.64-65.

[10]This folklore is propounded in the Sahyadrikhand of Skandapurana, validation required.

[11]B. D. Chattopadhyaya, Political processes and the Structure of Polty in Early Medeival India, Hermann Kulke, *The State in India1000-1700 AD*, pp.195-232.

[12] Bombay Gazetteer I, part ii, pp.566-567.

[13]*Epigraphia Indica,* Vol.34, p.105

[14] The names of Early Kadamba kings are mentioned as provided in *The Kadamba Kula*.

[15]G. M. Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula*, p.167

[16]The term *pashchimsamudradhish* means 'lord of the western sea'. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol.34, p.105

[17]G. M. Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula* pp.192-193

[18] The term means the Lord of the Western Seas

[19]S. G. Kadamb, *Sources of history of the Kadambas of Goa*, p.17

[20]V. T. Gune, Goa's Coastal and Overseas Trade, p.132, in Teotonio R De Souza, *Goa Through The Ages*

[21]S.G.Kadamb, *Sources of history of the Kadambas of Goa*, p.29

[22]According to the Goa Charter of Jayakeshi, Sadano, the son of Arab merchant Madhumad, was a very capable minister of Jayakeshi under whose administration, there was spurt in the trade in Goa. For further details, see S.G.Kadamb, *Sources of the History of the Kadambas of Goa,* pp. 33-34.

[23]*Ibid*, pp. 28-38

[24] George Moraes, The Kadamba Kula, p.381

[25]S. G. Kadamb, *Sources of the History of the Kadambas of Goa,* pp.114-119.

[26]Romila Thapar, Regional History with reference to the Konkan, *Cultural Pasts*, pp.114-115

[27]Kiranjit Kaur, Kautilya: Saptanga Theory of State, *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol.71,No.1 (Jan-Mar,2010), pp.59-68.The Saptanga are referred to here as the seven limbs of a state as described by Kautilya in his book Arthashastra.

[28]The panjanakhani inscription refers to the exemplary servant of Jayakeshideva, Arakayya who defeated Annalladeva, E.I. Vol. XXXVII, Dr. K.V. Ramesh, pp.284-287

[29]The Bhojas, Konkan Mauryas, Goa Shilahara dynasties exerted their control over the land of Goa prior to the appearance of Goa Kadambas.

[30] The Shilahara inscriptions do not present the relation of the kings to each other that is in the genealogy of their race.

[31]See B. D. Chattopadhyaya's Political Processes and Structure of Polity in Early Medeival India, Hermann Kulke, *The State in India, 1000-1700 AD*, pp.195-232

[32]It is suggested by the inscriptions of jayakeshi II. Also a detailed analysis in G. M. Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula*, pp.190-197

[33] J F Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p.569, in Geoge Moraes, The Kadamba-Kula, p. 201

[34] The village officials were part of village administration system who helped to maintain law and order at the village level.

[35]Romila Thapar, Regional History with reference to the Konkan , *Cultural Pasts*, p.251

[36] B.D.Chattopadhayaya, Political processes and the structure of polity in Early medieval India, Hermann Kulke, *The State in India 1000-1700 AD*, pp.195-232

[37] The term *khajjana* means an area near the sea shore, on which a thin layer of sand accumulates after the ebb tide coming through inlets; a rice field created out of such an area near a hillock by erecting embankments on the three other sides; a field created by reclaiming a river bed; cultivable land created from the bed of a river which carries the

flood-water from the sea; a salty marsh or meadow; a rice field created near the bed of a nullah on the sea shore by putting embankments. See Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXIII, pp. 53-54. It is sometimes called pukkoli-khajjana, pukkoli probably meaning a similar kind of land, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p.154.

[38]*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol.33, p.50

[39]*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol.33, p.50

[40]Namoxins 7646, Goa State Archives. It mentions about Divar cultivation and also the names of the occupants of the khajjana lands.

[41]Romila Thapar, Dana and dakshina as forms of exchange, *Cultural Pasts*, pp.521-535.

[42] The Kadamba king Guhalladeva, Shasthadeva I and Viravermadeva are said to have performed eighteen horse sacrifices in the Curtorim Inscription, Historical Archives of Goa, Vol.I, No.I,pp.55-58

[43] The Brahmans were the teachers in the Brahmpuris established in the state by the kings. Brahmpuris functioned as the centers of higher learning.

[44] Remy Antonio Diano Dias, The Socio-economic History of Goa with special reference to the *Communidade* system: 1750-1910 , p. 1

[45] The Kadamba inscriptions published in *Epigraphia Indica* volumes and in *EpigraphiaCarnatica*volumes, *The Kadamba Kula* mention the land grants made by the kings for the construction, functioning and maintenance of Agraharas and brahmapuris.

[46] John Faithful Fleet, "Inscriptions relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa". in *Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. IX, pp. 266-287.

[47] The Kadamba inscriptions mention the beneficiary brahmana and also mention that no tax shall be levied on the grants made to them. This gift was enjoyed by the Brahman himself as well as his generations to come.

[48]Gadayanakas were gold coins issued by the Kadambas. The weight of each coin was 4.75 grams, V.T. Gune, Newsletter of Historical archives of Goa, Vol.I, No.I, pp. 55-58 and 61-64

[49] This becomes clear when we see that the orders of the land grant are addressed to the village officials as well which indicates that everyone must be aware of the gifts and no tax might be extracted on the agricultural produce of those lands.

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