Chapter IV – Shared Space & Multiple Affiliations

In the previous chapter on sculptural remains the focus was on a general survey and analysis of sites with images. With the aid of sculptural data the chapter brought forth diversity in iconographic representations of deities, the varied contexts that images could be placed in and a clustering of certain images within areas of Gujarat. Images also made us aware of the existence of deities not mentioned in literary data and of sacred sites other than those with architectural remains such as wells and trees.

In most studies the development of religion has been viewed more or less in a linear pattern wherein one religion was followed by the other as seen in the opinion of Thapar, “Buddhism had begun to be replaced by now more thriving Vaishnava, Jaina, Saiva and Sakta sects.” References to texts such as the Rājatarangini of the 12th century, and Prabhandacintāmani have been utilized to bring forth the religious tension that existed between religious communities. It has been pointed out that Saiva sects attacked Jaina establishments from the 7th century onwards in Tamil Nadu, and in Karnataka the Vira Saivas persecuted Jaina monks and destroyed Jaina images.

While this rivalry and contestation between religious communities may have existed in south India, the architectural data from Gujarat proves otherwise. Literary tradition makes one believe that there was contestation and rivalry in Gujarat as well, on the basis of the account of Somanatha in the Prabhandacintāmani. According to it there was a rivalry between Hemacandra, the minister of Kumarapala, and the Saiva priest, Bhāva Bṛhaspati at the Somanatha temple. The account states that when Kumarapala renovated the temple he was a Saivite, but due to the miracle performed by

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1 R.Thapar, Somanatha - The Many Voices of a History, Penguin, Viking, 2004; p.22
2 R.Thapar, Cultural Pasts-Essays in Early Indian History, OUP, 2000; p.975
Hemacandra after the renovation, Kumarapala converted to Jainism. A number of sites of the medieval period in the northern part of Gujarat demonstrate the coexistence of Saiva worshippers and Jainas. At the sites of Polo, Abhapur and Antarsuba one notices the presence of Saiva and Jaina temples in close proximity to each other. This coexistence of religions can be traced back to an earlier period in the region. Textual accounts have also been utilized to demonstrate conflict between the Brahmanical religion and Buddhism. It has been pointed out that the Rājatarangini refers to Mihirakula’s attack on Buddhist monks and monasteries. Thapar opines that Hieun Tsang’s account dating to the 7th century AD describes the persecution of Buddhists and destruction of Buddhist images in Kashmir and eastern India where the rulers were Saivas. Here too for the region of Gujarat the archaeological data proves otherwise as many sites dating between the 4th - 7th century AD demonstrate the coexistence of both these religions.

This chapter aims at bringing out the coexistence of different religions at various sites in the period under study. At certain sites, this coexistence continues into the medieval period. The sites that demonstrate coexistence is seen as not being limited to one area only but are spread across the region under study. The sites are located in Saurashtra (Amreli and Valabhi), northern Gujarat (Devnimori & Shamalaji) and south Gujarat (Akota and Vadodara) as well. These sites contain Brahmanical remains as well as those of either the Buddhist or the Jaina religious community.

The vast pool of archaeological, sculptural and inscriptive data from the region has not been put together to bring forth the religious diversity and the parallel existence of religions at a site. The region of Gujarat has also been seen merely as a coherent

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3 C. H. Tawney (translated), Prabhandacintāmani Wishing-Stone of Narratives, Merutunga Acharya, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1901
4 R. Thapar, Somanatha- The Many Voices of a History, Penguin, Viking, 2004; p. 224
whole and developments here have served as a mere adjunct to those in the rest of the
country. This chapter shall demonstrate that within the region there is diversity not
only in the database of the sites but in terms of religious affiliation as well. The sites
selected for discussion exist in different niches, along the coast, in valleys and at the
foot of hill ranges and data from these sites show considerable variations. For instance
in the case of Buddhism while at Devnimori one encounters a Buddhist complex, at
the site of Valabhi the database consists mainly of land grants, and at Amreli it is
mainly data from archaeological excavations which include a number of potsherds
and structural remains identified as a vihāra. Besides Buddhism and the Brahmanical
religion, the chapter also highlights the coexistence of Jainism with the Brahmanical
religion. Thus in this chapter architectural, sculptural and inscriptive data as well as
literary references to certain sites has been utilized.

With the data available on hand the chapter will demonstrate the different patterns of
development at the sites under study, for example whether at a site construction of
religious structures occurred simultaneously for two religions, or whether it happened
at different periods of time. The continuity of certain sites over time shall also be
discussed and analysed to see whether the affiliation of a site remains the same or
undergoes a change. The chapter will also deal with sites where images dating to an
earlier period are selectively picked up and placed in religious structures constructed
at a later period.

As for the time period of study, it is noticed that for the first two period’s evidence
pertaining to the coexistence of religions is available only from the site of Mount
Girnar and its vicinity. Bulk of the sites that demonstrate coexistence are from the
third period under study, namely from the 4th to the 8th century AD. In order to be able
to bring out the different patterns in religious coexistence, multiple affiliation and the
changes and continuities over time, I shall discuss the sites under various themes, rather than dividing the chapter into different sub periods, as was done in the earlier chapters.

**Continued Affiliation & Consolidation**

First I shall discuss sites that demonstrate continuity where religious affiliation has remained more or less the same over time. First and foremost are the Gir hills as these were sacred to the Buddhist, Jainas and the followers of the Brahmanical religion. The earliest evidence for the coexistence of religion in and around these hills is from the Saurashtra janapada coins found at Junagadh and its vicinity. The symbols on these coins have been discussed in chapter I, and of main interest here are symbols depicting the ground plans of temples and depictions of vihāras and stūpas. These symbols on the coins amply demonstrate the existence of both these religions, and possibly also affiliated religious structures between c. 450 and 50 BC.

Besides the architectural remains discussed in chapter I, reference to the site is also found in the travel account of Hieun Tsang. In his account on Saurashtra he mentions a mountain called Yeuh- chen- to (Urjayanta), on top of which was a sanghrāma, and the cells and galleries were mostly excavated from the mountainside. Perhaps Hieun Tsang was referring to the caves located in the Gir hills that were being utilized by the Buddhists, and this is the only evidence available to prove the existence of the religion after the 3rd – 4th centuries AD.

The Bawa Pyara caves (fig 4.1a, 4.1 b) have been considered to have belonged to the Jainas as found here is a stone inscription of the 2nd century AD, of the grandson of Jayadaman, which contains the Jaina term Kevalajñāna, and it refers to the samādhi.

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4.1 a) Bawa Pyara Caves
4.1 b) Bawa Pyara Caves
of the Digambara saint Dharasena. In the opinion of Soundara Rajan the inscription may not belong originally to the site and was brought here from elsewhere. Even if the inscription does not belong to the site, it still indicates the presence of the Jaina community somewhere in the vicinity from where the inscription may have originated. It also seems plausible to postulate that while the caves were used earlier by the Buddhist community at the site, later these were inhabited by the Jainas. On the basis of mangalas, or auspicious symbols, depicted above the doors of a couple of caves here it is believed that a monastic establishment of the Nirgrantha monks resided in the rock cut caves. Mount Girnar has been associated in the Jaina literary tradition with the twenty second tīrthankara- Jina Aristanemi. It was regarded sacred mainly because Aristanemi renounced the worldly ways, attained omniscience and salvation on this mountain. The site continued to be an important Jaina centre as it was visited by Svāmī Samantabhadra of the Digambara sect and in the Svayambhustotra hymn he describes the hill as a bull’s hump which is what it looks like in profile. The Urjayanta hill or the Gir hills, it has been pointed out, grew over the centuries to the status of the holiest sites of the Svetambara sect, and continued to be so in the medieval times. A temple of Mallinatha and of Neminatha in the Gir hills, and another four belonging to the 12th century AD demonstrate the continued association of the site with Jainism. The fifth and the last peak is located in deep forest on the high point of the mountain where there are footprints of Neminatha and of Andhar Vardutt Muni. Currently located at a height of 600 feet on the summit of Mount Girnar is the temple of Amba Mata, a Brahmanical goddess. It is noticed that

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7 K.V.Soundara Rajan, *Junagadh*, ASI, Delhi, 1985; p.39
8 M.A,Dhaky, U.S. Moorti, *The Temples in Kumbhariya*, AIIS, Delhi,2001; P.4
11 M.A,Dhaky, U.S. Moorti, *The Temples in Kumbhariya*, AIIS, Delhi,2001; P.6
in the sharing of sacred space at Junagadh and its vicinity that while the Jainas chose the summits on Mount Girnar, the Buddhist selected sites at the base of these hills. In this case, contestation of space does not seem to have occurred as within an area both the religions chose sites that did not infringe on the sacred space of the other religion. Besides containing evidence for the presence of the Buddhists and the Jains at the site, inscriptional data provides evidence to the existence of a Visnu temple in the Gupta period, and legends and water bodies at the site prove the continuity of the Brahmanical religion at the site. The Sudarsana lake seems to have been important to the Brahmanical religion, as is evident by its name- as one of the weapons associated with Visnu is his Sudarsanacakra. The Skandagupta inscription, dating to 450 AD, at Junagadh provides definite evidence for the existence of a temple. The inscription, along with the repair of the embankment of the same lake, mentions the construction of two temples by the viceroy Cakrapalita, one of them being a Visnu temple.¹²
On the way to Girnar on the southern side of the road is the holy water reservoir Damodara kuṇḍa, and on the bank of the kuṇḍa is a temple (fig 4.2), which is believed to be the spot where the temple was constructed by the viceroy Cakrapalita.¹³ This is the well where the un burnt bones of the deceased, after cremation, are to be dipped for the person to attain mokṣa.¹⁴
The continued association of the site with the Brahmanical religion is seen in the legends found in the Skanda Purāṇa, believed to have been compiled in Gujarat, and dated to about 700 AD. The Revatīkuṇḍa mentioned in this Purāṇa is an important tīrtha (Sk.P. 7- 2.17) located in Girnar, as is also the Cakratīrtha associated with Surya. According to legend, a sage named Ahibudhnya was worshipping the

¹² *CII- Inscriptions of the Early Guptas- Vol.III*, 1888; p. 61-65
4.2 Damodara Kunda

Temple at the Kunda
Sudarsanacakra and practicing penance on the Gandhamadana mountain when he was troubled by demons. Sudarsana came to his aid, killed the demons and stayed there permanently in a pond built by the sage, which came to acquire the name Cakratirtha. A bath in this pond helps one get rid of sufferings caused by rākṣasas, pretas etc. In yet another legend the tārtha is associated with Visnu who is supposed to have erected a tank in which he washed his Sudarsanacakra after killing the asuras (Sk.P. V. 3.90).

The Gir hills witness three fairs in the year and the first of these is held in the month of Kārttika from the 11th to the 15th day. During these days the pilgrims take a round of mount Girnar starting and ending at the temple of Bhavnatha. The second fair is held on Mahāsivarātri in which the pilgrims bathe in the Mrigikūṇḍa, and the third fair is the Bhadarvi Amas Śrāvaṇa which is held on the 15th day of the dark half of Śrāvaṇa (in August). This fair is held in reverence to lord Kṛṣṇa at the Damodar and is attended by lakhs of people from different parts of Gujarat. Thus there seems to be a continued association of the site with Vaishnavism, beginning with the Visnu temple constructed in the Gupta period and continuing up to date with the fair held at the Damodar kuṇḍa.

The site of Junagadh was and continues to be sacred to Jainism and the Brahmanical religion, though Buddhism ceases to exist after a point in time. In all probabilities the Jain monks occupied the caves, associated initially with the Buddhists, in their initial period till they further expanded their influence here. Mount Girnar is up to date an important sacred centre for the Jaina community and this clearly demonstrates the continued association of the site, which grew in importance over the centuries.

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15 Savitri V Kumar, *The Purānic Lore of Holy Water Places*, Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi, 1983; p.70
16 *Gujarat State Gazetteers, Junagadh District*, Directorate of Government Print, Ahmedabad, 1975; p.814-819
17 *Junagadh District*, Gujarat State Gazetteers, Ahmedabad, 1975; p.315
Similarly, in the case of the Brahmanical religion while archaeological and sculptural data is wanting, data from the Gupta inscription and legends associated with water bodies in the hills also confirm the continued sanctity of the site. The data clearly demonstrates the continued sharing of sacred space between Jainism and the Brahmanical religion well into the medieval and modern times, as seen in the presence of the medieval Jaina temples, the temple of Amba Mata and the water reservoirs.

I shall now turn to discuss sites that contain evidence for the coexistence of the Brahmanical religion and Jainism, and demonstrate the continuity of two religions. The site of Khed Brahma is located on the confluence of the rivers Haran, Kausambi and Bhima Śankari, and contains evidence for the presence of the Brahmanical religion and Jainism. The few Jaina schistose images from the site date to the 6th century AD, and the continued association of the site with the Brahmanical religion is seen in the presence of an ekamukhasivalinga of the 4th century AD and a life-size image of Siva of the 4th – 5th century AD. An image depicting Siva performing the tāṇḍava dance dating to the 7th century AD is now located in the Pankeshwar Mahadeo temple. The image of Brahma from the site dates to the 6th century AD, though the temple is of the 8th century AD. The site contains evidence of a continued association with the Brahmanical religion. While the site is currently a Brahmanical site with the image of Brahma under worship and a temple dedicated to the goddess, Inamdar has reported that Hindu and Jaina images were being unearthed daily from

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18 M.A.Dhaky & U.S. Moorti, The Temples in Kumbhariya, AllS, Delhi, 2001; P.6
19 P.A.Inamdar, Some Archaeological Finds in the Idar State, Department of Archaeology, Idar State, Himatnagar, 1936; plateVI
20 P.A.Inamdar, Some Archaeological Finds in the Idar State, Department of Archaeology, Idar State, Himatnagar, 1936; plateVI
the site while digging for laying the foundations of new houses.  

21 The Jaina images from the site are currently under worship at nearby locations. One of the images has been set up in the medieval Digambara Jain temple at Khed Brahma, an important Jaina site, in the Idar hills, and the other image is also in a Digambara Jaina temple on a nearby granite hill. Thus, here continuity in the worship of images is noticed as the images are taken from the original site and made an integral part of newer structures.

As for the Brahmanical religion the site is more famous for a temple dedicated to a goddess. The name of the site can be attributed to the legend associated with the site according to which the rsis, munis and gods wanted to carry out a sacrifice or yajña at the site which was a jungle, and they requested Brahma to clear the area. This he did with a golden plough and so the site is known as kheṣṭ (plough) Brahma or where Brahma used a plough. They then requested Brahma to provide protection from the demons, and to do this Brahma asked Ambaji to come and reside at the site. Thus, the legends with ease weave together the existence of a Brahma and devī temple at the site.  

22 The goddess Ambaji worshipped here, in another temple, is of interest as for everyday of the week she has a different vāhana, except for one day when she is on foot. Thus while the site gains popularity as a Brahmanical site in a later period, the Jaina images continue to hold importance as a part of newer religious structure at an important Jaina tīrtha.

In today’s date the site retains its importance as a Brahmanical as well as a Jaina sacred centre. In Purātan Brahmakṣetra, there is a mention that at some time in the past, there were several Digambara temples here. It is inferred that there may exist a large temple of Śrī Neminatha Bhagwan. Currently the site has two Jaina temples- one dedicated to Mahavira and other to Neminatha. It is interesting to note that at both the

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21 P.A. Inamdar, Some Archaeological Finds in the Idar State, Department of Archaeology, Idar State, Himatnagar, 1936; p.13
22 Data collected during field trip about the legend prevalent at the site
sites, the Gir hills and Khed Brahma, the goddess worshipped is Amba Mata who is considered as the guardian deity of Neminatha, and both the sites demonstrate continuity in the coexistence of the Brahmanical religion and Jainism over a long period of time.

**Abandonment & Survivals of Religious Affiliation at Sites**

Certain sites in Gujarat demonstrate the coexistence of religions at a certain point in time and while one religion continues the other fades out or ceases to exist over time. The data being limited in nature for interpretation, one can only postulate that the continuity could have been either an interrupted or an uninterrupted one. I shall now discuss sites that initially contain evidence for coexistence, but over time, only one religion survives and continues to exist at the site.

The first two sites I shall discuss are the site of Devnimori and Shamalaji, located in close proximity to each other. They contain the maximum number of archaeological and sculptural data pertaining to Buddhism as well as the Brahmanical religion. They are located on either side of the Meshvo river in the northern region of Gujarat. Devnimori is the only Buddhist site, in Gujarat, where archaeological excavation brought to light a large Buddhist establishment. As for the Brahmanical remains, a total of forty-six Brahmanical images\(^{23}\) belong to the sites of Devnimori and Shamalaji, and in the region of Gujarat the site of Devnimori has the maximum number of Siva lingas. The Buddhist site of Devnimori had only a vihāra in its initial phase, and over time, it developed into a full-fledged Buddhist complex with a protection wall of its own.

The site of Devnimori is situated on the eastern side of the bend of river Meshvo, on a commanding elevated position overlooking the gorge, the river as well as the whole

\(^{23}\) Sara L Schastok, *The Samlaji Sculptures and Sixth Century Art in Western India*, E.J.Brill, Leiden, 1985; List of Figures
valley.\textsuperscript{24} Excavations at the site of Devnimori brought to light a large \textit{\textsc{\textasciiacute{s}ar\texttilde{r}a} st\textipa{\textsc{p}}a}, (fig 4.3a) four \textit{ud\texttilde{y}e\textsc{\textasciiacute{s}a} st\textipa{\textsc{p}}as}, a rectangular structure, an apsidal temple and a protecting wall. The Buddhist settlement, at the site, began with the construction of a large vih\text{\textasciitilde{r}}a, (fig 4.3b) which has been dated to before the third quarter of the 4\textsuperscript{th} century AD.\textsuperscript{25} Near this vih\text{\textasciitilde{r}}a S\textsc{\textasciiacute{\textasciitilde{d}a}hu} Agnivarman and Sudarsana built the \textit{\textsc{\textasciiacute{s}ar\texttilde{r}a} st\textipa{\textsc{p}}a}. Along with it the votive st\textipa{\textsc{p}}as, the apsidal temple and the protecting wall were built in the 4\textsuperscript{th} century AD.\textsuperscript{26} On the basis of the antiquities found at the site, it has been pointed out that the settlement flourished till the 7\textsuperscript{th} -8\textsuperscript{th} century AD.\textsuperscript{27} Two caskets were obtained from the \textit{mah\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{s}a}st\textipa{\textsc{p}}a}. The lowest of them contained only ashes, was made of schist, cylindrical and measured 4.72 inches in height and was .70 inches thick at the top. The other casket is of greater interest as it is inscribed (fig 4.4) and it contained a cylindrical copper box with silk bags, gold bottle and some organic like material.\textsuperscript{25} (fig 4.5) As for the architecture of the site, on the south of the st\textipa{\textsc{p}}a was a large four sided \textit{\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{c}atu\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{s}a}la} vih\text{\textasciitilde{r}}a} with a northern entrance, containing inner verandah and a courtyard.\textsuperscript{29} The vih\text{\textasciitilde{r}}a contained thirty rooms, a shrine room in its southern side and at the main entrance at its northern side and a flight of steps near its entrance.\textsuperscript{30} A second vih\text{\textasciitilde{r}}a contained two rooms, 8 feet x 8-9 feet each, an inner and outer verandah, drains in the south western corner of the courtyard, parts of steps and the main entrance was west facing towards the main st\textipa{\textsc{p}}a.\textsuperscript{31} The rooms of the vih\text{\textasciitilde{r}}a were divided into four categories- residential quarters, shrine rooms, entrance room

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{24} S.N.Chowdhary, \textit{Buddhist Monuments of Devnimori- North Gujarat}, Ph.D Thesis, MSU Vadodara, 1964; p.19
\item \textsuperscript{25} R.N.Mehta & S.N.Chowdhary, \textit{Excavations at Devnimori (A Report of the Excavation Conducted from 1960 to 1963)}, M.SU Vadodara, 1966; p.29
\item \textsuperscript{26} Ibid; p.10
\item \textsuperscript{27} Ibid; p.30
\item \textsuperscript{28} Ibid; p. 119-120
\item \textsuperscript{29} Ibid; p.34
\item \textsuperscript{30} S.N.Chowdhary, \textit{Buddhist Monuments of Devnimori- North Gujarat}, Ph.D Thesis, MSU Vadodara, 1964; p.93
\item \textsuperscript{31} S.N.Chowdhary, \textit{Buddhist Monuments of Devnimori- North Gujarat}, Ph.D Thesis. MSU Vadodara, 1964; p.93
\end{itemize}
Devnimori - Model of the Site

4.3 a) Stūpa and Apsidal Temple

4.3 b) Vihāra
4.4 Devnimori- Relic Casket

4.5 Contents within the Relic Casket
and storeroom.\textsuperscript{32} The \textit{mahāstūpa} was located 50 feet to the north east of \textit{vihāra} I. The apsidal ended structure which was probably a \textit{caitya} hall was located 6 feet to the south west of the main \textit{stūpa} and measured 16 feet x 10 feet and 17 feet x 10\(\frac{1}{2}\) feet and was also of brick. The hall is divided into three parts- the apse, the rectangular approach chamber and the side aisle.\textsuperscript{33} A total of twenty six terracotta images of Buddha in dhyānamudrā (fig 4.6) were brought to light, measuring 2 feet 2 inches to 2 feet 3 inches, all of which are three-dimensional with only the backs hidden from view as they were meant for fixing on the face of the \textit{stūpa}.\textsuperscript{34} Of the twenty-six images, twelve were found totally intact, and the remaining fourteen could not be repaired or remoulded. Also found at the site were twenty heads of which twelve could be fitted back to their respective torsos.\textsuperscript{35} The images have been classified on the basis of form and features of the face, hair style, drapery and cushion seat. The facial features were categorized as oval faced, almond faced and round faced.\textsuperscript{36} As for drapery the \textit{sanghati} or the upper garment drapes over both the shoulders in nine images, while in thirteen only one shoulder is draped.\textsuperscript{37} The folds and frills of the images are depicted by incised lines and ribbed lines. The cushion seats are also classified into two main groups- having bands of single petal, further being subdivided on basis of the petals pointing up or down, and having bands of double petals. The tiny tuft of hair between the eyebrows was noticed in seven images found from the site.\textsuperscript{38}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{32} Ibid; p.121 \\
\textsuperscript{33} Ibid; p.117 \\
\textsuperscript{34} Ibid; p.166-167 \\
\textsuperscript{36} R.N.Mehta & S.N.Chowdhary, \textit{Excavations at Devnimori (A Report of the Excavation Conducted from 1960 to 1963)}, MSU Vadodara, 1966; p.142 \\
\end{flushleft}
4.6 Devnimori- Images of Buddha

Head of a Buddha Image
The decorative pieces recovered from the site include arches, capitals of pilasters, medallions, pilasters, bases of pilasters and dentils or brackets, in addition to cornices, moulds and filet bands. The arches at the site were classified into semi-circular stilted arches and caitya arches, and in the former category the architectural features in relief included bell shaped base, horizontal ledges and recesses, lion figures in relief and floral background of the lion figure. Square as well as rectangular decorative bricks were recovered from the site. The rectangular bricks were of the same size as those used for construction and had decorations in form of ovolo (in quarter ellipse section receding downward), moulding and fillet bands. The former type was used to decorate cornices and the two floral motifs used for it were the acanthus leaf and bay leaf. The bricks with fillet bands could be classified into those with chequer pattern and those with a hook pattern. The square bricks, on the other hand, had five different depictions on them which included Buddha figures, grotesque faces, animal faces, floral compositions, geometric designs and conch compositions. The wastage of manufacture such as the over burnt images of Buddha and arches recovered from the core of the stūpa provide evidence for the local manufacture of bricks and terracotta images at the site.

The excavation report also informs us that on the excavations on other mounds, within an area of about 4 square kilometres, at Devnimori indicate that the Saivas also built their temples here, and that some of them were contemporary to the Buddhist settlement as the size of the bricks used in the temples was the same as those used by

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40 Ibid; p.150
41 Ibid; p.164-166
42 Ibid; p.167
the Buddhists at the site. When the site was visited by Goetz in 1947 he reported, "In
the midst of the jungle, along a small brooklet coming down the hillside, quite a
number of small brick temples have been erected, with the usual simple moulded
Gupta plinths and a rectangular cella, the walls of which are still standing to a height
of 4 to 6 feet above the floor level."45 I shall now turn to a few of the images
recovered from in and around the area. Found from the site were two Mānuṣa lingas
of the Kshatrapa period46 and another linga of antiquity is to be seen at the village site
of Devnimori, (fig 4.7) which is under worship by the local inhabitants.47 Found from
the site were also four images of māitrkās, the head of a māitrkā and the torso of
another, dating to the 5th century A.D.48 The sculptural evidence points to the earlier
presence of the Saivites at the site as well. A number of Brahmanical images have
been recovered from Shamalaji, the earliest being a two armed standing image of
Ganesa dated to the 3rd–4th century AD. Belonging to the 4th–5th century AD is a
two armed standing image of Karttikeya (fig 4.8) and ascribed to AD 500 are figures
that seem to represent Gaṇa.49 From the area are also a seated and a standing image,
dated to 6th century AD of Viṇādhara Viṇabhādra where Siva is seen holding a Viṇā.
Of these two, the image representing Siva as standing is seen in association with the
Saptamāitrkās50 and in addition to these is a Siva linga currently in the Museum at the
site, which is dated to the 4th century AD.51 (fig 4.9) The size of the lingas again
suggests that there were temples earlier since these lingas might have been the ones

45 H. Goetz, Gupta Sculptures from North Gujarat, in JGRS, Vol.XIV, No.1, 1952; p.1
46 V. L. Devkar, Sculptures from Shamalaji & Roda, BBMPG, Vol.XIII, Special Number, Govt.
Press, Vadodara, 1960; p.136
47 Fieldtrip
48 R. N. Mehta, Five Sculptures from Devnimori, JISOA, Special Number- Western Indian Art, 1966;
p.27
49 Sara L. Schastok, The Samlaji Sculptures & Sixth Century Art in Western India, E. J. Brill, Leiden,
1985; List of Figures
Table
51 Fieldtrip
4.7 Devnimori - *Sival ingas*
4.8 Devnimori Karttikeya Image

4.9 Devnimori - Sival inga under Worship
installed in the temple structures that were noticed by Goetz. Recovered from the site were 3 sets of mātrkā images dated to between AD 520 and 530. While the first set dating to AD 520 contains the images of Brahmani and Camunda, (fig 4.10) the second set dating to AD 525 includes images of Agneyi (fig 4.11), Mahesvari (fig 4.12), Aindri, Vaisnavi, Varahi and Camunda (fig 4.13). The third set consists of mother and child images and is dated to between AD 525- 530. The second and third set of mātrkā images, as well as the image of Vīrabhadra Siva measuring 3.67 feet in height (fig 4.14) and in the opinion of Schastok these can be attributed to a temple dedicated to Siva. The images of two dvārapālas, (fig 4.15a) the image of Ganga, (fig 4.15b) two Nandi images and the throne back suggest the earlier existence of probably more than one temple at the site. Of the 7th century AD are an image of Siva and Parvati, an ekamukhalinga (fig 4.16) and an image of Mahisasuramardini (fig 4.16b) as well. The find of the above images and lingas shows the continued Saivite association of the site. Also seen here are images of Bhadra or Yasoda (5th century AD), Parvati as Bhilan and an image of Lajjāgaurī. Also found from in and around the area are Viśvarūpa Visnu images, one of which is currently under worship at Shamalaji. Thus at the site there is evidence of Siva, mātrkā as well as Visnu worship.

A look at the size of the images, dating from c. AD 520 to the 7th century AD, will demonstrate that these were crafted for being the central image of worship either in a shrine or in the open, or were meant to adorn the walls of some religious structure as in the case of the mātrkā images which vary from 1.31 feet to 2.95 feet in height.

52 Sara L. Schastok, The Samlaji Sculptures & Sixth Century Art in Western India, E.J.BriU, Leiden, 1985; p.16
54 V.L.Devkar, Sculptures from Shamalaji & Roda, BBMPG, Vol.XIII, 1960; p.52
56 H.Goetz, Gupta Sculptures from North Gujarat, in JGRS, Vol.XIV, No.1, 1952; p.2
4.10 Shamalaji-Brahmani & Camunda- AD 520

4.11 Shamalaji- Agneyi- AD 525
4.12 Shamalaji-Mahesvari -AD 525

4.13 Shamalaji-Camunda
AD 525
4.14 Shamalaji- Virabhadra Siva
AD 525
4.15 a) Shamalaji- Dvārapālas
AD 530

4.15 b) Shamalaji- Image of Ganga
4.16 (a) Ekamukhasivalinga

Devnimori  Shamalaji

4.16 (b) Devnimori - Mahisasuramardini Image
The site has structural remains of both the Buddhist (dating from the 4\textsuperscript{th} to 7\textsuperscript{th} century AD) and the Brahmanical religion (dated to the post Gupta period) and has the maximum number of images of both the religions as well. It also has a long period of continuity beginning from the 3\textsuperscript{rd}/4\textsuperscript{th} century AD and continuing up to the 7\textsuperscript{th}/8\textsuperscript{th} century AD, the longest period for a site in the region. The site would have been one of the major Buddhist sites of the region as it is the only one in Gujarat from where there is clear evidence of the existence of remains of Buddha, in the casket, and could have been part of a wider Buddhist religious network. The fifth stanza of the inscription on the casket reads that the stone casket was the receptacle for the relics of Daśabla (the Buddha).

A look at the data pertaining to Buddhism and the Brahmanical religion at these sites points to a simultaneous development of both the religions. The construction and continued maintenance and repair of the Buddhist complex at Devnimori, as well as the sculpting of the various Brahmanical images and the earlier temples at the site can all be placed between the 4\textsuperscript{th} and the 7\textsuperscript{th} century AD. Both the religions seemed to have witnessed a simultaneous growth and development in terms of architecture and sculptural activities. But while traces of the Brahmanical religion continued till it regained importance in the medieval period, Buddhism gradually faded away.

The site of Shamalaji demonstrates the continued existence of the Brahmanical religion at the site, though with a renewed affiliation. While the sites of Devnimori and Shamalaji had Saivite affiliations in the period under study, by the medieval period the site becomes an important Vaishnavite centre, and continues to be so up to date. The structure that helps identify the thread of continuity of the Brahmanical religion at the site is the temple Hariscandran Chorni, which dates to AD 800. It is
believed that Raja Hariscandra performed sacrifices at the site in order that he may have a son.

Shamalaji is a site where one can clearly notice continuity of the Brahmanical religion in a limited nature, till it regains importance as a famous sacred centre. The site also shows that images can survive and later be placed in a new context and a new structure. The site of Shamalaji is a Vaishnavite pilgrimages centre and holds special importance for the Bhil community of the area. While the current temple at the site belongs to the medieval period, the image it houses is of a much earlier period dating to not later than the 8th century AD. The local belief is that a young Bhil boy while digging the earth found this image, and since then it has been seen by the community as their ista or kula devtā. The image of Gadādhar Visnu is black in colour and hence the name Śyāmala of the deity. This image representing the Gadādhar form of Visnu with four arms is placed in the medieval temple (fig 4.17a). In the month of Kārttika lakhs of devotees flock to this site, and a fair is held where food grains, clothes, gold, silver and a number of other things are sold, which are bought by the ādivāsīs and during the fair, a number of ādivāsī marriages also take place. On full moon the temple is lit with a number of diyās.

It is noticed at this particular site that while the images under worship belong to the 6th-7th century AD, the structures that they are enshrined in are either of the medieval or the modern period. It is also important to point out that not all images gain the same status. Of two lingas under worship, while one linga is housed in a temple the other linga at the nearby site of Devnimori is not enshrined in a temple.

Similarly, at another shrine one witness’s continuity of an image, but this is a Saivite image. Located opposite the shrine of Shamalaji is the Khak chowk area, at the end of

58 V. L. Devkar, Sculptures from Shamalaji and Roda, BBMPG, Vol. XIII, Vadodara 1960; p.35
59 Booklet- Shamalaji, Gujarati. Published by Shamalaji Vishnu Mandir Trust
4.17 a) Shamalaji- Gadādhara Visnu-
which near the corner of the street is the Trilokinatha temple. Here too, while the building is of a later period, the image of Siva under worship can be dated to the 6th century AD, and the dvārapāla is also of an earlier date. Yet another shrine dedicated to Siva, the Kasivisvesvara temple, is small in size and here it is the linga, which is under worship. The ekaṁuḥaṁāvāla enshrined in the temple is of schist and dates to the 7th century AD. The head on the linga shows a jaṭā tied above the head, and the forehead is broad and with three eyes. An image of Ganesa from the late Gupta period is under worship in a small shrine on the way from the Shamalaji temple to river Meshvo. An image of Nandi currently located in the Ranchodji temple at Shamalaji is also of an earlier date and belongs to the 6th century AD.

On the other hand, the people of the region view another form of Visnu, the Viśvarūpa form, differently. Even though the image, dating to 6th century AD, is under worship at a temple in Shamalaji, the deity is seen as a goddess, namely Kalsi Chhokarani Ma (fig 4.17 b), and not as a form of Visnu. Another such image of Visnu in the village of Ogaganj, located 20 kms from Ahmedabad, is also worshipped as a goddess and is now identified by the worshippers as Tripura Mata. The image dates to the 7th century AD and is currently housed in a temple. Many such other

60 V.L.Devkar, Sculptures from Samalaji and Roda, BBMPG, Vol. XIII, Govt. Press, Vadodara 1960; p. 35
64 Dr. Haripriya Rangarajan, Wrong Identification of Images of Viśvarūpa Visnu from Gujarat, in Kala, VI, 1999-2000; p.68
65 Dr. Haripriya Rangarajan, Wrong Identification of Images of Viśvarūpa Visnu from Gujarat, in Kala, VI, 1999-2000; p.67
66 Dr. Haripriya Rangarajan,Wrong Identification of Images of Viśvarūpa Visnu from Gujarat, in Kala, VI, 1999-2000; p.67
67 Dr. Haripriya Rangarajan, Wrong Identification of Images of Viśvarūpa Visnu from Gujarat, in Kala, VI, 1999-2000; p.68
4.17 b) Shamalaji-Viśvarūpa Visnu-
images have been able to survive over time as they have been taken by the villagers for purposes of worship, or the images adorn the temple walls.

The place is also known as Karambu tīrtha, and the legend associated with it also tells us indirectly how the site was forgotten and then later reclaimed. According to legend Sri Gadādhara Visnu came to reside at the tīrtha and it had the blessing of Brahma that of all the tīrthas this was an agrasthāna. Brahma performed a mahāyajña and when he began Visnu appeared in the form of Śyāmala (the black one). On the request of Brahma, Visnu agrees to stay at the Karambu tīrtha in his Gadādhara form. Karambu tīrtha became full of pride and was cursed that he would become infamous and would regain its lost glory only in the tretāyuga when Raja Hariscandra, a parambhakta of Visnu, would visit the site. This story clearly illustrates that the site was earlier an important Brahmanical site, but in due course of time lost its importance and faded away in the memory of the people, till it was rediscovered and made important later again.

An analysis of the sites of Junagadh as well as Shamalaji & Devnimori, both containing evidence of coexistence of Buddhism and the Brahmanical religion, demonstrate different patterns. At the site of Junagadh, the continuity in coexistence is noticed upto date, and the change being of coexistence between Buddhism and the Brahmanical religion to that of the latter and Jainism. The sites of Devnimori and Shamalaji on the other hand demonstrate that at first, both sites ceased to exist, but at a later stage the Brahmanical images were reclaimed and reinstated in newer structures and the site once again becomes an important Brahmanical site and continues to be so to date.
Gradual Decline of Sites with Evidence of Parallel Coexistence

In addition to the above mentioned sites, there are other sites that demonstrate the coexistence of religions in the period under study, but unlike the sites discussed above, these sites lose importance over time never to be regained. Within these are some sites that demonstrate a simultaneous growth and development of two or more religions, and other sites that gradually gain importance for more than one religious community. First I shall discuss sites where evidence points to similar dates for the archaeological remains pertaining to Buddhism and the Brahmanical religion, namely Amreli and Nagara.

The site of Amreli contains evidence of the presence of the Buddhist community as well as the Brahmanical religion. It has been pointed out in the excavation reports, "Amreli appears to have been an important centre for various religious sects especially for Brahanism and Buddhism... Besides worship of Visnu the cults of Sakti and Siva appear to have been followed by the inhabitants."68

The Brahmanical remains at the site are terracotta plaques representing - a goddess, probably Durga with four arms and with ugra or fierce appearance, a female figure wearing a crown and another female figure with a child on her left waist touching the breast, probably some mātyākā,69 an image of Ganesa carved in yellowish stone, and a fragmentary image of baked clay representing the upper half of a woman with prominent breasts.70 The terracotta image of Gauri Sankara from the site is dated to the 4th century AD.71 Also recovered from the excavations were votive jars offered in

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69 Annual Report Archaeological Department, Baroda State, 1936-37; p. 12
70 Annual Report Archaeological Department, Baroda State, 1935-36; p.19.
religious ceremonies. The Buddhist remains from the site include two small clay images – one of a Bodhisattva and the other of Buddha, dated to the 4th century AD, and a number of fragmentary potsherds (fig. 4.18). The image of the Bodhisattva was recovered from the remains of a Buddhist structure on the northern fringes of the town. Further evidence is from potsherds, which were fragments of vessels belonging to monks. They contain fragmentary inscriptions, which seem to give the name of individuals or the localities they belonged to. Some of them read: Śrī Gira [i] nagara, [V] ajapa..., Śrī Vighra..., Śrī Panda, Ghahta..., Vakrumidrukaya, indicating the presence of the Buddhist community at the site. Excavations at the site also brought to light a structure that may have been a Buddhist monastery. Excavations carried out on the northern fringe of the mound revealed structures that covered an area of 75 feet x 25 feet. Of these was a room measuring 20 feet x 16 feet, which formed the main hall of the structure. The western wing had four rooms, a verandah and a portico. On the basis of its location close to a water source and of small rooms, adjoining the main hall it has been suggested that this brick structure was used for religious ceremonies. In addition to this, the recovery of two terracotta Bodhisattva figures while removing the bricks from the main hall helped associate the structure with the Buddhist faith. The structure has been identified as a Buddhist monastery which was more extensive than what the present ruins at the site suggest. At the site of Nagar excavations brought to light an image of Dhyāni Buddha and of the twenty eight seals and sealings, recovered from the site, three are inscribed of

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73 Annual Report- Archaeological Department, Baroda State, 1925-36; p.19.
76 Annual Report- Archaeological Department, Baroda State, for year ending 31st July 1939; p.5
4.18 *Amreli- Inscribed Potsherds*
which one has an oval die with four Brahmi letters *Buddha Pyasa*. In the excavations conducted on Hanuman Dhado the images of Buddha were seen along with the images of Brahma and Surya.

The sandstone-seated image of the Dhyāni Buddha measures 4.59 feet high and 3.6 feet wide and the size suggests that the image would have been installed for purposes of worship and rituals. The lower portion of a standing deity and its fragmentary *vāhana* belonging to period III, covering from 00 AD/BC to 8th/9th century AD was also found. The image is of sandstone and on its side panel is a wheel and it grasps a lotus stalk. Another fragment of the lower portion of an unidentifiable image was also noticed.

While the archaeological data gives limited evidence for the existence of the Brahmanical religion at the site, the literary data points to its continued existence. The site is associated with the Nagara brahmanas of the region as mentioned in the *Skanda Purāṇa* (Sk.P. VI.278.23). The region around Nagara is known as Nagna Hara deśa in the *Purāṇa* as Siva roamed naked in the country (Sk.P.VII.i.319-48). The region around the Gulf of Cambay was also sacred and was known as Stambesvara in the *Skanda Purāṇa* and contained sites as Barkaresvara which was situated on the sea shore (Sk.P. I.ii.1.9-11) and Barbari was a sacred town near Cambay at the mouth of river Mahi (Sk.P. I.ii.37.1).

Thus at the site of Nagara, while Buddhism seems to have had a limited period of existence, the site continues to be important for followers of the Brahmanical religion as seen in it being mentioned as an important tīrtha in the *Skanda Purāṇa*.

Development of Multiple Affiliations over Time

The next site I shall discuss is Valabhi, which is the only site that contains evidence - archaeological, sculptural, inscriptive and literary, for the existence of Buddhism, Jainism and the Brahmanical religion as well. Development of religions at this site presents us with yet another pattern as initially it has evidence pertaining to only one religion, but over time gains importance as a sacred centre for all three religions. The developments here demonstrate that the Brahmanical religion seems to have been the earliest at the site, and while it continued, the site also became important to the Buddhist and the Jaina community.

The Brahmanical remains recovered from the site are miniature Siva lingas (1st–4th century AD)84, images of Mahisasuramardini (fig 4.19) and Krsna (4th century AD)85, (fig 4.20) an image of the goddess Lajjāgaurī86 and a huge sandstone Mānuṣalinga (7th century AD)87. Among the ruins of Valabhi were seen a number of colossal lingas and images of Nandi which imply the existence of several Saiva temples at Valabhi.88 Here too once again inscriptive data provides definite evidence for the presence of a temple at the site. An inscription of Suketuvarmana dating to 322 Saka era on a slab was recovered from this site. According to K.V.Ramesh the only traces of former greatness of the site are a ruined temple of Kandesvara built of stones and mortar, and a ruined temple of Hanuman, which are located 50 yards east of the mamladars office.89 According to him the ruined temple of Khandesvara was the

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84 IAR, 1979-80; p.24
85 U.P.Shah, A Female Bust from Valabhi, in JISOA, Special Number- Western Indian Art. 1966; p.1
87 V.S.Parekh, The Iconography of Siva Deities from Gujarat, Ph.D Thesis, MSU Vadodara, 1978; Iconographic Chart of Lingas from Gujarat
88 Kantilal F.Sompura, Structural Temples of Gujarat (upto 1600 AD), Gujarat University, Ahmedabad, 1968; p.83
89 E.I., Vol.XL, Part 2, 1973; p.51
4.19 *Valabhi- Mahisasuramardini*

4.20 *Valabhi- Krsna*
ancient temple of Kotisvara from where the epigraph must have been recovered. It is dated to about 5th–6th century AD and records the installation of the deity Kotisvara by Simhadatta. The last line of the inscription contains a reference to the temple (sthāna) of Kotisvara, and this was the temple in which Simhadatta installed the deity Kotisvara. In the opinion of K.V.Ramesh it is not unlikely that Vala was one of the seven ancient Kotisvara sthānas on the west coast. If this is taken into consideration, along with the find of the colossal Nandis and Siva lingas and that the rulers of the Maitraka dynasty claimed to be mostly Param mahēśvaras, then it follows that the site was important to the Brahmanical religion. The importance of the site also lies in the period of continuity as an important Brahmanical site beginning from the 1st century BC/AD (miniature Siva lingas) to the 7th century AD (Lajjāgaurī), and it becoming an important Buddhist site in the 6th–7th century AD.

Valabhi was also the capital of the ruling Maitraka dynasty, and the copper plate grants provide vital data for the site being an important Buddhist centre, as they mention fourteen vihāras that were located within and around the site of Valabhi. Excavations at the basement of an ancient building, conducted by R.V.Father Heras (1934) brought to light parts of a damaged terracotta stūpa. Also found from the site were many Mahayanist votive clay seals with images of Buddha and the stūpa, inscribed with the Buddhist creed in characters of the 6th–7th century AD. Recovered from the site were fragmentary stone slabs bearing words like Tathagata, Ratna traya and sangha, as well as terracotta plaques with representation of the stūpa. The images recovered from in and around the site include a life size image of

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90 E.I., Vol.XL, Part 2, 1973; p.52
91 E.I., Vol.XL, Part 2, 1973; p.53
93 M.G.Dikshit, History of Buddhism in Gujarat, JGRS, Vol.VIII, No. 2&3,1946; p.109
Buddha from the nearby Islava hill,\textsuperscript{94} a brass image of Buddha from a field on the opposite side of river Ghelo, \textsuperscript{1.2} km west of Valabhi,\textsuperscript{95} and another five bronze images dating to the 6\textsuperscript{th} century AD.\textsuperscript{96} When Hieun Tsang visited Valabhi he recorded that scattered around are spots where the three past Buddhas sat down, walked or preached the law.\textsuperscript{97}

Simultaneously the Jaina community was claiming the site as an important sacred centre as well. The sculptural evidence from the site is a Jaina metal image dating to the 6\textsuperscript{th} century AD. In AD 363, tradition records that the Jaina friars held a synod at Valabhi in Saurashtra, and another such synod was held at Valabhi once more between AD 593 and 516.\textsuperscript{98} Also recovered from the site were some Jaina images dating to the 6\textsuperscript{th} - 7\textsuperscript{th} century AD (fig 4.21).

Thus at the site of Valabhi evidence points to the existence of religious structures of Jainism, Buddhism and the Brahmanical religion between the 6\textsuperscript{th} -7\textsuperscript{th} century AD. A list of the donations made by the Maitraka rulers to the Buddhist vihāra will demonstrate that the donations were made to already existent vihāras and rarely for the construction of a new one. While the earliest evidence found pertains to the Brahmanical religion, Buddhism also began to gain a foothold at the site, and was later joined by Jainism- though they did not exist at the expense of one another but rather coexisted. This site also stood witness to decline and fading away of the site as an important religious site, altogether for Buddhism, Jainism and the Brahmanical religion. It probably came under the attack of the Arabs and was never able to regain its importance as a sacred site for all three religious communities.

\textsuperscript{94} Kantilal F. Sompura, \textit{Buddhist Monuments and Sculptures in Gujarat - A Historical Survey} Vishveshvaranand Institute, Hoshiarpur, 1965; p.28
\textsuperscript{95} M.K. Thakor, A Bronze Image of Buddha from Valabhipur, in JOI, Vol.XI, 1966-67; p.79-85
\textsuperscript{96} ASWI, for year ending 31\textsuperscript{st} March 1915; p.30
\textsuperscript{98} M.A. Dhaky, U.S. Moorti, \textit{The Temples in Kumbhariya}, AIIS, Delhi, 2001; p.5
4.21 Valabhi Jaina Images
7th century AD
Thus it is noticed that while the site had initially a single religious affiliation, over time it became important to other religions as well. The point to be noticed here is that all three religions existed side by side and the growth of one did not cause the decline of the other. Literary data will have us believe that Buddhism and Jainism were at conflict here, seen in the numerous discussions mentioned to have taken place between the Buddhist and Jaina monks. But sculptural and inscriptional data, on the other hand, amply demonstrate that both existed simultaneously, as was also the Brahmanical religion at the site. Also the sudden decline of all three could be attributed to the repeated Arab invasions that took place and which may have led to a downfall of the city and decline of all three religions in the archaeological records.

**Continuities from Sculptural Evidence**

An important site with Jaina remains is the site of Akota, which is located in the present city limits of Vadodara, the latter containing Brahmanical images. Akota is the only site under the period of study that provides definite sculptural evidence for the existence of Jainism in the region. Unearthed from the site was a hoard of Jaina images dating from the Gupta times with the latest image belonging to the 11th century AD. The site brought to light a total of one hundred and sixty eight pieces of which sixty-eight different objects could be pieced together. What is noticed at this site is that the Jaina images predate the images of the Brahmanical religion, as the latter date to the 7th - 8th century AD.

The list of the Jaina images include eight images and an elephant shaped incense burner of the Gupta period (fig. 4.22, 4.23), a bell (fig 4.24) and fourteen images dating to the 7th century AD (fig 4.25) and an incense burner and thirteen images of the 8th century AD (fig 4.26, 4.27) While the Jaina images are from Gupta period onwards, the Brahmanical images belong to the 7th -8th century AD. Three images of
Akota- Images of the 6th century AD
4.22 Jivantsvami AD 500-525

4.23 Rṣabhanatha
AD 500-525
4.24 Akota - Bell
4.25 Akota- Images of the 7th century AD
Parsavanatha AD 600

Tritirthika Image of Parsavanatha
mid 7th century AD
Akota- Images of the 7th -8th century AD

4.26 Jina 600-699 AD

4.27 Yakṣa Sarvanubhuti
AD 700-899
Bhairava belonging to the site date to 7th century AD, while one image of Lakulisa dates to the 7th-8th century AD, another one dates to the 8th century AD. Also found was an 8th century AD image of Visnu, and the site also seems to have been important to a sect of the Saivite community.

Similar seems to have been the case with religious structures at the site, as the Jaina structure would have predated the Brahmanical temple. Evidence for the existence of religious structures for both the religions is from inscriptions or data.

Most of the inscriptions on the pedestals or at the back of the Akota images mention them to be gifts meant for installation. The continued donation of images over a period of time clearly suggests that either this site or a site nearby was important to the Jaina community. Considering the number of images found at the site and the time span covered by them, it seems plausible to suggest that they would have been housed in some type of structure, and the inscription on the image donated by Durginni corroborates this. The inscription reads, “This is the pious gift, in the Candra kula, of the female worshipper Durggini, in the Rathavasatikā.”99 In the opinion of Shah, Rathavasatikā was the name of the Jaina shrine in which the image was installed. He points out, “In the first two centuries of the Christian era ārya Vajra and his disciples and other great pontiffs visited different cities of western India such as Surparaka and Bhrgukaccha. Excavations have suggested that Akota was fairly well populated in the Kshatrapa age, and it is very likely that there was a Jaina temple here at that time. Since Akota was a district town on a caravan route from central India to Broach, it is possible that it was visited by Jaina monks. Ārya Ratha was a direct disciple of ārya Vajra and came from Surparaka and the vasatikā at Akota was probably named after

99 U.P.Shah, Akota Bronzes, Department of Archaeology, Government of Bombay, 1959; p. 39
him." The other explanation behind the name *ratha* is to see the shrine as a place from where an annual procession (*rathayātrā*) was taken out. Shah points out that the Jaina texts mention the Mauryan ruler Samprati attending such a procession where a wooden image of Mahavira was taken out.¹⁰¹

The case for existence of a structure at the site is further strengthened by the presence of some mason marks on stones used for pavements in later repairs at the shrine of Bhimanatha situated to the north of Akota. According to Shah "there existed on the site a shrine called *Rathavasatikā*, probably named after ārya Ratha, in the 2nd century AD."¹⁰² Excavations at the site of Akota brought to light a structure that has been dated to 3rd–4th centuries AD.¹⁰³ One of the brick built structures excavated at the site has been identified as a public building,¹⁰⁴ which was perhaps the structure that housed a few of the bronzes excavated from the site. The find of a bell¹⁰⁵ and incense burner¹⁰⁶ from the site further strengthen the case for existence of a religious structure where they may have been used for ceremonial purposes.

Inscriptions give evidence for the existence of a Brahmanical temple at Vadodara. The Valabhi grant of Siladitya I, dating to AD 610, mentions the donation of land and a step well to a temple of Mahādeva, or Siva. This temple was located in Vatapadra or modern Vadodara, and was built by one Harinatha.¹⁰⁷

It is interesting to note that no structural remains of either religion are to be found in the period succeeding the 8th century AD or the medieval period. The images though from the hoard clearly indicate that at this site or a site nearby the religion continued.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid; p.40
¹⁰¹ Ibid; p.40
¹⁰³ Benapudi Subbarao, *Baroda Through the Ages*, MSU Vadodara, 1953; p.14
¹⁰⁴ Ibid; p.110
¹⁰⁷ IA, Vol. IX; p.238
up to 1100 AD which is the latest date for the images from the hoard. On the other hand Saivism was gaining a strong foothold at a short distance of about 28 kms from Vadodara at the site of Karvan. Excavations at the site brought to light structures, dating between the 2nd - 5th century AD, which were temples and seem to have been of Saivite affiliation as seen in the number of lingas recovered from the site (fig 4.28). The first of these was located in the southern part of the mound, and a pagarāla supported by bricks and provided by a large soakage jar at the floor level indicated that the structure was a temple, probably dedicated to Siva.\footnote{IAR, 1975-76; p.15} Another structural complex was noticed in the northern part of the mound which was rectangular in plan and 98.42 feet in length, and was provided with a flight of steps with a moonstone at the entrance. Here too a covered drain ending in a pagarāla draining into a soakage pit was seen in the north eastern part of the structure. According to the excavation report the temple was raised on a platform and consisted of a garbhagṛha, antarāla and maṇḍapa. The garbhagṛha had a linga on a yonipatta connected with a covered drain and a pranāla. The Saivite affiliation of the place is seen in the fragmentary inscription dating to the 7th - 8th century AD which records the salutations to Siva by a devotee.

Continuity of the site is seen in the presence of images dating to the succeeding periods, and continuing well into the medieval period. Belonging to the 7th - 8th century is a single image from the site, which is a sculpture of Natesa in black sandstone measuring 1.77 feet in height.\footnote{Dhananjay Hanumantrao Shinde, Karvan and the Lakulisa Sect, M.A.Dissertation, MSU Vadodara, 1979; p.23} A detailed doorframe of yellowish sandstone dated to the latter half of the 8th century AD is a clear indication of the existence of a temple at the site. From the 9th century AD onwards, the site
4.28 Karvan- Siva Lingas
demonstrates continuity up to date as an important centre of the Lakulisa sect and is considered a sakti pitha as well.

It would be interesting to mention here that temple sites of the medieval period in north Gujarat contain Jaina and Saiva shrines next to each other, and the site of Vadodara/Akota demonstrates that the coexistence of these two religions at a site had an earlier beginning in the region.

**Literary Evidence for Continued Sanctity and Later Coexistence**

In addition to the above mentioned sites, there are sites that were sacred to one religion in the period under study, and later in the medieval period provide evidence of coexistence of religions. These are the sites of Ambaji, Kotesvara and Kumbhariya located in close proximity to each other and demonstrating coexistence at a later period in time. The sites of Ambaji and Kotesvara are Brahmanical sites and that of Kumbhariya a medieval Jaina site. The Brahmanical sites are mentioned in the *Skanda Purāṇa* and hence indicating an earlier date of the sanctity of the site, even though the temples at the site date to a later period. The evidence for coexistence at the site starts from the medieval period with the construction of the temple complex of Kumbhariya located on the road between Ambaji and Kotesvara. A visit to these sites demonstrates that while Ambaji continues to be an important Brahmanical religious centre, Kumbhariya no longer attracts a vast number of pilgrims, and Kotesvara is also visited by comparatively few.

Ambaji is a sakti pitha and is a site sacred to devī worshippers. The Ambikā sakti pitha is located at Arasur near Mount Abu, in the south west end of the Aravalli hills in northern Gujarat. Sculptural evidence from the site points to it being a site associated with goddess worship already in the period under study. Found from the site were images of Vaisnavi, Brahmani and Aindri dating to the 6th-7th century AD. Also found from the site, dating to the same period were images of Siva Vīnāpati and
Also found from the site, dating to the same period were images of Siva Vīnāpati and Ganesa\textsuperscript{110} as well, indicating the earlier sanctity of the site where these images would have been objects of worship. To this group probably also belonged the image of Sakti Ganesa dating to the early 7\textsuperscript{th} century AD\textsuperscript{111} found from the site of Kumbhariya, which contained a huge Jaina temple complex in the medieval period.

It is believed that the river Sarasvati appears from under the surface of the earth at the site marked by the Kotesvara temple (fig 4.29) The river Sarasvati is said to originate at Plaksha Prasaravana in the Shivalik hills of the Himalayas, and disappear into the ground at Vīnāsana near Kurukshetra. It is said to surface again at Ambaji, and disappear into the Cutch desert, originate again in the Gir forest in Saurashtra and drain into the sea at Somanatha. The legend in the Skanda Purāṇa narrates how Visvamitra ordered Sarasvati to aid him in destroying Vasistha and on declining the river flowed with blood. She then went to Vasistha to help her, who was residing in Arbuda (Abu region), and went into samādhi and when he stared at the ground two streams burst open, one of which was the source of Sarasvati (Sk.P.VI.172-173).

Also located here is the Kotesvara Mahādeva shrine (fig 4.30). The site is also mentioned as one of the excellent holy places and a bath in the Kāsyapi Ganga (Sabhramati) at this site and in the Sarasvati helps obtain the merit of bathing in latter half of Śrāvaṇa or everyday or by properly offering a śrāddha on a new moon day (Padma Purāṇa VI. 135.17-35). There is no image of Ambikā here and instead there is a yantra. Legend has it that Vimalshah is said to have worshipped Ambikā prior to building the Dilwara temple at Mount Abu. Legend has it that at this site Rama received from the goddess the arrow that would kill Ravana.

\textsuperscript{110} U.P. Shah, Matrika and Other Sculptures from North Gujarat, in BBMPG, Vol. XIV, 1962; p. 29-32
\textsuperscript{111} R.T. Parikh, Unique Sculpture of Sakti Ganesa of the Ucchista Variety from Kumbhariya, in JOI, Vol. XXII, 1973; p.374
4.29 Source of River Sarasvati-
Kotesvara/ Ambaji
4.30 a) Kotesvara Temple near the Source of Sarasvati

4.30 b) Kotesvara Mahadeva Temple
Legend has it that Kṛṣṇa worshipped Śiva and Ambikā at Ambikavana and that Rukmāṇī worshipped Ambikā here prior to her marrying Kṛṣṇa. Legend also has it that the tonsure ceremony of Kṛṣṇa the child was performed here at Ambaji. Located close to the current temple at Ambaji and noticeable from the temple site is Gabbar hill on top of which is perched yet another small temple dedicated to the goddess. According to the legend at the site, the flame on top of the Gabbar hill has been burning since a long time and will continue to do so. The source of the ever burning flames at the site is natural from within the hill, which is probably what provides sanctity to the site. The Abu hills or Arbuda are associated with Vasiṣṭha, and are believed to have been home to his hermitage. The Skanda Purāṇa mentions Arbuda or Mount Abu as one of the three sacred mountains, and a holy bath here attains the benefit of twenty four tīrthas (Sk.P. VI.199.23-24). Nandini, his cow is said to have fallen into a pit, and the river Sarasvati is said to have filled the pit with water to enable the cow to come out. The site is now marked by a temple at Kotesvara, from where the site where the Sarasvati re emerges, marked by temples, can be seen from a distance.

The site clearly demonstrates how a sacred centre over time can become part of a wider religious network. The images from the site do indicate the worship of the goddess and with the creation of legend and stories, the site attains the status of a sakti pīṭha. Once thus known the site is part of a religious network not only in Gujarat but also an integral part of a religious circuit in other parts of the country that too are associated with the fallen body parts of Parvati. Further, the sites sanctity is increased even more once it is described as a site where the holy river Sarasvati emerges from underground, to disappear again, and also by its association with Vasiṣṭha.
Conclusion

Studies of the various sites that demonstrate coexistence of religions show that a single pattern of development cannot be applied. Almost each site has a different story to tell about multiple affiliations of a site and of continuities and discontinuities. While at sites like Junagadh the sanctity continues over a long period of time, but religious affiliation of one religion declines, on the other hand at sites as Khed Brahma there is continuity in affiliation and existence of religions as well. A number of legends develop at many of the Brahmanical sites that demonstrate a long period of continuity. Also some sites decline all of a sudden, and the decline is not of one religion only, but of the site itself such as was the case with Amreli, Nagara and Valabhi. The site of Valabhi follows a different pattern of development of multiple affiliations. The site in the initial stages has only Brahmanical remains to its credit, but later it attains importance as sacred centre for the Buddhists as well as the Jaina community. At Valabhi religions developed side by side, and the growth and development of any one of them was never at the cost of the other. This trend continues well into the medieval period, as seen in the case of Ambaji and Kumbhariya. While Brahmanical sculptural remains from the site date its sanctity to an early period, the site grows in importance and is a tīrtha in the Skanda Purāṇa. Then in the medieval period at Kumbhariya, located at a short distance from Ambaji, a Jaina temple complex develops. The site of Kotesvara also becomes an important sacred centre, and all three exist together at a point in time.

It is noticed that at most of the medieval sites in northern Gujarat, a Saivite shrine existed close to a Jaina temple, or even in the case of a temple complex, as in the case of Kumbhariya, one shrine was dedicated to Siva. The beginnings of this trend can be
traced to this period as seen in the case of the sites of Vadodara and Akota, where Saivite images and Jaina images were recovered.

While Jainism becomes a major religion in Gujarat in the medieval period, it is apparent that prior to that period this religion also coexisted and shared sacred space as seen at its major site Akota, and at other sites such as Khed Brahma and Valabhi. It also becomes clear that while studying religion it is important to think of a parallel existence, and look for its evidence, rather than think in terms of the existence of one religion at the cost of the other.