

Goddess Santeri and the female deities in Goa: reassessing the pre-Portuguese sacred landscape through the earliest *Forais*

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As a colonial enclave under Portuguese control from 1510 to 1961, Goa has a rather complex social and religious history. The smallest of the Indian states developed a distinctive character that, after centuries of coexistence, has combined the Catholic faith, brought by the Europeans, with the preexisting Hindu and Muslim religions. Nevertheless, while examining the long-lasting impact that Portuguese colonialism had on Goa from the sixteenth century onwards, and how profoundly it changed its then sacred landscape, one cannot avoid being intrigued and led to consider how exactly that ancient territory might have looked prior to the arrival of the Portuguese in India.

On the one hand, large-scale socio-political changes in that region have left very few textual sources capable of providing detailed evidence of the pre-Portuguese history of Goa, its villages and its religiosity.¹ On the other hand, data on the transformations involving the various social and religious forces at stake at that period in time can only be traced through documents from the colonial archives. The information comes from the textual stratigraphy of a peculiar set of written sources in Portuguese: the *Forais* (plural of *Foral*, or Municipal Charters) from the provinces of *Salcete*, *Ilhas de Goa*, and *Bardez*. These are, accordingly, the main textual materials that remain available to reassess Goa's previous sacred landscape as they contain systematic records of the land that used to belong to Hindu temples in these three provinces. Exactly what kind of information about these deities and temples can be retrieved in these *Forais*, and to what extent can one reconstruct the sacred landscape that existed in Goa before the arrival of the Portuguese? This is what will be discussed in the following pages with particular emphasis on the female deities. Nowadays, the most popular goddess worshipped by Hindus in Goa is Śāntādhurgā Devī, the Peaceful form of Durgā Devī. In the *Forais*, as we shall see, the prevailing female deity during the sixteenth century was registered as Goddess Santeri.

In the sixteenth century, the *Velhas Conquistas* (Old Conquests) were formed by the districts of *Ilhas de Goa* (Tiswadi), *Salcete* and *Bardez*, those were the first territories conquered by the Portuguese.²

The campaigns of mass conversion carried out in these three provinces by Catholic missionaries started in 1540 and were accomplished with the complete devastation of its temples and mosques. The population that remained in Portuguese territory was converted to Catholicism, while those who did not accept the conversion were either persecuted, murdered or had to seek exile in the neighboring regions, as stated by different Portuguese sources.

One night in secret they came to Bardez, and they caught a large number of idols that with much excitement and joy they brought to the Priest, Father of the Christians, Pero de Almeyda. The Priest welcomed them with a great feast, and for the greatest enjoyment of the assault, and confusion of the devil, he commanded the idols to be desecrated, and made them into a thousand pieces. A Gentile Brahmin fled this island to the mainland for the hatred he had towards the Christians, not wanting to live among them, otherwise he would be forced to give up his religion. They confiscated his farm by verdict, and the Viceroy gave it to his [own] relatives.³ (Translation my own)

At that time, oppressive laws were enacted for the expulsion of pandits and holy men from the Hindu and Muslim religions, and as recorded in the *Carta de Br. Gomes Vaz*⁴ – a letter dated from 1566, they included the confiscation and destruction of sacred books, and the prohibition of public ceremonies, festivals and processions. For most of the sixteenth century, even the slightest knowledge on Hindu religion was used by the Jesuits of Goa to prove how degrading their rites and mythology were.⁵ Thus, the advent of the Portuguese in Goa and the increase in missionary activities made the Hindu community fear for the safety of its temples and deities, and they decided to take their gods and goddesses to neighboring territories.

The Viceroy filed a decree, in which it was ordered, that from then on, no temple could be built to the idols, nor could the ancients be restored, even if it was to fix only a post or a single stone. The Gentiles full of grief came to Goa to [meet] the Viceroy regarding their gods; but seeing their tears despised, and without a solution to their request, they returned to Salsete, and putting those idols in cars, whose temples were threatened to ruin, they went to the other side [of the river], where there were no Portuguese to pursue them.⁶ (translation my own)

Or they will pass the idols to the Moorish lands, as they have already been doing, due to the blind love they have for them, but also because, as some brahmins say, these same idols with fear of their damnation, told them they should be carried away in this manner.⁷ (translation my own)

One year later, another *Carta de Br. Gomes Vaz*⁸ from 1567 records that the Portuguese had concluded the extinction of all *pagodes* (temples) and *ídolos* (deities) that still existed in Bardez and Salcete, while conversions in *Ilhas de Goa* had been fulfilled four or five years before that. According to the same *Carta*, two hundred and eighty large temples are mentioned in Salcete as well as innumerable small shrines, all of them were either burned, looted or demolished.⁹ The *Foral de Salcete* [No. 3071, fols. 509r-510v] cites the destruction of three hundred temples and mosques.¹⁰ The deities of fifty-eight villages were destroyed, some were thrown in the rivers, and those made of metal were cast and turned into sconces and other church objects.¹¹ In spite of all devastation, many Hindu gods and goddesses remained in Portuguese territory, hidden in the houses or buried in the ground, nonetheless most of them were destroyed, as recorded in Portuguese sources.

One of these years of Archbishop Constantine, from the information [provided by] the newly converted, many idols hidden by the Gentiles were unearthed, and among them the idol Goubat, first father and villager of Goa, from whom it took its name: and the Priest Pero de Almeyda ordered it to be broken into pieces, and then [made] into ashes, which were scattered in the wind, so that no relics of such unworthy and fabulous deity would remain in the world.¹² (translation my own)

The large pagoda of Samquoallî [Sanquelim], called Çamtari [Santeri], has good wood and [is] near the sea, Your Lordship can give it to the blessed S. Lourenço. You may send news to the Priests of the school that among the four parts of the temples of these lands, three are already turned to dust or [are] overthrown.¹³ (translation my own)

Under the Portuguese colonial *aegis*, Catholic buildings were erected in place of former Hindu temples, as the Portuguese sought to erase from Goan history the civilization and ancient religions that preceded them for millennia. In the midst of the ancient Indian landscape and society, these churches, convents and seminaries were kept with the profits from the recently expropriated neighboring lands.

The first Church of Verna was located where had been the temple of goddess Santeri, who was not holy, but very mundane and immodest. This church was moved to a higher place, where [earlier] was the cemetery of the Gentiles, and then the third one was made of stone and lime, the one we now use, a hundred paces away from the place where the first one was built.¹⁴ (translation my own)

A decree from 1585 also prohibited the Hindu elite residing in the Old Conquests from contributing to the construction of new temples on the other side of the Portuguese frontier.¹⁵ Even so, many converted Catholics helped preserve and transfer the deities to safer places, since they had been

their protectors in a not so distant past.¹⁶ Erected near the borders of the Old Conquests, particularly in the territories of Ponda, Bicholim, Pernem and Quepem, these new temples sheltered the deities that were able to escape Portuguese persecution.¹⁷ This escape from the Portuguese colonial territory thus constitutes a second diaspora of the ancient Hindu deities which had arrived and settled in Goa centuries earlier.

GODDESS SANTERI AND ŚĀNTĀDURGĀ DEVĪ: Śāntādurgā Devī is the most popular form of the great Hindu goddess Durgā currently worshiped by devotees of many Goan villages. According to the *Forais*, the prevailing female deity during the sixteenth century was goddess Santeri, and after the massive destruction of her temples in the Old Conquests, most of the new temples erected to house this goddess are, nowadays, dedicated to Śāntādurgā Devī. Along the centuries, goddess Santeri and goddess Śāntādurgā were associated, but the Goan adoption of the Puranic goddess did not leave her identity and iconography untouched. In the *Purāṇas*, goddess Durgā is known by many names, each one emphasizing one of her aspects. In Goa, to her name was added the distinct epithet *Śāntā*, which has caused much debate among scholars about its true meaning. As the word *śāntā* derives from the Sanskrit *śānti* (peace, calm, tranquility) and therefore it means peaceful, the Goan Śāntādurgā represents another celebrated aspect of Devī, which portrays her interceding in order to put an end to the terrible battle between the gods Viṣṇu and Śiva, thus saving and restoring the order of the universe. This episode is described in the *Durgā Mahātmya* ["Praise to Durgā"], in the *Ambikhaṇḍa* of the *Skandapurāṇa*.¹⁸ However, this epithet sharply contrasts with her furious (*ugra*) form, in particular with goddess Durgā's identity as Mahiṣāsūramardīnī, the warrior goddess who received all the weapons (powers) of the gods and managed to subdue and kill the *asura* (demon) Mahiṣa (buffalo), thus restoring Cosmic Order.¹⁹ Mahiṣāsūramardīnī was a popular deity in India at least since the early centuries AD, as ancient images of the goddess have been reported in Mathura.²⁰ Images of Mahiṣāsūramardīnī dating from the twelfth and fourteenth centuries were retrieved in many Goan districts and can be seen in the Goa State Museum²¹, as well as in contemporary temples. Reaffirming the local peculiarity of the universal goddess, scholars, like Mitragotri²², also argue that the name of Śāntādurgā derives from her mythical appearance to the sage Śāntāmuni, who would have lived in Nagoa (ancient Nāgavya), a village in Salcete. This episode is narrated in the *Nāgāvahya-māhātmya* [II.14 et seq.] of the *Sahyādrīkhaṇḍa*.²³ Still others ascribe her name to the syncretic and peaceful transformation the female deity underwent after her arrival in Goa²⁴, or due to the assimilation of aspects from North and South India, as seen in the goddess Śāntālā, of Karnataka, also called Santeri or Śāntārūpi Devī by Goans²⁵. Still, the ambivalent character of goddess Durgā was preserved in Goa even under her seemingly peaceful aspect since, depending on the context, the goddess may reveal her most threatening appearance²⁶.

Research has shown that most of the Brahminic deities mentioned in the *Sahyādrīkhaṇḍa* are sanskritized²⁷ forms of local deities, who had long before been worshipped in Goa.²⁸ Upon arriving in Goa, Śāntādurgā was associated with a pre-existing deity in the Konkan, whose name was Santeri. In sixteenth-century Portuguese sources she is mentioned as Santeri, and other variations such as *Samtere*, *Santeri*, *Santery*, *Samtary*, *Çamtary* or *Sateri*. The word *Santeri* depending on how it is pronounced (with the dental sound of “s” or the palatal “ś”) has a sonority close to *śanta*, while some Goans pronounce *Santeri*, others say *Śanteri*. Temples dedicated to the pre-Puranic deities were numerous and were present in most Goan villages, and the worship of local female deities, as protectors of the villages, was widespread in the region²⁹. Goddess Santeri, as we shall see, was an extremely popular deity in pre-Portuguese times, and perhaps this is one of the reasons why she was chosen by Brahmins to be associated with goddess Śāntādurgā.

The intricacies embedded in the visual stratigraphy associated with goddess Santeri and goddess Śāntādurgā, that is, the layers of inter-iconicity successively incorporated into her image, also reveal important indications of this visual diaspora. The concept of *visual diaspora* is used here to denote representations that, when displaced from their original spaces, are repeatedly transformed accumulating layers of visual meaning which may, consequently, be impregnated with ambivalence. Diasporic images create multiple visual and intellectual associations precisely because they operate in a context of dialogic interaction and intertextual complexity, thus, a diasporic image is necessarily *intervisual*.³⁰ During their circulation, translation, reproduction and replication, these *visual diasporas* tend to adopt multiple meanings and are seen from different perspectives, thus they may become polysemic, polymorphic, and sometimes even polynomial images³¹. In addition, case studies have demonstrated that in India a particular region, place or site is not necessarily restricted to the sacred geography of a single religion, and “the construction of the sacred space was often a matter of mapping the common space”³². Ethnographic evidence has also shown that only in the case of main cults the deity gets a temple, and only in some temples the deity is figured by an anthropomorphic image, thus, in the most ancient non-Vedic cults of India, stones, natural symbols, and earthen mounds signified the presence of a deity long before the iconic images of the great gods came to occupy the *sancta* of temples and shrines.³³

The multiple identities of goddess Santeri and goddess Śāntādurgā are, therefore, the clear result of the successive historical transformations that characterize Goa's ritual ethos.³⁴ Tangible visual evidence of the transformation of Santeri into Śāntādurgā can be found in places where the goddess is represented by her earliest, and probably pre-Vedic manifestation: the natural anthills (termite mounds), locally called *roen* or *varul*, and *valmīka* in Sanskrit. These anthills are found in forests or wilderness areas in Goa and the Konkan in general, they can usually reach several meters in height, and are often places of worship. Many of these anthills are an integral part of current shrines and temples that were built around them, they are usually ornamented and venerated as the goddess

herself. In these places, anthropomorphic masks may be attached to them or an anthropomorphic image of goddess Śāntāḍurgā or another female deity can be installed just in front of the *roen* (Fig. 01). Despite the peaceful epithet associated with her name, representations of goddess Śāntāḍurgā are usually armed with a shield and a sword (Fig. 02 & 03), and there may also be serpents associated with her images.



Fig. No. 01: Śāntāḍurgā Temple at the village of Bhoma, district of Ponda - Goa, the ancient anthill is in the center of the *garbhagrha* (Photo: Cíbele Aldrovandi, 2016)



Fig. No. 02: Śāntādhurgā Temple at the village of Calangute, district of Bardez - Goa, silver image holding shield and sword (Photo: Cibeale Aldrovandi, 2016)

This process of transformation of the local goddess, symbolized by the anthill, into the Puranic deity, as we have seen, is described as the *sanskritization* or *brahmanization* of the local deity. Others see it as a much more complex process involving bilateral sharing and negotiation rather than hegemony and assimilation.³⁵ In the *Nāgāvhaya-māhātmya* [II.18] there is a verse which narrates the disappearance of Śāntādurgā inside an anthill. This has been interpreted as being associated with the traditions on the goddesses Pārvati (Mātangi) or Śakti-Renukā who, as legend would have it, also hid themselves inside anthills.³⁶ Thus, Santeri, the goddess of the Little Tradition (indigenous) was appropriated by the Great Tradition (Brahmanic) as Śāntādurgā.³⁷ This emerging synthesis or absorption does not extinguish the older beliefs, but subordinates them to the new ones by assigning them a lower status while allowing them to remain part of society.³⁸ The presence of Santeri's sacred anthills in Goan temples dedicated to goddess Śāntādurgā indicates the superimposition of the Puranic deity to the ancient local goddess, bringing to light this unusual visual stratigraphy that centuries of interaction have been able to create in Goa.



Fig. No. 03: *Pālkī* procession of goddess Śāntādurgā Kumbharjuvekarina to the neighboring temples in Marcela, Bicholim, Goa (Photo: Cibeale Aldrovandi, 2016)

THE FORAIS OF SALCETE, ILHAS AND BARDEZ

A systematic record of the properties that belonged to the ancient Hindu temples and their transfer in the hands of the Christians was preserved in the *Foral de Salcete*, the *Foral de Ilhas de Goa* (Tiswadi), and the *Foral de Bardez* – currently in the Library of the Directorate of Archives and Archeology, in Panjim - Goa [DAAPG]. A *Foral*, or Municipal Charter, was a document of legal value granted by a representative of the Portuguese Crown to the settlers in colonial times, which guaranteed power over the lands of towns or villages, and conferred the rights and duties to its owners. At the provincial level, a council was generally established to regulate and administer the conquered lands. The *Foral* would also describe other privileges, or improvements made in the land, and, above all, regulate the taxes to be paid by settlers.

Thus, the *Forais* of *Ilhas de Goa*, *Salcete* and *Bardez* are codices with a detailed inventory of all the properties belonging to or that used to belong to the temples of each village and district (*taluka*), and that were expropriated by the Portuguese throughout the sixteenth century. These documents also record the transfer of the *namoxins* (goods and profits allocated for the sustenance of the temple) to the hands of the Jesuits, the lay Portuguese or the converted Christians, after the destruction of the temples, endowing them with important sources of land income. These primary sources contain key information for the reconstruction of the pre-colonial Hindu sacred landscape, once the Portuguese sought to record with great zeal all land which belonged to those temples, and thus bequeathed us with an interesting type of indirect information about the temples of each village and the deities there consecrated.

A peculiarity of these sources is that the actions perpetrated by the Portuguese colonial government are quite evident in the *discursive formations*³⁹ and *interdiscursivity*⁴⁰ embedded in the *folios* of these three ancient manuscripts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The way in which this interwoven primary documentation is configured – as repositories of interdiscursivity and *simulacra* of the social reality – allows them to be used in practically the opposite way for which they were originally intended. These manuscripts present a complex interdiscursivity particularly expressed in the distinct forms the temples' properties were recorded in each one of them, therefore allowing the contemporary scholar to uncover the successive layers of interactions and transformations that occurred in that territory during the sixteenth century, while these temples were being erased from the three provinces of the Old Conquests. This region and its pre-existing temples might, therefore, be seen as *palimpsests*⁴¹ of previous and later activities.

Due to the violent nature of the implementation of the Portuguese expropriation policy, as already mentioned, precise information about the region was not preserved in sources other than these manuscripts. Nonetheless, although they were originally produced with a quite distinct intention, these *Forais* are the most detailed sources to reconstruct the preexisting Hindu sacred landscape and thus identify the former temples in each village of these districts. The intertextual relations existing in these primary sources were thus analyzed from the point of view of a *textual stratigraphy* whose

interdiscursive strategies, concerning the appropriation of the lands of the Old Conquests, remained therein recorded. By listing the properties of the temples either to collect taxes or to formalize and register their lands once transferred to the hands of the colonizers, these documents lend themselves to be read in the opposite direction namely, reconstructing a once *silenced* sacred landscape.

The study of the information present in the *Forais* is something that has been previously done by different scholars. However, during this survey, the need to revise the data from the earlier *Forais* became evident. A preliminary investigation of these manuscripts showed that not all the original temples of goddess Santeri described in the *Forais* are mentioned in the available secondary sources. It also revealed that these same secondary sources are based on a later version of the *Foral the Salcete*.⁴² A systematic review of these primary sources was therefore undertaken enabling the reassessment of the Hindu sacred landscape before the sixteenth century, particularly the one related to Santeri and other female deities.

In order to better understand this documentation and the specific discursive stratigraphy of each of the three *Forais*, a concise description of each document will be presented here followed by an in depth analysis of the data recovered. The survey on the *Forais* was initially conducted in the Library of the DAAPG, in April-May 2016, where the main notes of the available data contained in the *folios* of each of these manuscripts were undertaken. A preliminary systematization of this information was then carried out, including the preparation of comprehensive tables for each province and its villages and temples, as well as the female deities present in each of these temples.⁴³ The *Forais de Salcete, Ilhas* and *Bardez* were consulted again at the DAAPG, in January-February 2018 and 2019, to check for discrepancies found during the initial systematization of the data, and the tables were revised in order to include other temples and deities that were missing in the preliminary analysis, they were added to allow for the reassessment of the earlier quantification and the percentages presented here were recalculated accordingly. This textual survey sought to focus on all the villages that had some property in the name of goddess Santeri and/or other female deities. The male deities were totalized, but not examined in detail, as the emphasis in this analysis is centered around the Goan female deities. A comparison was also conducted with secondary textual material that had previously used the *Forais* as a source – such as the thorough work published by Gomes Pereira, *Hindu Temples and Deities* from 1978, among others. Any disparities found during the analysis, whether on the number of temples or the deities mentioned in each source, or the name of the temples and/or the deities⁴⁴, has been recorded, for the sake of comparison and revision of all this information.

The *Foral de Salcete*: The manuscript analyzed is inventoried in the DAAPG under the number [no. 3070]. On the cover page there is a label with the printed words: “*Repartição Superior de Fazenda; Arquivo Geral; Estado da India; Estante 1a Caixa 6a[7] Coluna 2a*” [Higher Tax Office; General Archive; State of India; Shelf 1, Box 6th[7], 2nd Column]; within the label is registered by hand “*Livro de assentos dos*

falecidos na casa de catecumenos e enterrados no Colegio velho de S. Paulo 1719 – No. 847” [Register of the deceased in the house of catechumens and buried in the Old College of S. Paulo 1719 - No. 847]. Over this label, another one contains the numbers "479" and "3070". Below the central label is written in pencil "*Faltam as primeiras 22 fols.*" [The first 22 pages are missing]. This original document is described by Pissurlencar⁴⁵ as having been organized by Ambrosio de Sousa⁴⁶, and is dated 1567. Among the *Forais*, this is the manuscript with the most difficult handwriting to be deciphered. It is compiled in a volume with 568 *folios*, and it does not have an index of the villages. Some of the *cartas de aforamento* (letters of concession) in this manuscript describe the properties of each temple separately; or they have a general title, which lists the names of all the temples; there are also those which present both forms in the same document.

There is also a copy of the *Foral de Salcete* of 1567, done in 1588 [no. 3071] containing some *aforamentos* of later times.⁴⁷ In another *Foral de Salcete*, in 3 volumes [no. 7583-7585] and dated 1622-1692(4?), the described properties no longer include the name of the temples. This document, however, provides an "*Índice das Aldeas da Província de Salcete que se acham divididas em 3 livros*" [Index of Villages of the Province of Salcete, which are divided into 3 books], describing 57 villages⁴⁸. Although the name of Salcete in the original Sasasti (skt. *ṣaṭṣaṣṭi*) means 66 (villages), the *Foral* of this district recorded only 57 villages in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The *Carta de Br. Gomes Vaz*⁴⁹, of 1567, mentions fifty-eight villages in Salcete, that might be due to the 22 missing *folios* in the beginning of the manuscript.

There are transcriptions of the *Foral de Salcete* systematically published in the *Purabhilekh-Puratatva - Journal of the Directorate of Archives and Archeology Panaji - Goa [PPJADD]*. However, they have not been done from the same edition of the manuscript used for the present analysis [no. 3070]. The differences in the corresponding numbers of the *folios* of the villages and in the transcriptions of the text itself have shown that they come from a later copy of the *Foral de Salcete*, either [no. 3071] or [no. 7583-7585], most probably the first one. For this reason, these transcriptions were only used as *comparanda* for the presence of the temples described in the earliest *Foral* [no. 3070], and the existing discrepancies were recorded during the systematization of the villages, in the respective Table of Salcete.

In the earliest *Foral* [no. 3070], the names of the temple deities appear in the headings. The temple of goddess Santeri (*Samtery*) of the Village of Qualloa [*lly*] (present Colva) in the *Foral de Salcete* [no. 3070, fol. 49r], for instance, is mentioned neither in the transcription of the *PPJADD*, nor in Pereira's work.⁵⁰ Divergences in manuscripts can appear in the form of omissions or deletions, additions, substitutions or transferences either of letters, words, phrases or paragraphs, usually due to the idiosyncrasies of the copyist.⁵¹ This Santeri temple is the last one mentioned in the *carta de aforamento* of this village and is listed separately from the others, right at the end of the document, with its properties described in *folios*

49r to 53v. It seems to have been suppressed in subsequent copies of the *Foral de Salcete*, and consequently of secondary sources that used those later versions.

Another temple of goddess Santeri is mentioned among the temples from the Village of Orllly (Orlim) in the *Foral de Salcete* [n. 3070, fol. 133r]: “*Dos pagodes de gotimosor / de puruso / e cupumb(?) / e samteri / bauquadev / maysasor / e narayna*” [Of the temples of *gotimosor*, etc.]. The temple is referred to in *PPJADD*⁵², which cites the same 7 temples of the village, although the order is different from the one presented in the earliest *Foral*. Pereira, however, does not mention this temple. Thus, these two temples of goddess Santeri, of the villages of Colva and Orlim recorded in the *Foral de Salcete* [n. 3070] (Fig. 04) were omitted by this scholar.⁵³

According to the analysis conducted in the earliest *Foral de Salcete*, there were Santeri temples at the villages of Margao, Colva, Seraulim, Talaulim, Dramapur, Sernabatim, Varca, Benaulim, Orlim, Assolna, Velim, Sarzora, Betalbatim, Chinchinim, Calata, Cuncolim (2), Cansaulim, Loutulim (2), Dicarpale, Verna, Nagoa, Cortalim, Sancoale, Cuelim, Chicolna, Issorcim, Dabolim, Chicalim, Vadem, Curtorim e Quelosim (Table 01 & Fig. 09).

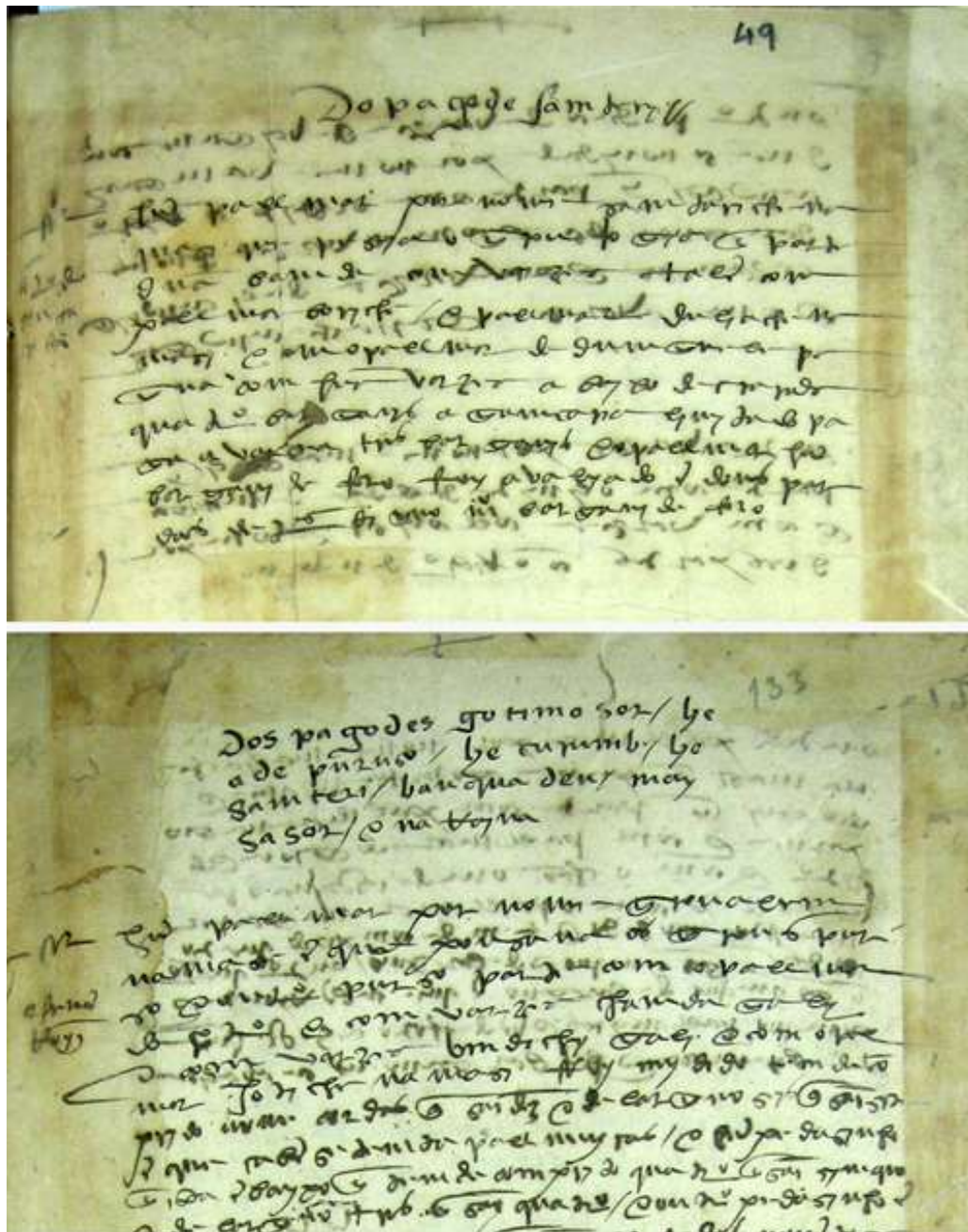


Fig. No. 04: Detail from folios 49r and 133r of the *Foral de Salcete* [n. 3070] mentioning the Santeri temples from the villages of Colva and Orlim (Directorate of Archives and Archaeology, Panjim, Goa, 2016).

The *Foral de Ilhas de Goa*: The manuscript analyzed is inventoried in the DAAPG under the number [no. 7594]. The title appearing on the original cover page is "*Foral de Ilhas de Goa 1534*". The same page presents other secondary notes containing later dates as: "1553" and "1553-1562". It mentions that it contains the record of the goods of the temples transferred to the *Colegio de Sao Paulo de Goa*. A sticker affixed to this page contains the words "*Tombo dos bens dos pagodes*" [Record of the goods from the temples], and the dates "1534" and "1553". The volume contains 150 folios and an index of the 28 villages [fol. 2r]. At the beginning, it has the phrase: "*Treslado de doação q he feita ao Colegio de Santa Fei*

de Sam Paulo de todas tras. loetas e palmares e de todas llas outras propes. q forão dos pagodes destas ylhas e dos servidores dos dittos pagodes." [Transcript of the donation that was made to the College of Santa Fe of Sam Paulo of all the lands, plots and palm fields, and all other properties that belonged to the temples of these islands and to the servants of these temples]. This document is described by Pissurlencar⁵⁴ as a 1567 copy of the "Tombo" [Record] of the goods of the temples transferred to the *Colegio of Sao Paulo* of Goa, organized in 1553 by the *tanadar-mór* (revenue official) of Goa, Antonio Ferrão⁵⁵, the Portuguese chief official responsible for collecting taxes.

Unlike the *Foral de Salcete* [no. 3070] in which the names of the temples of the deities are quoted in the heading of the *folios* and the properties are described in the following paragraphs, the *Foral de Ilhas de Goa* [no. 7594] shows only the village's name in the header while the properties are quoted and described below. The names of the temples of the deities to which these properties belonged are referred only throughout the paragraphs containing their descriptions and not in the headings. In some paragraphs, there is only a general mention to "the temples of the referred village" without indicating any specific deities. This different arrangement in the *folios* is an important evidence of the transformations already in course at this province, as in 1567 all temples had been already effaced from its territories.

Another matter that also deserves attention is the number of villages mentioned in the *Foral de Ilhas de Goa* [no. 7594]. This primary source includes only the 28 villages of its major territory and includes neither the smaller islands nor the temples of the villages of Cumbarjua; Jua; Navelim, Goltim, Malar, Nirgunna (Naroa); Chorao (Chodam), Ambelim and Caraim. Therefore, data on these territories had to be recovered from information found in secondary sources⁵⁶ comprising 8 villages and 50 temples, which were added to subsequent quantification (see Table 01).

The village of *Asossim* (Azossim), in *Ilhas*, had at least 11 temples referred to in this *Foral*. The female deities mentioned are: *Gumidevata* (Bhumidevatā), *Vanadevata* (Vanadevatā), *Malcumy* (Mahālakṣmī), but there is also a reference to a "pagode *santalisyymy*" [fol. 35r] which might be associated with Santeri, or a female deity. According to Pereira⁵⁷, however, there are references to only 9 of the 11 temples, and none is dedicated to Santeri. On the other hand, the village of *Gamgany* (Banguenim) which according to the *Foral* [fol. 121r] contained a single temple and was dedicated to Santeri, is not even alluded by Pereira. In the village of *Bamboly* (Bambolim), Santery is the only deity referred to in the *Foral*, and it says that the five properties of the village belonged to her temple, but Pereira⁵⁸ mentions temples of Santeri and Ravalnātha. In this sense, regarding the disparities in the information provided by the primary and secondary sources, the *Foral de Ilhas de Goa* has references of one or probably two temples of goddess Santeri, in the villages of Azossim and Banguenim (Fig. 05), that were not recorded in secondary sources.

The *Foral* of *Ilhas de Goa*, nowadays Tiswadi, mentions temples dedicated to goddess Santeri at the villages of Neura-o-Grande, Azossim, Carambolim, Batim, Calapur, Moromby-o-Grande, Talaulim,

Taleigao, Goaim-Moula, Neura-o-Pequeno, Panelim, Bainguinim, Corlim, Curca, Bambolim, Goltim (Divar), Jua, Cumbarjua (healing from Corlim) (see Table 01 and Figure 09).

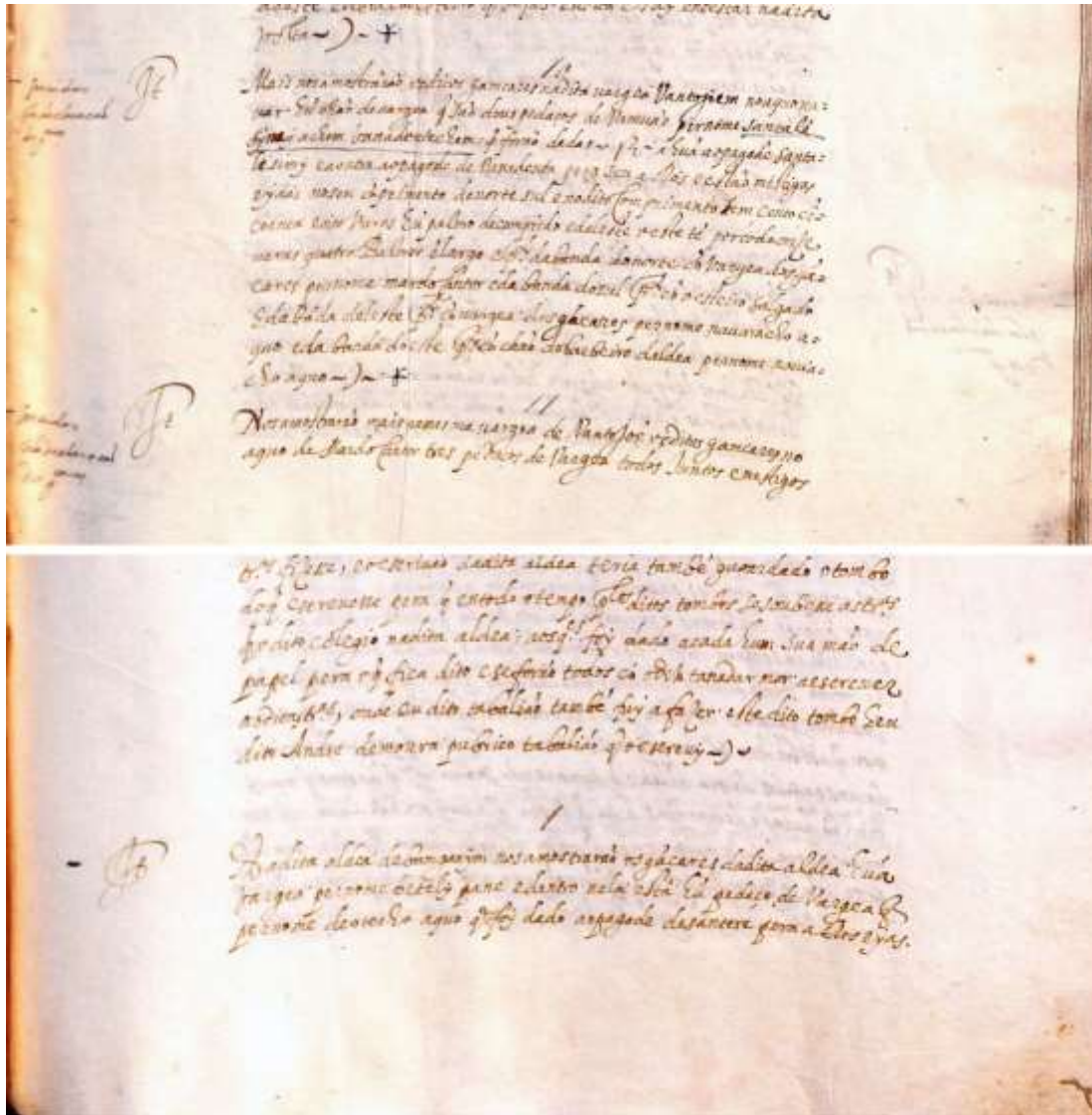


Fig. No. 05: Detail from folios 35r and 121r of the *Foral de Ilhas de Goa* [n. 7594] mentioning the Santeri temples from the villages of Azossim and Banguenim (Directorate of Archives and Archaeology, Panjim, Goa, 2018)

The Foral de Bardez: The manuscript analyzed is inventoried in the DAAPG under the number [no. 7588]. The title page contains the words: “O Foral antigo de Bardez 1647” [The ancient *Foral* of Bardez 1647]. The codex was organized by the “Provedor dos Contos, Valentim Correa, in 1647” and has 247 folios.⁵⁹ The third folio mentions that the “proprieddes., varzeas, e terras de Bardes foreiras a fazenda de sua Mage. e da que forão dos pagodes, e seus servidores no tempo que os avia nas ditas terras” [properties, holms and lands of Bardez owned by the Treasury of his Majesty and which belonged to the temples, and to their servants at the time they were still in those lands] making it clear that these lands earlier belonged to the temples and their servants, in times when they still existed in this province, but the records belong to a later period, after the properties were transferred to the King of Portugal.

Dating from 1647, the *Foral of Bardez* [no. 7588] was compiled eight decades after the destruction of the temples in this region, during 1567, thus the transfer of properties and lands had already taken place. Concerning the systematization of the data, among the researched *Forais* this is certainly the one that offers more challenges, and that is due to the fact that the temples are no longer directly referred to in the headings, and are quite seldom mentioned in its paragraphs. In most of the *aforamentos* of the villages, it is the name of the properties that belonged to the temples which are cited, although some occasional paragraphs have still preserved references to the ancient temples. This later written and reworked source is therefore the one which presents a more elusive evidence and elaborate intertextuality. Although the names of the gods are not directly referred to, it is interesting to note though that many properties were named after the godhead of the temple to which they belonged, allowing the scholar to reconstruct the data on the temples that existed in these villages, even if indirectly. This is the case of the temple devoted to goddess Santeri in the village of Sirula, whose property is ascribed to the goddess in fol. 21v: “*A varzea Santeriche vanna que de prezente está plantade palmeiras (...)*” [The holm *Santeriche vanna* that is at present planted with palm trees]. Many of the villages are listed in groups and then a detailed description of the properties of each one is presented. Such group arrangements though, do not seem to have been conceived based on any regional proximity between the villages.

During the systematization, Nadora has been one of the few villages in the *Foral de Bardez* which still preserved references of the ancient temples: “*Tito. das propriedades dos pagodes de Nadora...*” [Title of the properties of the temples of Nadora...] [fol. 70r]; and “*do pagode pernome ghotheso*” [of the temple by name *ghotheso*] [fol. 71r]. In his book, Pereira⁶⁰ says that Nadora is part of the village of Revora and he mentions four temples, but does not include goddess Santeri's temple among them, as does Rao⁶¹. The first holm referred to in the village of Nadora has the name of “*conddiseta santeriche*” [fol. 70v].

In another *aforamento*, the temples of Santeri, Kalbadevi and Vetall are mentioned as having existed in the village of Sirsaim (Sirsay, Sirsae) [fol. 74r]: “*o chão do pagode santery que de todas as bandas está cercado (...)*” [the ground of the *santery* temple which is fenced in all sides...], and “*o chão do pagode de qualbadevi e vetallu*” [the ground of the temple of *qualbadevi* and *vetallu*]. Another interesting example is the village of Nagoa, of which the *Foral* preserved the reference [fol.120r]: “*o palmar per nome (...) a varzea do pagode por nome santerpattho q possue Domingos Mendez da dita aldeia (...)*” [the palm trees by name (...) the holm of the temple by name *santerpattho* owned by Domingos Mendez in the aforesaid village (...)]. Both Pereira and Rao refer only to three temples in this village, dedicated to “Vetall, Ravalnath and Narayna [sic]”, and do not include Santeri's temple among them.⁶² In addition to this goddess, there are properties in the name of other deities which are also not mentioned by the first scholar, such as: *Satpurça*, *Mhâsâmata*, *Atthelecho*, *Deusua*, *Bhavinni* [fol.120r-123v].

The village of Sangolda, however, provides an equally interesting evidence, which helps better understand the discursive stratigraphy that emerges from the *Foral de Bardez*, as it illustrates the

interconnectedness between the name of the properties preserved in the textual source, and the names of the gods of the temples. In the *Foral de Bardez* there is a reference to the “*chão em que estava antigamente o proprio pagode Naraino (...)*” [ground in which the temple of *Naraino* itself formerly was] [fol. 125r]. On the other hand, Santeri’s temple appears only indirectly mentioned in the paragraph that describes “*a varzea Santerseta (...)*” [the holm *Santerseta (...)*] [fol.127v]. The site of the ancient temple of goddess Santeri in the village of Sangolda has been visited in 2016. On the right side of the main house, one can identify the ruins of the ancient temple and the foundations of the *garbhagrha* (*sanctum*) although nowadays they are not so visible in the ground, and one can only see the fragments of a single stone column of the temple lying next to the old house (Fig. 06 & 07).⁶³ In this case, archaeological data reinforces the land-name-temple pattern found in this seventeenth century *Foral*.

The *Foral de Bardez* also preserved a reference to two temples in the village of Corlim [fol.167r]: “*o chão de azonatto e santere pagodes emcorporados devolutos (...)*” [the ground of *azonatto* and *santere* temples incorporated returned (...)]. The same folio also mentions a property in Santeri’s name: “*A varzea Santeryseta (...)*” [the holm *Santeryseta (...)*]. Goddess Santeri and Ajnātha are mentioned by Rao⁶⁴. But Pereira⁶⁵ mentions neither this village nor its deities, considering it a part of Mapusa. However, even though he does not mention Ajnātha, he does mention Santeri as the main deity of Mapusa. But this same *Foral* mentions properties of the temples of goddess Santeri both in Mapusa [fol. 164r] and in Corlim [fol.167r], as separate villages, which is an evidence that these were two different temples. Today, there is a new temple of Santeri in Corlim. The ancient deity from Mapusa has been taken away from the Old Conquests in the sixteenth century and was consecrated in a temple to Śāntādurgā in Dhagalim, Pernem. In this sense, there are at least three temples dedicated to goddess Santeri in this *Foral* – in the villages of Nagoa, Nadora and Corlim (Fig. 08) – that were not always mentioned in secondary sources.



Fig. No. 06: Fragments from a single stone column of the ancient Santeri temple in the village of Sangolda, district of Bardez - Goa, lying next to the old colonial house (Photo: Cibeles Aldrovandi, 2019)



Fig. No. 07: Detail of the larger fragment from the stone column of the ancient Santeri temple in the village of Sangolda, district of Bardez - Goa (Photo: Cibeale Aldrovandi, 2019)

However, this *Foral* also mentions some of the temples, like *Devasseta*, and *Vetalpatty*, and *Perniaseta* [fol.191r] in the village of Calangute, and provides indication of properties from deities like “*ganapa*” associated with “*santula, linga, duguea, sapatana*”. The temples of the deities mentioned by Pereira and Rao are *Santeri*, *Sitallnatha*, *Saptanatha*, *Brahmanata* and *Vetall*.⁶⁶ It is interesting to note that the properties of the temple of goddess Santeri, cited in this *Foral*, bear the names of *Dillasantuchynamassy*, *Santugachynamassy*; *Santulachynamassy*, *Santapachopattho*. None of them mentions the name Santere or Santery, as this divinity is usually referred to in this manuscript. These are perhaps evidence of a more approximated form of the name of goddess Śāntādurgā (*Santuga* or *Santula*) found only in this village among all the surveyed *Forais*, and it brings to mind the *Santalisyemy* temple, in Azossim, Ilhas, mentioned before.

Therefore, according to the *Foral de Bardez* there were Santeri temples at the villages of Serula, Pomburpa, Oaulim, Aldona, Nadora, Pirna, Sircaim, Assonora, Oxel, Siolim, Marna, Assagao, Anjuna, Arpora, Nagoa, Sangolda, Verla, Moira, Guirim, Bastora, Paliem, Mapusa, Corlim (Khorlim, Mapusa), Candolim, Nerul, Pilerne, Calangute (Table 01 & Fig. 09).

After the systematization of the temples of goddess Santeri and the other female deities of the villages of the Old Conquest present in the three *Forais* in specific tables, a quantification and discussion of the data was performed which is presented in the next session.

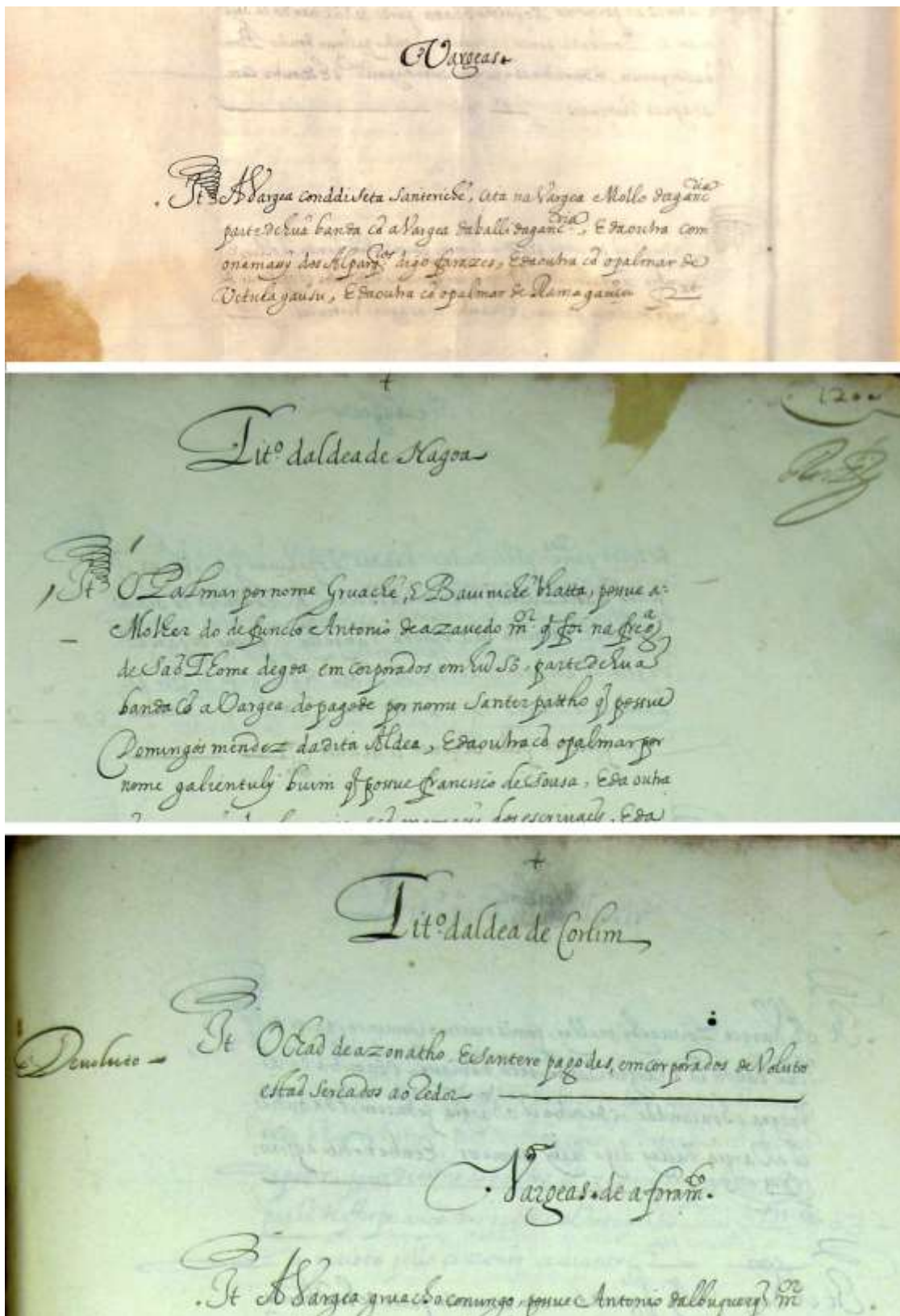


Fig. No. 08: Detail from folios 70v, 120r and 167r of the *Foral de Bardez* [n. 7588] mentioning the Santeri temples from the villages of Nadora, Nagoa and Corlim (Directorate of Archives and Archaeology, Panjim, Goa, 2016 and 2018).

THE FORAIS AND GODDESS SANTERI TEMPLES: Based on the data collected in the *Forais* described above, a preliminary quantification of the villages and temples of the Old Conquests revealed that the 133 existing villages had at least 648 temples in the sixteenth century, of varying sizes. Among them, 189 were dedicated to female deities and 78, specifically to goddess Santeri. The other 111 temples were dedicated to other 35 indigenous deities and forms of Devī (Table 01). From the percentages calculated (Table 02) it was possible to verify that in the sixteenth century the number of temples of female deities represented 29.16% of the total number of temples in the surveyed territory. In the case of Santeri temples, they represented 12.03% of all temples of the three provinces, and if considered only the temples of the female deities, they accounted for 41.26% of this total, a very expressive number. In the particular case of each of the provinces, we find different proportions.

In the province of Salcete, which according to the *Foral* had 57 villages, there were 278 temples⁶⁷, 76 of which were dedicated to female deities and 33 exclusively to goddess Santeri, which means that 27.33% of the total temples were dedicated to the female deities. The temples of Santeri represented 11.08% of the total of temples of Salcete and, if only the temples of the female deities are considered, they represented 43.42% of that total.

In the *Ilhas de Goa* there were 36 villages, with at least 177 temples (including the adjacent islands), of which 48 were dedicated to female deities and 18 to Santeri. This means that 27.11% of the total of temples were dedicated to female deities. The Santeri temples represented 10.16% of the total temples of *Ilhas* and 37.50% if only the temples of the female deities are considered.

<i>FORAL</i>	Salcete	Ilhas de Goa	Bardez	Total
Villages	57	28[+8] = 36	40	133
Temples	278	127[+50] = 177	193	648
<i>Samtery</i> , Santere [Santeri]	33	18	27	78
<i>Baguomte</i> [Bhagavatī]	11	2	7	20
<i>Durgadevy</i> , <i>Durgadeo</i> , <i>Drugadeve</i> [Durgādevī]	10	4	--	14
<i>Vanadevata</i> [Vanadevatā, Vanadevī]	--	4	7	11
<i>Mallcomy</i> [Mahālakṣmī]	3	3	3	9
<i>Baucadevy</i> , <i>Bauquadevi</i> [Bhaukadevī, Bhūmikādevī?]	2	4	1	7
<i>Quelbadevi</i> , <i>Qualbadevi</i> [Kelbaidevī]	--	1	4	5
<i>Bhavinni</i> , <i>Bhaninni</i> [Bhāvinī]	--	--	3	3

<i>Maysasor</i> [Mahiṣāsura-mardinī]	2	--	--	2
<i>Camaquea</i> [Kāmākṣī]	2	--	--	2
<i>Malçadevy</i> , <i>Mhâsâmata</i> [Mahālasādevī]	1	--	1	2
<i>Chamdeusory</i> , <i>Chanduçere</i> [Cāmuṇḍeśvarī]	1	1	--	2
<i>Mayadevi</i> , <i>Maya</i> [Māyādevī]	--	2	--	2
<i>Gumidevata</i> [Bhūmidevatā]	--	1	1	2
<i>Mauli</i> , <i>Mauli</i> [Maulī]	--	--	2	2
<i>Mahmay</i> [Mahāmāyā]	1	--	--	1
<i>Satma</i> [Saptamātrkā?]	--	--	1	1
<i>Ramtározadevvy</i> [<i>Cantározadevī</i> , Kātyāyanī]	1	--	--	1
<i>Velbadevy</i> [Velbadevī]	1	--	--	1
<i>Vernadevy</i> [Vernadevī]	1	--	--	1
<i>Paunadevy</i> [Paunadevī, <i>Pavandevī</i> ?]	1	--	--	1
<i>Gauguadeve</i> [Bhaukadevī?]	--	1	--	1
<i>Adjdevi</i> [Ajdevī]	--	--	1	1
<i>Calcadevy</i> [Kālikādevī]	--	--	1	1
<i>Callea</i> , <i>Calleadevta</i> [Kālikā-devatā?]	--	--	2	2
<i>Goddeamata</i> [Goddeamātā]	1	--	--	1
<i>Chadaspary</i> [Chandeśvarī?]	1	--	--	1
<i>Satazany</i> [Saptamātrkā?]	1	--	--	1
<i>Conti</i> [Kuntī]	1	--	--	1
<i>Devki</i> [Devakī]	--	1	--	1
<i>Bardyana</i> [Bhāvanī?]	--	1	--	1
<i>Gaganaty</i> [Bhagavatī?]	--	1	--	1
<i>Mascanaçani</i> [Maskanaśinī?]	--	1	--	1
<i>Madey</i> [Mahādevī?]	1	--	--	1
<i>Acarudeguy</i> [Aṣṭabhujadevī?]	1	--	--	1
<i>Çate</i> , <i>Sati</i>	--	3	4	7
Temples of Female Deities	76	48	65	189

Table No. 01: Final systematization of temples of female deities based in the three earliest *Forais*.

Bardez consisted of 40 villages and had 193 temples, 65 of which were devoted to the female deities and 27 to Santeri. Thus, 33.65% of all temples were dedicated to female deities in this province. The temples of Santeri represented 13.98% of the total temples in Bardez and 41.53% of the temples devoted to female deities.

Quantification and Percentages	<i>Foral de Salcete</i>	<i>Foral de Ilhas de Goa</i>	<i>Foral de Bardez</i>	Total	Temples total (%)	Temples female deities (%)
Villages	57	28[+8] = 36	40	133		
Temples	278	127[+50]=177	193	648		
Temples of female dieties (33)	76	48	65	189	29.16%	
Santeri Temples	33	18	27	78	12.03%	41.26%
Santeri not mentioned in secondary sources	2	2	3	7	71=9.85% 78= 8.97%	
Female deities - total	27.33%	27.11%	33.65%			
Santeri / Total	11.08%	10.16%	13.98%			
Santeri / Female deities	43.42%	37.50%	41.53%			
<i>Baguomte</i> [Bhagavatī]	11	2	7	20	3.08%	10.58%
<i>Durgadevy</i> [Durgādevī]	10	4	--	14	2.16%	7.40%
<i>Vanadevata</i> [Vanādevī]	--	4	7	11	1.69%	5.82%
<i>Mallcomy</i> [Mahālakṣmī]	3	3	3	9	1.38%	4.76%

Table No. 2: quantification and percentages referring to the Temples of the Old Conquests.

Among the three provinces of the Old Conquests, Salcete was the one with the highest number of villages and temples in pre-colonial times. Although the number of villages is different in each province, the quantification allows to observe a greater recurrence of Santeri's shrines among the temples of the female deities in Salcete (43.42%), followed by Bardez (41.53%), and *Ilhas de Goa* (37.50%). Yet, in relation to the number of temples of female deities when compared to the total number of temples in each province, Bardez presents the highest percentage (33.65%) of temples dedicated to female deities, followed by Salcete and *Ilhas de Goa* (27.33% and 27.11%) respectively. The proportion of Santeri's temples in relation to the general total of each province is also higher in Bardez (13.98%), followed by *Ilhas de Goa* (10.16%), and Salcete (11.08%), indicating in quantitative terms a slight preponderance of this goddess in Bardez.

Another point that deserves attention is that this survey of the three earliest *Forais* of the provinces of the Old Conquests made it possible to retrieve information on at least 7 Santeri temples that are not mentioned in the secondary sources. They were in the villages of Colva and Orlim in Salcete, in the villages of Azossim and Banguenim in *Ilhas*, and in the villages of Nagoa, Nadora and Corlim in Bardez. This means an increase of 9,85% in the previously known total (71), a considerable amount, which in itself already justifies the revision of these primary sources. Besides the unknown Santeri temples so far recovered, there is also a temple consecrated to Bhaukadevī in the village of

Orlim that was also not included in Pereira's book, and the temple dedicated to Mahālakṣmī in the village of *Vanollym* (Vanelim) both in Salcete, that was equally not noted by Pereira⁶⁸. At the same time, this reassessment indicates that all other Hindu deities mentioned in the *Forais* would also benefit from a similar procedure.

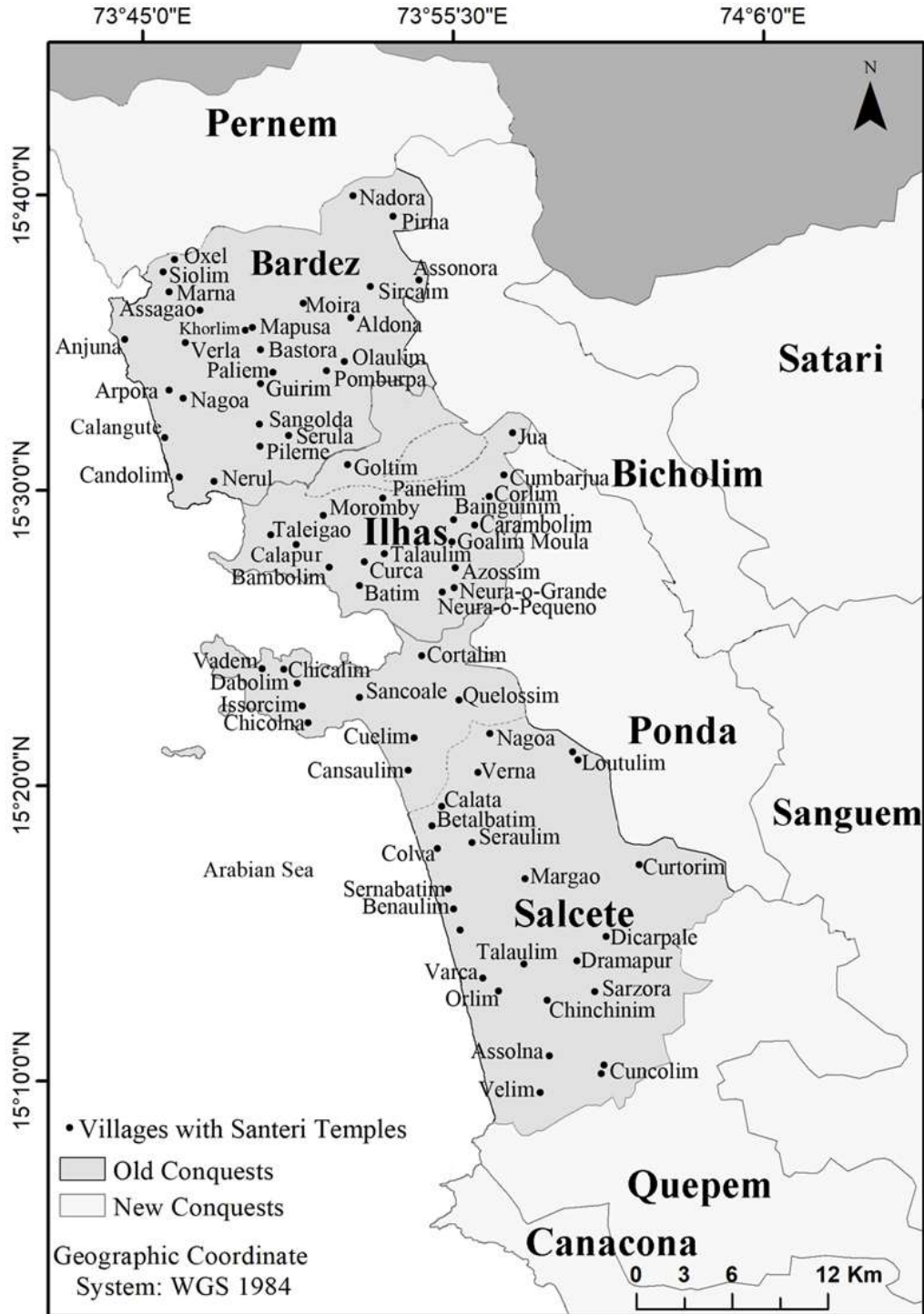


Fig. No. 09: Map of Goan villages with Santeri temples in the sixteenth century according to the ancient *Forais* (Cibele Aldrovandi and Sara Lopes de Moraes, 2019)

Concluding Thoughts: Through a detailed analysis of these Portuguese manuscripts the earlier sacred landscape associated with goddess Santeri and other 35 female deities has been retrieved. The reassessment of the existing data from the *Forais de Salcete, Ilhas and Bardez* allowed the reputed popularity of the goddess Santeri to be thoroughly investigated, providing a distinct perspective on the Hindu sacred landscape of Goa from those already existent. The preponderance of Santeri among the female deities (41.26%) confirms her sovereignty among these goddesses and her recurring presence (12.03%) in the precolonial Goan Hindu pantheon. In addition to Santeri, the most worshipped female deities in the Old Conquests were Bhagavatī, Durgādevī, Vanadevatā, and Mahālakṣmī. As an extremely popular deity, the widespread presence of goddess Santeri probably explains the reason she has been chosen by Brahmin elites to be associated with goddess Śāntādurgā from their arrival in Goa onwards, even though this Sanskritization process still requires further analysis.

The complexity present in this sacred landscape, therefore, must be considered not only by a quantitative analysis, but requires that such data be balanced taking also into account the peculiarities and idiosyncrasies of each province and, especially, of each village. Some of the ancient villages had only one temple and it could be dedicated to a single deity. In the province of the *Ilhas de Goa*, Santeri's temple was the only one in the villages of Baguenim and Bambolim, while Chimbél had its only temple dedicated to goddess *Gaganaty*, and in Orara the temple was dedicated to a male deity. In Salcete, the village of Chicolna had its only temple dedicated to Santeri, and in Gandaulim it was consecrated to Durgādevī, while four other villages had single temples dedicated to male deities. The province of Bardez had two villages with a single temple, both dedicated Santeri: Oxel and Mapusa, while Cunchelim, and Orda and Salpa had their only temples dedicated to male deities. In these villages, therefore, the preponderance of the Goddess whether as Santeri or other forms of Devī deserves further attention. These particularities have quite different implications than those presented by villages with a greater number of temples dedicated to various deities. Therefore, other approaches will certainly need to be combined to the one presented here as to continue the investigation and discussions that surrounds the complexities embedded in the sacred landscape associated with goddesses Santeri and Śāntādurgā in Goa.

To conclude, this quantification has also allowed to verify and compare the cult of the female deities in relation to the male deities, making it possible to understand that in the sixteenth century the temples dedicated to the goddesses represented almost one third (or 29.26%) of the overall amount in the Old Conquests, while more than two thirds (70.74%) of these temples were dedicated to male deities. This is a considerable and rather unexpected difference, and the implications drawn from this data are currently being compared to another set of textual sources from later centuries that will be addressed elsewhere. Nevertheless, if one considers that at least 648 temples existed in Old Conquests during the sixteenth century, they undeniably comprise a substantial number of shrines that were

totally erased from these territories during the first century of the Portuguese colonial enterprise. Thus, the detailed reassessment and analysis of the *Forais de Salcete, Ilhas and Bardez* allows for that ancient and complex sacred landscape to be once again brought to light.

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- ²¹ Pitre, L. K., 2006. *Catalogue of the Remarkable Sculptures in the Goa State Museum*. Directorate of Museums, Government of Goa, Panaji, pp. 14-17.
- ²² Mitragotri, 1992, op.cit., p. 178.
- ²³ See Da Cunha, Gerson (ed.), 1877. *The Sahyadri-khanda of the Skandapurana: a mythological, historical, and geographical account of western India*. Bombay, Thacker, Vining, & Co.
- ²⁴ Kamat, 2001, op.cit., p. 13.
- ²⁵ Newman, Robert S., 2001. *Of Umbrellas, Goddesses and Dreams: Essays on Goan Culture and Society*. Mapusa, Other India Press, p. 129.
- ²⁶ Perez, 2011, op. cit., p. 100.
- ²⁷ Srinivas, Mysore N., 1967. "The Cohesive Role of Sanskritization." *India and Ceylon: Unity and Diversity*. Ed. P. Mason. London, Oxford University Press: 67-82, esp. p. 67 et seq.
- ²⁸ Henn, 2014, op. cit. p. 88.
- ²⁹ Perez, 2011, op. cit., p. 101.
- ³⁰ Mirzoeff, Nicholas, 2000. *Diaspora and Visual Culture: Representing Africans and Jews*. Routledge, London and New York, p. 2 and 7.
- ³¹ Tuladhar-Douglas, William, 2005. "On why it is good to have many names: the many identities of a Nepalese god." *Contemporary South Asia*, 14. 1: 55-74, esp. 60 et seq. See also Ray, 2009, op. cit. p. 90.
- ³² Deeg, Max, 2007. "Mapping common territory – mapping other territory." *Acta Orientalia Vilnensia*, 8.1: 145-161, esp. 149-150.
- ³³ Tarabout, Gilles, 2004. "Theology as History: Divine Images, Imagination, and Rituals in India", in *Images in Asian religions: texts and contexts*, edited by Phyllis Granoff and Koichi Shinohara. Asian religions and society series. Vancouver, The University of British Columbia - UBC Press: 56-84, esp. pp. 65-66 and 69.
- ³⁴ Kamat, 2001, op. cit., p. 12.
- ³⁵ Ray, 2009, op. cit., p. 93.
- ³⁶ Mitragotri, 1992, op. cit., pp. 179-180.
- ³⁷ See Kamat, 2001, op.cit., p. 11.
- ³⁸ Newman, 2001, op. cit., p. 131.
- ³⁹ See Foucault, Michel, 1972. *The Archaeology of Knowledge – and The Discourse on Language*. (translated by A.M. Sheridan Smith). New York, Pantheon Books, pp. 31-33 and 57-60.
- ⁴⁰ Fairclough, Norman, 1992. *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge, Polity Press, pp. 42-43, 55-56, 85-91.
- ⁴¹ Thomas, Julian, 2001. "Archaeology of place and landscape", in *Archeological Theory Today*, edited by Ian Hodder. Cambridge, Policy Press: 165-186, esp. pp. 165-166. See also, Stein, Deborah L., 2018, *The Hegemony of Heritage: Ritual and the Record in Stone*. Oakland: University of California Press, pp. 120-121.
- ⁴² The *Foral de Salcete* [no. 3070] only recently has been available for research due to its precarious state of conservation, as was reported to us by the archivist of this institution, Mr. Balaji Shenoy.
- ⁴³ A preliminary analysis of this data was published in Portuguese in: Aldrovandi, C. 2016. "Śrī Śāntādhurgā Devī: análise preliminar das fontes textuais goesas em língua portuguesa". *Via Atlântica*, São Paulo, N. 30, Dec., pp. 99-130.
- ⁴⁴ The names of the villages and the deities differ slightly in each of the *Forais* and can vary even in the *Foral* itself. In this article, the names were kept in their original form, as they are spelled in the older documents. Only when these names are too different, the Sanskrit or the current form may appear in parentheses.
- ⁴⁵ Pissurlencar, 1955, op. cit., p. 117.
- ⁴⁶ Sousa, Ambrosio de. 1567. "Foral de Salcete". Manuscript [n. 3070]. Directorate of Archives and Archeology, Panaji, Goa.
- ⁴⁷ Pissurlencar, 1955, op. cit., pp. 117-118.

⁴⁸ This *Index* has 59 villages listed, but during its assessment two inconsistencies were observed. The first inconsistency is that it includes the neighborhood of Sirlim as village number 42 [fol. 724r], and in the earliest *Foral de Salcete*, Sirlim belongs to the village of Talaulim [number 41, fol. 716r]. The second one is that the village of Adsolim, appears twice in the *Index* as numbers 31 (fol. 586r) e 59 (fol. 937r). Therefore, the total number of villages would be 57, the same seen in the earliest *Foral* [n. 3070]. The number of villages is the same provided by Pereira, 1978, op. cit.

⁴⁹ Wicki 1962, op. cit., pp. 394-395.

⁵⁰ See *Purabhilekh-Puratatva - Journal of the Directorate of Archives and Archeology Panaji – Goa [PPJADD]*, Vol. VII, N. 1, 1989, pp. 36-46. See also Pereira, Rui G. 1978. *Hindu Temples and Deities*. Panjim, Printwell Press, p. 92. These two secondary sources mention the same temples, only the order they are listed is slightly different.

⁵¹ Murthy, R. S. Shivaganasha, 1996. *Introduction to Manuscriptology*. Delhi, Sharada Pub. House, p. 125.

⁵² See *PPJADD*, op. cit., Vol. IX, No. 1, 1991, p. 29.

⁵³ In the description of the ancient temples, Pereira, 1978, op. cit., p. 104, mentions only 6 of them. Something similar occurred in the village of *Vanollym* (Vanelim), which had a temple dedicated to *Malcomy* (Mahālakṣmī) that appears in the transcription of *PPJADD*, Vol. II, N. 2, 2001: 62, but is not mentioned by Pereira 1978, op. cit., p. 109, who cites only the *Goresnor* temple of that village.

⁵⁴ Pissurlencar, 1955, op. cit., p. 117.

⁵⁵ Ferrão, Antonio, 1567, “*Foral de Ilhas de Goa*”. Manuscript [n. 7594]. Directorate of Archives and Archeology, Panaji, Goa.

⁵⁶ As in Pereira, 1978, op. cit. And also Rao, Gopala V. *Temples of Goa – an Architectural Study*. Dissertation, Goa University, 2003.

⁵⁷ Pereira, 1978, op. cit., p. 39.

⁵⁸ Pereira, 1978, *ibid.*

⁵⁹ Correa, Valentim. 1647. “*Foral de Bardez*”. Manuscript [n. 7588]. Directorate of Archives and Archeology, Panaji, Goa. See also Pissurlencar, 1955, op. cit., p. 117.

⁶⁰ Pereira, 1978, op. cit., p. 72.

⁶¹ Rao, 2003, op. cit., p. 54.

⁶² Pereira, 1978, op. cit., p. 73. Rao, 2003, op. cit., p. 54.

⁶³ GPS coordinates of the original temple are: [15o 32.759'N and 073o 48.339 'E]. The site was visited at night and the land today belongs to a Punjabi family, which acquired it almost 30 years ago. They were unaware of the existence of the ruins of this temple at the time they bought the old colonial house. A few years ago, the Hindus in the area built a small shrine for goddess Śāntādurgā next to the place where the original Santeri temple stood.

⁶⁴ Rao, 2003, op. cit., p. 54.

⁶⁵ Pereira, 1978, op. cit., p. 62.

⁶⁶ Pereira, 1978, *ibid.*, p. 67. Rao, 2003, op. cit., p. 54.

⁶⁷ This amount is quite close to what was mentioned by the *Carta de Br. Gomes Vaz* of 1567, which states that two hundred and eighty large temples, as well as innumerable small shrines were destroyed.

⁶⁸ Nevertheless, according to Pereira, 1978, op. cit., pp. 37 and 61, there was a temple of Mahālakṣmī in the northeast of Taleigao that went to Mahen in Bicholim, and later went back to Panjim, though the *Foral de Ilhas* does not mention this temple in Taleigao village.