Chapter II – Sacred Sites and Settlement Sites

The previous chapter presented a general overview of various sacred sites in Gujarat, along with their location, remains and religious affiliation. An expansion in the sacred landscape was noticed between the third century BC and eight century AD, as was an increase in the spread of sites in Gujarat. In this chapter, I shall examine whether sacred sites, Brahmanical, Buddhist or Jaina, existed close to settlements or in core areas of settlement concentration, or by and large away from them. For carrying this out first, I shall briefly discuss the areas of settlement in each period, and then determine possible factors for the location of certain sacred sites at or close to the settlement sites. While studying settlements I will not be limiting myself to the categories of fortified and non-fortified settlements, or urban and rural, but rather classify them in terms of craft production, salt manufacturing and iron extraction as well. While discussing sacred and settlement sites I must stress that these two often cannot be clearly demarcated from each other. The step wells found in different parts of Gujarat served not only a religious purpose, but supplied water for daily requirements, and this was true also of the kuṇḍas, which may refer to a sacred water site in general, which had steps, which were long and often arranged in triangular sets. The water bodies not only served to fulfil the daily requirements for drinking, bathing and agriculture, but also had a religious function. The wells located close to the temples were an essential component of temple architecture. The water from these wells was required for temple rituals and ablutions, and in these wells, it is believed that the gods dwell and pass their time. Hence, water was seen as the sacred abode of
the deities, and at times was the object of worship itself.\textsuperscript{1} The sacred aspect of the step well at Roda is seen in the presence of the well between a group of temples, as well as the presence of small temples inside the basins of the kuṇḍa. These are built into the stepped sides of the basin and face different directions, and their deities guard the sacred water site.\textsuperscript{2} Thus, while discussing sacred and settlement sites I do not take them to be rigidly defined areas, as the water bodies served as points where boundaries merged and sacred and settlement sites converged.

In this chapter, an attempt shall be made to identify the support base of the sacred sites located in various niches. The causes behind selection of a site could be either political, or due to economic activities, namely agriculture, craft or trade, or a combination of these. For this I shall rely mainly on archaeological data, which is scanty for the first and third period under study, but is abundant for the second period in the form of various excavation and survey reports. A discussion shall also be undertaken regarding the involvement of various communities, for which both archaeology and inscriptions provide useful data. While for the first and second period there is scanty inscriptive data, in the third period there is ample data from the Maitraka inscriptions as well as those seen on a few of the bronzes from the site of Akota.

Before I proceed to discuss sacred and residential sites, I would like to give a very brief introduction to the region of Gujarat. The region of Gujarat can be divided into three major divisions: (a) the plains of central Gujarat along with its hinterland or the land north of the Mahi river; (b) Saurashtra and Kutch, namely the western half of Gujarat; (c) southern Gujarat, i.e. the land south of the Mahi river.\textsuperscript{3} The main river

\textsuperscript{1} Julia A.B. Hegewald, \textit{Water Architecture in South Asia- A Study of Types, Developments and Meanings}, E.J.Brill, Leiden, Boston, Köln, 2002; p.37
\textsuperscript{2} Ibid; p.142
\textsuperscript{3} V.K.Jain, \textit{Trade and Traders in Western India}, Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi, 1990; p.11
systems in central Gujarat comprise of the rivers Sabarmati and Mahi and their tributaries. The region consists of the districts of Ahmedabad and Kaira, and the crops grown here are cotton, barley, millet and wheat. The area around the north of Cambay has black soil suitable for the cultivation of wheat and cotton, whereas towards east only inferior types of grain can be grown. The highland regions of Palanpur, Mahikanta, Panchmahals and Rewakantha are in the north and east of Gujarat. The northern and eastern hinterlands of Gujarat though not fertile, contain the main land routes connecting Gujarat and the western seacoast with the interior of India. The main fertile areas of Saurashtra are the Bhal and Nal tracts, the Shetrunji basin and the Bhadar basin and both agriculture as well as trade was important to the inhabitants of this region. The northern coastal area of Saurashtra is not suitable for agriculture due to low rainfall and dry climate, whereas the south and south west coast of Saurashtra is more fertile and the interior regions are agriculturally rich. As for Kutch the only tract suitable for agriculture is the belt between Bhuj and the south east coast where wheat, barley and cotton are grown with the aid of irrigation. The division of South Gujarat comprises of Broach and Surat districts and the main rivers here are the Narmada, Tapti and river Kim. The soil here is fertile and produces cotton, wheat, rice, sesame and pulses. South Gujarat is topographically an alluvial strip of land along the coastline and is separated from the interiors by the hill ranges. Religious sites cannot be viewed as isolated entities as they were a part of the human settlements and their creation had some societal function as well. Thus it becomes important to study the settlements that provided the resources for the creation and continuity of sacred sites. I shall now proceed to discuss various settlement sites in the

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4 Ibid; p. 12
5 Ibid; p.13
6 Ibid; p.14
7 V.K. Jain, *Trade and Traders in Western India*, Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi, 1990; p. 18
first period under study and see as to whether only a few or all had religious remains. Thereafter I shall attempt to hierarchize the various sacred sites, along with the causes that would have led to the comparative importance of a few of the sacred sites.

**Period I: Third century BC- First century BC/AD**

First, I shall attempt to establish the continuity of settlement in the region, prior to the first period under study by briefly mentioning the chronology of some of the important sites. The site of Nagara (map 2.1) in the district of Kaira is located two miles from Cambay. Four periods of occupation are evident from 7th century BC to 15th century and onwards.\(^8\) The site of Kaira is another site that shows continuous settlement from 7th century BC upto 9th century AD.\(^9\) The site of Vadodara had early beginnings with a Microlithic culture, which gradually changed into a pottery using Neolithic or Early Iron Age culture. The site along with other sites in the Mahi valley of Central Gujarat was part of the same culture dating to 1000 BC.\(^10\) To the area south of the river Mahi, sites that demonstrate continuity from an earlier period are that of Jokha and Dhatva. The site of Jokha (map 2.1), in Surat district, is located on the left bank of the river Tapti between 21°18' - 63°00'. The site had remains of the late Harappan period, which included Malwa and Jorwe wares, dating to the period between 1500 –1000 BC. The site was then reoccupied in the 6th century BC and continued upto the 6th century AD.\(^11\) Located along the bank of the river Tapi is the site of Dhatva (map 2.1), in taluka Kamrej of Surat district where excavations exposed seven layers with two cultural horizons and of these the first period covers the time from circa 1500 BC to AD 200.\(^12\) The preliminary investigation at the site revealed it to be a production centre (iron manufacturing, bead making, shell crafting

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\(^8\) *IAR* 1963-64; p.10  
\(^9\) *IAR* 1963-64; p.10  
\(^10\) Benapudi Subbarao, *Baroda Through the Ages*, MSU Vadodara, 1953; p.106  
\(^11\) *IAR* 1966-67; p.10  
\(^12\) *IAR* 1967-68; p.20
Map 2.1 Period I-Settlements with Sacred Sites
etc.) and a trade port having overseas contacts with the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf region.\textsuperscript{13} Another site is that of Broach, which acquired immense importance in the succeeding period under study, covering the period from 1\textsuperscript{st} century BC/AD to 3\textsuperscript{rd} century AD. The beginnings of the site can be dated to the first period under study as seen in the black and red ware and the Northern Black Polished Ware found at the site. Timbarva in Sinor taluka of Vadodara district has in its earliest levels Northern Black Polished Ware and red and black “megalithic” pottery, suggesting contacts with southern India.\textsuperscript{14}

Excavations at Prabhasa Patan, close to Somanatha, revealed a long period of occupation beginning from circa 2000 BC and continuing well up to the 6\textsuperscript{th} century AD. Period IV covers a time between 4\textsuperscript{th} to 1\textsuperscript{st} centuries BC.

The site of Dwarka was reoccupied in 900 BC and continued up to 500 BC and the third occupational layer dates to circa 2\textsuperscript{nd} century BC.\textsuperscript{15} The site of Padri provides evidence for the existence of some form of a shrine. Excavations carried out at this site revealed the following sequence – pre Harappan, Padri culture, mature Harappan and early Historical.\textsuperscript{16}

After a brief mention of various sites in Gujarat that demonstrate continuity of settlement, I shall now discuss sites that contain religious remains. It is noticed that not all of these sites contained sacred sites, and hence it becomes important to analyse the archaeological data of the sites with religious remains so as to determine the causes behind the selection of a few of these sites for religious purposes.

\textsuperscript{13} S.P.Gupta, Tejas George, Rohini Pandey, Anuja Geetali & Sonali Gupta, Excavations at Kamrej in \textit{Journal of Indian Ocean Archaeology}, No.1, 2004; p.9
\textsuperscript{14} R.N.Mehta, Excavation at Timbarva, in \textit{JOI}, Vol.IV, No.1, 1954; p.100
\textsuperscript{15} \textit{IAR} 1979-80; p.28-29
Settlements with Sacred Sites

Of the sites that demonstrate continuity of settlement, religious remains are encountered only at the sites of Dwarka, Padri and in the area around Junagadh. Though no architectural remains have been encountered at Prabhasa Patan of any religious structure, yet its importance as a sacred site is attested by its being mentioned as an important tīrtha in the *Mahābhārata.*

The *Surāstrās* find mention not only in the *Mahābhārata,* but in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as well. In the *Kiśkindha kāṇḍa,* Sugriva asks Susena to send one retinue of monkeys in search of Sita to *Surāstrā,* which lay in the western direction. In the *Māhabhārata* they are associated with the countries of the Kuntis and Avantis. (*Virā Parva,* Chap. I, 12). The numismatic evidence in the form of numerous janapada coins clearly proves the existence of this tribe in Gujarat.

The construction of the dam and the Sudarsana lake attests to the area around it being suitable for agricultural purposes. It has been pointed out that the southern peninsula of Gujarat is comparatively more fertile than the northern peninsula due to the black soil and higher rainfall.17 As has been pointed out by Amita Ray, the edicts of Asoka in the southern part of India were located along the most important route of communication in the area, namely the Raichur doab and its peripheral area18 and that the seat of the provincial government, Brahmagiri, may have exercised its authority over the Andhra region.19 Similar may have been the case with the selection of Junagadh, as the site would have allowed control over the rich agricultural zones of the river valleys of Bhadar, Ojat Kalubhar, Vartu, Hiranya, Shingoda and Sorathu, as

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17 *Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency- Kathiawar,* Vol. VIII, Government of Bombay, 1884; p.176
18 Amita Ray, Beginnings of Urbanization in Early Andhradesa, in J.S.Grewal & Indu Banga ed. *Studies in Urban History,* Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar; p.31
19 Ibid; p.33
well as the forest resources that the Gir hills had to offer. The land is very fertile and
the region of Ghed, which is water logged, produces cotton of the best quality.20

In addition to this, the site being situated on an important route of communication
would have been a busy entrepot in the ancient period. Saurashtra was situated on a
strategic route and Girinagara was located in the heart of Saurashtra and was an
important seat of trade and commerce. It was well connected to the coastal route from
Dwarka, which proceeded to Somanatha, Amreli, Valabhi and then to Broach.21 From
Uparkot one has a vantage point and from one side of the fort the road entering the
city of Junagadh is clearly visible. While one end of the road leads to the fort, the
other end passes from outside the city, the Asokan Rock Edict and then to the
Sudarsana lake.

Excavations carried out at Dwarka and Bet Dwarka point to the sites being in a
prosperous condition and subsisting mainly on activities related to the manufacturing
of shell objects. The soil around the region is not conducive to agricultural activities,
and being located close to the sea with the ready availability of shell, it would have
been natural for the inhabitants to capitalize on what the sea provided. The third
occupational layer at Dwarka dates to circa 2nd century BC and the site has evidence
of a township22, attesting to its relative importance in the region, as only a few sites
reveal townships in this period under study. Off the coast of Dwarka is the island of
Bet Dwarka whose antiquity in the historical period dates to 3rd -4th century BC,23 a
comparatively later date than that of Dwarka. Located at a short distance from
Dwarka, the inhabitants settled on the island at a later stage due to better availability

20 Babita Sikdar, *Girinagara-The Anceint Provincial Capital of Western India (6th century BC to 6th
century AD)*, M.A. Dissertation, MSU-Vadodara; p.4
21 Babita Sikdar, *Girinagara-The Ancient Provincial Capital of Western India (6th century BC to 6th
22 IAR 1979-80; p.28-29
No.2, 1998; p.85
of various types of shell. According to Sundaresh and Gaur, Bet Dwarka contained a conch shell industry, which is proven by the presence of Cyprea ocellata Linn, Murex ramoses and Xanus (Turbinella) Pyrum Linn varieties of shell. The period between 320 BC to 1st century AD at Dwarka contained Red Slipped, black ware, terracotta balls and stoppers, shell bangles and pieces of iron. Also found at the site was an inscribed potsherd with Mauryan Brahmi. The inscription on the potsherd would have been a mark of either an inhabitant at the site, or alternatively of a trader who had transactions with this site. Even though the topography around the region of Dwarka and Bet Dwarka is not conducive for agricultural practices, the vegetation is suitable for animal husbandry. This coupled with the specialization of the sites in manufacturing shell objects implies involvement of its inhabitants in trading activities for items of consumption such as food.

Located in the sub-division of Saurashtra is the site of Prabhasa Patan. Period IV covers a time between 4th to 1st century BC and this was the first site to manufacture shell bangles. The site is the only one in the region of Gujarat where a flesh rubber incised with characters of 2nd century BC was found. In addition were found ivory hairpins and plaques representing female figures and beads and ear studs of semi precious stones. The find of ivory objects which are expensive items, points to the presence of an elitist class and hence to social differentiation within a site. Since the site was not involved in the manufacture of beads, some of the inhabitants had the resources to access these. Found in large quantities, along with black and red ware and NBPW, was iron, the source of which would have been the Barda hills in the

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24 IAR 1979-80; p.85
27 R.N.Mehta &S.N.Chowdhary, Excavations at Jokha, MSU Vadodara, 1971; p.70-71
28 IAR 1971-72; p.12-13
vicinity. Thus, at a single site we have evidence of its inhabitants being involved in different activities, which include mining or accessing iron and manufacturing of shell bangles. Presence of NBPW at the site clearly indicates contacts with other parts of the country. Importance of the site is further indicated by the presence of a fortified citadel. The raw materials available in the area such as shell, ivory, carnelian, agate, jasper, garnet and lead, and the salinity of the soil, which makes it unsuitable for agriculture, suggest that the site was involved in production of trading items. It may have been an important port, as is testified by the fortification of the site, which traded in items such as the jasper ear stud, ivory hair pins and plaques, shell bangles, carnelian and agate bead.29

In addition to the major sites, there are also sites that contain religious remains in the form of terracotta images. The settlement at the site of Nagara dates to 3rd century BC,30 and the objects encountered were arrow heads, points, chisel like objects of bone, a punch marked coin, bangles of conch and terracotta figurines, beads and iron slag, and Northern Black Polished Ware.31 Excavations brought to light beads of agate, carnelian, crystal, jasper and garnet,32 which indicate the involvement of the site in their manufacture, as is the case even today in the area around Khambat. The site was also involved in agricultural activity since, "Available evidence indicates the existence of production of rice and koḍarvā as recorded in the excavations at Nagara and the site produces good rice even today. At Nagara small sections of a bund were exposed in the excavations, indicating that earthen bunds were used."33 Thus, this site

29 Nayanjot Lahiri, *The Archaeology of Trade Routes*, OUP, Delhi, 1992; p.288
31 IAR 1963-64; p.10
32 Nayanjot Lahiri, *The Archaeology of Trade Routes*, OUP, Delhi, 1992; p.288
33 R.N. Mehta, Economic Pattern of India during the Early Iron Age (1000BC- 100AD), in *Puratattva*, No.9, 1977-78; p.32
was involved in either extraction of semi-precious stones or in the production of beads, agriculture and trade as well, though in a limited nature.

Terracotta female images have been reported from the sites of Timbarva and Kaira. According to R.N. Mehta, "The mound at Timbarva would have been the service area of Karvan, old Kayarohana." It is interesting to notice that at these two sites, in addition to that of Nagara, one comes across the NBPW, as well as megalithic red and black pottery, clearly indicating the contacts of this site with southern as well as northern parts of the country. Identification of artificial embankments further attests to the involvement of the site in agricultural activities.

A temple dedicated to the goddess Lajjāgaurī was found at the site of Padri (map 2.1), in the Bhavnagar district. The site is located 3 km inland, and according to Paul it seems to have been a processing centre where salt was extracted and supplied to other settlements. Agricultural implements, as well as circular clay tablets with Brahmi script, some copper coins and two boat shaped terracotta motifs were found at the site. The role of agricultural activities seems to have been limited at the site, and the terracotta shaped boats may have been votive offerings by those who used the sea and river for livelihood purposes either to exchange salt for other items or for fishing.

In addition to the above mentioned site, Vadodara is the other site with evidence of an earlier temple. Seen at the site were a few mason marks close to a temple, which may have belonged to an earlier religious structure that no longer exists. As for the period under study, the only evidence available to us comes from the Bhimnatha Mahādeo temple. Found on its pavements were mason marks which resembled the old Brahmi

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34 R.N. Mehta, Excavation at Timbarva in JOI, Vol. IV, No. 1, 1954; p.100-102
35 JAR 1963-64; p. 10
36 JAR 1963-64; p. 10
38 Ibid; p.102
letters of *ya, kra, chi*. According to excavation reports these are taken as evidence, even though indirect, of a small township at the site around 2nd century BC.\(^{39}\)

The survey of settlement sites that contain sacred spots demonstrates that sacred sites came up in settlements carrying out diverse economic activities. While in the case of Dwarka it was craft specialization, at Prabhasa Patan there is a combination of craft specialization, both in bead manufacturing and iron smelting and trade as well. The site of Padri was involved neither in trade nor in agriculture, but salt production. Similarly the sites in and around Junagadh seem to have been supported mainly by agricultural activities, as also were the sites of Talaja, Sana and Ghumli. The agricultural community in the vicinity of these sites seems to have provided for the monks inhabiting the caves at these Buddhist sites. This brief analysis of the settlement sites containing sacred remains clearly demonstrates that there is no one factor that can be attributed as the cause behind the existence of a sacred site. The causes can vary from craft specialization, trade, agriculture, political importance, to a variation of two or a combination of two or more than two factors. It is also noticed that contrary to belief, a few of the early Buddhist sites are not located close to major trading centres or trade routes, but are to be found in the rich agricultural zones of the Kathiawar region of Gujarat. Temple sites namely of Dwarka, Prabhasa Patan and Padri were located primarily in non agricultural zones of Gujarat. After a discussion of the relation between settlement and sacred sites, I shall now attempt to hierarchize the sacred sites. This shall be carried out for each religion separately, and a few of the factors that will be taken into consideration will be the size of the sacred site, mention of sites in religious literature, political factors, as well as a comparative analysis of coins and luxury items in the archaeological material excavated at the sites.

\(^{39}\) Ibid; p.107
Hierarchy of Sites

Surinder Mohan Bhardwaj has rightly pointed out that, “There would appear to be no neat hierarchy and perhaps no such place as the ‘most sacred’ for the entire country.” In this sub-theme, I shall attempt to determine the different causes for the importance of various sites in Gujarat. First, I shall take up sites that have Brahmanical religious association. The two most important sites would be those of Dwarka and Prabhasa Patan or Somanatha. These two sites have continued to be important over a long period of time and are still considered to be sacred spots. Though no substantial archaeological evidence is found at the site of Prabhasa Patan of any religious structure, references to the site in the Epics points to the importance of the site. The site of Dwarka is also mentioned as an important tīrtha in the Mahābhārata, and excavations at the forecourt of the Dvārkādhīśa temple revealed that Temple I was built at the site in the period covering 320 BC to 1st century AD.

In the Mahābhārata, Prabhasa Patan has been described as a sacred tīrtha located on the coast of the sea (Vana Parva, Ch.109). It mentions, ‘O Yudhistira, the brahmanas say that on the sea cost is Prabhasa - the tīrtha which is adored by the celestials’ (III, 880). Agnī was always present at this tīrtha, and those who bathe here with a subdued mind become pure and obtain the fruits of performing the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice (III, 82). It is also mentioned as a tīrtha, which is truly sacred, sin destroying and a favourite place of Indra (III, 103). As for Dwarka, it is mentioned that one should go there with regulated diet and vows, and one who bathes there in the Pindaraka obtains the merit of giving away much gold and that Mahādeva is always present at this tīrtha (III, 82).

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41 IAR, 1979-80; p.28
There are also sites mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* that have no architectural or archaeological remains to their credit. Besides Dwarka and Somanatha or Prabhasa, river Narmada also was a tīrtha. It is mentioned, “O descendant of Bhārata, there flows in a westward course the sacred river Narmada, graced by Priyanga and adorned with mango trees and enlarged by cranes. All the tīrthas, sacred spots, rivers, forests, and those best of the mountains that are in the three worlds, all the celestials with the Grandsire, with the Siddhas, theṚṣīs and the Charanas, O foremost of Kurus, O descendant of Bhārata, always come to bathe in the sacred waters of the Narmada.” (III, 89) It was celebrated in all the three worlds and by offering oblations to the pitṛs and the celestials one would obtain the fruits of Agniṣṭoma sacrifice (III, 82) Those who would bathe in the Narmada would obtain the region of the celestials and the kings (III, 121).

In addition there was a tīrtha by the name of Vināśana where the river Sarasvati disappeared on account of her hatred of śūdra and Abhiras (IX,37) It has been described as the site where the charming celestial river full of water, Sarasvati, disappeared (III, 130).

The Girnar hills, which contain the site of Junagadh, are an important pilgrimage centre for the Hindus as well as the Jainas to date. The hills contain five peaks, namely – Amba Mata, Gorakhanath, Oghad Śikhar, Gurū Dattatreya and Kālkās peak. In addition, it has three kundas or reservoirs - Gaumukhi, Hanuman Dhara and Kamanadak kunda.42 This hill witnesses a fair in the month of Kārttika (November) known as the Parikramā fair, where the pilgrims take a round of Mt. Girnar for two days and two nights. The festival is held for five days, when the village people are

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42 *Gujarat State Gazetters*, Junagadh District, Ahmadabad, 1975; p.81
free from agricultural pursuits, and is attended by people from all communities.\(^43\) Tracing our steps backwards, it would seem that these festivities could have great antiquity, for the Asokan edict, which warns against the festivals and animal sacrifices, may have been referring to one or more of these festivals. The importance of Girnar for the region of Gujarat lay in its symbolic duplication of the Himalayas\(^44\) and that there is duplication of the Ganga and the four dhāmas as well\(^45\)- Gomukhi Ganga, Ambaji, Gorakhanath and Dattatreya. The religious importance of Gir hills is further brought out by the presence of the Bawa Pyara caves, which were Buddhist caves containing vihāras.

Thus, it is noticed that the importance of different sites can be attributed to different reasons. While the sites of Somanatha and Dwarka were important due to the fact that they are mentioned in the epics, the importance of Padri lay in its being one of the first few temples dedicated to Lajjāgaurī, and that of Junagadh lay in the importance given to the site by Asoka for the location of his edicts and beginnings of Buddhist architecture.

**Conclusion**

A study of the archaeological data of settlement sites that contain sacred remains or sites which were sacred reveals that the sites were involved in different activities. While at some sites agriculture would have played an important role, at others craft and trade or combination of two or more played an important role. Sites with temple remains, Dwarka and Padri, and the site of Somanatha, considered to be a sacred site, have all settlements dating to the post Harappan period. While at Somanatha and Dwarka there is a long continuity of settlement, the site of Padri is reoccupied after

\(^{43}\) Ibid; p.318  
\(^{45}\) Ibid; p.174
abandonment in the post Harappan period. Thus, the temple sites are located at sites that demonstrate great antiquity and ones that were not being inhabited for the first time.

The study demonstrates that no one to one relation can be made in this period under study, with either Buddhism and trade, or temples and agricultural activities. The temple sites of Dwarka, Somanatha and Padri were not dependent only on agriculture for their survival. While at Dwarka shell manufacturing activities played an important role, at Somanatha it was trade as well as craft production, and at Padri it was salt manufacturing activities. Similarly it is noticed that Buddhist sites, and not temple sites, are located in agriculturally rich zones. This is seen in the case of the caves in the Gir hills, which are surrounded by agriculturally fertile land. Similar is the case with the sites of Talaja and Sana as well, both being located in one of the fertile river valleys of the Kathiawar region of Gujarat.

The importance of a site depended on other factors as well. In the case of Dwarka and Somanatha, it is the epics that are constantly stressing the importance of these sites as tīrthas. As for Padri, the site is the only one with a temple dedicated to the goddess Lajjāgaurī and may have been important in the regional context. The continuity of the site into the next period of study clearly demonstrates the importance it held for a period of time. The site of Junagadh acquires importance in studying the history of the region mainly because of the presence of the Asokan edicts. The site would have already been a sacred site prior to the Mauryas, which is why the spot was chosen to inscribe the edicts of Asoka, for all those visiting the sacred peaks would have come across it.

Thus, it is clearly noticed that a number of different reasons can be attributed to the presence of a sacred site, its continuity as well as its importance. While in the first
In this next period under study, archaeologically associated with the Red Polished Ware, a growing diversity is noticed in terms of settlement as well as sacred sites. The sites that existed in the earlier period now show signs of complexity in society, and most of these sites grow in size and increase in importance. It is in this period that one notices the utilization of bricks at many of those sites, as well as fortification of a site or employment of other means to provide protection. While in the earlier period, there is evidence for the construction of a dam only near Junagadh, in this period a concentration of earthen bunds is noticed in the present day district of Sabarkantha. Continuity and emergence of new sites is noticed in this period as well. This period also has to its credit a new category of sacred space, namely the memorial stones. From this period onwards, evidence of the existence of more than one religion at a site is also encountered. At the site of Amreli were found Brahmanical images as well as the remains of a Buddhist stupa and at the site of Junagadh in addition to the Buddhist caves, an inscription of the Gupta period gives evidence of the presence of a Visnu temple. It shall also be noticed that most of the sites that contained sacred sites within them were the ones that were comparatively more prosperous, as they were involved in some form of craft or production activity.

The average mean of the settlement sites in this period has been calculated to be 6.0 hectares, which was a two-fold increase as compared to the earlier period. While the maximum number of sites, that is twelve, measured between 4.1 and 8 hectares and

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46 S.R. Rao, Excavations at Amreli, in BBMPG, Vol.XVIII, Vadodara, 1966; p. 94-95
48 JBBRAS, Vol.I, 1844; p.148
49 Supriya Varma, Changing Patterns of Settlement in Kathiawar from Harappan to the Early Historical Period, M.Phil Dissertation, JNU, Delhi, 1984; p.108
occupied 10.10% of the total occupied area, one settlement each was to be found in sites measuring between 64.1 and 128 hectares, 128.1 and 256 hectares and between 256 and 512 hectares, which together occupied 68.80% of total area settled. The largest concentration of sites was seen in central Kathiawar and slightly eastwards in Ghadhada, Umarala and Valabhipur talukas of Bhavnagar district.50

**Settlements with Sacred Sites**

Most of the sites from an earlier period continue into this period as well. In addition to these, certain other sites come up in this period and gain importance in the succeeding period, as in the case of Valabhi and Shamalaji. In the region of Kathiawar itself, a total of three hundred and sixty nine sites have been reported. A clustering of settlements mainly in four regions is noticed. One of these is the area drained by the Bhadar and the Ojat, which contains black soil and is an agriculturally fertile zone. The other cluster is found in the fertile plain of black soil between the rivers Hiranya and Ojat. Another cluster is seen in the Shetrunji basin, which is also a very fertile area, and the sites are located mostly along the more fertile northern bank. A large number of sites are also to be found in the area drained by the rivers Ghelo and Kalubhar, an agriculturally fertile zone, the Sabarmati-Mahi doab, and a few sites are located in the Mahi- Narmada doab.51

From this period onwards ceramics provide us with evidence of Gujarat’s contacts with other regions. The Black Glazed Ware found at the sites of Shamalaji, Amreli and Nagara suggest contacts with parts of north - west India. The Red Polished Ware, which is found in great quantity from the Kathiawar region in Gujarat, is also found in Maharashtra, clearly indicating contacts between these two regions. The Rangmahal

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50 Supriya Varma, *Changing Patterns of Settlement in Kathiawar from Harappan to the Early Historical Period*. M.Phil Dissertation, JNU, Delhi, 1984; p.107-108
51 Supriya Varma, *Changing Patterns of Settlement in Kathiawar from Harappan to the Early Historical Period*. M.Phil Dissertation, JNU, Delhi, 1984; p. 104-107
Red Ware is found concentrated in Rajasthan, and the find of this ware at the sites of Suvama and Pindara in Gujarat suggests contacts with this region as well.

In this period, an increase is noticed in craft activities as well and in addition to the earlier shell working centres of Prabhasa Patan, Nagara and Vadnagar (map 2.2). The sites of Amreli, Valabhi, Akota, Karvan and Bet Dwarka are the new shell working centres in this period. While in the previous period, evidence for iron smelting came from the sites of Prabhasa Patan, Dhatva and Shamalaji, in this period Valabhi appears as another smelting centre. The period also witnesses an increase in building activities as evidenced in the presence of burnt brick structures at the sites of Prabhasa Patan, Nagara, Amreli, Valabhi, Rojdi, Akota and Karvan. In period I, forts/ ramparts were noticed at Prabhasa Patan and Broach only, but in period II the list of fortified sites increases and now includes the sites of Shamalaji, Tarsang, Karanta and a clay rampart at Amreli. In addition to the settlements with sacred sites in the earlier period, the sites of Broach, Shamalaji, Amreli, Valabhi, Akota and Goraj also contain evidences of sacred sites in the second period under study. Now I shall discuss these sites in detail to ascertain whether trade, agriculture or craft activities, or a combination of these existed at the settlement sites with sacred remains.

The site of Shamalaji (map 2.2) is located on the southern end of a fertile forested valley 16 km. long and 2 km. wide, in the zone of north Gujarat. The site demonstrates continuity of settlement and excavations at Shamalaji reveal an increase in the importance of the site, as attested by the beginnings of fortification at this site. Within this period the fortification wall was rebuilt, and the bricks used in its construction and subsequent reconstruction were of the Kshatrapa period. The second period at this site covers the time between AD 100 to AD 300, divided into period II and II a, and the pottery found are the Red Polished Ware, black painted red ware and
Map 2.2 Period II- Settlements with Sacred Sites

- Agriculture
- Bead/Shell Manufacturing
- Trade
- Iron Smelting
- Burnt Brick
- Fortification/mud rampart

- Dwarka
- Amreli
- Prabhas Patan
- Junagadh
- Vakabhi
- Shamalaji & Devsho
- Tarsan
- Goraj
- Vadodara/Akota
- Karavli
- Dhaiva

Legend:
- Agriculture
- Bead/Shell Manufacturing
- Trade
- Iron Smelting
- Burnt Brick
- Fortification/mud rampart
a richly embossed pottery. The maximum number of structures encountered in excavations belongs to this period and totals to thirteen. "The distribution (of structures) indicates that the highest number of structures belonged to periods II and II a, which were of intense activity." It would then seem as though the site of Shamalaji was a well-developed town enclosed within a fortification wall. In the opinion of Mehta and Patil, "This habitation (II- 1st phase) was fortified in c. the 1st century AD. It covered within it an area of about fifty acres, which would have sheltered population, which probably would not have been more than three thousand souls even in the most prosperous period. This fort was situated in a strategic position." This site, as mentioned before, specialized in iron smelting activity. In addition to this, the area was agriculturally fertile and was under cultivation as is seen in the presence of various small dams or bunds found here. Bunds are to be seen in the surrounding area of Shamalaji and are located at a distance of 12 kilometres south of Shamalaji and at the site of Bebar, located 30 kms. north - west of Shamalaji. Mehta has provided a detailed list of these bunds located within this one district. One each is to be found at the villages of Bhim, Pagala, Rampur, Padadri, Dadhalia. Between Jitpur and Dadhalia are to be found one each, three are seen at Vagpur, two at Hematpur, and the maximum number, which totals to nine, are at Devnimori, a site located opposite Shamalaji. The site is nestled between the hilly terrain of the Aravallis, and the occupants of the village Devni ki mori practise mainly agriculture. The agricultural importance of the site is suggested by the construction of a dam in the 1960's by the government, the water from which irrigates the fields nearby.

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52 R.N.Mehta and A.J.Patel, Excavation at Shamalaji, MSU Vadodara, 1967; p.15
53 R.N.Mehta and A.J.Patel, Excavation at Shamalaji, MSU Vadodara, 1967; p.51
Broach (map 2.2) at this point of time was a famous port and the sacred site probably lay along a route of communication connecting the port area with its hinterland. It has the advantage of being located on the Narmada, which is the only navigable river in Gujarat.\textsuperscript{56} The spread of Buddhist architecture across the Gulf of Khambat is evident from the presence of rock cut caves and a monolithic pillar at the site of Kadia Dungar, in Broach district. Broach also seems to have become a more prosperous town, as attested by the existence of a mud rampart and lead and copper Kshatrapa coins in its early historical levels, which continued till 7\textsuperscript{th} – 8\textsuperscript{th} centuries AD without a break.\textsuperscript{57} The site revealed ring wells in clusters of five, and a mud rampart as well.\textsuperscript{58} The wares found were fragments of Red Polished Ware and a few black and red wares, suggesting contacts with sites situated both towards Saurashtra on one hand, and southern part of the subcontinent on the other. “The most important early historic city in Gujarat was ancient Bharukaccha or Bhrgukaccha of the Indian sources and Barygaza of the classical sources. Identified with modern Broach on the Narmada estuary this was a port par excellence. Not only was its immediate hinterland fertile, producing wheat, rice and cotton, but its connection stretched to Ujjayini in central India and Pratisthana in the Deccan, thus touching the arterial routes of inner India.”\textsuperscript{59}

The \textit{Periplus of the Erythrean Sea} aids in establishing the importance of Broach in trading activities with the Roman world. The gulf of Barygaza (Broach) is described as being very narrow and hard to navigate for those coming from the ocean\textsuperscript{60} and the

\textsuperscript{56} Supriya Varma, \textit{Changing Patterns of Settlement in Kathiawar from Harappan to the Early Historical Period}, M.Phil Dissertation, JNU, Delhi, 1984; p.124
\textsuperscript{57} \textit{IAR}, 1959-60; p.19
\textsuperscript{58} Supriya Vanna, \textit{Changing Patterns of Settlement in Kathiawar from Harappan to the Early Historical Period}, M.Phil Dissertation, JNU, Delhi, 1984; p.112
\textsuperscript{59} D.K.Chakrabarti, Post Mauryan States of Mainland Sout Asia (BC185- AD 320), in F.R.Allchin ed., \textit{The Archaeology of Early Historic South Asia.}, Cambridge University Press, 1995; p.305
\textsuperscript{60} Wilfred H Schoff, \textit{The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea}, Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, New Delhi, 1974; p.39
village of Cambay is called Cammoni.\textsuperscript{61} It further mentions that due to the difficulty in entering the Gulf, the king’s fishermen were posted at the entrance in well manned boats called trappaga and cotymba, which went up to the coast of Saurashtra, and these would pilot vessels to Barygaza.\textsuperscript{62} Thus the text not only gives information on the sites involved in trade, but also vital information on trade within Gujarat and about the fact that by this time the people of coastal Gujarat were masters in the art of construction and handling of boats. The distance from Barygaza to Paithana is mentioned as a twenty-day journey and that various items from Paithana and Tagara were brought down to Barygaza by wagons.\textsuperscript{63} The site was an important trading centre, which was supported by an agriculturally rich hinterland.

The site of Akota is located within the city limits of Vadodara (map 2.2). Even though no structural evidence exists to prove the presence of the Jainas in this region, the inscriptions on the Akota hoard of bronzes provide us with some clue. Excavations carried out at the site brought to light foundations of a building with a big hall, dating to the Kshatrapa period,\textsuperscript{64} which may have been used by the Jainas for religious purposes. On the image of Parsavanatha donated by Durggini the inscription mentions the word Rathavasatikā, interpreted as the vasatikā founded by ārya Ratha.\textsuperscript{65} Excavations at the site of Akota brought to light structures that have been dated to 3\textsuperscript{rd}–4\textsuperscript{th} centuries AD\textsuperscript{66} on the basis of Red Polished Ware found in the trenches dug. Remains of a township were traced from the Bhimnath Mahādeo temple in Sayajigunj.\textsuperscript{67} The brick built structures excavated at the site measured three furlongs.

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{61} Ibid; p.40 \\
\textsuperscript{62} Ibid; p.40 \\
\textsuperscript{63} Ibid; p.43 \\
\textsuperscript{64} U.P. Shah, \textit{Akota Bronzes}, Govt. of Bombay, 1959; p.3 \\
\textsuperscript{65} Ibid; p.4 \\
\textsuperscript{66} Bennapudi Subbarao, \textit{Baroda Through the Ages}, MSU Vadodara, 1953; p.14 \\
\textsuperscript{67} R.N. Mehta, \textit{Archaeology of the Baroda, Broach and Surat Districts upto 1300 AD}, Ph.D Thesis, 1957, MSU Vadodara; p.67
\end{flushleft}
long, and one of these structures, measuring 70 x 40 feet with its outer walls exposed to about five feet, has been identified as a public building.\textsuperscript{68} A total of three coins were recovered, two of which belonged to the early Kshatrapa period.\textsuperscript{69} Evidence indicates an increase in the size of the settlement around the Kshatrapa period. The objects found at the site range from the microlithic period to the medieval period,\textsuperscript{70} suggesting that the site was inhabited for a very long period. The succeeding period has a number of religious images to its credit, and this coupled with the find of the Jaina bronzes makes Vadodara a site of religious importance through the ages. The site was involved in shell manufacturing, and in trading activities as well.

Located at a short distance from Vadodara is the site of Karvan (map 2.2), within the District of Vadodara. Excavations in the central part of the mound revealed a wall with a 7.21 feet wide entrance, which was a gateway and was closed in a later period. Found at the site were a variety of objects which included iron nails and bolts, copper coins of the Kshatrapas, tribal coins, lead coins, terracotta beads, Red Polished Ware.\textsuperscript{71} Found here are plaques of stone showing human figures with a prominent headdress. Beads of numerous semi precious stones - agate, carnelian, garnet, rock crystal, garnet, jasper and quartz, shell objects, wheels, discs and pendants were found at excavations carried out at Phulwa Tekri and Vatavagar.\textsuperscript{72} Presence of semi precious stones at the site suggests that the site either was specializing in the craft of bead manufacturing, or was involved in trading them, as seen in the presence of various coins at the site. A total of five thousand lead coins with the legend Damajasa

\textsuperscript{68} Ibid; p.110
\textsuperscript{69} Ibid; p.78
\textsuperscript{70} R.N.Mehta, Archaeology of the Baroda, Broach and Surat districts upto 1300 AD, Ph.D Thesis, 1957, MSU Vadodara; p.70
\textsuperscript{71} JAR 1976-77; p.18
\textsuperscript{72} JAR, 1976-77; p.22
have been recovered from the site.\textsuperscript{73} Another site in the area is that of Timbarva located in the Sinor taluka of Vadodara district. According to R.N.Mehta, "The mound at Timbarva would have been the service area of Karvan, old Kayarohana."\textsuperscript{74} In the region of Saurashtra, the site of Amreli (map 2.2) has been extensively excavated and revealed structural remains in the form of a monastery, as well as a mud rampart. The site is unique as it contains remains of both Buddhist and Brahmanical faith in the next period since one encounters evidence for the worship of Visnu and cults of Siva and Sakti.\textsuperscript{75} Belonging to this period at the site were excavated remains point to the coexistence of various religious beliefs. Excavations here brought to light a Buddhist architecture as well as terracotta figurines depicting different deities of the Brahmanical pantheon of gods and goddesses. Belonging to the Kshatrapa period is only one terracotta figurine, which is a figure of Naigamesh, a form of Skanda. She has the head of a goat with a hooked nose and a slit for a mouth, dangling split ears and protruding breasts and is dated to the 3\textsuperscript{rd} century AD.\textsuperscript{76} According to Atusha Bharucha Irani, this goddess was worshipped as the guardian goddess of childbirth, and represents fertility rites, which is a folk medium.\textsuperscript{77} Even though Amreli is located far from the coast the site has articles that suggest its involvement in trade. A wide variety of coins are also found here. These include Avanti or Ujjain coins, silver, copper, potin and lead coins of western Kshatrapas, early indigenous coins of India and a hoard of two thousand silver coins of Kumaragupta I.\textsuperscript{78} The finds from Amreli range from the early centuries of the Christian era upto medieval times. The excavation was carried out at Gohilwad

\textsuperscript{73} IAR, 1964-65; p.11
\textsuperscript{74} R.N.Mehta, Excavation at Timbarva in JOI, Vol.IV, No.1, 1954; p.100-102
\textsuperscript{75} S.R.Rao, Excavations at Amreli, BBMPG, Vol. XVIII, Vadodara, 1966; p.94-95
\textsuperscript{76} S.R.Rao, Excavations at Amreli, BBMPG, Vol. XVIII, Vadodara, 1966; p.12
\textsuperscript{77} Atusha Bharucha Irani, Settlement Patterns and Material Culture of Saurashtra during the Kardamaka Kshatrapa Period, in Indica, Vol.39, No.2, 2004; p.117
\textsuperscript{78} A.S.Gadre, Important Coins from Baroda State, JNSI, Vol.I, No.1, 1939; p.20
timbo, and structural remains were found on the west as well as the east side of the mound. Towards the north west of the structural remains was what appears to be the furnace of a gold smith and an interesting clay mould was found next to it. Amreli's importance is not only attested by the vast number of coins found but also from the structural remains of brick excavated here. The clay rampart was seen in the form of a depression of an ancient moat connecting two gullies, which discharged into rivers. The site of Amreli is located in the fertile plain of black soil and thus agricultural activities would have been carried out. In addition to this the site was also a shell manufacturing site as seen in the archaeological records, and the possibility of involvement in trade cannot be ruled out because of the presence of various coins as well as the Black Glazed Ware found at the site. Thus, the site was carrying out a number of activities, which provided the support base for the Brahmanical religion as well as the Buddhists at this site.

The caves in and around Junagadh continue in this period to be important to the Buddhists as seen in the the Bawa Pyara caves in the hills. Explorations at Junagadh city, along the bank of river Sonarekh, led to the discovery of a few amphorae fragments, RPW and other ceramic types datable to the early historical period. At Uparkot was found a terracotta figurine of 2nd – 3rd centuries AD, which had similarity with statues of Kanishka from Mathura on the one hand and Scythian warriors from Nagarjunakonda on the other. Terracotta figurines, including yakṣas, sealings, bullae with portraits of yakṣa and a Kshatrapa ruler, stone carvings, beads, indeterminate objects of gold and a spouted and carinated jar of bones datable to the

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79 Annual Report of Archaeological Department- Baroda State for 1936-37; p.11
80 Ibid.; p.11
81 Ibid.; p.11
82 Supriya Varma, Changing Patterns of Settlement in Kathiawar from Harappan to the Early Historical Period, M.Phil Dissertation, JNU, Delhi, 1984; p.112
83 IAR, 1958-59.; p.71
second half of 4\textsuperscript{th} century AD have been found at Uparkot.\footnote{IAR, 1958-59; p.70} With the Kshatrapa, coins were found portion of clay moulds with perfect impressions clearly showing that counterfeit coining was in progress.\footnote{Bombay Archaeological Survey—Western Circle, For Year ending 30\textsuperscript{th} June 1899; p.115} The sites importance lay in its being the provincial capital of the ruling dynasty, and the presence of elite at the site can be inferred from the finds of a vast number of coins, sealings and some objects of gold.

At the site of Valabhi were encountered votive tanks and miniature Siva lingas,\footnote{IAR, 1979-80; p.24} which have been dated between 1\textsuperscript{st} and 4\textsuperscript{th} century AD. Excavations carried out at Maya no Khado revealed a single period divisible into three phases, covering a period from 1\textsuperscript{st} century BC/AD to 8\textsuperscript{th} century AD. Excavations yielded brick structures, hearths and traces of furnaces for smelting iron belonging to 4\textsuperscript{th}—5\textsuperscript{th} centuries AD.\footnote{IAR, 1979-80; p.24}

The ceramics found included Red Polished Ware, crude black and red and plain and burnished red and black ware. Location of the site along the coast and the finds of RPW and amphorae are clear indicators of the site being involved in trading activities as well. In addition to this Valabhi was located in the fertile plain of rich soil,\footnote{Supriya Varma, Changing Patterns of Settlement in Kathiawar from Harappan to the Early Historical Period, M.Phil Dissertation, JNU, Delhi, 1984; p.109} which indicates its involvement in agricultural activities as well. The site is the only one in this period, which was involved in trade, agricultural activities as well as shell manufacturing, and this may have been why the Maitrakas chose this site as their capital.

As in the preceding period, it is noticed in this period as well that no direct corelation can be drawn between either all the Buddhist sites and trade on the one hand, and agricultural activities and Brahmanical sites on the other hand. What also clearly comes out in this period is the coexistence of Buddhism and the Brahmanical religion.
at the sites of Amreli and Junagadh. While the Brahmanical site of Karvan was involved in craft production that of Goraj lay in a fertile agricultural zone and Valabhi involved a combination of craft production, agricultural activities and trade.

Many of the Buddhist sites are located in the agriculturally fertile zones of the Saurashtra region of Gujarat. The site of Hadmatiya is located along the river Macchudar that is one of the most fertile areas. Similar is the case with the Buddhist sites of Khambalida, located along the river Bhadar; Sidsar and Dhank, located between the rivers Bhadar and Vartu and Mandor, which is close to the river Hiranya. The site of Devnimori (map 2.2) would have had its support base from the site of Shamalaji and the surrounding areas. While Shamalaji specialized in production of iron objects, the site of Devnimori itself lay in a rich agricultural zone. The site is located between the rivers Meshvo and Majam, which is a notable tract of fertile arable land. Thus at this Buddhist site there is a clear combination of craft production and agricultural activities.

Evidence of sites with multiple affiliations comes from Amreli and Broach. The site of Amreli was involved in trade, as it lay on the cross roads of communication in the Kshatrapa times, agriculture, as well as shell production activities. This wide resource base may have been the reason for the site being able to support Buddhism and the Brahmanical religion as well. The site of Broach was involved in trading activities and had a fertile hinterland as well. Thus at sites with multiple affiliation it is evident that more than one activity was being carried out.

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89 Supriya Varma. *Changing Patterns of Settlement in Kathiawar from Harappan to the Early Historical Period*. M.Phil Dissertation, JNU, Delhi, 1984; p.19
90 Supriya Varma. *Changing Patterns of Settlement in Kathiawar from Harappan to the Early Historical Period*. M.Phil Dissertation, JNU, Delhi, 1984; p.20
Hierarchy of Sites

In this sub-period the sites of Dwarka and Prabhasa Patan continue to hold importance. These sites and the river Narmada as well, continue to be a part of a wider religious network of pilgrimage as seen in the Mahābhārata. In his study of the Hindu places of pilgrimage in India, Bhardwaj describes the routes in the literary epic. The reconstruction of the routes can be seen in the map provided by him. The first journey constitutes travelling from Pushkara to the Narmada river. In the second part, the pilgrim travels from Narmada to Dvāravatī or Dwarka, and the route followed goes through Charmanvati, Arvuda, Pinga, Prabhasa—the spot where Sarasvati mingles with the sea, to Vardana, and from there to Dwarka. From the site of Dwarka, the pilgrim then proceeds to Vītātsa, in the region of Kashmir, then to Kurukshetra.91

In addition to these sites in this period the earlier site of Junagadh continues to be important, as at the sites of Uparkot and Vasoj two thousand seven hundred and thirty five Kshatrapa coins were found,92 covering almost the whole of Kshatrapa reign, pointing to the existence of an elite class with access to bullion. Amongst the caves explored, only one has raised doubts of it being a Buddhist cave and this is the cave at Uparkot, which is described as a bath. According to J. Burgess Uparkot, or upper fort of Junagadh, “seems to have been a citadel of the old city where the lieutenants of Asoka and Gupta kings lived.”93 According to the report, it contained some wells at a great depth in the soft rock. The excavation revealed a deep tank or bath, 11 feet square with covered verandah on its three sides (fig 2.1) and on the western side was a built seat ‘like an āsan for an idol’94 (fig 2.2). Water came through pipes that came

91 Surinder Mohan Bhardwaj, Hindu Places of Pilgrimage in India, University of California Press, Berkley, 1973; p.54-55
92 B.L. Mankad and R.N. Mehta, Some Interesting Coins from Karvan, JNSI, Vol. XVIII, 1956; P.221
93 J. Burgess, Reports of the Antiquities of Kathiawad and Kacchch, Indological Book House, Varanasi, 1971; p.141
94 Ibid.; p.142
2.1 Uparkot - Water Tank
2.2 Uparkot- Bench Recesses

The Āsan
down the wall from the surface, at the front of this seat and entered the cistern at the entrance, which was at the south-west corner. The roof of this bath was open and a wall was built around the opening. The northern wall had a window to the chamber. ⁹⁵ This apartment was entered from a door in the north-east corner of the bathroom leading to another in the southeast of this second room, which was larger and measured 35 feet 10 inches long and was 27 feet 10 inches wide. Six columns supported the roof and the area between four of them was open above with a surrounding wall on the surface of the rock. ⁹⁶ Below this was a hall, the northern wall of which had bench recesses divided into long compartments. One is lead to a small apartment by a door in the north-east corner, which has a hole in the roof blackened with smoke. By the side of this apartment, descending stairs lead to an entrance below. The lower room is elaborately carved and measured 39 feet 6 inches by 31 feet ⁹⁷ (fig 2.3) On entering one notices a platform and except on the west side the other walls are surrounded by a bench recess, divided at regular intervals, as in the apartment above. On the western side of the hall are two small rooms, one with a single door and the other with three entrances between jambs slightly advanced. J. Burgess points out that these rooms were not part of a monastic establishment. ⁹⁸ We do come across a large number of caves associated with monasteries in this area, but this is the only one that differs in the entire region.

The site of Devnimori (map 2.2) would also have been a prosperous religious site as is seen in the presence of various coins at the site. The find of a coin of the time of the Maitraka ruler Sarvabhattaraka is clear evidence for the continuity of the site upto the beginning of the ⁷th century AD. People from other parts of the subcontinent too

⁹⁵ Ibid.; p.142  
⁹⁶ Ibid.; p.142  
⁹⁷ Ibid.; p.143  
⁹⁸ Ibid.; p.144
2.3 Uparkot - Elaborately Carved Lower Room
would have visited this site since it lay on an important trade route. For the period under study, Mehta and Patil opine that, at Shamalaji, “caravans loaded with materials from the western world were moving past this town and were delivering the Roman goods. This movement continued to influence the town at least for four centuries.”

The site of Goraj (map 2.2) is located 30 kilometres east of Vadodara on the left bank of river Deo, a tributary of river Visvamitri and has remains of what may have been a religious structure. Remains of a plinth of a brick temple were exposed which measured 114 feet meters east-west and 78.74 feet north-south, with an average height between 4.75 and 4.92 feet, having twenty nine courses and no superstructure. Iron nails at the site were found in plenty, which must have been used for the superstructure of the plinth that no longer exists. Found at the site was a signet ring carrying an inscription “Om Jagešar” dated to 2nd –3rd centuries AD, as well as a miniature head of a three-eyed Siva in schist. According to Pande and Vyas, “The structure appears to have been built during the period of Kshatrapa rule (c. 1st century AD to 4th century AD). It seems to have been in use and rebuilt during the time of the...
Siva. The site is located a short distance from the site of Karvan, and is also in the fertile zone along the river valley.\textsuperscript{105}

**Communities and Sacred Sites**

Communities are essential to the existence of a sacred site. It is they who provide for the continuity of the site in terms of its maintenance and they are the ones who continually through their belief in supernatural power at the site and continued visits sanctify the site. The archaeological data for this period indicates the growth of the trading community and artisans in the region.

Found at different sites in the region are a number of coins. While the maximum number of Kshatrapa coins are found at the site of Junagadh, in the Gupta period a total of two thousand coins of Kumaragupta were unearthed.\textsuperscript{106} At the site of Karvan were found six hundred coins of lead in rectangular, circular and triangular shapes.\textsuperscript{107} This is the largest hoard of lead coins to be found in north Gujarat. The coins found in Gujarat include cast and tribal coins of north India, early south Indian coins, and coins of the Kushana and Gupta period. A comparative analysis of the coins has revealed that besides the normal issues of the ruling dynasties, certain coins carried additional symbols.\textsuperscript{108} The coins were modified before being issued for local circulation. The traders and merchants to facilitate smoother commercial transactions could have carried out the addition of symbols. In order to make the currency acceptable in different parts of the country, coins issued by different dynasties, the additional symbol would have served as a trademark of the guild or guilds. This would not only have solved the problem of the acceptance of a particular currency in different regions, but would have also aided in a long continuation of the coin, at least in terms

\textsuperscript{105} *District Gazetteer*, Vol.III.1879; p.292-98
\textsuperscript{106} A.S.Gadre, Important Coins from Baroda State, in *JNSI*, Vol.I, No. 1,1939; p.20
\textsuperscript{107} Moreshwar K.Dikshit, A Hoard of Lead Coins from Karvan- North Gujarat, in *JNSI*, Vol.XIII, 1951; p.22
\textsuperscript{108} A.S.Gadre, Some Rare Coins from Gujarat, in *JNSI*, Vol.XII,1950; p.26
of its intrinsic value. Gadre is of the opinion that at entreports like Broach and Kamrej it is possible that coins of the Ujjain type were locally minted by various mercantile guilds.\(^{109}\) 

In addition, archaeological evidence further proves the existence of flourishing trading activities in the region. A particular grey ware found at the site of Nani Ryan is also to be found at the sites of Ed Dur in lower Gulf, Qana in Yemen and the island of Socotra in the Gulf of Aden. According to Bharucha, the ware is found from both sides of the Sea of Oman and also at a number of sites in Saurashtra as well as Mandvi, which shows regular contact and interchange between India and the Gulf region in early Historic times.\(^ {110}\) The sea routes in this region are named Bakhai Lal (Babra on Persian Gulf), Makarani Lal (Makran coast west of Karachi), Surati Lal (Surat) and Malabari (Malabar),\(^ {111}\) thus indicating the sea routes traversed by the sailors from this site. Thus in addition to the Red Polished Ware and amphorae fragments, the grey ware further testifies to the trading links of various parts of Gujarat with the Gulf and Mediterranean region. Literature provides further evidence of trade contacts of this region with the Mediterranean world. The Gulf of Eirinon mentioned in the *Periplus* has been identified as the Rann of Kutch.\(^ {112}\) 

In addition to amphorae, another ceramic that gives vital clues to the trading contacts of Gujarat, specifically the sub-region of Saurashtra, is the Red Polished Ware. On the basis of the finds of RPW, it has been established that Gujarat had trade contacts with the Arab-Persian Gulf from the beginning of the Christian era. This is brought out clearly in a paper by Monique Kervran who states that, “In the early centuries of the

\(^{109}\) Ibid; p.26  
\(^{110}\) Atusha Irani Bharucha, Mandvi: An Early Historic Sea Port near the Gulf of Kachchh, Western India, in *Man and Environment*, Vol.XXXVII, No.1. 2002; p.72  
\(^{111}\) Ibid; p.71  
\(^{112}\) Wilfred H Schoff. *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, Oriental Books Reprint Corporation,New Delhi, 1974; p.171
Christian era the fine RPW, plain or more rarely polychromatic is accompanied by rougher productions in red or grey fabrics, generally polished and with similar shapes. The workshops producing these almost always mica bearing potteries appear to be located in the earlier period in Gujarat and the neighbouring areas and in the medieval period in the Indus delta." She points out that Indian ceramics is a trade item that is absent from the chronicles but present on the coastal sites of the Persian Gulf. The RPW found in Arabia and on the Iranian coast of the Persian Gulf dates to the early five centuries of the Christian era.

The largest number of RPW shards in this region, has been found at Sohar where 28 layers of occupation and seven historical levels have been identified and Indian ceramics occur in each historic level. Level I and II contain the hāṇḍī as a principal form of RPW, and according to Kervran there are abundant comparable specimen of these at Amreli, Bhoji Kadvar, Umbari, Sutrapada, Baid, Shamalaji, Arikamedu and Maheshvar Navdatoli. The other form of pottery is the incised rim type of which similar pieces have been noticed at Maheshvar, Bhoji Kadvar and Somanatha. Fragments from level I to V at the site of Sohar, are similar to those found from sites in Maharashtra and Gujarat whereas from level VI onwards the pottery shows parallels in Bhanbhor and other sites of the Indus delta. As for Qana where RPW has been found, Sedov points out that, "It is most likely that the foundation of Qana, as a port city, was directly connected with the establishment and expansion of the regular sea trade between the Red sea and the Indian subcontinent in early 1st century

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114 Ibid.; p.40
115 Ibid.; p.40
116 Ibid.; p.40
117 Ibid.; p.43
Trade between India and Qana seems to have flourished most in the period between 2nd to 4th century AD., since "the increased material evidence of Arab Persian Gulf and Indian imports as well as the reduction of Mediterranean items show, very likely....change in the character of the sea trade." For the period between 5th to early 7th century AD, "the connections with the Indian subcontinent were reduced almost completely.

A study undertaken by Nancy Orton on RPW in Gujarat demonstrates that a large number of sites in the Saurashtra region yielded this ware. The region is dotted with several sites, both in the interior and on the coast yielding this pottery. Fifteen percent of the total number of sites has been catalogued and these include Ahdhar, Amreli, Baid, Bhoji Kadvar, Chhara, Hubakvadi Malsaran, Pariyadha, Sutrapada, Umbani, and Vasai. Out of these Baid and Una are located in Jamnagar district and those in the Junagadh district include Bhoji Kadvar, Hubakvadi, Pariyadhar, Umbari and Una. Besides Amreli, the sites of Chhara and Malasram are located within the district of Amreli.

The vast number of RPW sites within Saurashtra together with the finds of this ware outside India would seem to suggest an active involvement in trade by the inhabitants.

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120 Ibid.; p.28
122 Ibid.; p.54
123 Ibid.; p.71
124 Ibid.; p.57
125 Ibid.; p.62
126 Ibid.; p.65
127 Ibid.; p.66
128 Ibid.; p.71
129 Ibid.; p.59
130 Ibid.; p.63
of this region in the early historical period. The work done in the Arab Persian Gulf now makes it clear that this region was an important trading area for Gujarat and its sub-region of Saurashtra.

One of the sacred sites where the trading community was active and would have contributed to the resources required at the site is Devnimori, located close to the settlement site of Shamalaji. The strategic location of the site along the trade route, coupled with the availability of iron in the vicinity, which could be worked upon and traded, seems to be the cause behind the growth of the site in this period. The prosperity and importance of the site is further attested by the fact that it remained an important religious centre as well in the next period. The site became an important religious centre for the Buddhists and the neighbouring site of Shamalaji an important Brahmanical site.

A description of the routes of communication within the region will reveal that many of the sites, as Nagara, Devnimori, Shamalaji and Akota, lay along the interior routes of communication. One of the trade routes, which came from north and north-western India passed through Shamalaji and Karpatavanijya (Kapadvanj), Mahisaka Pathaka and Kathlal, bifurcated near Nadiad. One of them crossed the Mahi and reached Broach via Ankottaka (Akota), while the other reached Nagara and Kambhat on the Gulf of Cambay.\textsuperscript{131}

The other route from Ujjain area to Broach passed via Dungarpur, through Bhilodi, Shamalaji, Harsapur (Harsol) to Karpatavanijya, Kathalal and Nadiad in Khetaka mandala.\textsuperscript{132}

\textsuperscript{131} Momin Kamarali Noormohmed, \textit{Archaeology of the Kheda District upto 1300 AD}, Ph.D Thesis, 1979, MSU-Vadodara; p.17

\textsuperscript{132} V.L.Devkar ed., \textit{Sculptures from Samalaji and Roda}, BBMPG, Vol.XIII, Special Number, Vadodara, 1960; p.10
At the site of Amreli were unearthed a vihāra as well as images of various Brahmanical deities. As mentioned above, in the analysis of sites carried out, the presence of various objects of shell at Amreli indicates its involvement in trade, for shell was not a locally available material. In addition to this, the area around it was agriculturally fertile. Thus at this site the communities involved would have constituted both traders as well as agriculturists. In addition, the find of a large number of coins of the Gupta period indicates the presence of an elitist class, who would have also contributed to the resources of the sacred site. Other sites with communities involved in craft production were those of Prabhasa Patan, Nagara, Akota, Bet Dwarka and Valabhi.

On the other hand the temple of Lajjāgaurī at the site of Padri seems to have been constructed and maintained by the local community. Paul in his study of the site points out that even though this site is located on the coast, it does not appear to have played an important role in overseas trade, and was a site where salt was extracted and processed.133

But the find of terracotta boats,134 which may have been votive offerings, suggests the involvement of the site in some form of commercial transaction and travel by sea or river.

**Conclusion**

In this period there is a corresponding increase in the number of settlement sites in the region and sacred sites. A clear sign of prosperity in the region is attested by the presence of brick built structures, fortification of sites and a vast number of coins and the trading network of Gujarat as well. Employment of bricks is noticed not only in the construction of secular buildings, but sacred architecture as well. The creation of a

134 *IAR*, 1990-91; p.10
system of water management in the form of earthworks or dams implies an advanced stage of farming where concerted efforts were being made to regulate the flow of water in the fields and improve productivity. Various social classes, agriculturists, artisans and traders, now had the resources, even if limited in nature, to invest and contribute to the construction of structures at certain sacred sites. The importance of the sacred site of Valabhi becomes more evident in the next period, when it becomes the capital of the ruling dynasty. There is a clear correlation between the presence of votive tanks and miniature Siva lingas, the earliest to be encountered in this region,\footnote{\textit{IAR}, 1963-64; p.9} and the presence of the bull in the seals of the copper plate grants of the Maitraka dynasty and the fact that most of the rulers claimed to be Saivite. The finds of the miniature Siva lingas date between 1\textsuperscript{st} and 4\textsuperscript{th} century AD, which is prior to the establishment of the site as a capital. Thus, the site had already attained religious importance before political importance.

\textbf{Period III Fourth century AD – Eighth century AD}

In this next period most of the information about settlements comes from inscriptions belonging to the Maitraka dynasty. A clear shift is seen in the selection of the capital in favour of Valabhi, as compared to Junagadh. The reason can be attributed to the fact that a concentration of sites is seen in this area in the second period under study. It would then seem that the rulers wanted to locate their new capital in an area that would be profitable. Compared to Junagadh, this site was not only located in a leading agricultural zone, the Shetrunji basin, but was also on the coast from where the two important ports of Broach and Nagara were easily accessible. As for religion, this period sees an unprecedented increase in the number of sculptures found, mainly from the northern and southern regions of Gujarat. The period also witnesses the
construction of a number of temples along the coastline of Saurashtra. A look at the map will demonstrate that most of the temples were located in the major areas of concentration of settlements. Thus, on the one hand we have a number of temples along the coastline, and on the other a vast number of sculptures from the region of northern, southern and coastal east Gujarat.

Excavation reports being limited for the region, for this period the Maitraka inscriptions provide valuable information regarding the existence of various settlement sites. Settlements from the earlier period continue into this period as well, as in the case of Vadodara, Vadnagar, Kaira, Jokha, Prabhasa Patan, Dwarka, Broach and Valabhi. H.G. Shastri in a study of Gujarat in the Maitraka period gives important information regarding the settlements in this period. According to him, the soil around Valabhi was rich and fertile and produced abundant harvests, and the cities of Valabhi and Girnar had dense population and rich establishments.  

The coast was studded with a number of well known places such as Dwarka (Dvārakā), Mangalapura (Mangrol), Somanatha, Pattana (Somanatha, Prabhasa Patan), Dvipa (Div), Unnata (Una), Madhumati (Mahuva), Hastaparva (Hatab) and Valabhi and a number of other important towns located on the sea coast, like Navasarika (Navasari), city of Bharukaccha and Jambusaras (Jambusar) and Kapika (Kavi) to mention a few.  

On the other hand, in the region of north Gujarat, the soil was very fertile, especially in Khetaka and Anandapura districts and shrubs and trees grew in great quantities here. “The population of the headquarters was dense and the establishments rich.”

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136 H.G. Sastri, Gujarat under the Maitrakas of Valabhi, in Gaekwad Oriental Series, No.180, MSU Vadodara, 2000; p.173
137 Ibid; p.174
138 Ibid; p.174
The major towns of north and east Gujarat were Khetaka (Kheda), Anandapura (Vadnagar) and Shivabhapura (Shivrajpur).  

**Settlements with Sacred Sites**

The site of Valabhi (map 2.3) gains immense importance in this period not only in terms of being a political capital, but also in terms of containing religious remains. The selection of Valabhi as the capital by the Maitraka dynasty is apparent as not only was it located in a fertile region but was involved in trading activities as well. Excavations carried out at the site of Maya no Khado brought to light floors of well beaten earth, structures of reused bricks and a gold ring with intaglio belonging to Phase III, which covers the period from 5th century AD to 8th century AD. This last piece of evidence indicates contacts of the site with the Roman world, either direct or indirect.

Inscriptions, wherein Valabhi is referred to as a town, further corroborate this. In two copper plates, the term Valabhi svatala is used, and according to Njammasch, this term occurs in the Maitraka epigraphs in connection with towns and not villages. She further adds that, “it seems reasonable to translate this term with urban land or city territory.” Valabhi was also a very prosperous port town and the waters of the Gulf of Khambhat were not far removed from its gates and the city thus had sea communications. The former seaworthiness of the place is testified by the buoy that guards the entrance to the town even today and also by the copper plates found at different places during excavation. At present, the town is approximately 35 km away from the present seacoast and is completely landlocked. It is believed that the first vessels having sailed were built at Kanakpur, Madhumati and Bhadravati in Gujarat.

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139 Ibid; p.174  
140 *IAR*, 1979-80; p.24  
141 *IAR*, 1979-80; p.229
Map 2.3 Period III Settlements with Sacred Sites

- Agriculture
- Bead/Shell Manufacturing
- Trade
- Iron Smelting
- Burnt Brick
- Fishing
- Intermediate Port
As per saying, it is known that the speediest sail vessels were built in samvat eighth century at Kanakpur. All these places are landlocked today.\textsuperscript{142}

We shall turn to the available inscriptions to bring forth the fact that the hinterland of Valabhi was an agriculturally rich zone. The maximum numbers of grants are in the Hastaparva \textit{āhāraṇi}, which would correspond to the area around modern day Hatab. In the Ganesgadh plates of Dhruvasena I, land was donated in the village of Hriyanaka\textsuperscript{143} that lay in the Hastaparva \textit{āhāraṇi} and the same ruler donates once more land on the northern boundary of Jyeshthanaka in the same \textit{āhāraṇi} to another brahmanas.\textsuperscript{144} The area seems to have been agriculturally fertile for Dhruvasena I grants a total of 360 \textit{paḍāvartas} of land in the village of Hariyanaka of this \textit{āhāraṇi}.\textsuperscript{145} The Bhavnagar plates of Dharasena III mention the donation of a 100 \textit{paḍāvartas} of land in the village of Amakarakūpa in Hastaparva \textit{āhāraṇi}, the boundaries of which were a village cattle track to the south and on the east a rising ground for a stone quarry.\textsuperscript{146} While Valabhi was involved in trade, the area around Hatab seems to have been the hinterland, where the inhabitants were involved in not only agricultural practices but also animal husbandry and quarrying activities and trade as well.

Excavations carried out at the site revealed the various activities, and its urban character is seen in the presence of mud fortification, moat and various structures of burnt bricks.\textsuperscript{147} The site was a major shell crafting industry\textsuperscript{148} in all the three phases

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{142} P.S. Thakker, M.H. Raval & A.R. Dasgupta, \textit{Ancient Ports of Gujarat}, Article on the internet
\textsuperscript{143} \textit{EI}, Vol.II; p.319
\textsuperscript{144} \textit{EI}, Vol.XVII; p.108
\textsuperscript{145} \textit{EI}, Vol.III; p.104
\textsuperscript{146} \textit{EI}, Vol.XXI; p.181
\textsuperscript{147} Shubhra Pramanik, Hatab: An Early Historic Port on the Gulf of Khambat, in \textit{Journal of Indian Ocean Archaeology}, No.1, 2004; p. 140
\textsuperscript{148} Shubhra Pramanik, Hatab: An Early Historic Port on the Gulf of Khambat, in \textit{Journal of Indian Ocean Archaeology}, No.1, 2004; p.14
\end{footnotesize}
covering the period from 4th century BC to the 6th century AD. 149 Though the site was involved in iron smelting in all phases, the third phase (5th -6th century AD) witnessed maximum activity as is evidenced by the find of furnaces of various dimensions. 150 Excavations brought to light nearly three hundred and fifty seals, round and oval in size, dating from the 1st century BC to 3rd -4th century AD from a warehouse complex, 151 which indicates the involvement of the site in trading activities as well. Thus, the site of Hatab would have been an important hinterland area for Valabhi, which was the ruling capital of the Maitraka dynasty.

The various Buddhist establishments mentioned in the grants depended on agricultural activities for their sustenance since these were granted lands or villages by the ruling elite. The same would hold true for other monasteries located outside the region of Valabhi, as seen in the map provided by Njammasch. Of a total of fifty seven land donations, the Buddhists received four, and of the forty four villages donated, they were granted twenty villages. 152 The Duḍḍā vihāra in Valabhi received a donation of three fields and two vāpis and four gardens. Of these, two pieces of land were located in the svatāla of Valabhi itself. Siladitya I donated three villages, which were located in the surrounding area of Valabhi itself. 153 A grant of Dharasena I mentions the grant of two villages, located in Hastaparva āhāraṇi and in the sthali of Dharaketha, to a monastery to defray the cost of worship of the Divine Buddhas, of clothing, food and medicine for the bhikṣus and of repairs of the monastery. 154 Dhruvasena II granted a village to the bhikṣus dwelling in the monastery constructed by Gohaka, located in

149 Shubhra Pramanik, Hatab: An Early Historic Port on the Gulf of Khabmat, in Journal of Indian Ocean Archaeology, No.1, 2004; p. 136-137
150 Shubhra Pramanik, Hatab: An Early Historic Port on the Gulf of Khabmat, in Journal of Indian Ocean Archaeology, No.1, 2004; p. 140
151 Shubhra Pramanik, Hatab: An Early Historic Port on the Gulf of Khabmat, in Journal of Indian Ocean Archaeology, No.1, 2004; p. 139
152 M.Njanumasch, Bauern, Buddhisten und Brahmanen- Das frühe Mittelalter in Gujarat, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, 2001; p.280
153 Ibid; p.223
154 I.A. Vol.VI; p.10
Valabhi. In the year 549 AD, the Garulaka ruler Varahadasa donated the nunnery in Bhattipadra grāma a field measuring 100 pāḍāvartas in the same village. Thus, it can be safely assumed that the Buddhist monastic establishments were dependent more on land than on trade, as was the case in the earlier two periods as well.

The site of Devnimori, in north Gujarat, continues in this period as well, since Phase III, dated to the 6th century AD is the last phase at this site that contained coins of Sarvabhāttaraka, the first Maitraka ruler. The find of silver Sassanian coins points to the site being a part of a wider network. At this site, it was a vihāra that existed at first, and the stūpa was built consequentially. The settlement located closest to this site is that of Shamalaji that is a small village located in the Bhiloda taluka of Sabarkantha district. The site is situated in a forested valley of the outliers of the Aravalli Mountains. To the north of Shamalaji is a broad valley carved out by the river Meshvo that skirts the southern boundary of Shamalaji after passing through a narrow gorge to the southeast. Phase III at the site corresponds to the period from 600 AD – 1200 AD, and from this period five brick structures, including platforms were reported. In this period the settlement site itself becomes an important sacred site, and found here are a number of Brahmanical sculptures. The earliest figure found here is a female deity, which has been dated to 4th century AD. These images have been discussed in detail in the third chapter on sculptures.

The inhabitants of this site seem to have exploited iron as is evidenced by the presence of the tuyeres for blowers and crucibles at the site. The raw material, laterite

155 Ibid; p.12
156 M.Njammash, Bauern, Buddisten und Brahmanten- Das frühe Mittelalter in Gujarat, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, 2001; List of Maitraka Inscriptions, No.22; p.79
157 IAR, 1961-62; p.13
158 Dr. R.N.Mehta and Shri A.J.Patil, Excavation at Shamalaji, MSU, Vadodara, 1967; p.1
159 Ibid; p.14
or hematite was available within 45 kilometres from the site.\textsuperscript{161} As mentioned before, the site was also located in a fertile agricultural zone and along a trade route as well. Hence this site had its support base in extraction of iron ore, trade and agricultural activities as well. The site of Shamalaji is to date important for the local ādivāsīs who worship the Gadādhār image of Visnu as their īṣṭa devatā. In the month of Kārttika a huge fair takes place at the site and people from Gujarat, Mewar and Marwar come to visit this shrine. A number of traders and merchants set up their shops here and the ādivāsīs coming from areas of Mewar, Marwar and as far as Saurashtra in Gujarat, purchase livelihood items for the entire year. According to the booklet available at the site, Shamalaji was a great centre of trade and commerce in the earlier times as well.

A concentration of Brahmanical sculptures is noticed in the modern districts of Baroda or Vadodara and Broach, two sites in the modern district of Kheda and at the sites of Roda and Goraj, besides the above mentioned site of Shamalaji. The inhabitants of the village Roda to date earn their income mainly from agriculture, which may have been the case earlier as well. The northern part of Gujarat, bordering Rajasthan has a hilly terrain and agriculture is practiced today in the available flat area between the Aravalli hills.

Broach in this period continued to be a sacred site and found here was a moveable Siva linga. Broach also seems to have become a more prosperous town, as attested by the existence of a mud rampart and lead and copper Kshatrapa coins in its early historical levels, which continued till 7\textsuperscript{th} – 8\textsuperscript{th} centuries AD without a break.

Inscriptions give evidence for the existence of a temple at Vadodara. The Valabhi grant of Siladitya I mentions the donation of land and step well to a temple of Mahādeva, or Siva. This temple was located in Vatapadra or modern Vadodara, and

\textsuperscript{161} T.S.Maxwell, Evidence for a Viśvarūpa Iconographic Tradition in Western India 6\textsuperscript{th} – 9\textsuperscript{th} century AD, in Ariris Asiat., Vol.44, 1983; p. 214
was built by one Harinatha.\textsuperscript{162} Grants were also made in the regions of Vadodara, testifying to the existence of agricultural activities in these areas as well. The Maitraka ruler Siladitya I\textsuperscript{163} grants land in Vatapadra, and the site of Goraj is located within this district as well.

A survey of the maps of this period and the location of identified places mentioned in the royal grants, shows a density of population near the eastern coast of Saurashtra, in the region around Girinagara, almost in whole of Khetaka āhāra and near the coast of south Gujarat. Average distance between habitations was calculated to be about 3 miles, the range of distribution being almost the same as in modern times. Settlement sites were situated on the sea coast and/or the bank of rivers and some of those located in the interior were administrative divisions probably because of their location on major or minor routes of communication.\textsuperscript{164} It is noticed that sacred sites are to be found in these areas of concentration, namely the temples along the coastline of Saurashtra, the Buddhist sites in and around Girnar and the sites of Mahisa and Mehalvav, located in the district of Kheda, which contain Vaishnavite images.

In this period one notices a large number of temples along the coastline of Kathiawar. These temples are seen to be located in the areas of settlement concentration with Red Polished Ware to their credit. These settlements were invariably located in the fertile zones of the Kathiawar region. The concentration of temples is noticed mainly between the Vartu and Bhadar regions, an area where agricultural activities would have predominated. A few of the sites were also involved in trading and fishing activities. The coastline from Kotda to Miyani is in the fresh fish zone and out of the important villages engaged in capture of marine fish, the sites of Sutrapada, Veraval,

\textsuperscript{162} J.A. Vol.IX; p.238
\textsuperscript{163} J.A. Vol.IX; p.237
\textsuperscript{164} H.G.Sastri, Gujarat under the Maitrakas of Valabhi, in Gaekwad Oriental Series, No.180, MSU, Vadodara, 2000; p.174-175
Mangrol and Miyani\textsuperscript{165} contain temple remains. At the site of Kadvar, located 3 kms away from Sutrapada, the population mainly consists of Koli fisherman.\textsuperscript{166} A few of the sites were involved in trading activities as well. The site of Mangrol is a non intermediate port and is open to coastal and foreign traffic.\textsuperscript{167} The location of the site of Miyani at the creek would ensure its involvement in trading activities. Similarly, the site of Porbandar is a flourishing intermediate port, and is important for traffic from the African ports and the West Asian countries.\textsuperscript{168} This coupled with Nancy Orton's research of Red Polished Ware sherds at the sites of Kadvar and Sutrapada, and the find of similar pottery in the Arab Persian Gulf clearly indicate the involvement of these sites in trading activities. Remote sensing reveals that the sites of Pindara, Valabhi, Nagara, Khambat and Broach were ancient seaports.\textsuperscript{169} Thus, the temples are to be found not only at sites involved in agricultural activities, but at also where the inhabitants were involved in fishing or trade, and possibly a combination of these as well.

**Hierarchy of Sites**

While earlier forms of sacred sites continue, this period witnesses the construction of temples along the coast, crafting of bronze Jaina images and an unprecedented increase in the number of Brahmanical images found in the region. While images will form a chapter by themselves and shall be discussed later, I will proceed to discuss the tirthas and temples.

Data for tirthas in the first period comes to us mainly from the *Mahābhārata*. The tirthas in the first period under study are limited mainly to Dwarka, Somanatha and river Narmada. By the time one reaches the third period under study, their number

\textsuperscript{165} *Gujarat State Gazetteers*, Junagadh District, Ahmedabad, 1975; p.60  
\textsuperscript{166} Ibid; p.840  
\textsuperscript{167} Ibid; p.828  
\textsuperscript{168} Ibid; p.832  
increases considerably. The source of information in this period is the *Skanda Purāṇa*, which is believed to have been compiled in Gujarat.

Hazra dates the *Skanda Purāṇa*, which is the source of the stories, associated with tīrthas described below, to not before 700 AD. The Gir mountain is known as Raivataka in the *Skanda Purāṇa*, and seems to have occupied a very important place as it contained various religious and sacred places (Sk.P. VII.ii 3.a). The other hill was Urjayanta (Sk.P. VII.i.1.63) or Urjayanta (Sk.P.VII.i.3.4) which is placed near Somanatha. The Raivataka hill was rich in copper, silver, gold, iron and valuable stones of different varieties and mineralogists (Sk.P. VII.ii.1-6a, 71-72) frequently visited the region. It was also the source of the rivers Vahini and Suvarnarekha (Sk.P. VII.ii.1.68).

The sites in this region associated with Visnu are Mayasaras (in Dwarka) and Bhallatīrtha (in Veraval). The legend of Mayasaras is associated with Kṛṣṇa. After killing Kamsa, Kṛṣṇa sent Uddhava to see the people of Gokula. Uddhava met them and the gōpis wept and insisted on seeing Kṛṣṇa. Uddhava asked them to wait on the bank of the pond built by the great demon Maya and sent for Kṛṣṇa. Since they all saw Kṛṣṇa on the bank of Mayasara, he said that whosoever bathed there and offered oblations to the *pitṛs*, would get the fruit of bathing in the Ganga and would go to Viṣṇuloka. Kṛṣṇa promised to always be in that tīrtha.

Bhallatīrtha was so named since Kṛṣṇa after the destruction of the Yadavas was pierced through his foot in the forest by an arrow or spear (Bhalla). Then Kṛṣṇa said, 

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170 R.C.Hazra, *Studies in the Purānic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, Banarsidass, Delhi, 1975; p.165
171 Savitri.V.Kumar, *The Purānic Lore of Holy Water Places*, Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi, 1983; p.52
Since I have been pierced at this place by a Bhalla, so this place will become a famous  
tīrtha  by the name of Bhallatīrtha.” (Sk.P. 7-4.12)\textsuperscript{172}

The sites associated with Siva are called Indrasaras (among many locations one is in  
Dwarka) and Guptaprayāga (a kunda in Prabhasa). The legend of the former tīrtha is  
that after killing Vṛtra, Indra was chased by Brahmahatyā. He went to Dharmāraṇya  
where he built a pond and practiced penance to please Siva. Siva was pleased and  
asked Indra to bathe in the pond to get rid of Brahmahatyā, and Indra asked Siva to  
remain there. Siva then produced a linga from the back of a crocodile and named it  
Indresvara. One who bathes here and worships the linga is freed from all sins and  
diseases. (Sk. P. 3-2.19)\textsuperscript{173}

The story of Guptaprayāga is that when Siva’s linga fell down due to the curse of the  
sages, all the gods and  tīrthas  came there, and they were asked by Siva to worship the  
linga for the fulfilment of their desires. Three kuṇḍas were built here which were  
Brahmakunḍa, Vaishnavakunḍa and Rudrakunḍa. There was also a fourth kuṇḍa where  
Ganga, Yamuna and Sarasvati, who was hidden, met and though tīrtha rājā  
prayāga came also but did not join them openly and therefore the name Guptaprayāga  
of this tīrtha . A bath in these tīrthas destroys all sins. (Sk.P. 7-1.298)\textsuperscript{174} What  
becomes evident is that at this site three different cults existed, and it seems to have  
been a case of coexistence since it mentions the coming together of all the gods. This  
tīrtha must have been one of the most important in the region for it is here that the  
holiest of rivers meet, and thus taking a dip here was as good as bathing in the Ganga,  
Yamuna and Sarasvati at the same time. Another  tīrtha  associated with Siva is  
Camatkarapura, named so because Siva decided to reside in the capital of king  
Camatkara after being pleased with the ruler who had set up a linga in honour of the

\textsuperscript{172} Ibid.; p.53
\textsuperscript{173} Ibid.; p.60
\textsuperscript{174} Ibid.; p.67
deity (Sk.P, VI.13.20). An important point made by Kumar is, “The tendency to be marked is to bring old and familiar tīrthas into new localities with a mixture of other tīrthas or gods.” 175

Śankhatīrtha is located in Dwarka and here king Camatkara was freed from the curse of a deer. While hunting Camatkara killed a female deer who was suckling a young one, and the deer cursed the king to become a leper. Only after the king had a bath in Śankharatīrtha was he freed from the curse. (Sk.P. 7-3.29) 176

Revatīkūnda, located in Girnar also seems to have been a very important tīrtha. According to the legend associated with this tīrtha there was a sage named Ṛtavak who had a son. The parents since the birth of the child were constantly suffering from diseases and the son was foolish and a dullard. The sage asked Garga ṛṣi the cause of it and he replied that the son was born in an inauspicious time, which was the Revatīnakṣatra. Ṛtavak on hearing this became angry and cursed the bright Revatī to fall from the sky, and she fell immediately on the mountain Kumuda (on the southern peak of Meru). Both Revatī and Kumuda became friendly and Kumuda became popular as Raivataka, and the waters of Ganga, Yamuna and Sarasvati came to this mountain. A daughter was born to Raivataka and Revatī and she too was named Revatī. The mountain Raivataka became a holy place with three pits for Ganga, Yamuna and Sarasvati. The place where Revatī was born became a tīrtha by the name of Revatīkūnda. Later she got married to king Durdama after the Revatī constellation was placed again in the sky by sage Pramunca who had brought her up. The sage wanted to gift something after the marriage and Durdama wished to have a strong son. The sage blessed him with the saying that Revatī would produce such a son by

175 Ibid.; p.67
176 Ibid.; p.273
bathing in Revati-kūṇḍa. (Sk.P. 7-2.17)\textsuperscript{177} Thus this place must also have been very holy and important since here too the three rivers are to be found in three different pits. Also it would seem as though those who wanted to conceive children, especially strong sons, who would not be born in an inauspicious time, visited this tīrtha.

Thus, it is seen that various legends were created to give sanctity to a site and in this the role of the deities was important. Not only was a site associated with a certain deity, but through stories these deities were made to reside at this tīrthas. This in a way would have given more importance to the site and must have played a role in increasing the credibility of the site in the eyes of the people. The promise of the fulfilment of desires, the solution to getting rid of sins, diseases as well as unwanted spirits must have been important in bringing pilgrims to these tīrthas. These tīrthas had their presiding deities and probably later they came to be enshrined in the temples constructed for them at the same site.

Some of the temple sites of Saurashtra sites are associated with certain acts performed by the deities. The temple site of Bilesvara is believed to have been named so since Kṛṣṇa performed Linga puja at this site with bīli leaves for seven months, and the linga used by him was Bilesvara Mahādeva.\textsuperscript{178} At the temple site of Mul Madhavpur Kṛṣṇa married Rukmini after carrying her off from Kundanpur (Vidarbha).\textsuperscript{179} The temple site of Pata was so named since Kṛṣṇa poured honey in its river to purify its water, which had turned red with the blood of a demon Kṛṣṇa killed. The Brahmakunda, located at the site, is where Kṛṣṇa bathed on Bhadrapada śukla 11.\textsuperscript{180}

The site of Sutrapada was originally known as Saptapada or the town with seven

\textsuperscript{177} Ibid.; p.281
\textsuperscript{178} \textit{Gujarat State Gazetteers}, Junagadh District, Ahmedabad, 1975; p.806
\textsuperscript{179} Ibid; p.823
\textsuperscript{180} Ibid; p.828
separate hamlets of different communities, and the site is traditionally connected with Chyavan rsi or the son of Bhrgu rsi.\textsuperscript{181} The two sites of importance in the region of northern Gujarat are Shamalaji and Roda. At Shamalaji were found a number of sculptures, which may have been enshrined in some structure. The site of Roda contains a group of seven temples constructed around a step well. This is the only site in the northern part of Gujarat where there is definite proof for the existence of temples. Found here were images of five mātrkās, a beautiful image of four armed Ganesa dated to not later than the 8\textsuperscript{th} century AD, a Kumara or Karttikeya belonging to mid 8\textsuperscript{th} century AD, and two images of Parvati performing the Paṇcāgniitapas and an image of a goddess on a couchant lion,\textsuperscript{182} which may be dated to the 8\textsuperscript{th} century AD.\textsuperscript{183} The third temple at the site is of the Paṇcāśākhā variety, with the central rūpastambha having figures of Siva, Siva and Parvati and Ardhanārīśvara to the left, and Visnu and Laksmi Narayana to its right. The śōbhāpatta over the lintel has images of Brahma, Visnu, Siva and Ganesa.\textsuperscript{184} These two sites contain a set of five mātrkās each and may have been centres of mātrkā worship.

The site of Valabhi contained archaeological evidence pertaining to only the Brahmanical religion in the preceding period. In this period the inscriptions provide enough data to prove the existence of various Buddhist monastic establishments in and around the site. The site was also important to the Jainas and a synod was held here under the leadership of ārya Nagarjuna in AD 363. Another synod was held at the same site in AD 503/516 under the leadership of Devaraddhigani Ksamāśramana

\textsuperscript{181} Ibid; p.839
\textsuperscript{182} V.L.Devkar ed., Sculptures from Samalaji and Roda, BBMPG, Vol.XIII, Special Number, Vadodara, 1960; p.91
\textsuperscript{183} V.L.Devkar ed., Sculptures from Samalaji and Roda, in BBMPG, Vol.XIII, Special number, 1960; p.98
\textsuperscript{184} Gujarat State Gazetteer, Vadodara District, Directorate of Government Print, Ahmedabad, 1984; p.83
when Dhruvasena I was ruling. The copy of Jinabhadra’s most famous work *Viśes Āvaśyakabhaśya*, was deposited in AD 609 in a Jaina temple at Valabhi.

Similar is the case with Broach and Girnar and its surrounding area, since at the site itself was found a Siva *linga*, and there existed a Buddhist cave at Kadia Dungar. While in the first period Girnar contained Buddhist caves and the edicts of Asoka, in this period a temple, dedicated to Visnu, was constructed by a viceroy under the Gupta rule, and literary evidence points to the mountain being important for the Jainas as well. According to Dhaky and Moorti, Urjayantagiri (Girnar hills) near Girinagar, came to be regarded as sacred, from the Kshatrapa period onwards, because of the creation of a legend involving the 22nd *tīrthānkarā*, Jina Aristanemi of the Yadava clan. According to the *Āgamas* of the late Kshatrapa period, all three auspicious events, which are renouncing worldly ways, attaining omniscience and salvation of Aristanemi, are supposed to have taken place on this mountain.

The importance of Akota lay in the fact that the site had immense importance for followers of the Jaina faith. The Buddhist were defeated by Mallavadi at Bhrugukaccha, modern Broach, who also got two metal images of Jina made for installation in the Jaina temple at Ankotaka.

**Communities and Sacred Sites**

As in the preceding period, in this period the traders are an important community, as is their contribution to sacred sites, which is seen in the inscriptive data. An attempt shall be carried out to identify communities, in addition to the trading class and the agriculturists, mainly with the aid of inscriptive data. This is a period that also witnesses the construction of a vast number of temples along the coastline of Saurashtra, mainly between the sites of vāpī and Somanatha. The settlements here

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185 M.A. Dhaky, U.S. Moorti, *The Temples in Kumbhariya*, AIIS, Delhi, 2001; p.5
186 Ibid; p.5
187 Ibid; p.6
would have been rural in nature, and hence a study of the social complexity in the villages shall also be carried out. Inscriptional data also rules out the involvement of the ruling Maitraka dynasty in the construction of temples, since the few temples that were recipients of the grants were already existing ones. Inscriptions do not reveal any information on the construction of temples by the ruling authority, even though most of the rulers claim to be devout worshippers of Siva.

The term for traders found in the inscriptions is vānijakas (merchants). The trader Yakkamāli constructed a vihāra in 590 AD, a merchant named Kakka Mankila built the Kakka vihāra and the Ajīta vihāra was also built by a merchant, since the term used here is vānijaka- Ajīta- sakta -vihāra which was a vihāra for a sangha of bhiksunīs, situated in Valabhi that received the grant from Garulaka king Varahadasa II in year 230 (549 AD).

Of the four temples found mentioned in the grants, there is reference to the construction of a temple by an individual. The Valabhi grant of Siladitya I mentions the donation of land and step well to a temple of Mahādeva or Siva. This temple was located in Vatapadra or modern Vadodara, and was built by one Harinatha. The grant of Dhruvasena II mentions donation of guḍa and rupaka to the temple of goddess Kottambika located in Trisangamaka, corresponding to modern day Tarsamia, located three miles south east of Bhavnagar. As is the case with the earlier mentioned temple, here too a donation is made to an already existing temple and not for the erection of a new one. Hence there is a strong case for the involvement

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188 M.A.Dhaky, and J.M.Nanavati, _The Maitraka and Saindhava Temples of Gujarat_, Artibus Asiae, Switzerland,1969; p.181
189 M.G.Dikshit, A New Vihara at Valabhi, in _IHQ_, Vol.16, 1940; p.818
190 K.J.Virji, _Ancient History of Saurashtra_, Bombay, 1952; p.207. No.7
192 _IA_, Vol.IX; p.238
193 _JBBRAS_, Vol.XX; p.8
194 K.J.Virji, _Ancient History of Saurashtra_, Konkan Institute of Arts and Sciences, Bombay, 1952; p.311

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of the village community in the construction and maintenance of the temples found in
different parts of the region. The temples found mentioned in the inscriptions and
those located along the coastline were most likely the contribution of the village
community.

There existed social complexity within the villages, as is inferred by the various terms
mentioned in the different inscriptions. While mentioning the boundaries of the
donated lands, one of the categories of landholders mentioned, besides the brahmanas
who were mostly the recipients of the donations, are the *kutumbins*, who seem to have
been farmers who ploughed their own land. The Bhavnagar plates of Dharasena III
mention the donation of 100 *paddavartas* of land ploughed by *kutumbin* Gomiyaka, the
northern boundary of which was the field of *kutumbins* Carabhataka and Candravaka.
The same grant mentions the donation of a field of *kutumbin* Kapardiyaka. 195

Another category of those cultivating a plot of land were the *mahattaras*, who seemed
to have held some administrative functions as well. The grant of Dhruvasena II
Baladitya mentions the grant of a single plot of land cultivated by Churjiyaka and
*mahattara* Gaura. 196 The Nogawa plates mention as one of the boundaries of the
donated land as the field of *mahattara* Virataramandalin. 197 In the opinion of
Bhandarkar the term *mahattara* signifies men of special respectability in a place, such
as heads of particular communities and probably also the respectable inhabitants of
the town. 198 In the opinion of Njammasch the *mahattaras* were independent
cultivators who at the same time worked on the crown land. They got transferred
along with the piece of land they worked but this did not alter their status in any

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195 *EI*, Vol.XXI; p.181
196 *EI*, Vol.XXXV; p.283
197 *EI*, Vol.VIII; p.195
198 *EI*, Vol.XI; p.175

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manner.\textsuperscript{199} They were independent farmers and landowners, and officials of villages who were probably working at the behest of the administration of the king.\textsuperscript{200} In addition to these cultivators and owners of land there existed administrators in the villages. The grāma or village was in the charge of the grāmāyukta who is seen mentioned frequently in the grants. The mahattara assisted the grāmāyukta, or the village head and the people and the government acknowledged the mahattara as the most experienced and able person in the village.\textsuperscript{201} He is mentioned in the Maitraka inscriptions along with the police officers and the soldiers.

Thus each village had a complex society constituting not only of cultivators, but also of village officials appointed by the rulers, the mahattara and also the brahmana donees who were granted land. A section of these would have been responsible for the construction of the numerous temples that dot the coastline of Saurashtra. They would also have been the main contributors to the continuity of a sacred site in terms of resources.

In connection with temples there is one reference in the inscription that indicates that the temples were under a certain authority. The Bhamodra plate of Dronasimha, dated to AD 502, mentions the donation of the village of Trisangamaka to the temple of the goddess Panduraja in the Hastaparva āhāraṇī. It bears the signature of Bhiruvaka, the devī karmāntika or intendant of the estate of the goddess.\textsuperscript{202}

In the case of Jainism, some of the bronzes recovered from Akota bear inscriptions, which aid in tracing the community involved with the creation and installation of these images. An image of yakṣa Sarvanubhuti records its installation by Jinabhadr\textsuperscript{199} M.Njammasch, Die Dorfgemeinde im Maitrakareich, in Beiträge des Südasiens Instituts, Humboldt University, Berlin, 1992; p.36
\textsuperscript{200} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{201} Dr. K.J.Virji, Ancient History of Saurashtra, Konkan Institute of Arts and Sciences, Bombay, 1952; p.241
\textsuperscript{202} EL, Vol. XVI; p.18
Vacana ācārya, and another image of an unidentified Jina was installed by the same ācārya, both of which have been dated to between AD 500 and AD 610 on stylistic basis.

Nuns installed images as well, as seen in the case of a Sarasvati gifted by the ganini (nun) Isiya, the tri-tīrthika image of Parsavanatha gifted by ārjika Khambili, and an image gifted by Sagabhārjika, interpreted either as the Saka lady named Bhārjika or a nun (ārjika) of the Saka community. All these images have been dated to the 7th century AD.

Evidence of the involvement of the lay community mostly comes as inscriptions that record the donation of images by women. An image of Jivantsvami, dated to the middle of the 6th century AD, records it as being gifted by a Jaina lady named Nagisvari of the Candra kula. The pedestal of a Jina image mentions the image being donated by the wife of Śrāvaka Sihaji, dating to AD 600 -650, and the female worshipper Durggini gifted an image of Parsavanatha. Thus the contributor in Jaina religion constituted mainly of ācāryas, nuns, lay female worshippers and in some cases the trading community.

In the case of Buddhism as well one comes across one inscription that clearly demonstrates the contribution of images by monks in religious establishments. A bronze Buddhist image from Bhuj dating to 7th century AD carries an inscription on

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203 U.P. Shah, Akota Bronzes, Department of Archaeology, Govt. of Bombay, 1959; p.29
204 Ibid; p.30
205 Ibid; p.34
206 Ibid; p.35
207 Ibid; p.37
208 Ibid; p.28
209 Ibid; p.39
210 Ibid; p.39
the pedestal. It records that the image was dedicated by one Nāgasingha bhikṣu in memory of his mother like Devakṣiti, who had entered the order of the bhikṣunīs. 211

The Maitraka inscriptions are clear indicators of the involvement of the trading community in the construction of these vihāras, and that of the royalty in the construction and maintenance of Buddhist vihāras, who were the recipients of a large number of land grants.

As for the royalty it is noticed that the Duḍḍā vihāra was built by Duḍḍā, the niece of King Dhruvasena I, 212 who seemed to have been a nun. 213 The Abhayantrikā vihāra was also built by a nun by the name of Mimmā. 214 Of a total of 98 grants, recorded so far, the rulers of the Maitraka dynasty made a total of twenty grants to Buddhist vihāras. These grants cover a century and a half, which is from the time of Dhruvasena I (519-549 AD) to Siladitya II (658-685 AD).

Vihāras were also built by monks as seen in the case of the Vimalagupta vihāra, which was built by ācārya bhikṣu Vimalagupta 215 and the Gohaka vihāra, built by Gohaka who was probably a monk. 216 Thus, as in the case of Jainism, here too the main contributors were nuns, monks and traders. The only difference here is that the Buddhist received continuous support in terms of land grants from the ruling dynasty, which the Jainas did not at this point in time.

Thus it is noticed that in this period various communities were involved in the construction and maintenance of either temples or Buddhist monastic establishments.

211 M.R. Majumdar, A Newly Discovered Buddha Bronze from Bhuj (Kutch) in JOI, Vol.VIII; No.3, 1959 p.218
212 IA, Vol.IX; p.104
213 K.J. Virji, Ancient History of Saurashtra, Konkan Institute of Arts and Sciences, Bombay, 1952; p.172
214 IA, Vol.VI; p.15
216 IA, Vol.VI; p.15

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These included individuals from villages, the village community, traders, monks, nuns and the royalty as well.

**Conclusion**

The aim of this chapter was to bring out the increasing diversity in the region of Gujarat in terms of settlement sites as well as sacred sites. The chapter also aimed at demonstrating that settlement sites cannot be merely categorized as urban or rural, or trading and agricultural sites. A study of the archaeological, inscriptional and literary data shows that sites with sacred remains were involved in varied activities, such as craft production, mining and fishing. At most of the sites one noticed a combination of more than one activity—trade and agriculture (Broach), trade and craft production (Dwarka), craft production and agriculture (Nagara) and trade, mining and agriculture (Devnimori and Shamalaji). It was difficult to establish a one to one relationship between trade and Buddhist sites or agriculture and temple sites. The Buddhist sites were located in agriculturally rich zones and received in the Maitraka period land grants. Temples are also found at sites that were involved in fishing and salt extraction activities and remains of the Brahmanical religion were noticed in the major trading site of Broach.

As for sacred sites one notices not only an increase in number but also an increase in terms of diversity. In the first period the only evidence are the tirthas mentioned in the Māhabhārata, the Junagadh rock inscription and a few Buddhist caves. In the second period not only does the spatial spread of Buddhist sites increase, but also by the third period there is evidence of freestanding structures in the form of Devnimori stūpa. Another new development in the second period is the memorial stones that are found mainly in the sub-region of Saurashtra and Kutch. It is a tradition of erecting stones in the memory of someone, which continues to date in Gujarat and is known as pāliyās.
As for the Brahmanical religion, it is clearly seen that the number of tīrthas increases considerably by the time one comes to the third period, a time of the compilation of the *Skanda Purāṇa*. In addition to this, the third period witnesses the construction of a vast number of temples along the coastline of Saurashtra. These temples are dedicated to various deities and at times to more than one, proving that by this point in time these deities had become an essential part of the religious system. In addition there are the votive Siva *lingas*, the existence of structures that may have been temples at the site of Goraj and the *ekamukhasivalinga* from the site of Broach. Further evidence is from the inscriptions wherein one has data on temples dedicated to Siva, Surya and goddesses, which again brings forth diversity within one religious system.

Diversity at a particular site is seen in cases where one comes across Buddhist as well as Brahmanical remains. In the region of Gujarat it happens more than once as is evident in the case of Amreli, Shamalaji and Devnimori, Junagadh and Valabhi as well. Epigraphy and archaeology together demonstrate that these sites had Buddhist and Brahmanical remains either in terms of sculptures, terracotta images or structural remains.

The spatial spread is also apparent, as well as the form and variety of sacred sites. By the second period we have memorial stones, and by the third period we have large-scale temple construction activity, construction of brick built vihāra and stūpa at Devnimori, and rock shelters with painted *stūpas* in them. In the first period under study, and to a great extent in the second period as well, sites were being demarcated as sacred within the existing landscape without much exterior alteration. The caves remained a part of the landscape and the alterations were only on the façade and to some extent in the interior portions. The third period on the other hand witnesses a major change. Sacred sites not only constitute those components of the landscape that
stood out, but man was now redefining the landscape by the construction of new free standing structures on the existing terrain. It would seem that now man had mastered his craft of construction for he no longer depended on nature to provide him with spaces that could have been considered sacred. He could now freely choose to demarcate a site as sacred and consequently construct a monument to define this space.

The study brings forth the participation of various diverse communities at the sacred sites, ranging from the village community to the merchants and traders, the monks and nuns and the ruling elite as well. It is noticed that within the village community there was a hierarchy that ranged from the cultivator to the village administrator and headman.

Sacred space in this chapter constituted of sites where architectural remains demarcating the site as sacred were visible. But in defining sacred space it also becomes necessary to include places without architectural remains as well. In the region of Gujarat there are a number of sites where one comes across ritual terracotta figurines and a vast number of sculptures, dating from the first to the last period under study, representing not only major deities like Visnu, Surya and Siva, but also goddesses as Lajjāgaurī and Saptamātrkās. It is these that will be the theme of the next chapter. Not only will they help expand the gambit of sites considered sacred in Gujarat, but will also help us to determine whether their cults in Gujarat were a part of the wider pan Indian religious network. The sculptures are also important to ascertain the spread of Buddhism and Jainism in the region, for these sculptures tell us about the presence of a religious structure that no longer exists in the archaeological records.