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Temple Economy in Goa: A Case Study

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Abstract

From the times immemorial, Goa, a tiny state in India, had self-governing village communities or Gramasamsthas. Joao de Barros gave credit for their establishment to the immigrants from Canara namely the Kunbis and Gaudes, who descended the Ghats, reclaimed the land and made it cultivable. The original settlers were made jointly responsible for the village administration. J. C. Almeida called the Gramasamstha, an agrarian association. The Portuguese called it the Comunidade. The rural life was dominated by the temple which was the nerve centre of every village. Land distribution was done in such a way, that building and maintenance including performance of various religious rites and rituals of the temple became a major responsibility of the Gramasamstha. Incomes accruing from the best rice fields, coco and areca gardens were set aside for the purpose. Cultivated lands along the river banks were partly used as nelly to fund the maintenance of the village temple. A thorough scrutiny of the primary sources like the Forals or the Revenue Registers, the Comunidade Records, the Compromissos or the private statutes and the Annual Budgets of the temples allude to the fact that all temples were richly endowed. Their financial affluence and religious authority invited the Portuguese Government to introduce a regulation that would supervise their management. It has been noticed that every temple has played a key role as it operated as a property owner, an employer, a bank and a major consumer of goods and services. In the present times with their private statutes and private funding agencies, they are exercising virtual autonomy; though they are still under the tutelage of the Administrator of Temples. This paper presents the case study of Temple of Shantadurga of Kavle, the richest temple of the state and the best known on the international tourist circuit, to highlight the role played by the temple in shaping the village economy in Goa.

Keywords: Hindu, Temple, Mazania, Mahajans, Regulamento, Saraswat Brahmins

1. Introduction

Goa, one of the youngest states of India, is situated at 15° 48' – 14° 53' North and 74° 20' 13" – 73° 40' 33" East. It is located between the Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea. Goa occupies an area of 3700 sq. km. Situated in the sub-Ghat region of Goa, Ponda or the erstwhile *Antruz Mahal* offers not only a physical contrast to the coastal Goa, but cultural as well. While the coastal land exhibits a Christianized and Latinized landscape of *Goa Dourada*, this taluka represents *Goa Indica* aspect of the state. The taluka of Ponda constitutes a viable unit for

conducting micro-level historical studies about the state of Goa which provide a critical analysis of the origin, growth and development of the local society within a socio-cultural framework.

When Goa came under the rule of powerful royal dynasties, the responsibility of supporting and sustaining the activities of the temple, was taken up by the Kings and other members of the royal families. This is evident from the different land grants that were made by different royal dynasties to the temples, *agraharas*¹ and the *Brahmapuris*² from time to time. The Shilahara dynasty was the follower of the Shaivite sect. The temple of Shiva at Curdi, the temple of Mahalaxmi at Neturli in Sanguem taluka and that of Saptakoteshwar at Opa in Ponda taluka belonged to the period of the Goa Shilaharas (Gune 1965). The Kharepatan Grant of A. D. 1008 of Rattaraja made to Avveshwara temple in his capital Balipattana gives information about the administration of temples of the Goa Shilaharas. This grant provides for the maintenance of the family of the temple priest. The Shilaharas continued the system of temple management by employing servants for the temple on regular basis which was initiated by the *Gramasamstha*. The Goa Kadambas went a step further in bestowing honours and wealthy gifts on religious institutions. The Savai-Vere Plate of Guhalladeva II of A. D. 1038 and Priol Plate of Guhalladeva III Tribhuvanmalla of A. D. 1099 are some examples of Kadamba philanthropy. The latter inscription of Kadamba King Guhalladeva III Tribhuvanmalla Vijayarka records the grant of 10 *Nishkas* to the Nageshwara temple and the donee was Nagdevarya, an expert of scriptures. King Shivachitta Permadideva was a devotee of Shiva. His wife Kamaladevi created *Agraharas* for the learned *Brahmins* (Fleet 1898). Coins of Shivachitta were inscribed with the name of his deity Saptakoteshwara, while those of Jayakeshi I, with Malege Bhairava (Moraes 1990). The *Nagaji Mandir Shilalekha* of 1413 A.D. was issued registering the land grants to the temples of Nagesh and Mahalaxmi at Bandora, made by Mai Shenoi, an official of Vijayanagara King Sangam Devrai I, whose royal writ was then running over Goa. This endowment was for the maintenance of such things as daily worship, *naivedya* (offering of cooked food) and lighting of *nandadeep* (perpetual lamp in the sanctuary) on behalf of the donor (Wagle 1913; Mitragotri 1999).

The taluka of Ponda came under the Portuguese rule in the second half of the 18th century. It had fortunately escaped the fury of the proselytization as it was a late entrant into the Portuguese sphere of influence. This taluka too, was following the traditional pattern of village administration with some variations owing to the Muslim rule, which sought to limit the autonomy of the villages through its political agents. But these agents, better known as the Desais and Sardesais, being Hindus themselves, did not tamper with the traditional approach of the village community towards the temple and its management (Desai 2010). The *gramasamstha* not only donated the most fertile lands to the temple for its maintenance and that of its servants, but also made contributions for the performance of certain religious ceremonies and observances.

The Portuguese government attempted to regulate the administration of the temples by passing a law on October 30, 1886. This was the *Regulamento* of 1886. It was superseded by another *Regulamento*³ of March 30, 1933. The constitution and management of the Hindu temples is conducted under the provisions of the Act of 1933 which consisted of 437 articles. The assets of the *mazania* like treasures, funds, immovable properties and their administration, income of the temple, budget, debts, long term leases, distribution of landed properties, sale of mortgaged articles, survey and registration of the temple properties, usurpation and misappropriation of landed properties, etc. were brought under the purview of this Act. The *mazania*, the General

Body of *Mahajans* or the hereditary temple managers, is subject to the provisions of this Act and the *Compromisso* or Bye-laws, which are specific to each temple. The Administrator or the *Mamlatdar* of the taluka, could propose the dissolution of the Managing Committee, if it had disregarded the *Regulamento* in any way (Devasthan Regulation 2010).

2. Research Method

Temple Economy in South India has been the focus of many a scholars. Much attention has been devoted to highlight the role of the temple as a prime agent for redistribution of economic resources (Stein 1960; Stein 1978; Spencer 1968). A study has been made on how donations and endowments made to the temple permit incorporation of corporate units like families, castes, sects etc. (Appadurai 1981; Appadurai and Breckenridge 1976) into temple circuit. Temple donations have been found to be the tools of socio-political empowerment (Breckenridge 1986; Talbot 1991). The role played by the temple in bringing about political and economic integration of a region has been probed systematically (Dirks 1976; Ludden 1979; Heitzman 1987; Hietzman, 1987; Hietzman, 1991; Branfoot 2008). Cultural dynamics of a Hindu temple have been investigated by some scholars (Fuller 1988; Inden 1985).

With respect to Goa, temple has been a key symbol of local resistance to the Portuguese hegemony (Axelrod and Fuerch 1996; Iffeka 1985). It has been a master symbol of cultural resurgence (Kamat 2012). However economic aspect of the Goan temple had hitherto remained a mystery owing to the apathy shown by the hereditary temple managers to research and systematic investigation. The present paper is an effort to probe the economic profile of the Temple of Shantadurga at village Kavle. A host of oral sources like the members of the Managing Committees, legal experts who represent the temples in law courts, temple servants, and the village elders were interviewed to gain a deeper insight into the administrative traditions that are followed at this temple. Economics of this temple is traced in three time frames namely, when it was directly under the *Gramasamstha*, when it came under the purview of the *Regulamento* of 1833 and in the recent times. *Foral de Salcete* of 1568 and *Foral de Salcete* of 1622 (the Revenue Register written in Portuguese and housed in the Historical Archives of Goa) are used for tracing the economics of the temple when it was in its original site at Kelshi in Salcete taluka. The *Comunidade* records written in Marathi language (*Modi* script) in 10 volumes for the period 1817-1854 and maintained in the Historical Archives of Goa at Panaji are used for probing the economics of the temple when it got relocated in village Kavle. Relevant section of the *Compromisso* of the temple is used for the second and the Budget of the said temple for the year 2010-2011 is used for the last timeframe.

3. Findings

The *Gramasamstha* in every village not only donated the most fertile lands to the temple for its maintenance and that of its servants, but also made contributions for the performance of certain religious ceremonies and observances (Xavier 1950; Furtado 1954; De Souza 1979; De Souza 1994). Certain contributions were of a fixed nature, while others were variable (Pereira 1981). Examples of variable contributions were those made with respect to the feasts like *Jagar*⁴ of Betoda, *Jagar samaradhana* (a community lunch hosted by the temple) at Nirankal, the festivals in the temples of Vetaleshwar at Veling, Shantadurga at Khandepar, Mandodari at Betki and

Madananta at Vere. Most of the *Gramasamsthas* contributed for the expenses of the *nandadeep* and the general illumination of the temple. This too varied from year to year.

Some of the contributions of a fixed nature were: *Dharmadaya*, which was a contribution towards remuneration of the priest in Betoda and Nirankal; *Gramadalap*, a contribution made by the community of Bhoma; *Hakka*, a contribution made by a multitude of communities in favour of temples, *maths* (monasteries), *gyotishis* (astrologers), *ghadis* (witch doctors) and others and also as a reward to the bearers of the *rayas patras*⁵ of the Pontiffs of the Monasteries of Partagal and the Kavle. *Vatan* was another contribution made by the village communities in favour of the temples, their servants as well as the monasteries. *Vatan* was also known as *Inam* which was a fixed pension. In village Bori, while the priest, washer-man and the barber got only *namashi* (a property given to a temple servant in lieu of salary), the blacksmith enjoyed a fixed *vatan* besides the *namashi*. The *gramasamstha* of Bandoda instituted an annual pension for the temple musicians and *Katkar*⁶. Almost all *gramasamsthas* of Ponda contributed towards the annual pension for the *Bhavins*⁷. Similarity between the *namshi* and the *vatan* was that, both could be enjoyed as long as the grantee rendered service to the temple. Interestingly, Pereira also points out, that these *Gramasamtha* not only bore the expenses of the temple, but also contributed for the upkeep of some of the mosques and the religious functionaries attached to them.

3.1 Management of the Temple of Shantadurga of Kavle

The Government Order No. 260 approved the *Compromisso* or the Private Statutes of the Temple of Shantadurga and it was published in the government Gazette No.86 dated November 3, 1909 (Pereira 1978). The constituent members who have hereditary proprietary rights on this temple and commonly known as the *Mahajans* belong to the twelve *Vangads* or families. Article 1 of the *Compromisso* (1909) says that the temple of Shantadurga was transferred in the 16th century from Kelshi in Salcete taluka to Kavle in taluka of Ponda.



Plate 1

Image of Shantadurga

Sanctuary of the Temple



Plate 2

Temple of Shantadurga, Kavle

The temple of Shantadurga has the spiritual sway over a large number of *Saraswats*⁸ of Goa. This temple is renowned for its picturesque location and exquisite architecture. No information is available about the administration of this temple, while it was in its original site at Kelshi as the sudden event of the shifting of the deity to escape the onslaught of Captain Diego Fernandes who had launched the drive of temple destruction in the Salcete taluka of South Goa, did not permit transfer of temple documents (Dhume 2009).

According to the *Sthalapurana* or the temple chronicle (Sheldekar and Sheldekar 1912), Naro Ram Rege, a devout *Mahajan* of Shantadurga belonging to the Kaushika *gotra* or clan, was raised to the position of the *Mantri* or the Cabinet Minister of Shahu, the King of the Marathas in the neighbourhood of Goa. During his visit to Kavle, he was pained to see the poor state of affairs of the temple. He immediately endeavoured to build a magnificent temple for Shantadurga along with an *Agrashala*, a rest house for the devotees, at the rear side. The new temple with its wonderful dome stands as a brilliant example of temple architecture in Goa.

Subsequently when the Marathas took over the *Antruz Mahal* in 1738 from the King of Sonda, Naro Ram got secured from Bajirao I, the Prime Minister of Shahu, the *Mokasa* (the land grant that empowers the grantee to collect revenues of the locality) of Kavle village to the temple and the *Inam* or Pension of Rs. 250 in 1739 to make provisions for funding the daily worship, offerings of cooked rice and lighting of perpetual lamps in the sanctum sanctorum. This arrangement continued till the *Antruz Mahal* was in the custody of the Marathas. But when it got transferred to the King of Sonda, the *Inam* was discontinued for many years.

Another devout *Mahajan* Ramchandra Malhar Sukhthankar who was an eminent courtier of the Marathas, visited the temple in 1746, he made several hefty donations in terms of cash and jewelled ornaments to the deity. He got constructed an additional *agrashala* thereby completing the task that was begun by Naro Ram. He also got re-executed the *Inam* of Kavle in favour of the temple (Pissurlekar 1966). The information about the said grant was conveyed to the Portuguese Viceroy through an official communiqué from the Prime Minister of the Marathas, Balaji Bajirao (*Livro VII* 1754).

In the early days after relocation of the temple, the *Mahajans* of the temple were collectively responsible for the conduct of the ritual worship, feasts and festivals (Dhume 1988). The temple administration became a major endeavour owing to the acquisition of the *Mokasa* of Kavle village, other landed properties, lease rents, donations and endowments made by the rich and influential devotees, contributions made by the public and private institutions (Kuvvelkar 1966).

3.2 Economics of the Temple of Shantadurga at its Original Site in Kelshi

The temple of Shantadurga at its original site in Kelshi in the Salcete taluka was destroyed in 1567. The graphic details of the drive for temple destruction carried out by Captain Diego Fernandes in the Salcete taluka are available in the letter of Fr. Luis de Goes sent to the higher authorities in Old Goa, the capital of the Portuguese empire in the east (Silva Rego 1953). The *Panchanama* Report was made a year later and registered in the *Foral de Salcete* of 1568. Apart from recording the temple properties the *Foral* of 1568 also notes some of the payments the villagers popularly known as the *Gãonkars*, had to make to the temple functionaries at the time of the harvest. Another similar exercise was carried out fifty five years later. The *Foral de Salcete* of 1622 carries the survey report prepared by the clerk of the Public Court, Gaspar Moreira, which says that as per the order of the *Ouvidor de Salcete*, Francisco Travasso, dated October 25, 1622, a committee of the *Gãonkars* was formed to measure the *namoxins* (properties donated to the Temple and its servants by the *Comunidade*) of the village. They were assisted by the Attorney of the Society of Jesus and an interpreter. This report is signed by the *Ouvidor* and all the members of the committee. The said report enlists 10 paddy fields and 21 palm and areca groves as properties assigned to the temple.

3.3 Economics of the Temple of Shantadurga at Kavle

The *Compromisso* of the temple records Rs. 1034 *annas* 7 and *paise* 5, as the income accruing in 1909 from the *Comunidade* as the contribution to the Temple of Shantadurga as the *Mokasa* holder of the village of Kavle. The said *Comunidade* also paid the *Hakka* and *Retibo*, the other two traditional contributions (*Livro*, Vol. I, 1817). The *Comunidades* of Velgem and Sanquelim also used to pay the *Hakka*. The tax known as the *Kalepatti* and the *Rathapatti* towards two annual feasts were paid by the various *Comunidades* of taluka of Ponda and by the *Camara Gerais* (agricultural bodies) of Chandravadi, Balli and Hemadbarse and on behalf of the latter *Camara*, by the *Fazenda* or the Revenue Department, after its abolition. The Annual Budget for 2010-11 mentions Rs. 1188.98 as the *Vatans* received from the Govt. and the different *Comunidades*. The Belgundi taluka of Belgaum district of the State of Karnataka through the Govt. Treasury used to contribute Rs. 12 as annual tribute to this temple in 1981 (Dangui 2010). The details of such incomes are reflected in the following table:

<i>Vatans from Government and Comunidades</i>	Amount
<i>Hakka</i> of Mulgundi from Chandrawadi province (<i>Fazenda Publica</i>)	23.62
Contribution from Embarbarcem (<i>Fazenda Publica</i>)	3.97
<i>Mecese</i> of <i>Mokasa</i> and <i>Hakka</i> from Kavle <i>Comunidade</i>	1,035.85
<i>Hakka</i> from Velguem <i>Comunidade</i>	94.45
<i>Kalepatti and Rathapatti</i>	
<i>Comunidade</i> of Kavle	1.90
<i>Comunidade</i> of Kundai	1.90
<i>Comunidade</i> of Shiroda	2.83
<i>Comunidade</i> of Wadi	0.48
<i>Comunidade</i> of Bethora	0.72
<i>Comunidade</i> of Cuncoliém	0.48
<i>Comunidade</i> of Nirankal	0.48
<i>Comunidade</i> of Talaulim	0.95
<i>Comunidade</i> of Candola	0.95
<i>Comunidade</i> of Curti	0.48
<i>Comunidade</i> of Chandrawadi	2.08
<i>Comunidade</i> of Codar	0.48
<i>Comunidade</i> of Bali	2.53
<i>Comunidade</i> of Kavle	2.83
<i>Vatandari</i> of Belgundi village, District Belgaum to the Temple of Shantadurga from Government of India	12.00
Total	Rs. 1,188.98

The temple earned sizable income from the *foros* or rents of the properties leased perpetually. These properties were mostly donated by the *Comunidades* or by the *Mahajans* and devotees so that the expenditure of the ceremonies and festivals that they had sponsored could be defrayed from the rents earned therefrom. As such the properties owned by the Temple of Shantadurga are located all over Goa. Dhume (1981) enumerates a total of 37 properties which include paddy fields, coco and areca groves located in Kelshi, Kavle, Agapur, Wadi, Bandora, Curchorem, Sanguem and Shiroda. Rarely these properties were bought by the temple.

The temple also followed the practice of receiving cash deposits from the sponsors who had to contribute such an amount so as to cover the expenses of the chosen ceremony within half of the interest accrued thereon (Sabnis 2010). The latest budget of the temple lists the names of 87 *Mahajans* and devotees who have deposited capitals with the temple in connection with the ceremonies that they have sponsored since 1918, the smallest amount deposited being Rs. 2.63. Another list in the said document furnishes names of 1272 sponsors who have instituted ritual ceremonies at the temple which are mentioned as Permanent *Devakrityas*. This list dates from

December 1, 1914 and the smallest amount contributed being Rs. 0.25. Even the brass band of the temple known as *Chaughudo* which is an ensemble of four types of drums, two wind instruments and cymbals is sponsored by Narayan V. Rau Dabholkar from Mumbai. But those amounts contributed being very insignificant compared to the present day inflation, the temple has to make additional contribution in order to ensure the performance of those ceremonies. As such, these ceremonies feature in the annual expenditures of the temple. Chapter IV of the *Compromisso* speaks of the arrangement made to fund the festivals and ceremonies that are celebrated in the temple. Expenses on some of them are borne by the Temple Treasury, while others are funded by the *Mahajans* and the devotees. Though all the temples Goa which are under the control of the Saraswats reserve membership of the *mazania* only to the male descendants natural or adopted, when it comes to sponsoring ceremonies at the temple, no gender discrimination is resorted to. The list of Sponsors provided in the above mentioned budget includes names of many women.

The *Compromisso* provides the fee structure for the performance of different rituals that are performed in the temple. Article 12 (*Compromisso* 1909) mentions that in case of the performance of the ceremony called *tulabhar*, the items offered in terms of coconuts, brass and copper articles or food items should be distributed among the priests and the servants as per the tradition but if the offerings are made in terms of gold, silver, corals, pearls and precious stones they would belong to the temple. Similarly, if an offering is made of gold flower in a *puja*, it will go to the priest on duty; but gold coins or gold bars offered amidst the *abhisheka* or ablutions will be credited to the Temple Treasury.

The Temple of Shantadurga was the recipient of traditional contributions from different *Comunidades* of Goa. All the cash incomes were used not only for the maintenance of the temple but a larger part of the same was invested in *Banco Nacional Ultramarino* or in a Postal Saving Bank or in buying shares of the different *Comunidades* as per the guidelines of the *Regulamento* of 1933. The temple was a proud owner of shares of the different *Comunidades* of the state. Dhume (1981) quotes that the temple owned a total of 574 shares of the *Comunidades*; maximum of the Kundai *Comunidade* (274 shares), followed by those of Kuveli *Comunidade* (250 shares) and Kelshi *Comunidade* (50 shares). The Budget quoted above mentions Rs. 601 as dividend and interest earned on shares of the *Comunidades*. The figure itself is indicative of the remoteness of the time in which these shares were bought by or dedicated to the temple by the private parties. On rare occasions, the shares against which loans were advanced were appropriated by the temple in case the debtor failed to repay the loan taken (Kamat 2010). Article 93 of the said *Regulamento* permitted lending of capitals against gold, silver, shares of the *Comunidades* or of any companies legally established and mortgage of immovable properties. The afore-mentioned Budget marks Rupees 403.89 as the interest earned on loans advanced. The meagreness of the amount is an indication to the possibility that those loans were either advanced in the last century or the rate of interest must have been pretty low. Precise information about the lending policy of the temple is not available as the Secretary of the Temple preferred to maintain silence (Gaitonde 2010). Though lending of ornaments, garments and such other expensive belongings of the goddess is impermissible, the copper and brassware including the temple insignia can be let out. The said Budget mentions auction of *mhovems*⁹ and sarees¹⁰ as another source of income netting Rs. 100,000 and Rs 200,000 respectively. The *Compromisso* (Article 10) concedes auction of all kinds of possessions of the temple which are perishable or in excess, which includes even pieces of jewellery.

Another major source of income happens to be the rents accruing from premises leased out for a bank, for canteen and for small vendors who deal in articles of worship. Blocks in the *Agrashalas* and community hall rented to the *Mahajans* and locals also raise substantial revenues for the temple.

3.4 Temple Servants and Transactional Network of the Temple

The *Compromisso* of the temple (Chapter V, Articles 16-32) is unequivocal in its approach towards the temple servants. They are to be perpetually in submission towards the members of the Managing Committee. Their duties and remunerations are specified with great details. They are warned against theft and illegal sale of their *namshis*. The temple's musicians are permitted to give recitals for private parties with prior permission of the Managing Committee and the dancing girls could perform at private functions provided they pay fixed fees to the temple for such assignments. The servants are partly recipients of incomes accruing from the sponsored ceremonies. This arrangement accommodates profit sharing between the temple managers and the temple servants but perpetuates social categorization by permitting higher gains to the priest and at the same time maintaining exclusive right of the temple managers in controlling key incomes earned in terms of precious metals and stones. The *Compromisso* of the temple proves to be instrumental in perpetuating caste distinctions as it forbids the servants from staying away from village without permission and unless they have arranged for substitutes and they are prohibited from entering the temple precincts using foot wares. They are not supposed to illegally hire out any precious possessions of the deity. All *Mahajans* are to closely monitor their activities and any misbehaviour on their part is to be dealt with stringent action. Depending upon the seriousness of their offence, they could be publicly reprimanded, could face loss of one month's salary, suspended from service for one year or dismissed altogether from service. The Managing Committee can dispense with first two penalties, while the last two are solely in the discretion of the Administrator of Temples (Penal Provisions of the *Compromisso*, Articles 33-35). However it is to be noted that only this temple spends sizable amount on giving special benefits to its functionaries like the Group Gratuity and Group Insurance, Pensions, Emoluments and Staff Welfare (Annual Budget 2010-11).

3.5 Budgetary Allocations of the Temple of Shantadurga

Income and Expenditure of the Temple of Shantadurga for the year 2010-2011 is reflected in the following table (Annual Budget 2020-2011):

INCOME	AMOUNT	TOTAL	%
Rent of the Rural/Urban Properties			
Blocks	9,12,000		
Bank Premises	66,000		
Canteen	72,000		
Hall	2,50,000	13,00,000.00	9%
Income from Shares, <i>Communidade</i> , etc.		2,193.87	0%
Interest of lent Capitals			
Fixed Deposits	56,50,000		
Saving Bank A/Cs	2,00,000	58,50,000.00	41%
Annual Rents and <i>Foros</i>		22,561.45	0%
Contingent Receipts		71,00,000.00	50%
Grand Total		1,42,74,755.32	100%
EXPENDITURE			
Control and Superintendence		5,73,400.00	4%
Salaries			
Temple Servants	6,25,000		
Goup Gratuity and Insurance	1,25,000		
Salary A/C	14,00,000		
Pension A/C	18,000		
Staff Emoluments and Welfare	1,90,000		
Labour	6,000	23,64,000.00	17%
Obligatory Festivals			
<i>Navaratri</i>	7,50,000		
<i>Jatra</i>	9,00,000		
<i>Pindika Utsav</i>	3,00,000		
<i>Other Utsavs</i>	4,60,000		
<i>Nandadeep, Nitya Ratib, Panchakhadya</i>	2,65,000		
Subsidy to <i>Gomantak Sansrittojak Mandal</i>	1,000		
Subsidy to Kavle Monastery	60,000		
Subsidy to <i>Matruchhaya</i> Orphanage	5,000		
Subsidy to <i>Shri Shantadurga Shikshan Samiti</i>	600		
<i>Derram</i>	1,10,000		
Others	46,750	28,98,350.00	20%
Interest of Book Debts/Taxes		252.85	0%
Beneficence and Education		2,00,000.00	1%
Repairs and Maintenance		71,15,000.00	50%
Miscellaneous Expenditure		10,46,000.00	7%
Grand Total		1,41,97,002.85	100%
Balance		77,752.47	0.54%

The Managing Committee of the Temple of Shantadurga has to submit the annual budget of the temple to the Administrator of the Temples at Ponda for his approval. Subsequently it has to be approved by the Collector of North Goa District. Only then it can be implemented. This process is made mandatory by the Articles 74-75 of the *Regulamento* of 1933. All financial transactions have to be strictly according to the approved budget. The Administrator of the Temples is entitled to the *Derram* fees from the temple for his supervision over the temple administration. The highest *Derram* fees in Ponda taluka are paid by the Temple of Shantadurga which is an allusion to the net worth of this temple.

The Royal Order of June 16, 1896 had made it mandatory for all temples registered with the Mamlatdar of the Ponda Taluka to contribute 3% of their total income for the Fund of Beneficence and to subsidize primary education. The temple under consideration does make donations, but compared to its total income, only a microscopic portion is doled out for charitable and educational institutions.

This temple every year prepares a mega budget in keeping with its enormous resources. A fair idea about the Economics of the Temple of Shantadurga for the years 2007-2011 can be gauged from the following table (Annual Budgets 2007-2011):

Particulars	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11
Income	65,39,073	1,06,83,073	1,25,39,755	1,42,74,755
Expenditure	65,29,389	1,06,74,010	1,24,99,252	1,41,97,002
Balance	9,684	9,063	40,503	77,753

4. Conclusions and Recommendations

People of the erstwhile *Antruz Mahal* have developed for themselves an impeccable reputation for accommodating and sustaining the different cults which had to be shifted to this region inadvertently. They have shown great interest in making endowments to the temples. Growing incomes of the temples and the regulations enforcing registration of temples brought in a phase of intense manipulations to control the *mazanias*. All the temples of Goa bore remarkable economic characteristics. The Temple of Shantadurga is no exception. As a property owner, it allotted estates to private parties and expected them to improve their productivity. At times irrigation facility was provided by channelizing excess water of the temple tank. This temple provides employment not only to the regular temple functionaries, but also to a large number of wage earners on occasional and seasonal contracts. As a consumer it makes large purchases of commodities to be used in the worship and also to make provision for feeding the *Brahmins* and other visitors.

The financial character of the temple can be gauged from the capital amounts that were loaned to the *Comunidades* and private individuals. Money was kept in circulation by lending capitals against jewellery, shares of the *Comunidades* and even expensive clothes. Such activities resulted in the creation of wealth. However it has been noticed that the practice of lending money has fallen in disuse in the present times as the *mazania* is content in making regular investments in banks. This temple has large cash and gold reserves, but the *mazania* refrains from creating an impetus in the money market of the locality in a big way. So far there are no efforts made to emulate the example of the Venkateshwara Temple at Tirupati, which happens to be a key player in the Andhra economy. But the economic character of the temple is still very much pronounced because it has a pronounced presence in the local market. It owns the buildings that house the provision stores, eateries and such other outlets. The economic importance of the Shantadurga Temple at Kavle was brought to the fore when the first ever bank in Ponda taluka was inaugurated in the vicinity of this temple. The temple creates avenues of earning livelihood for a host of people who operate as vendors of flowers and such other items of worship. The local ladies particularly, are the beneficiaries of this practice. A large number of priests from all over Goa and also Karnataka are engaged in the performance of special ceremonies and sacrifices that last for several days every year. At the time of annual festivals many small-time traders put up their stalls within the temple precincts on payment of nominal dues to the temple and sell their merchandise to the visiting multitudes. Money has been pouring into this temple as it is on the tourist circuit, but the lack of professional expertise sadly limits and constrains its investments resulting into hoarding of liquid assets. Temple management and economics is a virgin topic which has a vast potential for investigation from different angles.

The cult of Sateri originally belonged to the aboriginal tribes. The goddess was subsequently accepted by the Saraswats who subjected her to the process of evolution. Sateri was transformed into Shantadurga and special efforts were made to create classical mythology around the cult. The cultic evolution upgraded and magnified the spiritual appeal of Shantadurga from local to universal plane. This in turn further enhanced the capacity of the temple in pooling the resources drawn from far off regions thereby creating a very expansive economic network that is kept under control by making cautious investments. A deeper probe into the list of sponsors of the feasts of this temple reveals names of rich individuals either registered as constituent members of the temple or as devotees, who are bound together as the temple donors with commensurate gains in terms of prestige. With respect to both its redistributive and integrative capacities Temple of Shantadurga can very much pose as a formidable player in the economy of the state of Goa in the near future.

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Notes

1. *Agrahara* was a pool of villages set aside for the maintenance of Brahmin Scholars. The Kadamba Kings took pride in making endowments to these *agraharas*.
2. *Brahmapuris* were the colonies of learned *Brahmins* dedicated to spiritual pursuits. They were endowed with tax free land grants.
3. *Regulamento das Mazanias das Devalayas do Estado da India*, 1933 is a pre-liberation law, which is now internal law due to Goa, Daman and Diu Administration Act 1962. Section 5 of the same reads as "All laws in force immediately before the appointed day in Goa, Daman and Diu or any part thereof shall continue to be in force therein until amended or repealed by a competent Legislature or other competent authority."
4. *Jagar* is a musical performance narrating the heroic exploits of the deity. The devotees keep night vigil in the temple of a female deity during this festivity.
5. *Rayas Patra* is an official communiqué issued by the Pontiff of a Monastery
6. *Katkar* aka *Shipai* in some temples, is the temple servant decorated with a badge and a silver staff. His responsibility is to maintain order in the temple and to supervise the work of the other temple servants. He is an important intermediary between the Management and the temple servants.

7. *Bhavin* is the female servant belonging to the *Devadasi* caste whose job is to clean the equipment used in worship, maintain the precincts tidy and offer service to the deity while in procession with the fly-whisks or a lamp called *malem*.
8. *Saraswats* are the descendants of an Aryan tribe from Punjab who according to Mitragotri, are believed to have come to Goa around A. D. 400.
9. *Mhovims* are the masks of the principal deity Shantadurga along with those of her affiliate deities that are auctioned amidst the annual festival. The income from this auction is earmarked for funding of the said festival next year.
10. The devotees make offerings of sarees that are used for dressing the goddess. The once used sarees used to be auctioned at the time of any major festival. But now they are put on display in the administrative office of the temple for sale. The devotees take them as tokens of divine blessing.