Conclusion

The aim of the thesis was to highlight the constantly evolving religious landscape of Gujarat, diversity in sacred sites, religious thoughts, beliefs and deities worshipped in the region. The stress here was on the utilization of the vast pool of archaeological data available for the region, which has generally been neglected, to present a comprehensive picture of religious developments in the region from the 3rd century BC to the 8th century AD. The thesis used archaeological data as the primary data base along with inscriptional and literary data. Besides religious complexities, the data also dealt with issues of royal patronage, religious processes and the resource base of the sacred sites.

The thesis dealt with many issues in the chapters, but has also led to the emergence of a number of new issues that need to be further worked upon. In the last chapter, the stress was on literary data as it forms an essential part of any study on religion or temple art and architecture. In the last chapter of the thesis, only the Mahābhārata and Skanda Purāṇa were looked at, but besides these there is a need to tap the vast pool of literary data available regarding rituals and architectural lay out of temples. A study undertaken by Kapila Vatsyayana demonstrates that there is continuity in the concepts of the textual tradition and architectural concepts. She demonstrates that certain geometrical motifs become the common vocabulary of speculative thought, Brahmanical ritual and artistic practice.¹ She points out that the “Bird-Body- Man Body metaphor and its concretisation in ritual are seen as the starting point of the philosophic discussions in the Upanishads and the history of the Indian arts,

¹ Kapila Vatsyayana, The Square and the Circle of Indian Arts, Roli Books International, Delhi, 1983; p.25
particularly architecture, sculpture, theatre and dance,"\(^2\), which further highlights the relation between the textual tradition and architectural concepts. She brings forth the continuity of the yajiña in India and on the basis of the plans of the yajiña held in Tamil Nadu and Jaipur and the photographs from the yajiña in Kerala she points out the, "coordination of the textual, archaeological and oral traditions of India over a period of over two thousand years."\(^3\) She demonstrates that the various aspects of the ritual of the yajiña and its prescribed vidhi become the conceptual foundation of the architectural ground plans\(^4\) and that the ground plan of the temple concretizes the Vedic imagery constantly.\(^5\) The square, circle and semi circle were the shapes of altars of the yajiña, and these along with the rectangle are also the geometrical motifs of the ground plan.\(^6\) The relationship between the textual and architectural, as shown by Kapila Vatsyayana, is also seen in the ceremonies relating to the laying of the bricks, which is an extension of the ritual of the yajiña.\(^7\) Performance of the yajiña and building of a temple became two different but analogous procedures of creating a cosmos on earth\(^8\), and the worshipper of the temple is the Vedic counterpart of the sacrificer as in both cases the physical body is transformed into the body of the cosmic Man.\(^9\)

\(^1\) Kapila Vatsyayana, *The Square and the Circle of Indian Arts*, Roli Books International, Delhi, 1983; p. 30
\(^2\) Kapila Vatsyayana, *The Square and the Circle of Indian Arts*, Roli Books International, Delhi, 1983; p. 33
\(^3\) Kapila Vatsyayana, *The Square and the Circle of Indian Arts*, Roli Books International, Delhi, 1983; p. 73
\(^4\) Kapila Vatsyayana, *The Square and the Circle of Indian Arts*, Roli Books International, Delhi, 1983; p. 79
\(^5\) Kapila Vatsyayana, *The Square and the Circle of Indian Arts*, Roli Books International, Delhi, 1983; p. 85
\(^6\) Kapila Vatsyayana, *The Square and the Circle of Indian Arts*, Roli Books International, Delhi, 1983; p. 88
\(^7\) Kapila Vatsyayana, *The Square and the Circle of Indian Arts*, Roli Books International, Delhi, 1983; p. 75

263
The association of the Vedas with the visual arts is also brought out in the work of Nagaswamy\(^\text{10}\) where he brings forth the importance of the descriptions of certain deities in Vedic poetry, which were the basis of many images. He opines that, “It is this Supreme Vedic Poetry that is translated into Visual art”\(^\text{11}\) and that the concepts of Ardhanārī, Harihara, Uma and Hari arise from Vedic poems.\(^\text{12}\) A hymn in the Veda contains direct reference poetically to Rudra with dual body, which is the root of the later day Harihara, and Ardhanārī.\(^\text{13}\) He points out that, “this Vedic imagery of two opposing powers of Fire, Agna- Visnu is clearly Rudra Siva whose dual form is inherent, inseparably united as Harihara and Ardhanari, already fully established in the heart of the Yajur Veda.”\(^\text{14}\) On the basis of a detailed study of Vedic poetry, Nagaswamy informs us that the images of Natarāja, Ardhanārī, Harihara and Durga have their roots in Vedic poems.\(^\text{15}\) Similarly, he opines that the concept of the Trinity existed from the Vedic times and with the aid of sculptural remains at certain temple sites demonstrates the existence of Brahma, Visnu and Siva in a single temple complex.\(^\text{16}\) An interesting point made by him is the connection between the colour of Siva and Visnu and its description in Vedic poems. The rising sun is Siva who is red or white as he emerges from the ocean, mentioned in the Śatarudrīya hymn, and Siva is thus white. On the other hand, the same sun while setting in the west leaves the bluish sky or darkness that is black, and the setting sun is Visnu who is black.

\(^{10}\) R. Nagaswamy, Foundation of Indian Arts- Ardhanari, Harihara and Nataraja, in R Nagaswamy ed., *Foundation of Indian Arts*, Tamil Arts Academy, Chennai, 2002; p. 1-27

\(^{11}\) R. Nagaswamy, Foundation of Indian Art- Ardhanari, Harihara and Nataraja, in R Nagaswamy ed., *Foundation of Indian Arts*, Tamil Arts Academy, Chennai, 2002; p. 19

\(^{12}\) R. Nagaswamy, Foundation of Indian Art- Ardhanari, Harihara and Nataraja, in R Nagaswamy ed., *Foundation of Indian Arts*, Tamil Arts Academy, Chennai, 2002; p. 2

\(^{13}\) R. Nagaswamy, Foundation of Indian Art- Ardhanari, Harihara and Nataraja, in R Nagaswamy ed., *Foundation of Indian Arts*, Tamil Arts Academy, Chennai, 2002; p. 3

\(^{14}\) R. Nagaswamy, Foundation of Indian Art- Ardhanari, Harihara and Nataraja, in R Nagaswamy ed., *Foundation of Indian Arts*, Tamil Arts Academy, Chennai, 2002; p. 4

\(^{15}\) R. Nagaswamy, Foundation of Indian Art- Ardhanari, Harihara and Nataraja, in R Nagaswamy ed., *Foundation of Indian Arts*, Tamil Arts Academy, Chennai, 2002; p. 13

\(^{16}\) R. Nagaswamy, Foundation of Indian Art- Ardhanari, Harihara and Nataraja, in R Nagaswamy ed., *Foundation of Indian Arts*, Tamil Arts Academy, Chennai, 2002; p. 17
terms of placement of deities on the temple walls Siva being the rising sun appears in
the east while Visnu associated with the setting sun is assigned the western
direction. The connection between literature and visual arts is seen in his statement
that, “Indian art through the centuries is rooted in these Vedic poetic images.”

These detailed studies carried out by Kapila Vatsyayana and R Nagaswamy
demonstrate a thread of continuity between the textual and the architectural and
sculptural traditions. While most studies on a comparative analysis of temple
architecture and literary descriptions of these concentrate mainly on the Śāstras, the
above two authors make it evident that the roots of many arts are to be located in the
Vedas and Vedic rituals. While the later Āgamas and various Śāstras may contain
elaborate details and descriptions, the foundations and ideas behind images and
temple architecture can be traced to literature of greater antiquity, namely the Vedas.
There seems to have been a continuous association of the literary and architectural
where the basic idea was taken from the Vedas and then further experimented and
worked upon resulting in texts with detailed descriptions of various architectural
styles. The basic idea develops over the centuries and the finer details are further
worked on and continuously evolved till they are put down in texts and classified into
various categories and styles.

There has been a general association of temple construction with the royalty. For
instance in southern India many of the temple sites were constructed by the ruling
dynasty and were also the constant recipient of land grants. For instance the Pallavas
and the Pandyas excavated a large number of temples in the northern and southern

17 R. Nagaswamy, Foundations of Indian Art- Ardhanaari, Harihara and Nataraja, in R Nagaswamy ed.,
Foundation of Indian Arts, Tamil Arts Academy, Chennai, 2002; p. 17
18 R. Nagaswamy, Foundations of Indian Art- Ardhanaari, Harihara and Nataraja, in R Nagaswamy ed.,
Foundation of Indian Arts, Tamil Arts Academy, Chennai, 2002; p.13

265
parts of Tamil Nadu. A large number of cave temples were excavated by the Pallava ruler Mahendra I (590-630AD) which are found from Madras in the north to Trichy in the south. Rajasimha Pallava is credited with the construction of temples at Mamallapuram, Kanchipuram and Panamalai in the 8th century AD. Similarly the Cola kings, along with their queens, nobles and other powerful subjects constructed a number of temples, large and small, in south India. The Cola rulers patronised the deity Siva which became a state cult in their reign. Temples played a crucial role in the political milieu of the Cola times and in the opinion of Murphy, "Temple art and architecture made powerful statements about the greatness and authority of the king and the lords who constructed them and about the political ideology that played a key role in consolidating power and authority of both the Cola kings and important local lords within the Cola state." Further, the inscriptions on the temples were a mode to transmit state propaganda to those who visited the temple sites. Thus in the case of south India construction of temples was by and large carried out by the ruler or members of the royalty, and besides being centres of worship they also played an important role in the political set up of the region.

On the other hand the temples that exist in Gujarat, dating between the 6th to the 8th century AD, do not provide any direct or indirect reference regarding their patron or maintenance of these by either the ruler or the members of the royal family. These

19 R Nagaswamy, The Art of Tamil Nadu, State Department of Archaeology, Government of Tamil Nadu, 1972; p.1
20 R Nagaswamy, The Art of Tamil Nadu, State Department of Archaeology, Government of Tamil Nadu, 1972; p. 2
21 R Nagaswamy, The Art of Tamil Nadu, State Department of Archaeology. Government of Tamil Nadu, 1972; p. 4
22 Eamon Murphy, Temple Art and Kingly Power: Siva Worship and the Cola State, in R Nagaswamy ed., Foundation of Indian Arts, Tamil Arts Academy, Chennai, 2002; p. 237
23 Eamon Murphy, Temple Art and Kingly Power: Siva Worship and the Cola State, in R Nagaswamy ed., Foundation of Indian Arts, Tamil Arts Academy, Chennai, 2002; p. 237
24 Eamon Murphy, Temple Art and Kingly Power: Siva Worship and the Cola State, in R Nagaswamy ed., Foundation of Indian Arts, Tamil Arts Academy, Chennai, 2002; p. 240
25 Eamon Murphy, Temple Art and Kingly Power: Siva Worship and the Cola State, in R Nagaswamy ed., Foundation of Indian Arts, Tamil Arts Academy, Chennai, 2002; p. 244
temples are modest in size and shape and bear no evidence of being statements of royal power, of their role in either legitimizing the rule of a dynasty or spreading a state sponsored religion. Their modest size further hints at the involvement of communities or individuals and their importance in the continuity of worship at the sites rather than the royalty. An inscription mentioning the movement of a group of silk weavers to Mandasor where they constructed a temple dedicated to Surya further corroborates construction of temples by a community. It is also interesting to note that the spurt in temple construction activities occurs away from the capital of the then ruling Maitraka dynasty. The capital city of Valabhi and its surrounding environs are not selected as sacred sites for temple construction activities. The focus of the activity was rather located at a distance from Valabhi with the majority of sites being located between Dwarka and Somanatha.

Most studies on patronage concentrate mainly on temples and royalty and other objects of patronage and donees are left out of discussions. Burton Stein rightly points out that, “Our sense of patronage must be broad enough to include not only production of high artistic quality, according to the most refined aesthetic canon, but productions of a more modest sort and even ephemeral services. We must reach beyond the conventional dyad of a single patron and a single client to encompass the polydaic patronage of most religious benefits and protections.”

The support base for most of the monuments was from communities that had the means and resources to fund construction activities and support the activities at the temples. An analysis of the economic activities carried out at various sites demonstrates the vibrant economy of the region. The archaeological data reveals the diversity in the economic activities being carried out in the state and a list of these

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26 Burton Stein, On Patronage and Vijayanagara Religious Foundations, in Barbara Stoller Miller, The Powers of Art- Patronage in Indian Culture, OUP, Delhi, 1992; p.161
included not only agriculture and trade, but also crafts, iron extraction and salt manufacturing.

There has also been a general association between trade and Buddhism on the one hand, and agricultural activities and temple construction on the other. Trading activities were important in Gujarat considering the natural coastline the region has to its credit. But as the thesis demonstrates, trade seems to have been the economic factor behind the construction of temples rather than Buddhist structures. Almost all the temple sites are found along the coast and temple sites such as Miyani, Dwarka and Somanatha were important ports. As for trade with the western world, the study demonstrated that more than foreign trade the sites were involved in trading activities in the region as well as sites located in central and southern India.

The thesis also dealt with the question of whether different religions coexisted or not in the region, something that has not been discussed before in the context of Gujarat. If only literary data is to be studied and analyzed then it would seem as though religions followed a linear pattern of development and they did not exist at the same time at the same site. On the other hand, archaeological data has proved otherwise and sites spread across Gujarat demonstrate that religions had a parallel existence. At the site of Amreli the only source of data to prove the presence of Buddhism and the Brahmanical religion is the archaeological report from the site. Not only were images of various Brahmanical deities recovered from the site, but also unearthed was a Buddhist vihāra, some small Buddhist images and potsherds belonging to the Buddhist monks. Similarly, at the site of Shamalaji the existence of the Brahmanical religion is seen in the numerous mātykā images, Siva linga and Viśvarūpa Visnu images to mention a few. At the close by site of Devnimori an entire Buddhist establishment points to the existence of a strong Buddhist community and the Siva
lingas recovered from the nearby forests testify to the presence of the Brahmanical community. Thus, here too it is archaeology that provides vital clues to bring forth the parallel existence of religion rather than contestations between them.

Many of the temple sites dating to post 9th century AD contain both Jaina temples and a Saivite shrine at the same site. The thesis demonstrated that the presence of the Jaina and Brahmanical community at a single site existed prior to the 8th century AD. This was seen at the sites of Khed Brahma and Akota/ Vadodara, and the simultaneous existence of Buddhism, Jainism and the Brahmanical religion was seen at the site of Valabhi. Thus medieval temple sites do not demonstrate a new trend, but rather continue the trend of parallel existence from an earlier period at sites in north Gujarat such as Polo, Kumbhariya, Antarsuba and Khed Brahma.

In the case of Jainism, most studies pertaining to the region discuss data available only from the medieval period onwards. For the period under study, most works on Jainism in Gujarat have referred to either literary sources or mention the find of scattered images at various sites. The thesis attempted to demonstrate a strong presence of the community in the region even prior to the medieval period on the basis of mostly sculptural data. While earlier studies referred mostly to literary data to point to the existence of Jainism in Gujarat from an early period, the thesis brought in archaeological data and sculptural remains to further strengthen the case. Not only do the sculptural remains attest the presence of Jainas at Girnar and Valabhi as mentioned in the literary accounts, but also prove their existence at other sites not mentioned in the accounts such as Akota or Khed Brahma. The images from various sites point to the spread of the religion and the Akota hoard further proves that this religious community had a large number of followers and their support and that certain Jaina religious structures may have also existed. Thus besides looking merely
at literary references and details it becomes essential and imperative to see what exists on the ground in terms of data from archaeological excavations.

Gujarat is not normally an area known for Buddhism or Buddhist remains, but the thesis has proven otherwise. The presence of a Buddhist community spread across the region from the 2nd-3rd century to the 9th century AD has been established by the aid of archaeological, inscriptive and sculptural data. Even a concentration of sites was identifiable in and around the site of Junagadh between the 2nd to the 4th centuries AD. The popularity of the religion is seen in not only its concentration for close to two centuries at the site of Junagadh and its environs, but also in the continued existence of the Buddhist complex at Devnimori from the 4th to the 7th century AD. The religion could have survived for so long only if it could gather enough followers that could support it, since most of the sites do not have evidence to prove patronage from the royalty. As for Buddhism, it is generally believed that the religion ceased to exist beyond the 7th century AD, but archaeological data proves otherwise. It is from archaeological and architectural remains that one is informed about the existence of this religion well into the 8th-9th century AD with its centres in north Gujarat and Kutch. Not only this, but we are also informed of the beginnings of Tantric Buddhism in Gujarat as seen in the sculptural remains at Taranga in north Gujarat. Within the religion itself variations are noticed since at some sites a stūpa is encountered, at others only images and in some sites such as Kadia Dungar the caves are simple and devoid of any decoration, images or caityas or stūpas. Here too further work needs to be carried out to determine the various schools of Buddhism that existed and developed in Gujarat over time.

Even though the thesis has dealt with certain issues, many other have to be further worked upon which have been left out due to the limited space and time in hand. The
temples and structures that were dealt with in the thesis are a result of earlier experimentation in temple architecture. The variations in style and size indicate the prior existence of temple structures or shrines, which provided the experimental basis for later temples in permanent materials. A study needs to be carried out to locate and identify these structures and their role in the evolution of temple architecture in Gujarat. The earliest evidence for these are the ground plans found as symbols on the Saurashtra janapada coins, which are also strong indicators of prior existence of religious structures. The earliest architecture found are the Buddhist caves, which also vary in size, plan and decoration and a possible influence of these on the temple architecture of the region also requires a careful analysis. The temples along the coast of Saurashtra represent an intervening phase between modest structures of perishable materials and elaborate and complex temple architecture represented by the Calukyan and numerous Jaina temples found in the region. These temples are small in size and modest in construction and are mostly devoid of sculptural details. On the other hand temples from the Calukyan period onwards are elaborate in terms of architectural lay out and details and are decorated with sculptures. An analysis of the earlier temples can help bring out continuities from earlier periods, in terms of architectural tradition, and also the influence these had on later temple structures. They can also reveal data on certain temples, which could have been the basic model for the ground plans and superstructures, and on the basis of these the artisans could create bigger and more complex temple structures. Temples with sculptural detailing are found only in the post 8th century AD period, prior to which one encounters either sculptural remains, as in the case of sites in north Gujarat, or temples without sculptural elaboration as seen at the temples sites along the coast of Saurashtra. These sculptures and temples prior to the 8th century AD seem to represent a phase of constant experimentations by
artisans in both these fields, which seems to have combined and led ultimately to the creation of beautiful and exquisite temples such as those at Ghumli, Modhera and Polo.

Another issue that needs to be addressed is the architectural and sculptural tradition and the contribution of the artisans and the various categories of artisans that existed. While some may have been positioned permanently in a village or town, others may have been part of a guild of itinerant artisans who travelled to different sites. The erection of a temple meant the involvement of more than one artisan and existence of sculptures on the temple walls implied coordination between the masons and the sculptors. As has been rightly pointed out by Devangana Deśai in the case of Khajuraho, “Its systematically planned architecture and sculptural scheme indicates the role of the competent architect and also a religious acārya learned in the Pañcarātra Vaishnava tradition who must have guided the architect.”27 A study of the textual architectural tradition and its significance in the architectural and sculptural activity in Gujarat also needs to be further analysed. An analysis of symbols and styles of temple and Buddhist architecture can aid in establishing the existence of guilds that travelled and left their marks in the form of certain symbols on temples or in the style. Exchange of artistic ideas between different regions within Gujarat and their consequential spread and influence at different sacred sites is another issue that needs to be addressed.

The study carried out by Jayaswal makes us aware of locating sites of material extraction for architectural activities and locating sites where these were being worked. She points out that the mode of transport utilised in moving blocks was the river, and the blocks were chiselled into cylindrical blocks mainly for transportation.

27 Devangana Desai, The Patronage of the Lakshmana Temple at Khajuraho, in Barbara Stoller Miller, The Powers of Art- Patronage in Indian Culture, OUP, Delhi, 1992; p.83
purposes.\textsuperscript{28} She has been able to identify site of sandstone extraction and small settlements situated between the sites of Sarnath and the city of Varanasi which were sculpting workshops.\textsuperscript{29} A similar study entailing the identification of resource areas of stones for construction activities and sites where artisans may have settled, especially at sites with temple complexes, which would have been constructed over a period of time also needs to be carried out.

Literary data prior to the \textit{Āgamas} and \textit{Śāstras} can aid in tracing the developments in the region. As has been pointed out by A.P. Jamkhedkar, “Besides the Agamic tradition that developed in the beginning of the Gupta period there was a secular or more popular tradition of architecture in general and also of religious architecture that is reflected in treatises like the \textit{Brhatsamhitā} and the \textit{Agni Purāṇam}.”\textsuperscript{30}

Temples also reveal information on the cult developments in a region as shown in a study carried out by Soundara Rajan in the region of south India.\textsuperscript{31} He points out that an analysis of the layout of the temple especially in regard to the nature of the cella can help in bringing out the cult thinking of its creators.\textsuperscript{32} For instance in the case of the triple cella type at Dharmarājamaṇḍapa at Mahabalipuram of the three cellas one is larger than the other two, which are more or less equal in size, and no relief or stucco is noticed here and it is possible that the divine figures were painted. The third type of triple cella is at Mandagapattu that has three shrines allotted to the Trinity by name. In the last and third instance at the Trimurti cave temple at Mahabalipuram all

\textsuperscript{28} Vidula Jayaswal, \textit{From Stone Quarry to Sculpturing Workshop}, Agam Kala Prakashan, Delhi, 1998; p.214
\textsuperscript{29} Vidula Jayaswal, \textit{From Stone Quarry to Sculpturing Workshop}, Agam Kala Prakashan, Delhi, 1998; p.215
\textsuperscript{31} K.V. Soundara Rajan, \textit{The Art of South India- Tamil Nadu and Kerala}, Sundeep Prakashan, Delhi, 1978
\textsuperscript{32} K.V. Soundara Rajan, \textit{The Art of South India- Tamil Nadu and Kerala}, Sundeep Prakashan, Delhi, 1978; p. 60
the three members of the Trinity are represented in relief carving and these temples demonstrate the development of the Trinity in spirit and form.\textsuperscript{33}

Similarly the five-celled type at Pallavaram in all likelihood may have been dedicated to the five fold aspects of Siva as Mahesa viz. Aghora, Vamadeva, Tatpurusha, Sadyojata and Isana. The temple has oblong benches against the back wall and the sockets of sculptures in each five cella are identical in shape and status\textsuperscript{34} further pointing to the temple being dedicated to the five aspects of Siva. Temples belonging to the time of Mamalla are in the Mahisa \textit{maṇḍapa} type, and these have panels with Anatasayi and Durga fighting Mahisa shown in life size carvings on the outer \textit{maṇḍapa},\textsuperscript{35} which according to Soundara Rajan reflect the advent of the \textit{Devi Mahātmaya} Puranic tradition from north into the south.\textsuperscript{36} His study of the actual plans of temples in south India with a concentration on the cella type to understand religious developments has yet to be carried out for the region of Gujarat.

The relation of the temples with the \textit{Āgamas} and the \textit{Vāstuśāstras} has yet to be looked into, which has not been a topic of discussion in any of the studies concerning Gujarat. The \textit{Āgamas} are a vast corpus of literary data that contain detailed descriptions on temple rituals and construction as well. The study by Soundara Rajan of Pallava temple architecture demonstrates the use of Agamic injunctions in the lay out of temples, as for instance in the case of the Vaishnava temples where the \textit{vyūha} nexus of \textit{Vaikhānasa} and \textit{Pañcarātra} prescriptions like Visnu \textit{vyūha} were being used. This comprised of the Purusha in the centre with Achutya, Ananta, Narasimha and

\textsuperscript{33} K.V.Soundara Rajan, \textit{The Art of South India- Tamil Nadu and Kerala}, Sundeep Prakashan, Delhi, 1978; p. 61
\textsuperscript{34} K.V.Soundara Rajan, \textit{The Art of South India- Tamil Nadu and Kerala}, Sundeep Prakashan, Delhi, 1978; p.61
\textsuperscript{35} K.V.Soundara Rajan, \textit{The Art of South India- Tamil Nadu and Kerala}, Sundeep Prakashan, Delhi, 1978; p.62
\textsuperscript{36} K.V.Soundara Rajan, \textit{The Art of South India- Tamil Nadu and Kerala}, Sundeep Prakashan, Delhi, 1978; p.63
Varaha in the four corners in separate shrines in the first āvaraṇa and similar location of other deities in the second, third, fourth up to the seventh āvaraṇas or circuits, with Sri in the south west corner, and this arrangement is seen in the Raganatha temple Srirangam.37 An interesting point made by him is the influence of indigenous elements in the temple architecture of a region. This is evident at the site of Tirupparakunram where apart from the regular deities an addition of three female elements is noticed, and this he opines, “was clearly a cross fertilization of the folk and canonical milieu.”38 A similar analysis of temple rituals and the floor plans at various temple sites in Gujarat can reveal whether these structures conformed with the rules and regulations prescribed in the various Āgamas, and as in the case of south India if any similar interaction of the folk with the canonical influenced architectural traditions. The latter point will be interesting to consider and develop further as most of the temples in Gujarat were not erected by the royalty and thus invariably were the creations of the community or individuals, whose religious beliefs would have influenced at least a part of the structural lay out of temples.

Temples can also be indicators of changes in the worship of deities in a region as seen in the study by Burton Stein in regard to Vijayanagara. He points out that during the Vijayanagara times there was a relative decline in the number of new temples dedicated to Siva and increase in those dedicated to a number of goddesses.39 In the region of Gujarat one currently notices a vast number of temples dedicated to one form or the other of the goddess. In the period under study, there are comparatively few temples dedicated to the goddess and most have Saivite or Surya affiliation.


275
Causes that led to a relative popularity of Vaishnavism and goddess worship in the region, and decline in temples dedicated to Surya have yet to be identified. The sculptural remains prove existence of worship of goddess in the region for the period under study and temples dedicated are few. The gradual increase in the number of temples dedicated to a goddess in later periods to ultimately become *kuladevīs* of most castes needs to be further analysed.

This also leads to the question of causes behind the continuity of worship at certain sites and abandonment at others. It is noticed that certain sites such as Miyani and Balej consequently become sites of goddess worship, and the Saivite site of Shamalaji becomes a famous Vaishnava temple site. Factors that led to the changes of the affiliation of a site over time need to be ascertained as well, and causes behind changes at some sites while continued affiliation at sites such as Bilesvara and Khimesvara need to be looked at.

The *Āgamas* are theological treatises and manuals of divine worship, which include Tantras, Mantras and Yantras. They provide elaborate details on cosmology, devotion, meditation, mystic diagrams, charms, temple building, image making, domestic observances, social rules and public festivals among many other topics. They are divided into the Vaishnava, the Saiva and the Sakta sections. The Saiva *Āgamas* gave rise to the Saiva Siddhanta School of philosophy in south India and its prevalence in the 7th century AD is provided by inscriptive evidence. Three Saivite Nayannaras were contemporaries of the Pallava rulers of the 7th -8th centuries AD, and the inscriptions of the Pallava rulers refer to the principal concepts of Saiva Siddhanta and pointedly mention the name Saiva Siddhanta as well. Since in the case of south

India the prevalence of Āgamas is evident, these texts may have also been existent in Gujarat and influenced rites and rituals. The prevalence of Āgamas and their influence on rites and rituals as well as philosophy and the arts in the region of Gujarat has not been a topic of analysis as yet and needs to be studied as well.

Some of the inscriptions in the region speak of dance and music in the temples. Work on this aspect also needs to be carried out. In the thesis, the topic of recitations at temples was briefly touched upon, and as for dance and music only their mention in the inscriptions was noted. This needs to be further worked upon to a great extent and a combination of inscriptive data along with literary references found in the Skanda Purāṇa or the Āgamas and Śāstras can reveal data regarding the development and existence of various forms of arts such as music and dance. Nagaswamy analyses one such festival that reveals data of the performance of ritual dance and music in temples, though in the context of south India. The festival is known as Kṛṣṇa-gandha-utsava or the Festival of Black paste in which the image of Nṛttamūrti with his consort is brought to the audience hall of the temple on the eighth day of the festival. Among other rituals carried out in the latter half of the night, vinoda-dance is also performed. On the next day after the worship of the black paste, the receptacle with the paste is taken in procession around the temple to the accompaniment of Vedic chant, music and dance. The black paste after being applied to images is presented to all those who are present, and thereafter the Natarāja and Sivakami are placed on a jewelled seat and taken out in procession. The musicians and dancers divide themselves into two groups with one on either side of the images and proceed singing and dancing. The images are taken out once again in a procession to the front of the Gopura with singing and dancing on either side of the deities. Once they are

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finally placed in the *mandapa* the rest of the night is spent witnessing dance.\(^{43}\) This
description brings out the importance of dance and music in certain temple related
rituals. An analysis of festivals mentioned in inscriptions, architectural lay out of
temples and information in the *Āgamas* can provide useful insights into existence of
various performing arts centring on the temple rituals.

Temples are not merely structures built of varied materials but are the abodes of god
on earth. Not only are they centres of worship, but also places where music and dance
performances took place as mentioned in inscriptions as well as texts such as the
*Āgamas* that lay down the rules for worship of deities. The *Āgamas* provide detailed
information on certain music and dance performances to be carried out in temples. As
quoted by S.P.Sabarathinam in the *Ajītāgama* it is laid down that in the fourth quarter
of the night, the great *śabdas* should be made with *śankha* and *dundubhi*, and the
*Kāranāgama* enjoins that the five great casual sounds should be made at the
termination of the night. These are sounds born out of wooden and metal instruments,
of conch, flute and of songs.\(^{44}\) In the sixteen *upcāras* offered to the deity, the
fourteenth is music and the fifteenth is dance.\(^{45}\) Sabarathinam points out from a
reading of the *Āgamic* scriptures that particular ragas are prescribed for particular
divisions in the day. Songs set on *gāndhāra rāga* is for the early morning, *mālava
rāga* for the next division, *takka rāga* for midday, *kauśika* in the next division,
followed by *indola* in the evening and finally songs based on *pañcama* in the night.

\(^{41}\) R Nagaswamy, *The Festival of Dancing Siva*, source: [www. freehomepages.com/]
brahadheesh/tamilarts/festival_of_dance.html

\(^{44}\) S.P. Sabarathinam, *Āgamic Treatment of Mahābhūtas in Relation to Mandalas and Arts*, in Bettina
Bäumer ed., *Prakriti: The Āgamic Tradition and the Arts*, IGNCA, D.K.Printworld (P) Ltd., New Delhi,
1995; p.60

\(^{45}\) S.P. Sabarathinam, *Āgamic Treatment of Mahābhūtas in Relation to Mandalas and Arts*, in Bettina
Bäumer ed., *Prakriti: The Āgamic Tradition and the Arts*, IGNCA, D.K.Printworld (P) Ltd., New Delhi,
1995; p.61
The songs should be followed by dance enjoined in Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra*.\(^{46}\) It has been rightly pointed out that temple rituals give rise to aesthetic and fine arts\(^ {47}\), and in the case of Gujarat this aspect of temple rituals has not been delved into as yet and needs a careful study and analysis.

The thesis touched upon two images found in the region that not only place Gujarat in a wider network of religious and sculptural developments, but also highlight the unique sculptural trends in the region. As seen in chapter three of the thesis, the region abounds in sculptures and images of various deities. To have a better and panoramic understanding of religious developments it is necessary to study the images in far greater detail. A comparative analysis of similar icons from different sites in the subcontinent will aid in placing the region in a wider pan Indian context and help establish it in the ever increasing religious networks in the subcontinent. Also an analysis of the multifarious icons with their description in the *Āgamas* and *Śāstras* will enable us to determine whether these texts had an influence on the iconographic tradition in the region, and if so to what extent, or were already established traditions being merely recorded.

The detailed description of the area surrounding the land granted by the Maitraka rulers are found in various inscriptions, which include also wells. An identification and current location of the sites also needs to be carried out as this can help recreate the geographical landscape of the region. The location of various field and wells within the villages will further help in understanding the landscape of the region. This in turn will aid in establishing continuities and discontinuities in the land use pattern.


279
of the region, and the location of villages in and around temple sites will help identify the area of influence of a temple.

From the discussion carried out above it is apparent that the study needs to be carried further in many aspects. The thesis has been able to bring forth only some aspects of religion and religious developments in the region, and addresses issues relating to patronage and temple architecture. To have a more comprehensive and better understanding of developments in the region it becomes imperative to carry the study further and incorporate and address issues that have emerged from the study.