BUDDHIST CAVE TEMPLES OF INDIA
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OWEN C. KAIL

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TARAPOREVALA
This book
is dedicated to my parents

ERNEST AND MILЛИCENT KAIL

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The rock-cut cave temples of the Buddhists represent one of the greatest movements of Indian art, and also one of the least known. Such of these temples, monasteries and hermitages as have survived time and weather and the destructive hand of man, are petrified versions of then-existing timber, brick or even wattle and thatch structures. Though in an entirely new medium, the facades and interiors of the structural forms are reproduced in the living rock, to the smallest detail. These lithic examples not only reflect the style of contemporary architecture, but also show the gradual perfection achieved in expressing in rock, true architectural and sculptural motifs.

There are more than 1200 excavations of the Buddhists in India, spread over as many years of Indian history. They outnumber all other excavations of all other religions in the country. Layered with debris or hidden in the undergrowth which grew up after they were abandoned, many resemble gaping holes in the hillside, and in the course of time several were used as cattlesheds and cisterns, some were taken over by other denominations and a few became the lair of beasts and outlaws.

These caves were never natural grottos or caverns, nor were they the haunt of wild people or even wilder animals. They are amazing examples of man’s ingenuity in creating in solid rock, temples and monasteries, shrines and chambers, refectories and store-rooms required by the followers of the three great divisions of Buddhism—Hinayana, Mahayana and Vajrayana.

Though many of these sanctuaries date from Hinayana times, they flourished from about the fifth to the seventh century A.D. when the role of Buddhism had changed. Most of the Buddhist caves in India were situated along or near the caravan routes. Aged traders often became monks bringing with them to these retreats their own personal wealth and property, which converted these monasteries into banking houses, granaries and supply depots for the caravans. The profits from such trade not only housed and fed idle monks, but were used for the purchase of gold, jewels and ornaments for ritualistic purposes, as well as for the supply of clothing, provisions and pack-animals and the many other needs of long-distance travellers.

This book has been written to interpret the Buddhist cave temples, as I see them, to the ordinary reader, who has but little knowledge yet some interest in them. It may also help students who are embarking upon a course of serious study. For
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CHAPTER 1

ROCK ARCHITECTURE

The earliest known examples of rock architecture in India are the "caves" in the Barabar and Nagarjunai Hills near Patna in Bihar. They were excavated during the reign of Asoka the Great and were dedicated to the Ajivika monks, a religious sect of the same antiquity as the Buddhists and the Jains, who are now no longer extant. Subsequently the Buddhists, the Hindus and the Jains practised rock architecture in widely separated parts of India. As far as the Buddhists are concerned, their rock sanctuaries popularly called cave temples are to be found near Vijayawada in Andhra Pradesh; in the Kathiawar peninsula of Gujarat; in the Western Ghats round about the township of Lonavla; on the Deccan Plateau from Chalisgaon to Karad and in the Konkan or West Coast from Kanheri to as far south as Mahad.

The remarkable skill displayed in fashioning these architectural forms in rock indicates that those ancient craftsmen were not beginners, and that they had served a comparatively long period of apprenticeship in this highly skilled form of quarrying, if such a term could be used. There are no signs of experimentation, trial cuttings or of progressive stages. Rock architecture emerged as a fully developed Indian system, and even the earliest examples are correctly aligned, every edge is mathematically straight and every angle true; surfaces are well polished and the finish is superb; yet what is most noticeable is the close resemblance to the designs and devices used by carpenters.

Apparently, priestly supervisors called upon the master-masons to prepare shrines, halls and residences suitable to their needs, and since no precedent existed for such a method of production, the only alternative was to repeat in rock those structures of wood which had already been found serviceable in the past. In so doing, several forms, fitments, designs and techniques which were indispensable to the woodworker were reproduced in stone—the arch, railings, ribs to strengthen a curved roof, pillars to support it and lattice windows for illumination and ventilation.

This faithful imitation of wooden originals was to be expected, for the age of timber construction had been a long period due to the vast expanse of "mahavana" or forest in which these early people lived. They developed considerable skill in handling and working this medium, and the carpenter held a place of honour among all artisans, as the village community depended on his handiwork for its necessities of life. In Christianity, Joseph was a carpenter by profession, and at Ellora, one
of the excavations is known as "Visvakarma" or the Carpenter's Cave.

It is not strange, nor difficult to understand, that certain features of timber construction were closely and considerably copied in rock architecture by the Buddhists for several centuries, and though the wooden originals have perished, exact facsimiles have remained preserved in the living rock. Examples of such workmanship are at the Barabar Hill and at Kondane. The Sudama Cave in the Barabar Hill has rock-cut planking, the grain in the wood and the joints being carefully reproduced in stone. At the Lomas Rishi Cave in the same hill (Plate 1), the edge of the roof is a replica of the arched bamboo frame on which thatch was spread; and at Kondane (Plate 2) in the Western Ghats, is an interesting example of the carpenter's art rendered in stone. This early group of Buddhist excavations consisted of a "chaitya" or temple and its attached monasteries, so that the two types of accommodation, one arched with a barrel-vaulted roof and the other with a flat roof, are depicted. Casements, covered balconies, curved "wooden" ribs to support the arched roof, the latticed chaitya window and other technical and artistic devices of the ancient carpenters are here seen in the imperishably preserved rock architecture of the Buddhists.

Graduating from wood to a more lasting material such as stone was a decisive step in the cultural evolution of the people. These sculptures or lithic forms appear as fully mature products especially at a time when this work was in its infancy. Their precision and finish show that these men who worked in stone were no novices but had generations of experience behind them.

Since many examples have been left unfinished, it is easy to follow the stages of their excavation. A portion of the naturally steep scarp of the hill was cleared until it was perpendicular; a level was thus provided from which the rock-cutters could begin their operations. On this vertical surface the facade of a chaitya or of a monastery or vihara was marked out and a window was cut, through which debris was removed, and which was left open till the completion of the work, when it was overlaid with a framework of wood. The stone from the interior was used to build up the forecourt in front of the facade. Having outlined the frontage, work was started at the top and continued downwards, and from the front to the rear. Scaffolding was not used nor was it necessary. For correct alignment a rough driftway was cut which was eventually removed when the floor was finished.

When these excavations were "discovered" by Western archaeologists late in the last century, they were termed "caves" and this word has remained till today. Damaged by landslides and rockfalls in the past, hidden in the dense vegetation which grew up when they were abandoned, with floors covered with centuries of dust from which sprouted shrubs and creepers and with ceilings festooned with bats, they must have resembled natural caves, grottos and caverns and were probably the lair of many a wild animal.

It was only when they were cleared of this centuries-old debris and undergrowth that the skill, ingenuity and artistry of those ancient craftsmen were revealed. Ajanta, Ellora, Karla, Bhaja and Kanheri have attracted and aroused the admiration of scholars and tourists from all parts of the world.

The Buddhist cave temples of India cannot be correctly termed architecture or
“good construction truthfully expressed”, for no constructional principles were used, nor do they display any functional properties; their columns support no load, the arches carry no weight nor counteract any thrust, for problems of this nature did not arise, as the parts were virtually one. Rock architecture to all intents and purposes is not architecture—it is sculpture, but sculpture on a grand and magnificent scale.

In India, rock architecture was practised for a considerable period as the first excavations date from the third century B.C. Under the Buddhists it lasted till the tenth century, although there was a long period of inactivity in between.

The caves in Western India (Figs. 1 and 12) could be termed a regional development, as the configuration of the hills known as the Western Ghats lends itself admirably to this type of architecture. It consists of horizontal strata of amygdaloidal and cognate trap of considerable thickness and uniformity of texture. Their edges terminate in perpendicular cliffs which provide an ideal surface for rock excavation.

The western caves which number at least 1000 excavations are of all sorts and dimensions, some great in size and of elaborate design and decoration. They spread over as many years of the darkest yet most interesting period of Indian history, and illustrate the rise and progress of the three great religions of India. Those of the Buddhists not only outnumber all other Buddhist excavations elsewhere, but all other excavations of all other religions in India. In the same area during the same period there are few structural examples. They are a complete and authentic series illustrating the rise and fall of Buddhism in India from the moment it was established by Asoka in the third century B.C. till its extinction in the twelfth century A.D. They show the rise, spread and influence of that religion, its descent to idolatry and corruption and its disappearance from the land of its birth.

During their existence in India, the Buddhists left in their caves a complete and interesting chapter of architectural history, a sculptural record of the three great divisions of Buddhism. It is the only example of stone architecture which can be traced back to its wooden originals and which can be followed in its course without detecting any foreign influence, and in which we can watch its final extinction in the regions where the religion had its origin.

The Buddhists then suddenly disappear, as they arose, being either absorbed by the Jains with whose faith they had much in common, or being converted to that of Vishnu towards which they had long been tending, or were crushed by the followers of Siva, who had in many places superseded them and taken over their temples.
CHAPTER 2

THE BUDDHA

The sixth century B.C. was a time when men's minds in several parts of the world were deeply stirred by the problems of religion and salvation. In India this movement was active in and around Magadha. Members of the ruling class, the warriors, whom the priests called "kshatriyas", considered themselves better if not superior to their spiritual guides whose arrogance and class-pride aroused opposition.

This rebellion against the Brahmans caused many sects to be born, each advocating differing opinions of the nature of God and the Soul, the relation of God to man and the best way of attaining salvation—deliverance or release of the soul from future re-births.

All these sects and schools which grew up died out in time, except two. The doctrines of the two surviving sects, known as Jainism and Buddhism, have profoundly affected the thoughts of mankind. Both at one time pervaded almost every state of India and enjoyed the patronage of kings. Today Jainism is confined chiefly to Rajasthan and Western India, whereas the doctrines of the Buddha, as a religion and as a philosophy, became adapted to the needs of foreigners, and nearly died out in India, while it acquired new life in lands far away. It is one of the greatest spiritual forces in the world, dominating in various forms Ceylon, Burma, Tibet, Mongolia, China and Japan. Judged by his posthumous effects on the world at large, the Buddha was the greatest man to have been born in the sub-continent of India.

The story of his birth and early life appears only in the later books of the Buddhist scriptures, and some of the references are unreliable. Also, some doubt now exists as to the real doctrines of the historical Buddha, as distinct from Buddhism. Here however I discuss not so much the life and teachings of the Buddha but the effect of the religion on a form of architecture which has no comparison anywhere in the world.

Certain details of the Buddha's life are reasonably certain. He was the son of a Sakya chieftain, a small tribe in the Himalayan foothills; he became an ascetic and propounded a new doctrine, a reformation, which gained the support of many disciples. After several years of teaching in the kingdoms of Kosala and Magadha and in the tribal areas north of the Ganges, he died at the age of eighty, some time between the years 486 and 473 B.C., probably nearer the former date.

The story of his life as related by his followers is colourful and vivid, and it has
influenced the lives of millions of people throughout the whole of Asia, east of Afghanistan.

The event of his "Going Forth" after the birth of his son, and his search for liberation from sorrow by self-mortification is probably sufficiently well known not to be repeated here.

Realizing that fasting and penance were useless, he abandoned these practices in order to regain his health and strength. His followers were horrified and left him. One day, at the age of thirty-five years, Siddhartha Gautama, for that was his name, took his position under a large pipal tree on the outskirts of modern Gaya and resolved not to leave his seat until the mystery of suffering was solved. For forty-eight days he sat under the tree suffering various "temptations". At the dawning of the forty-ninth day he knew the truth—he had found the reason for sorrow and understood why the world is full of suffering and unhappiness of all kinds, and what a man must do to overcome them. He was fully Enlightened, a Buddha.

For a further seven weeks he remained under the Tree of Wisdom, the Bo or Bodhi Tree, meditating on the great truths he had found. Then he journeyed to the Deer Park at Sarnath near Banaras (Varanasi) where he met his five followers who had left him when he abandoned the established practices of fasting and penance.

To them he preached his first sermon or in Buddhist phraseology, "set in motion the Wheel of the Law". His new doctrine was impressive and acceptable to many and he soon became well known throughout the Ganges plain. The greatest of kings were attracted by his teachings and favoured him and his disciples. He gathered a body of disciplined monks or bhikṣus (Pali: bhikkhu—literally, a beggar), united by a common garb, the yellow robes of the Order, and a common discipline laid down by himself. Many stories are told of his long ministry, of the wonders of his life and of the miracles he performed, which have also been recorded in sculpture and in painting in various parts of India and abroad.

The Buddha and his followers spent nine months of the year in travelling and preaching. For the remaining three months they would retire to one of the parks or groves donated to the Buddhist Order by wealthy lay-followers. Here they lived in huts of bamboo and reed which were the first forms of the great Buddhist monasteries of later times.

For over forty years his reputation grew and the Sangha (literally: society, the Buddhist Order) increased in numbers and influence. With the exception of the conspiracy of his cousin Devadatta, he suffered no persecution, though some of his followers were harassed by their religious opponents. His ministry was a long and peaceful one.

His end came at the age of eighty. While he and his followers journeyed northwards to Vaisali he prepared them for his death. It is believed that he suffered from a serious attack of dysentery after eating a meal of pork, and on the outskirts of the town of Kusinagara (Pali: Kusinara) he lay down under a sal tree and died. This was his "Final Blowing Out or Parinirvana". His sorrowing disciples cremated his body and his ashes, the embers and the urn were distributed among the rulers and elders of the local tribes.
Asoka classified all the religions in his empire under five heads, the Sangha (the Buddhists), the Ajivikas, the Nirgranthas or Jains, and other "sects". He further declared that while he gave his chief patronage to the Sangha, he honoured and respected all religions and called upon his subjects to do likewise.

The spread of the Buddha's teachings and to some extent the development of Buddhist architecture is largely due to Asoka the Great. He not only accepted the teachings of the Buddha, but realised that the religious beliefs of his subjects were vague, unspiritual and unsatisfying. Buddhism redressed this void, and since included in its precepts was a material object of veneration, the worship of sacred relics, entombed in the stupa, he realised that the new religion could fill the void of dissatisfaction in his subjects. In 255 B.C. he declared Buddhism to be the state religion and from then onwards the religion spread throughout the whole of India. It was during his reign that the Third Great Council was held at Pataliputra and missions were sent all over India and even beyond. The great Buddhist holy places, the Lumbini Grove at Kapilavastu where he was born, the Tree of Wisdom near Gaya where he gained Enlightenment, the Deer Park at Sarnath where he preached the first sermon or set in motion the Wheel of the Law, and the grove at Kusinagara where he died were visited by many pilgrims including the Emperor himself.

With the change in the religious system of India came an advance in the arts, and wherever Buddhism spread it was accompanied by forms, designs and symbols expressive of its teachings. This first manifestation of Buddhist art and architecture was confined to narrow limits and its reproductions were few in number, but they were of such power that they influenced much of the work that followed, and India through Buddhist thought was in a position to dictate to the rest of Asia its religion, art and symbolism.

Early religious architecture was the Emperor's own concept and consisted of:

1. A number of tumuli or stupas commemorative of the Buddha, which are important for their structural significance.
2. Monolithic pillars of high artistic qualities.
3. A remarkable group of rock-cut chambers in the hills near Gaya, in Bihar, noted for their technique and lustrous finish.
Asoka had consecrated many places in his dominions by the erection of stupas (Pali: thupa), by unearthing the ashes of the Buddha from their original repositories and dividing them still further, and building stupas for them all over India. Some of these came to be vested with special importance and sanctity. The stupa developed from a mound to one dressed in stone, surmounted by a superstructure of a square railing enclosing a pedestal (harmika), which in turn supported the shaft of an umbrella, all made of stone. The stupa itself was surrounded by a rail, the Buddhist Rail, which enclosed the processional path. Entrances to this path were through “toranas” or gateways, excellent examples of which can be seen at Sanchi.

Probably aware that the early stupas from the nature of their construction were liable to disintegrate due to the rigours of the climate, Asoka devised an impressive monument symbolising the Creed. It took the form of a tall free-standing monolithic column erected at a site especially selected because of its sacred associations. These pillars were distributed over a wide area and several have ordinances or edicts inscribed on them, in a manner similar to his edicts on the surfaces of the rocks. Besides possessing high artistic qualities they served to propagate the Emperor’s own ideas on Buddhism.

Differing considerably from the stupas, monolithic pillars (and the rock edicts) are the rock-cut sanctuaries in the hills near Gaya. The difference lies in the technique employed and in their highly finished surfaces.

There are seven excavations, four in the Barabar Hill, and three in the Nagarjuni Hill. There is also one more called Sitamarhi, 21 kilometres south of Rajagriha (Rajgir) and 40 kilometres east of Gaya. They are of special interest and importance as they are:

1. The earliest examples in India of the rock-cut method.
2. Exact copies in rock of existing structures in wood and thatch.
3. The forerunners of the Buddhist chaityas, and the beginning of that magnificent development which has no equal anywhere in the world.

The two most notable are those known as the Lomas Rishi and the Sudama caves. Both are in the Barabar Hill and are adjacent to each other, with similar interiors. In the case of the Lomas Rishi (Plate 1), the edge of the roof is a replica of the curved or bamboo frame on which thatch was spread. Its facade is a masterpiece of the group. One can visualise the carpenter’s handiwork—two solid “wooden” uprights sloping inwards as if to sustain the weight above, at the upper end of which are joined the two main rafters, other subsidiary rafters being placed parallel. The three-ply curved roof is placed on the rafters, the lower ends being held in place by short tie-rods to prevent springing back. The rectangular doorway is recessed inside a semi-circular opening above which are two lunettes. The lower lunette is carved with a procession of elephants bowing before stupas. The upper lunette is lattice, both being copies of carved woodwork. Surmounting the gable is a finial very well cut and polished.

At the end of the antechamber of the Sudama and entered by a semi-circular doorway is a separate cell, 5.8 metres in diameter, with a hemispherical roof 3.7
FIG. 2

FLOOR PLANS OF PRIMITIVE CHAITYAS
A, Lomas Rishi; B, Sudama; C, Guntapalli; D, Junnar (Tulja Lena); E, Mahakali; F, Sudagarh (Nenavali)
metres high. The outer walls have irregular perpendicular grooves in exact imitation of upright planks or slats of wood or bamboo. Every part of the surface has been burnished as if sandpaper had been applied to wood.

The Lomas Rishi and the Sudama caves (Figs. 2A and B) were excavated with their axes parallel to the rock face; as a result their entrances are placed to one side. This was probably the first experiment in rock cutting, for in the others, their axes are at right angles to the face of the rock, the standard and more effective method used elsewhere in India.

The north-eastern caves were intended for sacred and ceremonial purposes. The inner chamber in these caves probably housed a structural cult object. In their design and plan can be seen the early Buddhist chaityas of India. These caves are not Buddhist temples, for inscriptions record their dedication to the Ajivika monks, a body of religious ascetics similar to the Jains, who after a period of comparative prosperity under the Mauryas, declined. Their influence continued to flourish in South India, in some parts of eastern Karnataka (Mysore), till the fourteenth century, after which we find no trace of them.

Asoka no doubt desired to leave a permanent record of the faith much like the Pharoahs who left everlasting monuments in honour of their gods. His edicts carved on the living rock were a permanent record; the pillars, some of which attained the height of 15 metres, were everlasting proclamations, and the sanctuaries near Gaya were eternal temples of a tolerant Emperor.

Rock architecture appealed to the Indian mind, whether Buddhist, Jain or Hindu, for many reasons. It was not only stable but was as immovable as the mountain of which it formed a part. It was permanent and eternal and greatly impressed people accustomed to living in impermanent structures of wood, wattle and thatch. They even impress us today when we realise that some of them are already twenty-two centuries old.

Besides being everlasting and impressive, natural caves and grottos were the abode of hermits and ascetics. Such habitations were therefore not only associated with religion but also had the sanctity of tradition. In Western India, early Buddhist missionaries soon realised the value of the trap rock which overlies the country and forms hillsides most suited for the rock-cut type of architecture. It lies horizontally, is uniform in conformation and has alternating strata of hard and soft rock, which permit artificial caves being excavated. The harder rock was impervious to moisture.

Rock excavation was neither expensive in labour nor in time. Scaffolding was not necessary as the masons started at the top and worked downwards; they commenced with the facade and moved inwards, the chips and waste being allowed to fall into the valley below, for almost all the groups overlook picturesque countryside. A structural temple on the other hand required a nearby quarry, transportation, hewing and dressing and finally, erection where its columns, slabs and corner-stones were required. Moreover, rock architecture required neither mortar, jointing nor anchoring by excessive weight.
THE GROWTH OF BUDDHISM

According to tradition a gathering of monks met at the Magadhan capital of Rajagriha soon after the Buddha's death. Here the rules of the Order and the sermons of the Buddha on matters of doctrine and ethics were recited. It is however necessary to remark that the scriptures of Buddhism grew by a long process of development over many centuries, and could not have evolved at the First Council.

At the Second General Council at Vaisali, a hundred years after the Buddha's death, schism reared its ugly head over points of monastic discipline, and the Order split into the orthodox "Sthaviravadins" (Pali: Theravadi) or "Believers of the teachings of the Elders", and that of the "Mahasanghika" or "Members of the Great Community". These minor points of discipline on which the Order was divided were soon followed by doctrinal differences of much greater importance, which in the centuries to follow were the cause of separate and distinct architectural and sculptural systems.

Further differences appeared at the Third Great Council held at Pataliputra (modern Pama), under the patronage of Asoka. This led to the excommunication of many heretics and the establishment of the Sthaviravadin school as orthodox. Within two hundred years of the Buddha's death, the Order had split and great changes were taking place in the constitution of Buddhism.

By the third century B.C. India was covered with viharas, which were both temples and monasteries. Early Buddhism borrowed and adopted much from the prevailing beliefs of the time. Its simple rituals were not based on sacrificial Brahmanism but on the cult of the "chaityas" or sacred spots. These were groves of trees or a single tree usually beyond the village limits, and also included tumuli in which the ashes of locally revered persons were buried. These sacred spots, the abode of earth spirits, were more accessible to the simple village folk who found them less expensive to worship than the great gods of the Aryans. The Buddha is said to have respected these local shrines and encouraged his followers to revere them.

The practice of travelling, except in the rainy season, which the Buddha had established, was abandoned soon after his death. Several communities of monks permanently settled on the outskirts of towns and villages often near the chaityas. In time these communities grew in size and importance and took over the cult of the chaityas or sacred spots, which they made their own.
The sacred grove or the sacred tree gave place to the Bodhi Tree, a pipal planted near a hallowed spot to commemorate the Buddha’s Enlightenment, and became an object of great veneration. Tumuli or stupas were built by the recipients over the divided ashes of the Buddha, and other stupas containing the remains and relics of locally revered monks and ascetics of other denominations as well, rose up all over India in the succeeding centuries.

In his lifetime the Buddha was regarded as a divinity by his more simple followers; after his death he was worshipped in his symbols—the stupa and later the dagoba recalling his Parinirvana, or the Bodhi Tree which represented his Enlightenment. Many of the elder monks may have realised his true status, but the ordinary believer considered him the greatest of Gods. It was only about 300 years after his death that a theology developed which recognised this state of affairs.

The Fourth Great Council, according to tradition preserved in China, was held in Kashmir under the patronage of Kanishka (1st-2nd century A.D.). The reasons which induced him to adopt the Buddhist doctrine are not known, and the explanations advanced appear to be an adaptation of the stories about the conversion of Asoka. Kanishka followed the example set by Asoka by convening a council of theologians to settle disputes over the faith and practice. The decrees of the council, which was dominated by the Sarvastivadins, took the form of authorised commentaries on the Canon, which were engraved on sheets of copper, enclosed in a stone casket and placed in a stupa, specially erected for the purpose in Kashmir. These documents may still be in existence and may come to light some day. It was chiefly among the Sarvastivadins and the Mahasanghikas that new ideas developed which were to divide Buddhism into the “Great” and the “Lesser” Vehicles—Mahayana and Hinayana. The Great Vehicle became popular for it suited the mood of the times and the Buddhist laity, and the Sangha developed into a highly organised, wealthy and powerful fraternity which became an effective instrument for the wide diffusion of Buddhism in Asia. The old austere doctrine centred around the worship of relics, emblems and symbols soon lost its grip over the Buddhist masses in India, though it retained a precarious hold in the regions around the Kathiawar peninsula. In Ceylon however it resisted all attacks of the new sects and thence was taken to Burma, Siam and to other parts of South-East Asia where it became the national religion.

Whatever was the Buddha’s original doctrine, there can be no question about the fundamentals of Buddhism, the core of which is contained in the “Sermon of the Turning of the Wheel of the Law”, preached to his five disciples near Banaras. This contains the “Four Noble Truths” and the “Noble Eightfold Path” which are accepted as basic by all Buddhist sects.

“Once the Master addressed the five monks at the Deer Park called Isipatana at Banaras: ‘There are two ends not to be served by the wanderer—the pursuit of desires and of the pleasure which springs from desires which is base, common, leading to rebirth, ignoble and unprofitable. The other is the pursuit of pain and hardship which is grievous, ignoble and also unprofitable. The Middle Way of the Tathagatha (literally: he who has attained the truth; one of the titles of the Buddha) avoids both these ends—it is enlightened, it brings vision, makes for wisdom
and leads to peace, insight and Nirvana. What is this Middle Way? It is the Noble Eightfold Path—Right Views, Right Resolve, Right Speech, Right Conduct, Right Livelihood, Right Effort, Right Recollection and Right Meditation.

'And this is the Noble Truth of Sorrow. Birth is sorrow, age is sorrow, disease is sorrow, death is sorrow, contact with the unpleasant is sorrow, separation from the pleasant is sorrow, every wish unfulfilled is sorrow. In short all the components of individuality are sorrow.

'And this is the Noble Truth of the Arising of Sorrow. It arises from thirst (craving or desire) which leads to rebirth, which brings delight and passion and seeks pleasure everywhere, the thirst for sexual pleasure, the thirst for continued life, the thirst for power.

'And this is the Noble Truth of the Stopping of Sorrow. It is the complete stopping of that thirst, so that no passion remains—leaving it, being emancipated from it, being released from it, giving no place to it.

'And this is the Noble Truth of the Path which leads to the Stopping of Sorrow. It is the Noble Eightfold Path, Right Views, Resolve, Speech, Conduct, Livelihood, Effort, Recollection and Meditation.'

The message is clear, remembering that the Pali word “tātha” has a wider range than the English words desire, thirst or craving. Sorrow (dukkha), the denial of fulfilment, is inherent in everyday life; it is due to craving for individual satisfaction—it can be stopped by stopping that craving, and this can be done by taking a Middle Course between self-indulgence and extreme asceticism, and leading a moral and well-ordered life.

This simple doctrine was developed in various pedantic forms until it showed that craving, which according to the Buddha's first sermon is at the bottom of human misery, was ultimately due to ignorance of the fundamental nature of the universe, which has three characteristics—it is full of sorrow, it is transient and it is soulless. Buddhists would not claim that there is no happiness in this world, but that in some form sorrow was inevitable. The Buddha is said to have declared, "as the ocean has only one flavour, the flavour of salt, so has my doctrine only one flavour, the flavour of emancipation (from sorrow)". In ordinary existence sorrow cannot long be escaped, but the universe is transient, it is in a continuous state of flux and all idea of permanence is part of that basic ignorance out of which sorrow arises. Thus the universe is soulless.

Early Buddhism was a religion without souls and without god. No Buddhist teacher would however outright deny the existence of the gods. They were thought of as beings who are neither supernatural nor different from man, except in their greater happiness and power. In his search for salvation, the true Buddhist bypasses them for they can neither help nor hinder and will in any case help man if he keeps to the Middle Way.

The Buddha's doctrine has to be placed against the contemporary background of Hindu life and thought before we can appreciate its simplicity. The dominant religion of the north of India was Hinduism as taught by the Brahmans, who affirmed that all men were divided rigidly into four castes or divisions of society. Man's position in the social scale was fixed and unalterable from the day he was born.
to the day he died. To this discouragement of human effort was added the second affirmation of the ancient Brahmans, that all men and even gods were subject to "karma" or the Law of Fate, which compelled them to pass from one life to another in a continual succession of births or transmigrations. The state of life into which a man was born was the outcome of all his good and bad deeds in his previous existences. It was therefore necessary to accumulate goodness lest in the next life one slipped to a lower plane; and the means of accumulating goodness was to strictly observe the caste rules which rigidly segregated caste from caste.

The doctrine of transmigration was taken over by the Buddhists from the general beliefs of the time. Escape from transmigration could be attained through knowledge of the Four Noble Truths and the state of Nirvana whereby a man could shed all individuality and be free from possible rebirth.

The only stable entity in Sthaviravadin Buddhism was Nirvana (Pali: Nibbana), the state of bliss reached by the Buddhas and "arhants" or perfected beings. Nirvana is described as a glorious state, stainless and undefiled, pure and white, unageing, deathless, secure, calm and happy. It has no definite location, being outside the Universe, yet underlying it but not forming a part of it. It may be realised anywhere and at any time, even while still in the flesh, and the man who finds it never again loses it, and when he dies he passes to this state forever, in his "parinirvana", his Final Blowing Out.

The doctrines described above are those of the Sthaviravadin sect of Hinayana, which is the only surviving sect of that branch of Buddhism, and is today dominant in Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Cambodia and Laos. Other sects of the Lesser Vehicle have disappeared though they survived longer in India than the Sthaviravadin.

Though the Buddha is said to have discouraged speculation on the origin and the end of the World, Buddhists of the Lesser Vehicle devised a cosmological scheme based on prevalent Hindu ideas, which accounted for the existence of the World without the intervention of a Creator. In all Indian cosmologies, the Universe is cyclic and goes through a process of evolution and decline only to evolve once more. Similarly there are "Buddha Cycles" and "empty cycles" and we are fortunate to live in a Buddha Cycle in which four mortal Buddhas, Krakuchanda, Kanakamuni, Kashyapa and Sakyamuni, have lived and taught, and a fifth, Maitreya, is yet to come.

Kanishka’s Council was not entirely instrumental in changing the old religion. The change had begun when Buddhism started on its foreign travels, and this in a way was due to the conversion of Asoka. When the new faith was established by the Emperor, the seeds of decay were also sowed, for the missionaries of Asoka and of his successors carried the doctrines of the Buddha from the banks of the Ganges to the snows of the Himalayas, to the deserts of Central Asia and to bazaars of Alexandria and Constantinople. These teachings, which were exactly tuned to the innermost feelings of a congregation in Varanasi, needed to be changed before they could move the heart of a mountaineer, the nomad tribesman and the hellenized Alexandrian.

Full-grown Buddhism was confronted with the ancient religion of Persia and with nascent Christianity. Under these conditions, Buddhism changed from its
old Indian self to a new religion and its philosophical and ethical disciplines sank into comparative obscurity. In the north-west frontiers of India, as a result of these foreign influences, chiefly Hellenistic and Persian, a transformation of the old primitive religion took place. The veneration for the dead Buddha, through stupas, dagobas and other symbols, changed to the worship of an everpresent living Saviour; the emphasis passed from the Order to the individual, from the scriptures to the teachings of the Buddha and the old mendicant and renunciative way of the early Sangha was discarded to make the Buddhist way of life open to all, the priesthood and the laity.

The architects of this transformation claimed to have a new and Great Vehicle, Mahayana, which could carry more souls to salvation, whereas the followers of the old puritanical system had a Lesser Vehicle.
CHAPTER 5

BUDDHIST ART AND ARCHITECTURE

A reference has already been made to Asoka's conception of religious architecture—stupas, pillars and a group of rock-cut sanctuaries in the hills near Gaya. When the Buddha died, his disciples cremated his body and distributed the ashes among the elders and rulers of local tribes. At Kusinagara, a great stupa was raised at the spot where he breathed his last. This site along with the Lumbini Grove where he was born, Gaya where he attained Enlightenment and Sarnath where he preached his first sermon, became important places of pilgrimage. There were also four other places intimately connected with his life—Sravasti and Sankasya where he performed miracles; Rajagriha where he calmed the wild elephant let loose by his cousin, Devadatta; and Vaisali where the remarkable incident of the monkey offering him honey took place. These were the Eight Holy Places of the Buddhists which even today are visited by pilgrims from far and wide.

Asoka is reputed to have unearthed the ashes of the Buddha from their original repositories, divided them still further, and erected 84,000 stupas all over his kingdom. This explains why sites like Sanchi in Madhya Pradesh and Taxila in Pakistan have such fine Buddhist monuments even though they were never visited by the Buddha.

Stupas were originally mounds erected over the ashes collected from the funeral pyre. This custom was not peculiar to India alone, for the practice of burying the dead under a tumulus or cairn was prevalent all over the world. When Ananda, his disciple, inquired of the Buddha as to the ceremonies to be performed after his death, the Buddha indicated that his remains should be honoured in the same manner as for an universal monarch, and that stupas should be erected over them. Among the Buddhists the stupa was an object of supreme veneration; it was the prime cult object which satisfied the religious emotions of the faithful. In the course of time the stupa developed from a simple mound of earth to a magnificent if not ostentatious structure, surrounded by a processional path enframed by a rail with ornamental entrances or toranas giving access to the path. To a Buddhist the erection of a stupa in any form or size was an act of great merit and devotion.

The term “stupa” (Pali: thupa) is derived from the root “stup”, to heap, while “chaitya”, which is derived from “chita”, funeral pyre, connoted any sacred spot, a tree, an image of the Buddha or a temple. In this account the term “chaitya” is
PLATE 3

Facade, Manmoda Chaitya, Junnar
PLATE 4
The Great Chaitya, Karla. A, The dagoba in the Chaitya
B, The colonnade in the interior
PLATE 5
Interior, Cave No. 26, Ajanta, showing the dagoba
PLATE 6

Interior, Chaitya No. 19, Ajanta, showing the dagoba
PLATE 7
Facade of Chaitya, Guntapalli
PLATE 8
A, Vajrayana sculpture in Cave No. 66, Kanheri
B, Mahayana sculpture, Mahakali
PLATE 10
Facade, Cave No. 12 ("Bhim ka Bazaar"), Dhamner
PLATE 11
Entrance to Vihara to the left of Cave No. 12, Dhamner
PLATE 12
A. Dagoba in Cave No. 15, Mahad

B. Cave No. 21, Mahad
PLATE 13
A, Primitive Chaitya, No. 13, Sudhagarh (Nenavali)
B, Stupa Gallery, Kanheri
PLATE 14
Entrance to Chaitya, Bhaja
PLATE 15
Panel in verandah of Cave No. 18, Chaitya-vihara, Bhaja
PLATE 16
General view, Pitalkhora
exclusively applied to a rock-cut temple containing a “dagoba” (and later an image of the Buddha), whereas stupas are those standing in the open.

Asoka also set up at least thirty free-standing pillars, ten of which were inscribed with his edicts, which were his conception of monuments symbolising the Creed.

The pillar (stambha) was perhaps the survival of tree worship or of a phallic emblem or a megalith. Such external pillars are invariably found in front of a temple in India, and carry one or more emblems or symbols of the faith.

These pillars were used as secondary landmarks to the stupas which were by themselves outstanding sacred monuments. The thirty odd pillars of Asoka are therefore not isolated monuments, for in their vicinity are the remains of stupas and buildings. All of them were quarried from the same quarry at Chunar in Bihar and all have the same lustrous finish.

When the early Buddhists adopted the rock-cut method of architecture, these columns had no place in their sanctuaries and were discontinued. The stupa, which had already overshadowed them in the past, was now not only a part of the temple, but was within it. External pillars reoccur in Western India, as far as I am aware, only twice. At Karla in front of the Great Chaitya and at Kanheri, where they are attached to the side walls of the forecourt. They are complete with the Wheel, representing the Dharma or Law, and are surmounted by symbols of the Buddhist religion. Thereafter pillars disappear forever, for with the decline in this form of architecture and with the evolution of Mahayana, they were no longer symbolic.

The Buddhists adopted as their own the device of the Rail, whose origin goes back in history to the ancient Vedic people who wrested a living from the forests and the fields. They were nomads, the remnants of an obscure migration, who on settling in the plains of India became partially pastoral and partly agricultural.

These primitive people had to protect themselves and their property from wild animals and so they surrounded their hamlets with a fence which took the form of a bamboo railing, the upright posts of which supported horizontal bars.

This type of railing eventually became the emblem of protection and was used not only to enclose a village, but as a fence around fields, and finally to preserve anything of a special or sacred nature. It was also essentially a wooden device, the handiwork of a carpenter, which pattern in the hands of the later-day rock-cutter and stone mason came to be an essential feature of the Buddhist cave temples—the Buddhist Rail. No feature of early Buddhist art is more characteristic than this railing. It enfenced the sanctuary, it encircled the stupa and the sacred tree, and in miniature it was adapted as a reliquary. It also had a purely decorative purpose. It was the most original and important feature of Buddhist architecture that has come down to us, fine examples of which are found at Sanchi, Sarnath, Gaya and Bharhut.

Entrances were made in the old Vedic railing by projecting a section at right angles and placing a gate in advance of the rail. Through these gates the cattle passed, and in another form it survives today as the “gopuram” or cow-gate, the huge ornamental structures erected over the entrances to the temples in South India.

From the design of the bamboo gateway was derived the Buddhist archway
known as the “torana” (Sanskrit: tor = pass) which travelled with that religion to the Far East, where as the “torii” of Japan and the “piu-lu” of China it is better known there than in India.

Even before additions were made to the stupas, a number of buildings were erected in their vicinity to serve the devotional needs of the clergy and the laity. One was the vihara or monastery for the residence of the priests and the other was the chaitya or temple for the performance of the ritual.

In India, from remote times, forest dwellers had practised asceticism, living in isolation in leafy huts or in natural caves. These ascetics later grouped their huts around an open space which became the forerunners of the ancient monasteries. The origin of the viharas is therefore of as great antiquity as that of the stupas and chaityas or sacred spots.

The earliest form of the vihara in Buddhist architecture was merely an arrangement for the accommodation of monks living together in communities. A typical rock-cut vihara consisted of a plain square hall entered by a doorway in front of which was a porch or verandah. Soon it was realised that its walls offered special facilities for the excavation of cells. Doors were cut in these walls leading to small cells. These viharas were originally situated near or adjacent to the chaitya, but as the community expanded additional accommodation was excavated in the side of the hill. Among the Buddhist clergy were some of superior rank or of special status, who lived apart in solitary cells or bhikshu-grihas.

In the course of time these monastic establishments were furnished with a general dormitory, a common room, a refectory, a kitchen and a tank or pondhi for the supply of water. The pondhis were excavated near the entrances and often extended under the chamber itself. Runnels cut into the face of the rock channelled water to these pondhis which were fitted with detachable covers.

The significance of these rock-cut monasteries is that they were replicas of structural ones which once existed in large numbers.

All these viharas were by no means alike in their design. The early or Hinayana monastery may be distinguished from that of the Mahayana period by several characteristics, one of which was the simplicity of the central hall, for with few exceptions, this was a large square “court” devoid of pillars. The cells opening from the central hall invariably have rock-cut benches or beds and a small recess, either a locker or for a lamp, cut in a convenient position. Due to the bench in these small cells, the door is seldom located in the centre of the outer wall. It is easy to visualize that the central hall corresponded to the open courtyard, while the facade, porch and cells are copies in rock of wooden extensions, which due to the very nature of the material, have long since perished.

An illustration of an early monastic retreat may be seen at Ajanta, where for a long period a small group of excavations were the only examples. The Hinayana series at Ajanta consists of five caves, Nos. 8, 9, 10, 12 and 13, of which Nos. 9 and 10 were chaityas. It will be noted that No. 11 is omitted having been added at a later date. Chaitya No. 10 with its attached vihara No. 12 was the first to be cut. When the community increased, a second chaitya No. 9 was excavated with its vihara No. 8. Possibly the vihara numbered 13 was added just prior to the produc-
tion of Nos. 9 and 8. Cave No. 12 is a fine example of a single-storied monastery, though its facade has entirely disappeared. Around the central hall is carved the chaitya arcading, which was characteristic of this early phase of rock architecture.

The vihara to the left of the Kondane Chaitya has a pillared central hall, now much damaged. Its exterior consisted of a pillared porch over which projects an immense cornice, every detail of which is a faithful reproduction of wooden construction.

Another interesting Hinayana vihara is the rare specimen at Bedsa, an apsidal hall with a vaulted roof, nine cells in the side walls and two chambers at the entrance (Fig. 3A). The cells of the ornamental vihara at Pitalkhora are not plain square chambers, but are vaulted with ribbed ceilings and are illuminated by lattice windows. The most decorative forms of these early monasteries may be seen in three excavations, Nos. 13, 15 and 18 at Nasik, particularly in the treatment of their exteriors. When at a later date the followers of the Great Vehicle occupied this site, the interior of Cave No. 15, the Sri Yajna cave, was considerably altered to suit the performance of the theistic ritual. This was done by deepening the floor to provide a square dais, and a cella with a pillared antechamber was excavated at the far end for the accommodation of the image of the Buddha.

During the Mahayana period of rock architecture, or from the fifth century A.D. onwards, almost all the central halls are pillared; the cells in the three side walls were retained, but the central chamber at the far end was converted into a large shrine, which was invariably preceded by an antechamber (Figs. 4A and B). The vihara became both a monastic dwelling and a sanctuary. In a few instances shrines were also excavated in the side walls as well as at either or both ends of the verandah. The pillars and the facades of the porch were decorated with exquisite sculptural motifs and the inner walls and ceilings were embellished with paintings in addition to the sculpture.

Some of the extant rock-cut viharas consist of more than one storey, Cave No. 6 at Ajanta is double-storied and Nos. 11 and 12 at Ellora are three-storied.

These early rock-cut monasteries and chaityas were “translations” of earlier or existing structural edifices, to the extent that all the features of the latter were faithfully copied in the former, even if they were redundant or non-functional—vaulted ceilings, representations of beams and rafters, sloping pillars and doorposts. The rock-cut vihara naturally suffered from poor lighting and ventilation as the central hall could not be opened to the sky. This may account for the existence of smaller units consisting of one or two cells with a verandah or porch being produced at some sites in later times.

Another form which the early Buddhists took over was the shape of the hut and its domed or arched roof. Primitive man’s natural tendency was to rounded forms and the early Vedic huts were made of circular walls, most likely of bamboo, held together with bands of withes and covered with dome-like roofs of leaves or thatched with grass. The circular plan was later elongated with a barrel or arched roof of bent bamboos, also covered with thatch, and to maintain the shape of the arch, a thong was stretched across like the string of a bow. This arch not only became the pattern for the interiors of the Buddhist temples, but also for the huge orna-
FIG. 3
FLOOR PLANS
A. Beda (apsidal vihara); B. Basha No. 18
FIG. 4

FLOOR PLANS
A. Bagh No 4; B. Ajanta No. 1
mental arch above the entrances of these chapels or chaityas—the Chaitya Arch. Some of the early sects discovered in this arch a resemblance to the leaf of the Bodhi or pipal tree, the tree under which the Buddha attained Enlightenment.

The prayer hall or Buddhist temple or chaitya rose out of the particular needs of the religion, for with the appearance of the cult object in the form of a stupa or a dagoba, a building for the exhibition of the divine symbol and for the accommodation of the congregation was necessary. Hitherto the religious rites of the people were conducted in the open, in the shadow of sacred trees or in sacred groves, so that a regular house of prayer was not necessary. Since no tradition for a temple was in existence, the design invented was one which took the general shape of a stupa, whose plan resembled the old Vedic hut, a circular chamber with a domical roof. The inner cells at Lomas Rishi and Sudama, though dedicated to the Ajivikas, are such examples of circular huts with thatched roofs, eaves and scantlings. As far as the Buddhists are concerned, such primitive chaityas exist in widely separated parts of the country, at Guntapalli, Mahakali and at Junnar (Fig. 2). Along with the existing rock-cut or structural monasteries, these early chaityas were sufficient for the religion. When however the ambitious plan of producing an exclusively rock-cut temple was conceived in the minds of the priestly architects, a “chaitya-vihara” consisting of a chapel with attached cells was first excavated not far from the site of the proposed chaitya. The cult object or dagoba was either made of timber, brick or partially rock-cut. Two interesting examples are at Bhaja (Fig. 3B) and at Nasik. They provided accommodation for the monks entrusted with the direction of the work as well as fulfilled the requirements of worship. In the course of time the dagoba (dhatu-garbha, dhatu-gopa, dagopa, dagaba; from the Pali: dhatu = a relic, and gabba = receptacle) which corresponded to the open air stupa, was used both as a repository and for the exhibition of the relics of a Buddhist saint. The rock-cut chaitya now became the primary sanctuary of the establishment and housed the principal object of worship, the dagoba.

The dagobas in the early chaityas consist of a cylindrical drum and a hemispherical dome which is surmounted by a harmika or pedestal, within which were placed the relics. Around the upper edge of the drum was usually carved the rail pattern, either as a decorative motif or as a symbol of the processional path.

The earliest form of rock-cut chaitya is an oblong chamber entered from one end, with a dagoba at the other end. In the first examples the dagoba is connected with the roof by a wooden shaft, representing the shaft of an umbrella (chattir), the flat canopy of which was carved on the roof. The end of the chamber varied in shape, but quite early in the history of Buddhist rock architecture it was rounded, rather in the form of a semi-circular apse, forming a “pradakshina” or circumambulatory passage. The flat roof was soon replaced by a domical or barrel-vaulted one, a side aisle was cut around, which was separated from the central nave by a row of pillars, usually plain octagonal shafts. The dagoba was left to stand free, surmounted by an umbrella or even a triple umbrella, carved in wood and sometimes in stone. This met the requirements of worship.

The oldest rock-cut Hinayana chaityas are those at Bhaja, Kondane, Pitalkhora and Ajanta No. 10. In design they resemble their wooden forerunners—ribbed
ceilings, plain octagonal shafts with a slight inward rake and much timber attachments in front and within. In contrast to the interior, the facades of these temples are embellished with repetitive carvings of the rail pattern and a horse-shoe shaped arch, the chaitya arch. In most cases the lower portion of the frontages, consisting of the entrance doors is non-existent, the entrance merging with the window, which was set inside a broad chaitya arch. This design is so conspicuous and such a constant feature that any motif resembling it has come to be known as the chaitya arch or chaitya window.

From the beginning the exterior and frontal aspects of the chaityas were regarded as of great architectural significance, and considerable ingenuity and skill was expended in the design of the facade. In most cases the front was a massive pillared porch or vestibule, which in the earlier examples has perished, having been made largely of wood. The chaityas at Bhaja and at Kondane have mortises for the fitment of extensive woodwork, whereas at Ajanta, Bedsa and Karla, wood is replaced by rock.

Behind this was the facade which consisted of a large chaitya arch above, with a wall or screen below having one or more gateways or doors giving access to the nave and to the aisles. As the temple became larger, lighting became a problem for it was necessary that strong light should fall on the dagoba. To effect this the frontal chaitya arch, instead of being left in the rock, was cut through completely to form the chaitya window, which occupied the centre of the wall. This chaitya or sun window was an enlargement of the dormer window of the Vedic hut, and became the most impressive feature of the Buddhist chaityas. In the older caves it was a rectangular opening with a semi-circular wooden overlay, or as at the Manmoda Chaitya at Junnar (Plate 3), the window was not cut through at all, although the space within was decorated with various human, sylvan and religious motifs. In shape it was a stilted semi-circular aperture divided into lunettes by curved wooden transoms, held by braces of wood radiating like the spokes of a wheel. Wood was extensively used for the lattice filling the window. As an architectural conception it was artistic and effective and the light introduced by this traceryed window was a remarkable achievement. The rest of the facade on either side of the arch was decorated with repetitions of the Buddhist rail, the chaitya arch itself and with bas-reliefs of the dagoba within. The followers of the Great Vehicle removed or cut away these symbols and carved in their place, images of the Buddha and of Bodhisattvas.

Hinayana chaityas varied considerably in size, those at Karla and Ajanta No. 10 being the largest, their interiors covering more than 525 and 369 square metres respectively. The Nasik Chaitya is a little over 79 square metres and the Ganesha Lena at Junnar, 81 square metres in area. Although the apsidal end is characteristic, several chaityas were rectangular, and Ajanta No. 9 and Aurangabad No. 4 carried out the apsidal plan by having the pillars at the far end “placed” in a semi-circle. The pillars of all the earlier examples appear as copies of plain wooden posts, chamfered to octagonal, without base and capital.

The chronological sequence in which the chaityas were excavated is based mainly on the theory that (a) the earlier the examples, the closer they copied wooden
construction; (b) the slope of the interior pillars (Plate 14), as it was assumed that the inward inclination was derived from wooden posts so raked as to counteract the outward thrust of a heavy timber roof. Thus the greater the angle of the rake the nearer to its wooden prototype; (c) the shape of the arch forming the main feature of the facade, the curve of which changed as the style progressed, so that the more rudimentary the curve, the earlier the example (Fig. 5). At Barabar the arch resembles bent laminated boards, at Bhaja the curve is broad and indecisive, and at Kondane there is a slight inward return. At Karla and at Ajanta No. 9, early maturity is seen with a subtle combination of curves which was retained for the remainder of the Hinayana period. The succeeding Mahayana style is seen at Ajanta No. 19, and the florid curves of the Visvakarma at Ellora are nearly a complete circle (Fig. 5 F, Plate 40).

These are the characteristics of a traditional Buddhist chaitya:

1. A large curved arch, the chaitya arch, above the main entrance or rising out of a smaller arch above this entrance. The chaitya arch was in most cases cut through to form a chaitya window, through which light was admitted and fell directly on the dagoba within.

2. A dagoba cut from the same living rock as the main chamber was the cult object on which or in which the relics of a Buddhist saint were displayed or enshrined.

3. An oblong chamber, apsidal or squared at the far end, the rounded form being the more characteristic design of the chaitya.

4. The complete absence of residential cells in the side walls of the temple.

5. The rail and chaitya arch patterns which are distinctive features and decorative motifs of the early chaityas.

The sculpture of the Hinayana Buddhists has often been described as austere and puritanical mainly because of the absence of imagery and the predominance of the chaitya arch, rail and dagoba patterns. This to some extent is true as the majority of these early sanctuaries have been severely damaged and whatever decoration existed, disappeared when the landslides of the past destroyed their facades. Fragments of what may be termed intriguing sculpture however remain at Bhaja, Kondane, Pithalkhora and Ajanta which show that the lifeless chaitya arch and rail patterns were not the only decorative forms used, and that these excavations were adorned with an interesting variety of human motifs.

The art which served the three great religions of India came mainly from the hands of secular craftsmen, and although they worked under priestly supervision and according to strict iconographical rules, they expressed in the forms they created the world they knew so well. Many of the forms and designs accepted by the one religion as decorative motifs were also used in the monasteries and temples of the other denominations. Early Buddhism, while rejecting the pleasures of the senses as ephemeral, never adopted the prudish attitudes so characteristic of Christianity and Islam, and the artist was free to use the human form, particularly the female form, as a decorative motif. In fact in all Indian temple sculpture, whether Hindu, Buddhist
FIG. 5

DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHAITYA ARCH

A. Lomas Rishi; B. Bhaja; C. Karla; D. Junnor (Ambika); E. Ajanta No. 19;
F. Ellora (Visvakarma)
or Jain, the female figure, scantily clad and nearly always in accordance with Indian standards of beauty, was an outstanding element of decoration.

There are several examples of such figure sculpture at Bhaja. The two compartments below the band of rail under the overhanging ledge of rock, the couple looking out of a window to the right of the chaitya arch and the female figure with a beaded girdle on the left, indicate that much of the frontage of this chaitya was decorated in this manner. The small vihara further along the scarp is also embellished with figure sculpture on either side of the door leading to the cell on the right of the verandah; and the vaulted roof of this verandah is supported by yakshas.

The frieze on either side of the chaitya arch at Kondane has alternate panels of lattice and what has been termed “amorous couples”. Similar decoration exists at Pirlakhora and at Ajanta. It is at Beda that such compositions first appear on the capitals of the verandah pillars—addorsed animals, horses and elephants with riders of both sexes. At Nasik and at Junnlar almost all the capitals of pillars are adorned in the same manner, with further additions being made around the doors to the inner halls. Finally at Karla and at Kanheri not only are bold reliefs prominently displayed in the verandahs but the interior pillars are heavily decorated with human and animal figures. While the portrayal of such men and women could be the forerunners of the “maithuna couples” of a later age, at this period they are not entirely decorative, but represent the world “outside the temple”, the people who lived in the prosperous cities, the merchants and traders who travelled along the ancient trade routes of India, many of whom took an active interest in the creation of the temples and monasteries of the Buddhists and who supported them in so many different ways. They represent hosts of earthly kings, their consorts and courtiers, on mounts bedecked with their worldly wealth, who have come to pay homage at the dagoba, the embodiment of the Buddha.

In addition to these sculptures and the repetition of the chaitya arch and rail patterns and bas-reliefs of dagobas, the excavations of the Hinayana Buddhists with few exceptions are characterised by the absence of images of the Buddha. The architecture of the Lesser Vehicle has no representations of the bodily form of the Buddha either in sculpture or in painting. The presence of the Buddha was shown in the form of personal attributes, such as a vacant throne, a foot-stool, a horse, a riderless elephant or impressions of feet. The four principal events were also indicated by symbols: his birth by the lotus flower, his Enlightenment or spiritual awakening by the Bodhi tree, his first sermon by the wheel and his death by the stupa or dagoba. These symbols or signs were recognised and understood by the initiate. “On dissolution of the body, neither gods nor men should see him”. Similar restrictions exist in other religions. No graven image was shown in the temples of the Hebrews and Islam prohibits representations of the Prophet.

Though Buddhism was introduced into the west of India as early as the third century B.C., if not earlier, it suffered serious reverses when the Jains reached the Kathiawar peninsula. It, however, revived to some extent in the first century B.C. and by the time of the Kshararata regime (second century A.D.), it regained its influence about the time Mahayana was emerging. For a while, both sects flourished together till the Lesser Vehicle again lost ground. The Sammitya sect of Hinayana is believed
to have come into prominence in the fifth century and had established itself in Malwa, in the areas of south Rajasthan and west Madhya Pradesh, whence it moved westward to Gujarat. Hsuan Tsang who travelled through Western India in the seventh century found monasteries and followers of both schools, the Lesser Vehicle having retained its hold in Sind, Cutch and Valabhi, while the Sravastivadins were predominant in Junagadh and Broach.

Hinayana Buddhism of this period and region, while giving place of honour to the dagoba had taken to the worship of images of the Buddha; viharas were endowed for the installation of images as well as to lodge the Sangha (mainly bhikshus or mendicant monks) and for the acquisition and maintenance of books.

The early phase of rock architecture virtually ceased in the second century A.D. Several of the monasteries fell into disuse, others succumbed to Mahayana influence which had begun to spread rapidly. The fifth century saw the reoccupation of almost all the older sanctuaries mainly by the followers of the Great Vehicle and new excavations were commenced at Ellora and Aurangabad and at Ajanta.

The form of the vihara was retained but the stylistic treatment of these halls was changed to suit the changes in the nature of the Creed. The inner cells which originally served as residences were converted into shrines for the installation of images of the Buddha, and the vihara served the purpose of both a monastic dwelling and a temple (Fig. 4).

As far as the chaityas were concerned, at cave Nos. 19 and 26 at Ajanta, the traditional form of nave, pillared aisles and the chaitya arch and window were retained. The deification of the Buddha permitted the introduction of his image, sometimes of colossal proportions, on the facades and interior walls, an opportunity of which the Mahayana sculptors took full advantage to the extent that the dagoba was relegated to the background. The ultimate in the series of rock-cut apsidal chaityas is the Visvakarma cave at Ellora, which was excavated in the seventh century A.D. The exterior has been radically changed, the pristine chaitya arch and window have shrunk to a small circular opening in a trefoil arch (Plates 39, 40).

The decline and disappearance of the apsidal chaitya was due to the increasing popularity of the image. The stupa, originally in the open, was in the early stages placed in the sanctuary as the dagoba, the primary object of reverence. When the dagoba no longer held the place of honour and was discarded, the apsidal plan was unnecessary. The chaitya reverted to its ancient form of being both a temple and a monastery. An unbroken continuity of one thousand years of an architectural system, which has given us a series of magnificent rock-cut temples in different parts of the country, thus passed away.
MAHAYANA—THE GREAT VEHICLE

Buddhism had been introduced into the countries on the north-western border of India as early as the third century B.C. where it soon became established with considerable intensity and purpose. The focus and centre of the faith was the country of Gandhara, which roughly corresponds to the districts of Peshawar and Rawalpindi, today in Pakistan, together with a portion of eastern Afghanistan. It is not easy today to visualise this area as a stronghold of the Buddhist faith. That such was the case is proved not only by the profusion of structural and rock-cut remains scattered around Peshawar, Rawalpindi and the Swat and Kabul valleys, but also by the recent discovery in the Kandahar area of two rock edicts of Emperor Asoka in the Greek and Aramaic scripts.

It was in these areas whose rulers had embraced a loose form of Zoroastrianism that ideas, concepts and artistic forms which were mainly Persian or Iranian and Hellenistic confronted the old religion. Among the doctrines of Zoroastrianism, which has influenced other religions in the East and the West, is that of a Saviour, who at the end of the world would lead the forces of good and light against those of evil and darkness. The idea of a future Buddha, the Spirit of Compassion, soon became part of orthodox belief and spread among all Buddhist sects. The veneration of the dead Teacher changed to the worship of a living Saviour, from “symbols that he was present, to images that he is present”. The Sarvastivadins and the Mahasanghikas declared that they had a Great Vehicle which could carry more souls to Salvation, and further proclaimed that merit must rise from the worship of images of the Buddha, even though the being they represent is unconscious of the deed.

The greatest encouragement that Mahayana or the followers of the Great Vehicle received was from the Kushan king Kanishka, who is described as the king of Gandhara. Under his patronage the Fourth Great Council was held in Kashmir and the doctrines of the Sarvastivadins were codified in a summary, the Mahavihara.

The early Buddhists whose doctrines are expressed in the stone pictures of Bharhut and Sanchi did not dare form an image of their dead leader. Their sculptures show crowds of worshippers reverencing the symbols of the Buddha. The Buddhists of the Kushan Age however had no such scruples; they delighted to carve every incident of his life. His image in endless forms and replicas became the principal
element of sculpture and not only took the place of the dagoba in the chaityas and
the monasteries, but the dagobas or relic shrines, so greatly revered in earlier times,
had images of the Buddha imposed on them.

Gandhara was also responsible for the production of sculpture which had a
distinct Hellenic character and which continued to be practised throughout the
supremacy of the Kushans. Even after their power had declined in the third century,
the monasteries continued to be unaffected, for when the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hsien
travelled through this area in the year 400, they were still in flourishing condition.

Mahayana and its art was conveyed across the Punjab to the ancient and sacred
city of Mathura, which became a stronghold of the faith for several centuries. The
Buddhist Mathura of those days has almost entirely disappeared as it lay directly
in the path of the invading Muslim armies. Yet at one time, along with Sanchi
and Bharhut, it was an important place of pilgrimage. Mahayana reached the Ga-
getic Plain where the Creed and the art flowered in the famous monasteries of the
Buddhist Holy Land. Thence it moved eastward to Bengal and southward to the eastern
districts of Andhra, where it helped to prolong Buddhist influence only to be over-
whelmed by Hinduism. It also filtered down to the west where it retained a hold
in the areas around Junagadh and Broach and influenced the Hinayanists of Sind,
Cutch and Valabhi.

The Buddha probably taught that he was the last of a long succession of Buddhas
who had lived before him, and according to tradition, these historical Buddhas
were revered even in the Buddha's time. By Mauryan times their cult was wide-
spread and was patronised by Asoka. In the end, the orthodox Staviravadin school
counted no less than twenty-five mortal or Manushi Buddhas, not to speak of a
large number of "Pratyeka Buddhas" who without guidance had found the truth
themselves, but had not disclosed it to the world.

In the Pali scriptures, the Buddha was never alluded to as supernatural. His
insight and wisdom were gained by his own efforts, after many ages of striving in
different rebirths. His birth, enlightenment and death however were events of the
highest importance and his greatness was such that even Brahma and Sakra did
reverence to him. The Buddha was reported to have said that whoever had faith
and love for him was assured of rebirth in heaven, a prospect or reward much more
desirable and intelligible to the ordinary man than that of the indescribable Nirvana.

When the Buddha died, according to orthodox or Hinayana theory, the chain
of his existence was broken. He finally entered Nirvana which he had realised
at his Enlightenment and ceased to be an individual or to affect the Universe in any
way. Just before his death, he told his disciples to rely on the Doctrine for leadership.
But soon after his death, his followers evolved the "Three Jewels", which form the
basic profession of faith of Buddhism and which every Buddhist repeats to this day:
"I go for refuge to the Buddha, I go for refuge to the Doctrine (dharma), I go for
refuge to the Order (sangha)". The first of the Three Jewels implied that the Master,
as distinct from his teachings and the Order, was in some way still present and able
to help his followers.

The doctrine or idea of a Saviour, which had entered Buddhism at the beginning
of the Christian era, was instrumental in creating the cult of the future Buddha, for
if there were Buddhas before him, there would be Buddhas after him. By the second century, the cult of Maitreya, the future Buddha, had become widespread.

In a long series of transmigrations as a Bodhisattva, the Buddha wrought many deeds of kindness and mercy before achieving his final rebirth as the Sage of the Sakyaas. Since Maitreya and other unnamed Buddhas after him are yet to come, there must be Bodhisattvas existing at present who are continuously working for the welfare of all beings. The Jataka stories show that Bodhisattvas can be incarnated as men and even as animals, but the more advanced Bodhisattvas who have the greatest power for good were divine beings in the heavens. They may be adored and prayed to and it was their mission to answer prayers. The Bodhisattva doctrine thus peopled the heavens with mighty forces of goodness and gave Buddhism a new mythology. It was this which formed the hallmark of Mahayana, the Great Vehicle.

The Bodhisattva, according to the older doctrine, works in wisdom and love through many lives so that he may become a Buddha and ordinary believers are encouraged to follow his example and win Nirvana as soon as possible. Yet since the Bodhisattva is a being of infinite charity and compassion, while one suffering individual remains in the toils of transmigration, he will surely not leave him without help, and enter Nirvana where he can be of no service to the world. Logically the Mahayana school thought of the Bodhisattva, not as a being who was soon to become a Buddha, but as one who would bide his time till even the smallest insect had reached the highest goal. Instead of striving to become “arhants” (or worthies, who had achieved Nirvana and would be born no more), men should aim at becoming Bodhisattvas and by the merit gained assist all living beings on the way to perfection.

The idea of transference of merit is a special feature of the teachings of Mahayana. According to the Lesser Vehicle, a man can only help another on the way by example and advice, and each being had to work out his own salvation. The belief in transference of merit spread widely, even among some of the Hinayana sects. The Bodhisattva was thought of not only as a spirit of compassion but also of suffering. The idea of a Suffering Saviour may have existed in some form in the Middle East before Christianity, but ideas like this only occur in Buddhism after the beginning of the Christian era. The Suffering Bodhisattva so closely resembles the Christian conception of God, who gives his life as a ransom for many, that we cannot ignore the possibility that the doctrine was borrowed by Buddhism from Christianity which was vigorous in Persia from the third century onwards.

Though the Great Vehicle agrees in theory with the Lesser that the world is full of sorrow, Mahayana is essentially optimistic, for it claims that it could save all who asked for help from the evil and sorrow of this world, and every being will attain Nirvana and become a Buddha.

Mahayana developed the idea that Gautama was not an ordinary mortal, but the earthly expression of a mighty spiritual Being. This Being had three bodies, a Body of Essence (dharmakaya), a Body of Bliss (sambhogakaya) and a Created Body (nirmanakaya), and only nirmanakaya was seen on earth. The Body of Essence permeates the Universe; it is the ultimate Buddha of which the other two
are emanations more or less unreal. The Body of Bliss exists in the heavens and will continue until the final resolution of all things into the Body of Essence. The Created Body was therefore an emanation of the Body of Bliss. This brings to mind the Docetic heresy in Christianity and it has been suggested that Docetism and the Buddhist doctrine of the Three Bodies owe much to a common gnostic source.

The Universe of the Great Vehicle contains numerous Bodhisattvas, chief among whom is Avalokitesvara, "the Lord who looks down", also called Padmapani, "the Lotus bearer". He is the spirit of Compassion who has dedicated his existence to the alleviation of the suffering of worldly beings. His symbols are a "mala" or rosary and a "padma" or the pink lotus, and he is said to rule the world between the passing of the last Manushi Buddha, Gautama, and the appearance of Maitreya, the Coming One. The devotion to Avalokitesvara as the Saviour of the Eight Great Perils dates from about the third century A.D. and by the seventh century he became the most popular of the Bodhisattvas, manifesting himself in various forms to save mankind.

"All hail! Great Compassionate Padmapani Bodhisattva, from the devouring fire, Merciful One, deliver us; from the sword of the enemy, Merciful Lord, deliver us; from captivity and slavery, Merciful One, deliver us; from shipwreck, Compassionate Lord, deliver us; from wild beasts, poisonous reptiles and enraged animals, Great Compassionate Lord, deliver us; from disease and death, Lord deliver us, Hail Padmapani Bodhisattva".

This invocation, known as the Litany of Avalokitesvara, describes the dangers which travelling monks, traders and merchants would face. The Buddha has great regard for the mercantile community. They endowed the monasteries, supported the Sangha and in their endeavours to meet the needs of the community, faced the hazards of the sea, the dangers in the dense forests and the hostility of people in far away lands. This litany or prayer for protection repeatedly occurs in the cave temples.

Avalokitesvara is frequently depicted in the company of Taras such as Bhrikuti, Locana, Mamaki and Pandara. By the seventh century, Tara became the personification of love and compassion and was also independently invoked as the Saviour from all the dangers which beset travellers.

Manjusri symbolises wisdom, eloquence and mental efficiency. He is depicted carrying a sword which cuts away error and falsehood and in his left hand is a book representing the ten "paramitas" or spiritual perfections, which are the cardinal virtues of a Bodhisattva.

A sterner Bodhisattva, Vajrapani, is always shown with the "vajra" or thunderbolt in his hand. He is the foe of evil and sin, and rarely appears alone. He is usually represented as a chauri-bearer attendant (always to the left) of the Buddha, or as a dwarapala outside the shrine.

Maitreya, the future Buddha, is worshipped as a Bodhisattva, and is acknowledged by the Hinayanists as well. Since he is the Coming One, all Buddhist sages seek his advice and sanction for their deeds and thoughts. The sage Asanga, using his spiritual powers, sought Maitreya in the Tusita heavens and was initiated into the mysteries of Tantra. This gave Tantric Buddhism the respectability it could
FIG. 6
FLOOR PLANS OF MAHAYANA CHAITYAS
A, Ajanta No. 19; B, Ajanta No. 26; C, Aurangabad No. 7
otherwise never have obtained. Maitreya is usually shown in the company of Bodhisattvas, as a door-keeper or as an attendant of the Buddha. Besides the chaitya in his headdress, Maitreya may be recognised by the robe tied around the left side of his waist, the ends of which hang down to his feet.

Besides Samantabhadra, Ratnapani and Visvapani, there are many other Bodhisattvas too numerous to be mentioned here, several of whom have found their place in the Mahayana sculptures of India, particularly Jnanaketu, Bhadrapala, Ksitigarbha and Ghantapani, the latter being the emanation of Vajrasattva, the sixth Dhyani Buddha.

Mahayana sculpture is to be found at almost all the older sites, the only exceptions being in Gujarat, some of the Konkan groups and at Kondane, Bhaja, Bedsa and Junnar. Monasteries were extended or modified to receive images, and the older sculptures were cut away to make place for the theistic form of the religion. Such palimpsests are particularly noticeable at Nasik, Kanheri and Karla. In many examples, the walls were plastered and decorated with mural paintings, known as frescoes.

The architecture of the Great Vehicle shows as great a change as its imagery, the grandiose design and simple details of the early phase giving way to facades and interiors (particularly in the viharas), crowded with pillars elaborately carved and painted; animal figures on the capitals disappear and in their place are exotic and mythological representations of the most varied kind; and last but not the least, the doorways both of the chaityas and of the viharas become marvels of elaborate decoration.

The two basic productions of the early period, the chaitya and the vihara, are retained. It is only in their stylistic treatment that a difference is noticeable, and such changes that were made were largely due to changes in the nature of the Creed. The most evident transformation is seen in its iconography, for the deification of the Buddha permitted the introduction of his image and of his divine attendants, not only on the facade and the walls, but on the dagoba itself. Although Mahayana chaityas (Figs. 6 and 7) continued to retain their traditional form, the nave, aisles, vaulted-roof and dagoba, they soon underwent alteration and virtually reverted to their primitive or archaic form of being partially shrine and partly monastery (Fig. 4).

The Mahayana monastery is recognisable from its earlier form by the character of its interior cells. In the Hinayana viharas these cells are purely residences; they now become sanctuaries for the reception of images of the Buddha, in line with the alteration in the beliefs as a whole. Not only had image worship supplanted reverence of the relics, but the dominating cult of Hinduism had influenced the Buddhist doctrine, as well as its art and architecture.

The pillars from base to capital and even the triforium or frieze become distinctive (Plates 4, 5, 6). They are of massive proportions, the lower part being generally a plain square prism, while the upper portion is rounded in section, vertically fluted and elaborated into a capital either consisting of the “compressed cushion” form, or the “vase and foliage” motif.

When the orthodox sculpture of the early Buddhists is understood, it is not
ELLORA ("VISVAKARMA"). FLOOR PLAN OF THE MAHAYANA CHAITYA
difficult to recognise the productions of Mahayana. Images of the Buddha are everywhere and in various attitudes or "mudras", carved on the rock or painted wherever space permitted. Scenes from his previous lives or births, his death, representations of past Buddhas, the coming Maitreya and of the Bodhisattvas, often in the company of Taras, crowd the chaityas and viharas of Mahayana. The rail and the arch and bas-reliefs of the dagoba, so much an intrinsic part of the old religion, seldom appear during the Mahayana period. The only design or feature which was retained was the chaitya window, the curve of which became more rounded and florid, until at Ellora it became almost a complete circle.

In fact, a whole new iconography and even eroticism was introduced totally at variance with the simple puritanical forms practised and used earlier. Monks were now no longer content to live apart, but congregated in large and magnificent monasteries, richly adorned, and furnished with their own private chapels, replete with every comfort and luxury. External influences were at work, and Buddhism being no longer able to withstand these pressures, once again modified its system to suit the times and the people.
CHAPTER 7

THE VEHICLE OF THE THUNDERBOLT—VAJRAYANA

From the end of the Gupta period onwards, religion in India became more and more permeated with primitive ideas of magic and sexual mysticism. Buddhism was also affected by these elements which brought with them other practices known as Tantricism. The Tantras were independent religious literature which prescribed methods and performances, through esoteric yoga, hymns and rituals, and even medicine and magic for the realisation of the supreme goal. They were a growth of the soil and shared a common heritage with both the Hindus and the Buddhists.

Even in Hinayana times, the orthodox Sthaviravadins believed that the monk who had reached a high state of detachment and mental training acquired supernatural powers. There were also many free-lance monks who did not live in monasteries under conventional discipline and who attempted feats of sorcery and necromancy, which the Buddha is said to have condemned. It was probably from among these monks that Tantricism entered Mahayana Buddhism.

Once the portals of Buddhism were opened to some of the elements of Tantricism, all the primitive beliefs in magic, charms and sorcery, with all their details, entered and soon changed the outlook of the religion. With the forms and traditions of Mahayana and the materials of Tantricism, an elaborate Tantric Buddhist system was evolved which manifested itself in the art and sculpture of the Great Vehicle.

The Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of Mahayana were frequently accompanied by female deities, one of which was Prajnaparamita, the Perfection of Insight, which was the personification of the qualities of a Bodhisattva. Later, the Buddha and all Bodhisattvas, who were always considered to be male, were endowed with consorts or female partners, much like the Hindu gods, who were the active aspect, the force or potency, the “sakti” of their lords. The divinity was thought of as transcendental and aloof and could best be approached through the goddess. By pronouncing the right formula or mantra, or by drawing the correct magical symbol or diagram, one might through the saktsis, compel the gods to bestow special powers on the worshipper and lead him to the highest bliss. The texts describing the means of this devotional practice or “sadhana” were called Tantras and hence the new cult is often referred to as Tantric Buddhism.

With these elements Mahayana transformed itself beyond recognition; the earlier pantheon of a few Bodhisattvas was developed into an elaborate hierarchy
of Adi-Buddha, the Dhyani Buddhas, a host of Divine Bodhisattvas and their saktis, consorts and emanations, both male and female, entirely incompatible with the original creed of the Buddha.

The Lesser Vehicle had taught that realization or salvation could be obtained by a gradual loss of individuality; Mahayana added that the compassion and help of the Bodhisattvas assisted in the process. The followers of the new teachings taught that release could best be obtained by acquiring supernormal power which they called "vajra", diamond or thunderbolt.

The beginnings of this new and radically oriented form of Buddhism called Vajrayana, the Adamantine Way or the Vehicle of the Thunderbolt, can be traced as far back as the end of the Gupta period, for the earliest text on the Vajrayana school of Buddhism has been dated as belonging to the fifth century A.D.

Mahayana had developed the idea that Gautama was not an ordinary person but was the earthly expression of a mighty spiritual being. This being had three bodies, dharmakaya, sambhogakaya and nirmanakaya (see page 30). Vajrayana deified and gave anthropomorphic form to dharmakaya as the Adi-Buddha or primordial god. The Adi-Buddha, also called Vajradhara, is said to have become manifest in Nepal as a flame, over which the Bodhisattva Manjusri erected a temple, the Swayambhu Chaitya. The five elements of the Universe, rupa or form; vedana or sensation; samjna or name; samskara or conformation; and vijnana or consciousness were also given anthropomorphic form as "Dhyani Buddhas" or Buddhas in Meditation. These Dhyani Buddhas, Vairocana, Ratnasambhava, Amitabha, Amoghasiddhi and Aksobhya, were endowed with attributes, symbols and saktis, from whom emanated the Dhyani Bodhisattvas and their consorts or Taras.

The Dhyani Buddha Vairocana symbolised "rupa". He is the embodiment of ideal knowledge and is depicted in the attitude of teaching. These attributes also apply to his sakti, Locana, and to the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra.

Ratnasambhava, who presides over the realm of sensation or vedana, his sakti Vajradhatisvari, and the Bodhisattva Ratnapani are the givers of booms.

Amoghasiddhi embodies samskara or conformation; along with Tara and the Bodhisattva Visvapani, they stand for protection.

Aksobhya, the personification of vijnana or consciousness, is depicted in the "earth touching attitude". Along with his sakti Mamaki and the Bodhisattva Vajrapani, they command the faculty of hearing, the elements and of sound and the ether.

Presiding in deep meditation over Bhadrakalpa, the present age, is Amitabha, the embodiment of samjna or name. He and Pandara share the compassion of Padmapani or Avalokitesvara, the "Lord who looks down", for though in deep meditation, Amitabha yet maintains an interest in all beings of this world.

A sixth Dhyani Buddha, Vajrasattva (shown on a pilaster in Cave No. 12 at Ellora) was later included, who was the embodiment of all the elements collectively. There is some controversy about the saktis of the Dhyani Buddhas. Some regard Vajradhatisvari as the sakti of Vairocana, Mamaki of Ratnasambhava and Locana of Aksobhya. The saktis of the Dhyani Buddhas are rarely depicted in sculpture.

The Dhyani Buddhas preside over "kalpas" or ages, in each of which a Mortal
or Manushi Buddha has lived—Vipasyin, Sikhī, and Visvabhu of the preceding kalpa; and Krakuccanda, Kanakamuni, Kashyapa and Sakyamuni of the present age.

Upto the fourth century A.D., with the possible exception of Prapniyamahā, all the divinities of Mahayana were male. It was Asanga of Peshawar who enunciated the philosophy of Tantric Buddhism and who introduced the Female Principle in the form of Tara, “one who helps to cross the Ocean of Existence”, as an object of adoration. As a consort of Avalokitesvarā, Tara is a Saviour; as a sakti of Amoghasiddhi, Tara is regarded as the Mother Goddess, the embodiment of protection.

Vajrayana also brought into existence personified or anthropomorphic forms of mantras or spells, spiritual disciplines, virtues, abstract or mental conceptions and inanimate objects. Serpents and river goddesses, deities of dance and of music, as well as several gods of the Hindus were all crowded together in the pantheon of the Vehicle of the Thunderbolt.

Jambhala, the equivalent of the Hindu god Kubera, was both a guardian of wealth as well as a “lokapala” or guardian of a quarter. Janguli was a serpent goddess to whom mantras were chanted for the extraction of the poison from those bitten by snakes. Snake worship dates from ancient times and is still prevalent in parts of the Deccan. Sarasvati is the name of a river which no longer exists; along with the Ganges (Ganga) and the Jumna (Yamuna), Sarasvati was also deified by the Buddhists and associated with Manjusri, the oldest of the Bodhisattvas. As the patroness of learning, music and poetry, she replaced Prapniyamahā in Vajrayana times. Kunda, one of the twelve Dharinis or sacred spells, is possibly the representation of all spells and mantras in general; and Mahamayuri, the Queen of the Magic Arts, is another goddess connected with spells.

There are several reliefs of Hariti and her consort Panchika in the cave temples, and viharas were dedicated to her in northern India. Hariti’s real name was Abhirati. She became the wife of Panchika and had 50 children, the youngest and most favoured being Priyankara. To provide food for her large family she preyed on the children of Rajagriha, until in desperation the people appealed to the Buddha for help. She relinquished the habit of eating human flesh when the Buddha kidnapped Priyankara. In return the people of the town promised to provide food for her children. The practice of setting aside food for Hariti grew in the North and the occurrence of figures of Hariti and her consort in the cave temples may indicate that a mess or refectory existed at these sites for the refreshment of travellers.

There were also a host of lesser deities, such as goddesses of direction; the pancharakshas or Five Protecctresses, whose worship conferred long life and who protected men from evil spirits, disease and famine; the fearful gaurīs; deities of dance and music, and even the components of doors were deified as horrible dancing nudes, who would protect the house and frighten away thieves. There were also many called by the names of demons, such as dakinīs or she-ghouls; matangis or outcaste women; pisacis or demonesses and yoginis or sorceresses.

Among the many formulae of Tantric Buddhism, one is specially famous, the Six Syllables or Sadaksara, “Om mani padme hum”, which is still written and repeated thousands of times daily in Tibet. This phrase which may be translated, “Glory to the jewel in the lotus” or “Ah! the jewel is indeed in the lotus”, may be
sexual in significance, repeating the divine union of the heavenly Buddha with his sakti or of Avalokitesvara and his Tara. In the strange rites of Tantric Buddhism all taboos were lifted, incest was permitted for what was sin to the ignorant was virtue to the initiate. The drinking of alcohol, eating of meat and the killing of animals and sometimes of human beings, every imaginable sin, were practised at these tantric covens, all under strict control and at sacred ceremonies. With the secret ritual and practices confined only to the initiated, Vajrayana developed an exclusive spirit and a less popular appeal. It also undermined the prestige of the Buddhist religion.

The ultimate result was the same as that which has overtaken other people who have abandoned themselves to such pursuits. The rational and highly ethical teachings of the Buddha were replaced by superstition, ritualistic worship of a host of deities and an immoral life, against which the Buddha had led a crusade.

When Hsuan Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim, travelled through India in the seventh century, he found several monasteries permeated with magical practices. Even Bodh Gaya, also called Vajrasana, was not free from these influences, for a temple dedicated to Tara was erected outside the compound.

In the centuries to follow almost all the centres of the faith were influenced by Tantricism. At Vaisali there is still a twelfth century image of this goddess to which even now are attributed miraculous powers. Images of Tara are also to be seen at Sravasti and one of the four specially venerated figures at Nalanda is a painted statue of the goddess. Somapura in the Rajshahi district of Bangla Desh was a centre of Tantric Buddhism from the ninth to the twelfth century.

Vajrayana also reached Ratnagiri and Khiching in Orissa, and several old establishments in Andhra, particularly Amaravati, Sankaram and Salihundam. In Andhra the Buddhist religion was on the decline from the fifth century onwards, as the Pallava kings favoured Brahmanism. The infiltration of Vajrayana with its pronounced emphasis on the female element only helped to precipitate the end. Even today, Buddhist mounds in this area are locally known as "lanja dibba"—courtesans' mounds.

Images of Tantric goddesses were found at Belgami in the Shimoga district of Karnataka and several bronze statues of these goddesses were unearthed at Nagapattinam, in the far south.

Sanchi was also influenced by the followers of Vajrayana and at Chitorgarh in Rajasthan, several votive stupas were found, one of which has bas-reliefs of the four Dhyani Buddhas, Amitabha, Amoghasiddhi, Aksobhya and Ratnasambhava, on the sides of the base.

Although the west of India remained a stronghold of the Lesser Vehicle, Vajrayana gained an influential position around the Tarang Hill on the west bank of the Sabarmati river in Gujarat. Here, there is an elaborate image of Tara housed in a temple called the Dharani-mata temple. The ancient town of Tarapur was named after this goddess. It was however the monks of Gujarat and Sind, who considered Vajrayana to be a perversion of the teachings of the Buddha, who joined those of Ceylon in destroying the Tantric images at Bodh Gaya.

Possibly Vajrayana gained a foothold in the Deccan and in certain parts of
Maharashtra sometime in the seventh or eighth century. There are sculptures at Kanheri, Nasik, Pitalkhora, Ajanta, Aurangabad and Ellora which leave no room for doubt that they not only belong to the Vajrayana pantheon, but that Tantricim was practised at these centres.

At least four caves at Kanheri, Nos 21 (44), 35 (67), 66 (90) and 67 (91), have sculptures of Vajrayana goddesses. A particularly interesting panel is the Litany of Avalokitesvara in Cave No. 66 which depicts the Bodhisattva standing between two Taras, as if with their assistance he is rescuing his votaries from the Eight Great Perils. The existence of the Hindu temple of Vajrshvari or Vajrabai to the north-east of Kanheri indicates that Tantric practices were not confined only to the Buddhists in this area.

Similar palimpsetes are to be seen at Nasik in Cave Nos. 3, 20 and 23. Cave No. 20 which was apparently enlarged in the sixth or seventh century has dominating figures of Avalokitesvara accompanied by his sakti. Several panels carved with "maithuna couples" and lintels ornamented with voluptuous goddesses were recovered from the debris in front of Cave No. 4 at Pitalkhora.

Ajanta, which was established by the Hinayana Buddhists and later occupied by the followers of the Great Vehicle, has several Vajrayana sculptures and paintings, particularly in the excavations at either end of the group. The entrances of several caves are embellished with carvings of such deities, while in Cave No. 1, the panel on the rear wall of the inner aisle to the left of the antechamber, is dominated by a towering figure of Avalokitesvara and his Tara who also holds a lotus. The mural painting in Cave No. 17, known as "a palace scene", could well be attributed to the Vajrayanists. At Aurangabad, except for their palimpsetes around the entrance doors of the caves, they seem to have confined their activities to Cave Nos. 6, 7 and 9 which they embellished with sculpture of their gods and goddesses and everyday scenes of entertainment and pleasure which these monasteries provided.

It is however at Ellora that typical elements of the Vajrayana pantheon are displayed (Plate 42). While images of the Buddha still appear, attention is now attracted to the divine Bodhisattvas, their female counterparts and to the other Tantric goddesses which Vajrayana had introduced and begun to worship. Except for Cave Nos. 1, 3 and 7, all the other excavations, including the Chaitya, are decorated with Vajrayana deities. Goddesses are even given independent status with all the characteristics of Bodhisattvas. The Litany of Tara in Cave No. 9 is one such interesting example. They also appear with male attendants who have the regalia of Bodhisattvas.

The "Teen Tal" Cave No. 12, the second three-storied excavation at Ellora, has a typical Buddhist Tantric mandala or diagram carved on the rear wall of the hall to the left of the antechamber and again on the walls of the staircase leading to the first floor. In fact, at all levels of this magnificent temple are Vajrayana deities boldly represented as objects of adoration and worship. In the highest level, in the rear and side walls of the antechamber, a position normally occupied by Bodhisattvas, is a large frieze of twelve female Bodhisattvas carved below a panel of eighteen small images of the Buddha.

By the end of the eighth century, Buddhism as a whole was on the decline.
In several places the great monasteries and places of pilgrimage were either in ruin or deserted. The faith however survived and there were still a number of prosperous centres housing thousands of monks. Valabhi in the west and Nalanda in the north-east remained till the end. From Nalanda, the missionary Padmasambhava went forth to convert Tibet in the eighth century, while pilgrims from China and from South-East Asia visited Nalanda to learn the true doctrine.

Vajrayana only served to worsen a situation already on the decline. In a vain attempt to retain their hold on the masses, various forms of magic, sexo-yogic practices, sorcery and even hypnotism were used. Needless to say such practices were doomed to failure, for long ago the missionary spirit of the Buddhists had died.

Revived and reformed Hinduism spread northwards from the Tamil country from the ninth century onwards, when the brahman theologian Shankar (Shankaracharya) travelled the length and breadth of the country disputing with Buddhist monks and undermining their hold on their dwindling adherents. Wherever he rested, he left behind an organised body of Hindu monks to carry on his work. The new Hinduism made a vigorous appeal to the ordinary man just as early Buddhism had twelve centuries earlier. The persistent tendency of Hinduism to assimilate rather than to attack was ever at work. Buddhist monks often took part in Hindu processions and the Buddhist family, which gave its support to the local monastery, would invariably rely on the services of the brahmins at births, marriages and deaths. In mediaeval North India, the Buddha came to be regarded as the Ninth of the Ten Incarnations of Vishnu. The ordinary laity hardly realised that Buddhism was a separate religion which denied the Vedas—to them it was one of the many cults and faiths all worthy of honour. Buddhism gradually lost its individuality, becoming a special but unorthodox sect of Hinduism and like others sank into obscurity.

The emergence of Vajrayana in Western India coincided with the first inroads of Islam into India. Commercial intercourse between India and the Arabs had existed for centuries. Early in the eighth century the Arabs conquered Sind and in the closing years of the tenth, Mahmud of Ghazni invaded India for the first time. Muslim rule was however only established in India in A.D. 1206.

Many of the Buddhist monasteries were situated near the intersections of the old caravan routes, which in the course of time grew into emporia and flourishing cities. In order to acquire the means of sustenance, Buddhist monks turned to the practice of commerce. The prosperous traders and merchants along with their servants, retainers, agents and guards needed more than mere opportunities for trade and profit, and Vajrayana supplied that need. Sorcerers and soothsayers predicted the success or otherwise of their ventures, and recreation and entertainment were provided in much the same way as it is provided to businessmen today. Vajrayana furnished all this and more. It was a terribly earthly or worldly system which catered to the mundane requirements of the commercial classes.

Wealth and riches and even respect, respect for wealth, began to flow into the monasteries. The rigid discipline of bygone days was forgotten, for traders and travellers, goods and merchandise arrived at all times of the day and night.
Power and influence, if at all it existed, was mainly due to the treasure in gold, silver and jewels stored in the inner cells and vaults guarded by mercenaries, and it was this treasure which attracted the invaders. Buddhism, already on the decline, could not resist the onslaught of the fanatical Mohammedan. In the first rush of Muslim advance, Hinduism relying for its strength on independent brahmans and ascetics and on domestic ceremonies suffered, but was not weakened by the invasion. Buddhism could not withstand it, and all along the Ganges and elsewhere in India, monasteries were sacked, temples destroyed, libraries burnt and monks were put to the sword. Some few who survived hid in the hills, others fled to the mountains of Nepal and Tibet, and Buddhism in India was dead.
CHAPTER 8

PRIMITIVE CHAITYAS

A beginning had already been made at the Barabar Hill and after an interval of fifty years, the rock-cut method was revived on a great scale. In all, there are about 12000 excavations in India of varying sizes and designs in many localities.

Except for the Lomas Rishi and the Sudama, there were patterns available to the rock-cutters, so the design for these early shrines was taken from the low rounded wooden huts these early people used as prayer houses and prayer rooms—a plain circular cell with a brick or masonry stupa within. It resembled a stupa with an enclosure built around it. Later, the stupa or dagoba was hewn out of the same living rock and the plan of the chamber became square. Such diminutive chaityas or dagoba-cells were sufficient to meet the needs of a small group of missionaries. They may be seen at all the sites and their position in relation to the rest of the caves indicates that they were the earliest of the excavations.

As the requirements of an expanding community grew, a larger shrine on the same plan was necessary. Some were circular and astyly as at Guntapalli, a primitive chaitya of the third century B.C., others had pillars around the dagoba, a fine example of which is that known as "Tulja Lena" at Junnar. The next stage was the production of an oblong antechamber which led to the shrine, as at Mahakali. This antechamber was plain and devoid of ornamentation, but the facade was fitted with considerable woodwork decorated with the rail and chaitya arch motifs. In front of this were a wooden screen and a porch. In the examples which exist, all the woodwork has perished and most of the facades have fallen a way, causing these chaityas to resemble gaping holes in the hillside.

Eventually the dividing wall between the antechamber and the shrine was omitted, which made the chaitya a long barrel-shaped chamber, a form which was retained as long as the dagoba held the place of honour. The far end of the chamber underwent various changes. It was at first rounded or semi-circular; then it became square and finally reverted to the semi-circular or apsidal form. In all subsequent examples, square or apsidal ends, flat or vaulted roofs do not indicate which were the earlier or later excavations. They were experiments, artistic or practical, for the rock-cutters had not completely freed themselves from the trammels of the carpenter's craft.

Many circular chaityas were enlarged by removing the dagoba, cutting upwards and backwards and a new dagoba was excavated at the far end of the enlarged chamber.
Much later when the great chaityas were planned, pillars were introduced as a decorative measure, as well as to separate the nave from the aisles, to form a processional path around the dagoba and also to support the immense weight of the rock above. The ribbing in the roof was added not for strength, but to eliminate echo. In the smaller chaityas of the same period pillars were purely decorative and served to produce a “pradakshina patha” or circumambulatory passage.

The early chaityas at Guntapalli, Mahakali and Junnar are interesting more for their antiquarian, rather than their artistic or architectural value. They are not products of one school, though they all belong to the early or Hinayana period. They are devoid of sculptural decoration, and are gloomy and unimpressive in comparison to the majestic chaityas which followed, many of which were excavated in the vicinity.

GUNTAPALLI

The eastern state of Andhra Pradesh possesses numerous Buddhist sites and remains. The religion was first established in these areas in Mauryan times, as attested by the fragment of an inscribed pillar attributed to Asoka. Two centres, one succeeding the other, were responsible for the spread of the faith from the third century B.C. to the fourth century A.D. Amaravati, ancient Dhanyakataka on the right bank of the Krishna, became in time a school of art which influenced the sculpture of southern India, Ceylon and parts of south-east Asia. Nagarjunakonda, further up the same river, also became a centre of great sculptural activity for nearly one hundred years. Though Nagarjunakonda’s influence faded in the fourth century when the country came under the Pallava kings who favoured Brahmanism, Amaravati continued to attract pilgrims from the south and from Ceylon till the thirteenth century A.D.

There are two principal sites in Andhra where the rock sculpture of the Buddhists may be seen. At Guntapalli, 45 kilometres from the Ellore railway station in the West Godavari district, and on the Bojjannakonda Hill near the village of Sankaram in the Vishakapatnam district, three kilometres north of the Anakapalli railway station.

The Guntapalli rock-cut chaitya (Fig. 2C) is similar in plan to the circular chaityas at Mahakali and Junnar (Tulja Lena). It consists of a small vestibule or antechamber in front with stone benches on either side, leading to a circular chamber, 5.4 metres in diameter within which stands a plain monolithic dagoba. The entrance (Plate 7) resembles the facade of the Lomas Rishi in many respects and is made up of a broad chaitya arch surrounding the arched doorway. The ends of rafters, as at Lomas Rishi and elsewhere, are seen on the inner edge of the chaitya arch.

Around the damaged dagoba, which has a socket for a shaft, is a circumambulatory passage barely one metre wide. The roof is 4.5 metres high and is composed of sixteen curved ribs converging at the apex of the domed roof and interconnected at intervals by loops or bands of decreasing diameter from below upwards.

It is a petrified version of a primitive hut with a hemispherical roof resting on a basket-like frame, which was the type of shelter which was first erected over a stupa.
This excavation is probably the only rock-cut chaitya on the eastern seaboard of India. Though primitive and undeveloped, it is an ambitious attempt to reproduce in the comparatively fragile rock of the Eastern Ghats, a facsimile of an earlier shrine, made of wood, wattle or thatch, which has long since perished. The small vestibule in front with stone benches on either side and the curve of the arch testify to the early origin of this cave.

There are also two structural chaityas at Guntapalli. Overlooking the ravine stand the remains of a circular brick-built sanctuary. A porch connects a narrow passage with the shrine which is 11 metres in diameter. In the centre is the dagoba made of brick and earth faced with stone slabs. The three statues of the Buddha standing against the dagoba facing the entrance as well as those on the right of the porch were installed at a later date.

In front of the long flight of steps which leads to this chaitya is a cluster of nearly thirty stupas also made of brick and earth and encased in slabs of stone; and further to the west is the second chaitya, also made of brick, but apsidal in form.

It is 16 metres in length, 4.9 metres wide and the walls are 1.8 metres thick. The apse is separated from the hall by a cross wall with entrances leading to the circumambulatory passage around the object of worship, which may have been either a structural dagoba or an image of the Buddha placed on a pedestal. This chaitya, assigned to the second century A.D., is one of the largest structures of its type in India, a second being at Vedhyadharpuram near Vijayawada.

Although there is no rock-cut chaitya in the hills near the village of Sankaram, this area is noted for having one of the largest rock-cut stupas in the country. In fact, almost every rocky outcrop on the Bojjannakonda Hill has been converted into a votive stupa and finished with plaster.

The large stupa known as the Main Stupa was formed by quarrying the rock roughly to shape and facing it with brickwork. A flight of steps leads to the basement which is 24 metres square and 3.7 metres high. The cylindrical drum is 19.8 metres in diameter; the dome was partially rock-cut, the upper portion being composed of bricks.

In addition, there are four rock-cut sanctuaries in this area. Excavated at different levels, three caves contain reliefs of the Buddha and of Bodhisatvas and the fourth has a dagoba. This shrine is made up of four rows of four pillars, the dagoba occupying the central position between the central four pillars. The flat ceiling has a frame of rock-cut beams, wooden in appearance. The four central pillars are more decorative than the others, which are plain square columns. They consist of broad square bases, octagonal shafts which change to sixteen-sides and are surmounted by bracket capitals. The facade of this cave is decorated with a seated figure of the Buddha under a chaitya arch.

MAHAKALI

The existence of two groups of Buddhist cave temples north of Bombay, at Mahakali and at Kanheri, dating from pre-Christian times, is due to the importance of Sopara, which was a flourishing port when Bombay was no more than seven islands inhabited
by aboriginal fisherfolk, toddy tappers and cultivators of rice.

Fragments of the Eighth and Ninth Rock Edicts of the Emperor Asoka and the remains of a large stupa testify to the importance of Sopara (ancient Suparaka) in the third century B.C. In a large mound surrounded by a rectangular brick enclosure, locally known as “Buruda Rajacha Kota” (the Buruda Raja’s fort), was the remains of a brick stupa, 82 metres in circumference with a cylindrical chamber at the core. Within this chamber was a stone cofﬁer which contained, one within the other, copper, silver, stone, crystal and gold caskets. The innermost or gold casket had flowers made of gold foil and thirteen pieces of earthenware, generally believed to be the fragments of the Buddha’s begging bowl. All the other caskets contained gold flowers, beads, semi-precious stones and coins, and surrounding the copper casket were eight bronze images representing the Seven Manushi Buddhas—Vipasyin, Sikhi, Visvabhu, Krakuchchanda, Kanakamuni, Kashyapa and Sakyamuni—and Maitreya, the future Buddha.

Sopara was not only a great centre of the Buddhist religion, but was also a flourishing port and a principal anchorage for the ocean-going trade between the Red Sea and Persian Gulf ports and those in the south of India, Ceylon and in the Far East. It was also a terminus for the overland trade routes through Junnar and Kalyan. When the coastline changed and the sea receded Sopara’s greatness also receded. Yet along with the large monastic settlement at Kanheri, 40 kilometres to the south-east, it continued to attract pilgrims up to the fourth and fifth centuries and witnessed the arrival of the Mahayana monks, who enlarged and embellished the old stupa erected by Asoka.

From Kanheri, a path winds along the Dahisar stream, past the Tulsi and Vihar Lakes, to Marol and to the caves at Mahakali.

The group at Mahakali was a separate and isolated monastic retreat, 14 kilometres south of Kanheri. The earliest caves which include the chaitya were excavated in the third century or slightly later, and were the first attempts in the area, to create in rock a temple to accommodate the symbol or the monument of the dead Master. Possibly this lonely hillock was chosen so that these early monks could practise their religion in detachment, away from the influences of Kanheri and Sopara with which the former was so closely associated.

The Mahakali group, which is now within the limits of Bombay to the east of the Andheri railway station, was formerly referred to as Kondivte or Marol, the names of two old villages nearby. There are fifteen caves on the eastern side of the hillock and three on the west.

The chaitya Cave No. 9 (Fig. 2E) resembles the Sudama Cave in the Barabar Hill and consists of a pillarless flat-roofed antechamber with a door leading to a circular shrine which contains a dagoba 5.1 metres in diameter and 2.7 metres high. The roof of the sanctuary is domical, but unlike the Guntapalli Chaitya is devoid of ribbing. It has neither facade nor frontage and was probably fitted with a wooden screen which incorporated the chaitya arch. Nothing of this now remains having either perished or been destroyed by the landslide which broke off the front of the chaitya. On either side of the entrance to the dagoba chamber is a lattice window, that on the right having an inscription above it. Along the upper edge of the curved
outer wall of the sanctuary is an overhanging cave resembling that of a thatched hut.

Later Mahayana occupation in the fifth and sixth centuries can be seen in the sculptured compartments on the right wall (Plate 8B). There are none on the left wall. The largest composition is of the Buddha seated on a lotus throne supported by Naga figures and attended by Padmapani and Vajrapani. This relief is almost identical to that in Cave No. 35 at Kanheri. There are also several seated figures resembling those in Cave No. 6, a vihara at Ajanta, and another compartment with a standing figure of the Buddha.

The Mahakali Chaitya is a rare specimen. Its simplicity places it early in the Hinayana phase, but not as early as Guntapalli, where the domed roof is ribbed. Hereafter the dividing wall is removed, and the chaitya becomes a long apsidal chamber with the dagoba in the far end. Pillared naves and a facade partially in stone with wooden accessories have yet to appear.

To the early period belong Cave Nos. 1, 2, 4, 6 and 11, small viharas which provided the residential accommodation for the monks. The landslide which damaged the frontage of the chaitya also destroyed the porches of Nos. 6 and 11; as a result, the inner cells were later added. The vihara numbered 4 originally consisted of a front verandah with two or three cells. Later occupation by the followers of the Great Vehicle resulted in this vihara being extended, three cells being cut into each side wall and an image of the Buddha placed in the recess in the rear wall. A shrine was also added to Cave No. 2 and the large chaitya-vihara No. 13 was commenced to the north of the group.

Cave No. 13, a large quadrangular monastery, consists of a pillared porch with three doors leading to the inner pillared hall. There are three cells in each side; the central cell in the rear wall being the shrine, it has a pedestal for a statue of the Buddha. The entrance to the shrine is decorated with chaitya arch motifs, petals and pilasters. Similar decoration is also carved around the frame of Cave No. 2.

The remaining excavations are later additions, awkwardly inserted, which in many cases have intruded into the adjoining caves.

There are several structural and monolithic stupas on the crest of the hill as well as in front of the eastern group.

The chaitya and several of the adjacent caves have been taken over by “sadhus” and is now in the process of being used for the worship of Siva, the dagoba being the “lingam”.

JUNNAR

The ancient and historic town of Junnar is about 80 kilometres north of Poona. It was old in ancient times, hence its name.

There are several groups of Buddhist caves in the three hills around Junnar—Shivneri, Sulaiman and Manmoda, numbering in all over 400 excavations, which include almost every variety of rock-cut chaitya and several forms not met elsewhere. They are an intermediate stage between the intense plainness of the Kathiawar groups and those of the age that succeeded them. Some of the earliest excavations at Junnar belong to the period 150-100 B.C.
To the west of the Shivneri Hill is a small group of eleven caves known as the Tulja Lena group, after the name of the deity which has been installed in Cave No. 4. The chaitya here (Fig. 2 D) known as the Tulja Lena Chaitya resembles the circular chaitya at Guntapalli. The lower portion of the facade is completely open and the rock above has been undercut and no longer retains its original shape. The circular chamber is 9.3 metres in diameter. Twelve plain octagonal shafts, 3.4 metres in height, form the pillared passage around the rock-cut dagoba. The roof of this passage is curved or half-arched, similar to the roofs of the side aisles at Bhaja and Kondane. The ceiling of the shrine and also of the passage were originally braced with wooden beams and rafters. All the pillars have a slight inward rake and the two marking the entrance are slightly different from the others, in that they have a square neck about 45 centimetres from the top. The dagoba is 2.4 metres in diameter, a simple drum and dome, the harmika and other crowning members being absent.

There are traces of painting on the pillars of the Tulja Lena Chaitya, including one comparatively well preserved fragment depicting a woman; other than this, there is neither sculptural embellishment nor any inscription in this cave.
FIG. 8

MAP OF GUJARAT AND KATHIAWAR
CHAPTER 9

THE KATHIAWAR PENINSULA

In addition to the venue of rock architecture shifting to the eastern coast of India, a parallel shift to the Kathiawar Peninsula also took place (Fig. 8). In comparison to the caves in the Deccan, those in Gujarat are, to say the least, primitive. There are numerous cells three to six metres in depth, some containing dagobas, but too small and inadequately furnished to be regular chaityas. They are mostly astylar and devoid of ornamentation. Some of the viharas are comparatively large, 18 metres square, with severely plain decoration—shallow unformed chaitya arches with a broad rail pattern.

Long before Asoka proclaimed Buddhism to be the state religion, Chandragupta, the first of the Mauryan dynasty, had spread his power over the north-west frontiers of India, northern India and the greater part of the Kathiawar peninsula. The continuance of Mauryan rule and the advent of Buddhism to Gujarat is proved by fourteen edicts of Asoka, the grandson of Chandragupta, on a rock in Junagadh. Girinagara (Girnar or modern Junagadh) seems to have been the capital of peninsular Gujarat till about the sixth century A.D. and Broach (Bhrgukaccha), Barygaza of the Greeks, was an equally important town in south Gujarat.

There are two theories to account for the establishment of Buddhism in this region. The first is that wherever Asoka caused his edicts to be exhibited, he also settled missionaries in the area. Asoka's rock and pillar edicts are to be found all over his empire; he is also credited with raising 84,000 stupas. In this area, Devnemi in the Sabarkantha district of Gujarat and Sopara in the Thana district of Maharashtra, 53 kilometres north of Bombay, are the sites of such great stupas. No doubt Asoka's pillars and stupas may have been erected in the Deccan, in the vicinity of Karla and Ajanta, but they have long since disappeared either due to the vagaries of weather or by the hand of man. The first theory therefore implies that Buddhist bhikshus travelled to Western India all the way from Pataliputra, a long but not an hazardous journey in the days of Asoka.

The second theory is that Buddhism was promulgated in Gujarat by monks from Ceylon. An inscription at Nagarjunakonda and several references in Asoka's own edicts elsewhere mention a monk, Dharmaraksita of Simhaladvipa (Ceylon) as having brought the religion to Gujarat.

The existence of Asoka's edicts on the road to Girnar is sufficient evidence that the religion had been established in the Kathiawar peninsula during the lifetime of the Emperor, just as Buddhist monks had been settled at Sopara and Kanheri.
FIG. 9

JUNAGADH ("BAWA PYARA MATH"). FLOOR PLAN
to the north of Bombay. These early monks, who followed the mendicant and
renunciative way, founded their monasteries at Junagadh for the same reasons which
prompted their contemporaries to occupy Kanheri and Mahakali—to be sufficiently
remote from the distractions of a flourishing centre of commerce and trade. The
Gujarat caves display the primitiveness and simplicity which is associated with
the first or early abodes of these monks.

There are four groups of Buddhist rock-cut sanctuaries in Gujarat (Fig. 8):

- Junagadh
- Talaja
- Sana
- Kambhalida

**JUNAGADH**

This group which is on the eastern side of the town of Junagadh, near the Bawa
Pyara Math or monastery, is arranged in three rows. The first row to the north of
the monastery faces south; the second row runs southward from the east of the
former and contains a flat-roofed chaitya; the third row begins to the rear of the
second row and runs west (Fig. 9).

The chaitya in the second row, which is flanked by cells on either side, was
evidently the prayer hall of the settlement. It has a shallow semi-circular apse at the
far end. There is evidence of four square shafts having existed in the hall and since
the distance from the last set of pillars to the end of the apse is less than the distance
between two pillars, it is possible that a structural dagoba was placed within the four
pillars and not in the apsidal end. The probability also exists that an image was
placed on a pedestal in the apsidal end, the four pillars serving as an antechamber.

The rest of this complex consists of two adjacent cells that lead into a broad
verandah having six pillars and two pilasters, which in turn lead to a large courtyard
in front, flanked on all three sides with groups of cells.

The facade of the large excavation at the extreme west of the northern range
has been destroyed. Above the remains of the verandah pillars is a row of arches
(in the form of a semi-circle with a bar across its diameter) which is considered
to be the prototype of the chaitya arch ornamentation of later times. The facade
of the verandah in front of the dagoba cave is similarly decorated. South of this
chaitya is a verandah leading to two cells. The lintels of the doors of these cells
are roughly carved with various Buddhist symbols, from which some authorities
have inferred that this group is the oldest Buddhist rock-cut group in India.

Uparkot is the old fort of Junagadh. The excavation here, known as the "two-
storied hall", is interesting both on account of its plan and for the decorative motifs
and sculptures in both levels. It also resembles the "vavs" or stepped wells which
were built in Gujarat in later times.

The "two-storied hall" consists of a well or tank which is connected to a
chamber which has four pillars arranged in a square and two more at the northern
end. Steps lead down to the tank which is open to the sky. The rock above the four
pillars has been cut away, thereby making this chamber also open. Recessed benches have been cut around the three farther sides of the hall, above which is a frieze decorated with lattice and chaitya arches. The pillars surrounding the light and air passage are plain square shafts, the remaining two being sixteen-sided. The capitals of all the pillars are carved with animals.

A flight of steps at the north end of the hall leads to the lower chamber, which is not connected to the tank. To the left or east is a slightly raised square platform at the corners of which are two pillars and two pilasters, which support a rock-cut canopy attached to the roof. This was probably a pedestal for a moveable statue. In later Mahayana times, the image of the Buddha was treated like a Hindu god, being taken in procession, ceremonially bathed and worshipped with flowers, incense and hymns. There are two pillars in front of this canopy and four more in a position corresponding to the four above. The ceiling between these four pillars is cut away making the lower hall also open to the sky. Benched recesses are on all sides except the wall opposite the canopy. The frieze above these benches is decorated with chaitya arches within which are human figures. All the pillars in the lower storey, though much eroded, are decorated, the four surrounding the light and air passage having floral bases, fluted shafts and capitals with female and dwarf figures, above which are mythological animals.

The monasteries at Junagadh were the productions of the early Buddhists who reached the Kathiawar peninsula in the third century B.C., if not earlier. They subsequently passed to the Jains and finally reverted to the followers of the Great Vehicle. Hsuan Tsang, the Chinese traveller, when he visited this area in the seventh century, found many monasteries and convents of the Mahayana Buddhists.

**TALAJA**

In the south-east of the Kathiawar peninsula, near the mouth of the Satrunji river, on the north-west of a solitary rock, are excavated 36 caves and 20 pondhis or cisterns.

The frontages of most of the excavations have crumbled away and the cutting of a passage to the extensive Jain establishment on the top of the hill has destroyed several caves. They are generally plain pillared verandahs with cells at the back.

The ruined chaitya, numbered 3, consists of an open verandah and a long hall with a plinth on either side. Four cells in each wall lead onto the plinth. A single chamber in the rear contains the remains of a dagoba, its base and the capital, the latter being attached to the roof. The decorative arcading on the damaged facade, does not have the "wooden" look as elsewhere in Kathiawar. Cave No. 19 is similar, except that two pillars between pilasters screen the front portion of the hall. In the central cell at the far end, against its rear wall, is a plain rock-cut pedestal for a dagoba or an image, which is now missing.

The large vihara, No. 30, locally known as Ebhal Mandap, is 22.8 metres deep, 20.7 metres broad and 5.5 metres high. It has none of the features of a typical monastery—cells in the side walls and a verandah in front. Four octagonal pillars, now missing, screened the front of the hall. The facade is decorated with five broad arches resting on a well-cut band of the rail pattern, below which protrude the ends
of rafters. These five arches resemble the end-views of five chaitya halls, a wooden facade, a vaulted roof resting on pillars which separate the nave from the aisles, whose roofs are curved. To some extent, this arcing resembles the decoration at Junagadh which is unfinished. Here at Talaja, the design is more distinct and clear as if the chaitya arch was in the process of being established as a decorative motif.

The courtyard in front has benches on all sides, beneath which have been excavated large cisterns for water, whose openings are flanged for the fitment of wooden or stone covers.

**S A N A**

This is a large group of 62 caves near the village of Vankia, 24 kilometres north-east of Una railway station.

The large excavation, numbered 2, is similar to the Ebha Mandap at Talaja, and was probably used for the same purpose, as a refectory or a refreshment hall. It is 21 metres deep, 18.3 metres wide and 5.2 metres in height, with a row of six pillars between pilasters in front. The roof of the hall projects like a broad eave onto the courtyard which has residential cells cut in the side walls. Cave No. 22 is similar in plan, except for four pillars arranged in a square and a low plinth along all four walls.

The viharas at Sana are generally pillared verandahs with one or two cells, rarely more. The cells are, however, equipped with rock-cut benches and, in several cases, rock-cut pillows.

Cave No. 48 is a quadrangular monastery though there is no trace of the dagoba or image which occupied the central chamber at the far end. It consists of a verandah with six pillars between pilasters from which a door leads to the inner hall. Four cells on each side lead onto a low plinth and at the far end in front of the shrine are two pillars and pilasters rising out of a dwarf wall which form an antechamber.

The primitive apsidal chaitya No. 3 is made up of a pillared verandah from which one door leads to the inner hall. The dagoba is badly damaged. In the left wall a door leads to a small cell.

The chaitya numbered 26 (Fig. 10C) has a pillared verandah which has one door flanked by two windows. The inner hall is 9.3 metres deep, 5.5 metres wide and 4.3 metres in height. The dagoba in the apsidal end, though damaged in good condition. It is 2.4 metres in diameter and devoid of decoration. An innovation, however, is the concave neck between the dome and the drum. This chaitya, as well as Cave No. 3 bear some resemblance to the Sudhagarh chaitya at Nenavalli (Karsambale) if we can visualise the latter as it stood before the adjoining cells and hall were excavated.

**K H A M B H A L I D A**

Five groups were located in 1958 near the village of Khambhalida, in the rocky banks of a stream which meets the Bhader river 7 kilometres upstream from Jetpur.
FIG. 10

FLOOR PLANS OF SMALL CHAITYAS

A, Kuda No. 6; B, Shelarwadi; C, Sana No. 26; D, Pitalkhora Nos. 12 and 13
On the grounds of the style of the sculpture, they have been assigned to the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. The second series of three caves is interesting. The central excavation appears to be a chaitya with a worn-out dagoba in the far end. The dagoba is flanked by three large sculptures of the Bodhisattvas, Padmapani (or Avalokitesvara) and Vajrapani, and a panel of devotees under the shelter of trees. This is possibly the only specimen of a decorated chaitya among the many groups of plain rock-cut sanctuaries in Gujarat.

During the Greek and Saka occupation of Gujarat and also during the Ksaharata regime, Buddhism flourished in this region and several Buddhists contributed to the excavation of caves at Kanheri, Nasik, Karla and Junnar. It will be recalled that the early or Hinayana phase of rock architecture virtually ceased in the second century A.D. and was revived three hundred years later. It was during this period, when missionary activity was at a low ebb, that the Buddhist communities in Gujarat were supplanted by the Jains, who have retained their hold on this area to the present day. The revival of Buddhist activity in the fifth century along with which came a resurgence of rock architecture saw the reoccupation of several old sanctuaries.

Hinayana Buddhism though as old as the third century B.C. only came into prominence in Gujarat in the fifth century A.D. When Hsuan Tsang visited Western India in the seventh century, he found its influence in Sind, Cutch and Valabhi (in the east of the Kathiawar peninsula) was considerable, whereas the Sarvastivadins or Mahayana Buddhists were powerful in Broach and Junagadh.

Valabhi was like Nalanda, and courses of study at both universities may have been identical, but at Valabhi greater emphasis was laid on the study of the Hinayana doctrine. Upto A.D. 770, every Valabhi king patronised Buddhism and viharas were endowed to lodge the Sangha, for the worship of the Buddha image and for the installation and preservation of books. Hinayana of this period and locality had taken to the worship of the Buddha image. This would account for the dearth of ornamentation in the early excavations, the absence of regular chaityas, for several prayer-halls seem to be viharas with shrines, similar to the chaitya-viharas in the later caves of the Deccan of the same period.

Buddhism disappeared from Valabhi in the eighth century and slightly earlier from Sind when the Arabs occupied the latter and destroyed the former. In other parts of Western India, it lingered for a few centuries longer, in the south of Gujarat till the tenth century and in the Konkan till the twelfth century A.D.
There are four groups of Buddhist caves in the adjoining states of Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh:

**Bagh**: in the Dhar district of Madhya Pradesh, 75 kilometres west of the town of Mandu.

**Kolvi**: thirteen kilometres from the village of Dag, in the Jhalawar district of Rajasthan. Dag is 24 kilometres from Chaumala.

**Binnayaga**: eight kilometres north-east of Kolvi.

**Dhamner**: nineteen kilometres west of Shamgarh railway station, in the district of Mandasor, or 35 kilometres north-west of Kolvi.

**Bagh**

The small group of nine excavations on a solitary hill near the village of Bagh were excavated during the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. The traditional chaitya is here conspicuous by its absence, for these caves were produced at a time when the transition to a self-contained monastery with its own complementary shrine had taken place. Whereas in the Mahayana monasteries of this period, the shrine is occupied by an image of the Buddha, at Bagh the dagoba is the main object of worship, with figures of the Buddha sculptured on the surrounding walls.

The early phase of rock architecture virtually ceased in the second century A.D. Its revival in the fifth century saw the reoccupation of almost all the older sanctuaries' mainly by the followers of the Great Vehicle. In some parts of Gujarat and in these areas of Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan (generally known as Malwa), the older sites were taken over by the Hinayana Buddhists, who while continuing to give the place of honour to the dagoba, now included in their ritual, worship of the Buddha image.

Cave No. 2 is a quadrangular vihara with a shrine cut in the rear wall. It consists of a pillared verandah at either end of which are cells. The facade is decorated with chaitya arches within which are the heads of tigers and lotus flowers. Three doors lead to an inner hall which has 20 pillars arranged in a square. A pillared antechamber leads to the shrine at the far end. In the side walls are 18 cells. The inner group of four pillars have moulded bases, spirally fluted shafts and bracket capitals, whereas the outer pillars, though similar, are relieved by a variety of motifs and floral decorations.
The side walls of the antechamber are carved with a standing figure of the Buddha, flanked by attendants. Two Bodhisattvas guard the entrance to the shrine which contains a dagoba.

The plan of Cave No. 3 is unusual. It consists of a forecourt, a verandah, a hall with eight pillars and a second pillared hall at the far end. There are four cells on the right and a pillared vestibule on the left which leads to a chamber whose walls are painted with figures of the Buddha, surrounded by kneeling devotees. On either side of this chamber are two cells.

The excavation locally known as "Rang Mahal" or the Painted Mansion, Cave No. 4, deserves special mention on account of its mural paintings and the three ornamental porches within the pillared hall. It is a large excavation (Fig. 4A) with 28 pillars and 4 pilasters. In the three side walls are 27 cells which include the double cell to the right of the shrine and a triple cell at the far end of the right wall, the third chamber being below the level of the floor.

Within the pillared hall there is a secondary group of 10 masonry pillars, four of which are square and six circular in section. They are so placed as to form three ornamental porches which lead to the aisles formed by the 28 rock-cut pillars. Two circular pillars support a false roof which projects outwards from the centre of each inner row of pillars. On either side of these pillars are two square columns. This design is repeated on the other two sides, one outer square pillar being common to the adjacent porch. All the capitals are sculptured with animals, some fabulous, and some of the capitals are painted. The entablature above the front columns consists of chaitya arches with figures of the Buddha within. The frame of the central doorway of the verandah is also sculptured with bands of scroll-work, floral patterns, seated figures of the Buddha and chaitya arches. In a larger cell in the centre of the rear wall is the dagoba, which stands on a moulded base complete with drum, dome and capital.

This cave was once lavishly painted. The largest surviving composition on the rear wall of the verandah depicts a series of apparently unconnected narratives—a picture of a weeping woman with her sympathising companion; next a group of seated persons listening to a discussion; beyond this is a group of handsome musicians and dancers; followed by two processions—a host of horsemen and a mixed band of horsemen and elephant riders, which include women.

The walls, ceilings and pillars of the hall are embellished with a variety of floral and animal paintings, all rendered with the same skill as the murals described above.

A chamber at the left end of the verandah of the Rang Mahal leads to a long pillared hall, its double row of pillars rising from low dwarf walls. A rock-cut bench or plinth runs the entire length of the three walls. The absence of residential cells and a shrine indicates that this cave, No. 5, was a refectory or an annexe to the Rang Mahal. A passage from the hall of Cave No. 5 leads to the adjacent vihara.

The remaining excavations, mainly solitary cells and viharas, are in ruins.

KOLVI

There are about fifty caves at Kolvi, excavated out of rugged coarse rock, which
was unsuitable for fine carving and finish. They do not present an attractive appearance, though when originally produced must have looked less gloomy, as their facades and walls were plastered. There is reason to believe that there are many more caves buried in the slopes of the hills. The majority of the excavations are either plain cells or oblong chambers with a cell at the back or in one of the sides. The pillared porch seldom occurs.

There are two double-storied excavations here. The one with the symmetrical facade consists of a narrow chamber with three cells at the back and a staircase on the left which leads to two cells, one entered through the other. The other double-storied cave has a small chamber with a passage on two adjacent sides, while the upper storey consists of a verandah leading to a chamber with two pillars. These bear no comparison to the storied viharas at Ellora.

Many of the residential cells have beds or benches, some with a single rock-cut pillow, others with two pillows. There are also three free-standing stupas at Kolvi. These stupas consist of a base, a narrow cylindrical drum, often with projections containing images of the Buddha and an elongated dome with the usual capital. The tower-like appearance of these stupas suggests a date in the sixth or seventh century.

Kolvi is noteworthy for a novel type of chaitya. These chaityas have been produced in the outward or external form of a stupa, though the chamber within is either apsidal or rectangular with a rock-cut dagoba in the far end. In addition, there are several free-standing stupas which are quite unlike such stupas elsewhere in India.

The free-standing stupas of Kolvi usually consist of a square base with mouldings, surmounted by a cylindrical drum, also with mouldings and projected niches containing miniature stupas or images of the Buddha. The dome is elongated and is surmounted by the usual crowning elements, the harmika and umbrella.

By the time these caves were excavated, the followers of the Lesser Vehicle had lost their hold in most parts of India, except in Malwa and Gujarat. They had taken to worshipping images of the Buddha, though they did not accept the Mahayana doctrine of the Bodhisattvas. Mahayana dagobas of this period and in other parts of the country were carved with the image of the Buddha attended by Bodhisattvas, to such prominence that the Buddha literally overshadowed the dagoba. In this area, the Hinayana Buddhists struck a mean between reverence of the stupa or dagoba and exclusive worship of the Buddha’s image. Hence miniature stupas and images of the Buddha appear on the dagobas, but representations of the Bodhisattvas are conspicuous by their absence.

There are five rock-cut shrines or sanctuaries at Kolvi. All of them are plain rectangular chambers with an image of the Buddha in the “dhyana mudra” (in abstract meditation) carved on the rear wall.

The three stupa-shaped chaityas are a new conception in Buddhist rock architecture. Externally these chaityas have a square ornamental platform or basement, a cylindrical drum with mouldings and an elongated dome, whose crowning elements are now missing.

The largest chaitya, numbered 2 (Plate 9), is also the most elaborate in this group.
The facade of the basement is embellished with chaitya windows and niches, and in each of the four sides is a projection, that on the front being fashioned into a pillared entrance porch to the chaitya hall or crypt within. The drum is also carved with a continuation of the projected porches, the spaces between them being filled with chaitya windows, one above the other and flanked by pilasters with bracket capitals. The missing dome above was evidently of masonry.

The pillared front porch leads to the shrine which has a vaulted roof and a pedestal at the far end which has an image of the Buddha on it.

The remaining two stupa-shaped chaityas are similar in design though the images of the Buddha in the crypt are missing.

In addition to the stupa-shaped chaityas, Kolvi has another unique chaitya. Unlike those described, which are hemispherical, resting on a square base, this chaitya is oblong and the rear end is rounded. The crypt within is apsidal with a vaulted ceiling over both the nave and the side aisles, and in the centre of the far end is a stupa-shaped shrine, within which is a rectangular chamber with an arched ceiling. A large image of the Buddha seated on a pedestal is carved against the rear wall. The entrance to this "sanctum sanctorum" was made by "attaching" two short parallel walls to the rounded stupa.

**BINNAYAGA**

There are twenty odd excavations at the village of Binnayaga, almost all produced on the same plan as those at Kolvi. There are also several free-standing stupas.

The stupa-shaped sanctuary has a moulded platform, a cylindrical drum also with mouldings and an elongated dome, the upper part of which having been made of masonry is now missing. The platform and drum have projections at the cardinal points extended in the form of pillared porches. The roof of the entrance porch rests on architraves which are supported by two plain pillars and pilasters. It is barrel shaped and is decorated with chaitya arches in front and at each end, the whole being crowned by a pinnacle in the shape of a chaitya arch. The blind window in these arches is completely circular.

Behind the porch is a rectangular sanctum with a flat ceiling, cut into the depth of the platform, and against its rear wall is a tall pedestal for an image which has been removed.

To the left of this sanctuary is a ruined vihara. The only other cave of interest consists of two corridors on either side of an open courtyard, a closed-in porch leading to a pillared chamber, which has a cell at either end. To the right is a narrow hall leading to a shrine, which has a vacant pedestal against the rear wall.

**DHAMNER**

The majority of the seventy caves at Dhamner are devoid of interest. They consist of open verandahs with one or more cells. The quadrangular layout seldom occurs. Some of the cells have recesses, while others have rock-cut beds or benches with pillows. Though images of the Buddha are carved on the walls and in the shrines,
there is a noticeable predilection for stupas—that ancient and revered symbol of the early Buddhists. Either free-standing in the open, as cult objects in the shrines and even in solitary cells and as reliefs within niches, the number of stupas and dagobas at Dhamner is overwhelming.

There are several different forms of chaityas and chaitya-viharas here. Cave No. 7, a chaitya-vihara, consists of an elaborate verandah approached from the courtyard by a flight of steps. The inner pillared hall has three cells in each of the three sides, the central cell in the rear wall containing a plain dagoba. The roof of this excavation is flat except between the rear pillars and the entrance to the shrine, where it is arched.

A pillared verandah or porch leads to Cave No. 9 which is a rectangular chaitya with a stereotyped dagoba at the far end. Cave No. 11 consists of a porch whose pillars rise from a dwarf wall which is decorated on the exterior with the rail pattern. The ceiling of the inner hall resembles a frame of wooden beams which are supported by two rows of pillars.

The Dhamner group has one interesting excavation, Cave No. 12, locally known as "Bhim ka bazaar" (Pl. 10, Fig. 11). Its peculiar arrangement is not seen anywhere else in India.

This chaitya is 10.7 metres deep, 4.2 metres broad and has a vaulted ceiling ribbed in stone. The dagoba is of the usual type with a tall dome. The pillared ambulatory passage is outside the walls of the shrine and encloses a corridor which runs round the west, north and part of the eastern sides; from this, four cells are entered from the north, ten on the west and three on the east. The central cell in the eastern row has a dagoba with an image of the Buddha carved on it. The cells in the north row have benches and pillars cut from the rock.

To the left of the entrance (Plate 11) is a large chamber containing a dagoba, and in advance of the front are small rock-cut stupas 1.5 metres in diameter, which seem to occupy the place of external pillars in the older chaityas. On the walls of the porch are carved six dagobas in half-relief.

"It seems to be a confused mass of chambers and chaityas in which all the original parts are confounded and all the primitive simplicity of design and arrangement is lost, to such an extent that without previous knowledge, they would be hardly recognisable." On the other hand, it becomes a proper Hinayana chaitya of the second or third century A.D. if we consider the external pillars to form the cloister of seventeen pillars on the three sides of the chaitya (Fig. 11).

Cave No. 13 is an apsidal chaitya with a flat roof. The dagoba is a tapering cylindrical drum on an octagonal base surmounted by a dome which is more than a hemisphere.

In the centre of a broad rectangular court is a large rock-cut stupa. Behind the stupa is a sanctuary containing a colossal seated figure of the Buddha with a processional path around it. The doors of the shrine and its walls are reliefs with figures of the Buddha in various positions or mudras. In the left wall of the court are two additional shrines, one of which has a dagoba, and the other an image of the Buddha.

At Kolvi, Binnayaga and also at Dhamner, the last of the Hinayana Buddhists
had evolved a unique form of chaitya. They retained the principal cult object, the dagoba, which was an indispensable element of their ritual, yet accommodated images of the Buddha. In so doing, these priestly architects produced a stupa with an internal shrine, which was surrounded by a circular or apsidal chaitya, the whole being carved out of the living rock. At Dhamner, they went one step further and created a chaitya surrounded by a vihara, the pillars being outside its walls, which in turn formed the pillared corridor of the surrounding vihara.

FIG. 11
DHAMNER NO. 12
("Bhim ka Bazaar"). Floor Plan
The Konkan is a narrow strip of lowland along the west coast of India, extending from the Damanganga river in the north to Goa in the south (Fig. 12). In this chapter have been grouped the caves at Kuda, Karad, Mahad, Sudhagarh, Sheralwadi, Shirwal, Wai and Kol. The groups at Kanheri and at Mahakali are omitted, having been treated separately, while those at Karad, Wai, Shirwal and Sheralwadi, though strictly not in the Konkan, have for convenience been included (Fig. 12).

The caves in the South Konkan, to be precise, are in a class by themselves. Though as old as any of the excavations near Lonavla, Aurangabad and Junnar, they present the appearance of an unending series of rock-cut chambers, poorly executed and rarely adorned with sculpture. There is no trace of paintings, nor any indication that such decoration was ever attempted. Almost all the caves are served by pondhis or cisterns, several have stone benches, and the existence of inner or secondary cells fitted with doors is noticeable.

**Kuda**

On the eastern shore of the northern arm of the Murad-Janjira creek, there are 25 Buddhist caves near the village of Kuda. They are all exceedingly plain and so much alike in size that it will only be necessary to refer to the principal excavations.

The lowest and farthest to the north, is one of four caves which contain dagobas. It consists of a verandah with a cell on the left, a benched recess on the right and a large square hall with two plain octagonal pillars rising from a dwarf wall at the far end. These pillars serve as an antechamber to the shrine, which has a plain dagoba reaching to the ceiling.

Cave No. 5 is a square vihara devoid of cells. There are three shallow recesses in the rear wall and a low plinth runs along the other three sides. An inscription in the verandah records that this cave and a cistern were the gifts of a female ascetic, Paduminika and her followers, Bodhi and Asalpamita.

The principal excavation of the group is a chaitya, numbered 6 (Fig. 10A). The roof in front of the verandah is supported at either end on the head and shoulders of elephants. One broad door flanked by windows gives access to the inner hall which has a plinth on three sides. Two plain shafts rising from low benches separate the antechamber from the hall. The back or outer side of these benches is decorated with animals and dwarfs between bands of floral patterns above and below. To the
FIG. 12

MAP OF THE KONKAN (WESTERN INDIA)
PLATE 17
Entrance to Vihara No. 4, Pitalkhora
PLATE 18
Facade, Chaitya No. 12, Pitalkhora
PLATE 19
Chaitya No. 13, Pitalkhora
PLATE 20

Facade, Chaitya No. 9, Ajanta
PLATE 22
Buddha sculpture in shrine, Cave No. 1, Ajanta
PLATE 23
Facade, Cave No. 7, Ajanta
PLATE 24
Facade, Chaitya No. 19, Ajanta
PLATE 27
Entrance to Chaitya, Bedsa
PLATE 28
A, Verandah, Chaitya, Bedsa
B, Detail of pillar, Great Chaitya, Karla
PLATE 30
Facade, Cave No. 3, Nasik
PLATE 31
Facade, Cave No. 10, Nasik
PLATE 32
A, Chaitya No. 3, Kanheri. B, Ambika Lena, Chaitya No. 17, Junnar
left of the antechamber is a cell with a bench, behind which is a small chamber probably used for the storage of temple property. The large oblong shrine has a plain dagoba 2.2 metres in diameter. There are two interesting reliefs at the corners of the far end of the hall. These panels have life-size male and female figures with a dwarf attendant. They bear such a close resemblance to those on the screen of the Great Chaitya at Karla, even to the garments, headdress and ornaments, that there is little reason to doubt that they belong to the same period, about the first century B.C.

The verandah has several reliefs of the Buddha, one of which depicts the Buddha seated on a lotus throne below which is a wheel supported on a pillar held by nagas and nagiṇis. On either side of the pillar are three deer. These sculptures are later additions of the fifth or sixth century A.D.

To the south are Cave Nos. 8 and 15, chaityas, which are similar to Cave Nos. 1 and 6. The remaining excavations in the upper terrace are plain viharas, verandahs, cells with benches and attached pondhis.

**KARAD**

This is a large group of 66 excavations, 7 kilometres south-west of the town of Karad, near the village of Lakhanwadi, in the Agawasi or Agaswa Hill, overlooking the Koyna River.

The absence of pillars, the smallness of many of the excavations, the frequency of stone benches, the simple forms of the dagobas and the almost inexistent sculpture, combine to indicate their early age. The inscriptions are weather-worn but appear to belong to the Karla period. The Karad group was excavated about the same time as the groups at Kuda, Mahad and Shelarwadi and not far from those at Nasik and Junnar.

There are several chaityas in this group, the first being Cave No. 5 (Fig. 13A), which is badly ruined, the front having fallen away. The chaitya arch of the window was either not completed when the frontage collapsed or had not been adopted, for above the entrance is a square window. At either side is a pilaster, the lower portions of which are destroyed, but from what is existent they bear a resemblance to the capitals in the Nasik viharas, that is, crowned by three square tiles supporting either a wheel or chakra, the emblem of the Buddhist doctrine or law; or the lion or sinha, a symbol of the Buddha himself. This indicates early Hinayana. Since the rock has been badly eroded, it is not possible to tell whether there were wooden additions or accessories in front or around the square window and protecting the entrance.

The chaitya hall from the entrance to the end of the semi-circular apse is about 12.2 metres in length and 4 metres broad. There are no pillared aisles though the roof is arched. The dagoba is simple and supports a heavy capital whose umbrella is carved on the roof above, which was connected to the capital by a stone shaft, now broken.

The second chaitya, No. 11, was not only unfinished but has also suffered damage. It is rectangular, 8.8 metres long, 4.3 metres broad and flat-roofed. The third, No. 16, is smaller than No. 5, its verandah is supported by two square pillars

[65]
FIG. 13
FLOOR PLANS OF SMALL CHAITYAS
A. Karad No. 5; B. Karad No. 48; C. Junnar—Shivneri No. 1; D. Junnar—Shivneri No. 48; E. Junnar—"Bhima Shankar"; F. Junnar—Lenyadri No. 15.
without base or capital, and a square recess at the far end of the hall contains a dagoba in better condition than those in the two chaityas already described.

A vihara of interest is Cave No. 24. At either end of the verandah is a row of chaitya arches between bands of the rail pattern. Below, the wall has been divided into compartments, but no trace of the carving now exists. The inner hall is 6.4 metres wide and 7 metres deep, from which four cells lead off on the right, three in the rear wall and one on the left, all with lattice windows. The only other excavation with lattice windows at Karad is Cave No. 29.

The only figure sculpture in the Karad group occurs in Cave No. 48 (Fig. 13B). It consists of a broad pillared verandah with a range of five cells to the rear. The central chamber which is much larger than those flanking it contains a traditional dagoba in good condition. The upper portion of the drum and the harmika are carved with the rail pattern, and the umbrella which is carved on the ceiling is connected to the capital by a stone shaft. In front and to the right of the dagoba, against the wall, is a group of three mutilated figures—a man wearing a turban with armlets and bracelets, a smaller figure with an offering, and a female.

Cave No. 60 is 11.6 metres deep and 4.3 metres wide with a vaulted roof. It is apsidal and bears some resemblance to the Bedsa Vihara. Above the entrance is a row of chaitya arches, and though there is no trace of a dagoba in the apse, this cave may have been a primitive form of chaitya, with a structural dagoba.

MAHAD

Mahad is a picturesque town, 205 kilometres south of Bombay, on the Konkan or West Coast Road. One kilometre from the town is the village of Pala, and these caves are sometimes referred to as the Pala Caves. The Mahad group faces west and overlooks the Savitri or Bankot River. There are 31 excavations, twenty in the upper scarp and the rest about 6 to 9 metres lower down.

The majority of the excavations consists of a hall with a pillared verandah in front and a shrine or cella in the far end. Several are in ruins and many are unfinished. The only decorative motif, and this appears rather infrequently, is the rail pattern on the parapet or wall between pillars and pilasters. Several cells have benches which indicate that they were excavated in early Hinayana times. The inscriptions which are donative and the sculptured images of the Buddha with attendants however point to later Mahayana occupation.

Cave No. 1, at the south end of the upper scarp, though unfinished, is a large chaitya-vihara of the same plan as the later Mahayana chaitya halls at Ajanta, Ellora and elsewhere. It consists of a pillared verandah (only one of the six pillars being finished) and a large hall, wider at the rear than in front. There are four incomplete cells in the left wall, five including the shrine in the rear, and none in the right wall. A plinth runs around all four sides of the hall. In the centre of the rear wall is the shrine containing a square mass of rock rising to the roof. In front is an image of the Buddha seated on a wheel, in the Teaching Attitude, with deer beneath, attended by chauri-bearers and vidhyadharas above. Other standing figures are carved on either side of the square mass of rock, and on the back wall a second seated
figure of the Buddha has been outlined.

The largest excavation in this group is Cave No. 8, another chaitya. It bears some resemblance to that at Kuda. All the pillars of the verandah are broken, and the dagoba in the shrine at the far end has been hewn away, but its umbrella and shaft are carved on the roof. In the rear wall is an inscription stating that this “chaityagraha,” along with another cave, eight cells and two cisterns were the gift of prince Kanhabhoa Vishnupalita. All the cells in the side walls and adjacent to the shrine have double sockets at the doors.

Cave No. 15 is a small excavation consisting of a verandah, a small hall and a recess containing a dagoba carved in high relief with a broad band of the rail pattern around the upper edge of the drum (Plate 12A).

In the lower scarp at the south end of the group is Cave No. 21, probably the oldest excavation at Mahad. It is a small chamber containing a dagoba 1.5 metres in diameter, reaching to the roof, with a broad band of the rail pattern on the upper edge of the drum. In the north wall is carved a seated Buddha with attendant chauri-bearers and vidhyadharas, the latter holding a crown over the Buddha’s head. Above them is a garland of flowers hanging from the mouths of two makaras on either side (Plate 12B) as at Cave No. 6 at Kuda and similar to that in the southern half of the screen wall of the Karla Chaitya. The south wall has a cell containing a bench. Cave No. 27 is a small cell containing a dagoba in half relief which stands on a pedestal ornamented with the rail pattern. The total height including the umbrella is 1.2 metres.

**SUDHAGARH**

There are two groups of Buddhist caves in this area, one at Thanale and the other at Nenavali, which are located in the Sudhagarh taluka or sub-division of the Kolaba district of Maharashtra.

The Thanale group of 23 excavations is about 18 kilometres from Pali, a small town at the foot of the Sarasgadh Fort. The principal cave here is a vihara, consisting of a hall, a plinth on three sides with cells in the walls, which are level with the plinth, and from which steps lead down to the hall.

The entrances to the cells are decorated with the chaitya arch motif. The recesses between the doors are also ornamented with the same motif, the spaces between these arches being filled with the rail pattern and lattice windows. Each cell has a stone bench. Stone plaques have been let into the northern and eastern walls, two metres above the plinth, two of which have inscriptions in the Brahmi script of the second century B.C., testifying to donations made towards the construction of these caves. Above the recess on the northern wall is a bas-relief of a five-headed serpent which is repeated in miniature on the southern wall. Adjacent to this is another relief of a couple standing on a fish. A much later addition is a lotus painted on the ceiling of the vihara.

The chaitya cave is devoid of interest, the facade having fallen away. It is a plain cell with a dagoba 3.6 metres in height at the far end. The upper portion of the drum is carved with the rail pattern.

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Steps leading from the chaitya cave to the adjacent excavations have long since crumbled, and the only path now available is along the face of the rock.

An interesting excavation is the stupa gallery. It consists of a large low-roofed chamber with eight stupas carved out of rock. They bear a close resemblance to the stupas in the gallery at Bhaja. The remaining caves to the north are single cells excavated at different levels.

Nenavali is about 35 kilometres from Pali or a further 17 from Thanale, via the villages of Bhairampada and Pachapur. The 37 caves at Nenavali are also referred to as the Karsamble group. They are in an advanced state of ruin and in several cases the overhanging rock has collapsed, thereby blocking entry to the caves.

The principal excavation here is Cave No. 13, a large chamber consisting of 15 cells and one chaitya cell carved in the three walls. It is made up of a large assembly area nearly 16 metres square with a plinth similar to that at Thanale, 60 centimetres higher than the pit and 2.4 metres wide running round the three sides. The southern wall has five cells, the northern has four and the western has seven, the second from the right being the chaitya cell. All the residential cells have benches. Steps lead down from the plinth to the hall whose floor is level with that of the chaitya cell (Plate 13A).

The chaitya is apsidal with a vaulted roof and contains a dagoba 2.7 metres high. There are signs of water seeping through the roof and being led around the dagoba across the floor to the edge of the cliff. This runnel is flanged so that it could be covered with stone slabs.

Remnants of a short flight of steps at the northern and southern ends of the hall lead to the caves beyond. The existence of square and round sockets in the ceiling and in the floor indicates that a structural screen was fitted to screen off or segregate the chaitya.

The remaining excavations consist of single, double and even triple caves, similar in plan to those at Mahakali, the entrance to the inner cells being through that in front. All these cells have stone benches and recesses. The inner cells were furnished with wooden doors as sockets for such arrangements are noticeable.

SHELARWADI

The small group at Shelarwadi is in the Garodhi Hill near the army cantonment town of Dehu Road, about 24 kilometres north-west of Poona. The chief excavation here is a large irregular hall with four cells on the right, three on the left (the fourth being entirely ruined) and three in the rear. The central chamber containing a truncated dagoba, whose umbrella is seen carved on the roof, has been appropriated by the followers of Siva (Fig. 10B).

To the south-east is a rectangular excavation opening onto four cells at the back. Between each pair of doors are pilasters with "lota" bases and bell-shaped capitals surmounted by animals over which is a projecting frieze of the rail pattern. This has also been taken over by the Hindus.
SHIRWAL

There are 15 caves at Shirwal, a small village, 48 kilometres south of Poona. This group is situated in the eastern slopes of a range of hills 4 kilometres south of the Shirwal Travellers’ Bungalow.

The majority of the excavations are either ruined or are filled with debris. They are of the same severely plain type as are all the early caves.

The rectangular astylar chaitya is 6 metres deep and 4.3 metres wide with a plain dagoba at the far end. Nearby is a vihara, followed by a natural cavern and several cells with rock-cut benches, all in an advanced state of ruin.

WAI

There are nine excavations about 6 kilometres north of the sacred Brahmanical town of Wai. The group consists of two damaged viharas one of which is decorated with figure sculpture, now much mutilated, a few cells and one chaitya.

The inner hall of the chaitya is roughly 9 metres square, has four cells on the right and three at the back. A plinth runs along the left wall which extends to part of the front and rear walls. All the cells have benches and small plain windows. The central cell in the rear wall contains a dagoba which has been converted into an emblem of Siva, under the style of Palkesvara or Palkoba.

KOL

To the east of Mahad, across the Savitri River, in the hill behind the village of Kol, is a small group of solitary cells. Most of these excavations are incomplete and are hardly of any interest.
CHAPTER 12

BHĀJA

This group of twenty-two excavations is one and a half kilometre south of the Malavli railway station and about 4 kilometres south of the Bombay-Poona Road, from which a path turns off 125 kilometres from Bombay. The neighbouring township of Lonavla is a convenient halting place for Bhaja, Bedsa, Karla and Kondane. The caves are easily approachable and are cut out of the rock above the village of Bhaja.

The first impression of the chaitya (Plate 14) is its “wide-openness”. This was never meant to be, for no chaitya in India nor any place or house of worship was ever so open or exposed. The courtyard in front, much wider twenty-one centuries ago than now, was occupied by a wooden construction which was fitted below and in front of the chaitya arch, forming a gallery or balcony, and was decorated on its front with the rail pattern similar to that higher up on both sides of the finial. Beneath this gallery the woodwork was further extended outwards and downwards as a screen with one central and two side doors. The upper ends of this extension were similar in shape and design to the rest of the decoration around the present facade. One can visualise what this screen, made of wood, looked like from the stone examples at Bedsa, Karla and Kanheri.

The chaitya window was divided into lunettes by curved semi-circular transoms held in place by wooden braces, radiating like the spokes of a wheel. The design of this window may be seen in the chaitya arch ornamentation immediately under the overhanging rock above. Fergusson and Burgess who surveyed this group nearly one hundred years ago noticed three rows of pinholes on the surface of the arch, suggestive of a wooden facing fixed thereon.

If we take the shape and the curve of a chaitya arch to be an indication of its antiquity, the arch at Bhaja (Fig. 5B) would be the oldest in this region. This form of decoration first appeared at Lomas Rishi where the gable-ends resemble laminated boards, more bent than curved. The Bhaja Chaitya arch is a squat curve, broad at its base, the lower end seeming to widen, whereas at the Manmoda Chaitya at Junnar, due to either erosion or defects in the rock, it is difficult to say whether it was broader or merely parallel, i.e., whether it ended at the diameter of a semi-circle. On the other hand the Kondane Chaitya arch and also Ajanta No. 9 show signs of narrowing at the base. The shape of this arch and the now non-existent beams on either side of the archway, being originally made of wood and long ago having perished, are sound indications that this chaitya is one of the earliest.
FIG. 14

FLOOR PLANS OF HINAYANA CHAITYAS
A. Bhaja; B. Kondane; C. Pitalkhora No. 3; D. Ajanta No. 9; E. Bedsa; F. Ajanta No. 10
The only figure sculptures in this chaitya are two half-figures “looking out of a window” on the projecting side to the right of the arch, and on the same side are the heads of two others in compartments in the facade, level with the top of the arch. To the left, in line with the top of the pillars, is a female figure with a beaded girdle about the waist.

The hall (Fig. 14A) is 18 metres in length and 8.2 metres across with a semi-circular apse at the back, separated by 27 plain octagonal pillars which set aside aisles 106 cm wide. The pillars slope inwards and are about 7 cm out of perpendicular in their length of 4.15 metres. This inward rake is a constant feature of the early Buddhist excavations.

The dagoba is 3.4 metres in diameter and is made up of a cylindrical base or drum, 1.2 metres high, with a squat dome on it. The surmounting harmika or pedestal is two-storied (similar to that at Kondane) with a receptacle 48 cm square. Sunk into the dome is a deep socket for the shaft of the umbrella which once canopied the dagoba. The upper portion of the capital being of separate stone indicates that it was a receptacle for relics. The usual three flat members that surmount it are wanting and could have been made of wood. The sockets cut into the dome and the drum of the dagoba were not meant for offerings or lamps, but were used as reliquaries. Almost all the dagobas in Hinayana chaityas are equipped with such repositories.

The roof is vaulted, the arch rising from a narrow ledge over the triforium, and is closely ribbed with wood, much of which is still in place. The absence of echo is noticeable. Two short dedicatory inscriptions recently discovered on the wooden beams in the apse-end of the nave tend to prove that the timber in the vaulted roof may have been in position for not less than two thousand one hundred years.

The front was evidently entirely of wood and four sockets chiselled in the floor show the position of the uprights. There are also mortises in the arch showing where the main cross-beams of wood were placed to secure the wooden lattice in the upper part of the window. In Kondane the pillars in front and in line with those dividing the aisles were of stone, whereas here at Bhaja they were of wood. Further indications are the struts and brackets; in fact, almost everything chiselled in great detail in the Bhaja Chaitya is so much the work of the carpenter.

This cave is a fine example of an early Hinayana chaitya, if not the first of the true rock-cut chaityas in India. There is also no evidence of later occupation by the Mahayana Buddhists. “It is a building of a people accustomed to wooden structures only, but here petrified into more durable material. There is not one feature nor one detail which is not wooden throughout or that could not have been invented from any other form of stone construction, or was likely to be used in lithic architecture, except in rock.”

With the exceptions of the chaitya, Cave No. 12, the “stupa gallery” and the small and unique chaitya-vihara No. 18 further along the scarp, the remaining excavations at Bhaja consist of small chambers and some irregular and incomplete monasteries. The walls are decorated with the rail and chaitya arch patterns and the attached cells are invariably equipped with benches, niches or recesses and perforated windows.
There are two dagoba cells at Bhaja, one of which is a small circular excavation with a dagoba within. The other is also circular, but has a porch in front. The dagoba which was structural is missing.

The monastery attached to the chaitya was excavated some distance to the south and is numbered 4. By comparison it is complete and correctly designed, unlike the two on either side of the chaitya, Nos. 9 and 13. It consists of three cells in each of the side walls and a large cell at the far end. The third cell on the right has a secondary or inner cell. This is a constant feature of these monasteries. These cells were probably used to store the treasures and other property of the temple. The two excavations referred to above were later additions which were awkwardly inserted, as may be seen from the absence of cells in the right wall of No. 9 and the left wall of No. 13, both of which have broken into the chaitya. Most of the viharas have attached pondhis or cisterns.

Further along the scarp is an interesting excavation, No. 18, the chaitya-vihara. It was probably the earliest in the group. This cave consists of a pillared porch with a cell at either end and a pedestal to the right for a structural dagoba. Within is a small square astylar hall with four attached cells. The pillars of the verandah or porch are recent reconstructions. They originally had square bases and capitals, the central portions being chamfered to octagonal. The capital of the pilaster on the left was later modified to the shape of a bell surmounted by fabulous animals. The arched ceiling of the porch seems to rest on a rock-cut frame of beams and rafters, which is supported by figures and dagobas in half-relief, which in turn stand on a broad projecting lintel.

On either side of the door leading to the chamber at the right of the porch are two interesting panels. That on the left depicts a charioteer with women attendants, and below the horses are misshapen figures. This panel is popularly called the Sun Panel, the central figure being Surya, the Sun God, dispelling the demons of darkness. The panel to the right of the door is a complicated scene of an elephant rider with attendants, the elephant having uprooted a tree. The details of the scenes below the elephant are difficult to discern (Plate 15).

The front wall of the hall is pierced by two doors and a lattice window. The doors are flanked by three dwarpalas or door-keepers. There are two cells in the rear wall and two in the right wall. Along the left wall is a low plinth whose upper edge is carved with the rail pattern. The doors of the cells are framed in chaitya arches, and so are the niches between them and the wall above. The panels on the left wall above the plinth are carved with a dwarpal with a spear, also standing under arches.

At an early stage in the evolution of Buddhist rock architecture, a small chapel with attached cells was first excavated near the site of the main hall, in which the few monks entrusted with the direction of the work could live and conduct their ritual. Another fine example is at Nasik, also a perfect specimen in miniature and the earliest in that group.
Chapter 13

KONDANE

There are sixteen excavations at Kondane, which is a tiny village 33 kilometres north of Lonavla and 5 kilometres east of the “flag station” of Thakurwadi on the Central Railway. The Kondane group is in the same range of hills as the forts of Manranjan (Rajmachi) and Srivardhan. The caves are about 30 metres above sea level and the path leading to them is by no means easy. They are excavated in the western face of the hill and are hidden in the thick forest of the Western Ghats. Landslides, prolonged exposure to the monsoon, a perpetual trickle of water in the front and possible flaws in the rock have badly damaged these caves.

The first excavation to the south-west is the chaitya (Plate 2) which was excavated later in point of time than the one at Bhaja. Though damaged and “wide open”, it is strikingly similar to the Bhaja façade. The chaitya arch narrows slightly at its base and on either side of the arch project what may be termed casements and balconies complete with chaitya windows of the same design as the Great Arch, with brackets to support them, all cut from rock. The chaitya window was made up of semi-circular transoms held in place by wooden braces radiating like the spokes of a wheel. Its design may be seen in the small chaitya arches on either side of the Great Arch.

To the left of the façade is a fragment of sculpture in high relief, part of a head about twice life-size. The details of the head-dress are carefully worked out, and near the left shoulder is an inscription in characters of the first century B.C. which records that “this” was the work of Balakana, pupil of Kanha (Krishna). Over this is a belt of sculpture, the lower portion of which is carved with the rail pattern, and the upper portion has seven compartments filled alternately with lattice and human figures in realistic poses. Above this is a band representing the ends of wooden beams projecting one above the other, a faithful imitation of woodwork. The corresponding sculpture on the right side is damaged by the falling away of the rock at the end of the Arch. All the wooden attachments in front, the gallery or balcony within the Arch and the pillared verandah have long since perished.

The inner hall (Fig. 14B) is a little larger than that at Bhaja and is nearly 20.4 metres in length, 8.2 metres wide and 8.4 metres high with a semi-circular apse at the back. Thirty octagonal pillars set aside aisles which are 1.2 metres wide, and whose floor is 38 cm higher than the floor of the nave. The bases and lower parts of the pillars as well as the two irregular pillars in front have been eroded. Sufficient length of seven pillars on the left and six on the right remain to show an inward
rake, an indication of early workmanship. The pillars behind the dagoba and six on the right have completely disappeared. On the upper portion of one pillar on the left is a Buddhist symbol, a dagoba with a hood over it.

At Bhaja, the pillars in front of the hall and in line with those dividing the aisles were made of wood, but here they are of stone, a small but progressive step in the evolution of the style. Between the two irregular pillars in front a wooden screen was fitted to a height of 3.7 metres in which the doorways were made leading to the interior.

The dagoba is 2.9 metres in diameter surmounted by a double-storied capital with provision for a wooden umbrella and shaft. The vaulted roof has wooden rafters, but the only remains of woodwork now visible in this cave are a portion of the lattice work in the chaitya window.

This Hinayana chaitya does not show any signs of later occupation by the followers of the Great Vehicle. Along with that at Bhaja, it is one of the earliest in the series and shows the development of the chaitya arch and the expedients of the rock-cutter who could not easily forget the devices and designs of the carpenter. These early chaityas had a gallery in front of the chaitya arch which extended the entire length of the lower end of the span. Beneath and in front was a pillared verandah to which access was gained from a courtyard, enclosed with a low wall and decorated with the rail pattern as at Kanheri. This courtyard led onto a path which connected the viharas and cells on either side.

To the left or north of the chaitya, at a higher level, is a large vihara. It consists of a rectangular pillared hall with attached cells and a pillared porch in front.

Much of the floor and the facade of the porch is damaged. In the right wall is carved a dagoba in half-relief under a chaitya arch. The ceiling shows traces of painting, apparently floral or geometrical designs. The facade is carved with a railed balcony, the upper part of which is crowned by a row of chaitya arches or windows. There are two short inscriptions on the facade, which from the paleography, appear to belong to the early part of the first century B.C.

Three doors lead to the inner hall which is 7 metres wide and 8.4 metres in length. The height however is only 2.5 metres, nearly one-third the height of the adjacent chaitya. There are six cells in each of the three sides, all having a stone bench except for the first cell on either side which is double-benched. Above the lintels of fourteen of the cell doors are chaitya arches, connected with a string course and the rail pattern. Fifteen columns in front of the cells form a pleasing arrangement of a pillared porch. These pillars, like the rest of the vihara, and for that matter most of the excavations at Kondane, are badly damaged. From the fragments now remaining, they seem to have been similar to those in the chaitya-vihara at Bhaja, square bases and capitals with octagonal central sections. The ceiling of the hall resembles a frame of beams and rafters all cut in rock.

The third excavation is a plain ruined vihara with nine adjoining cells. Beyond to the north is a row of nine cells cut into the far end of what may have been a natural hollow in the cliff. The rest of the group consists of a pondhi half-filled with mud, two small cells and finally two small cisterns.
CHAPTER 14

PITALKHORA

There is a small, comparatively inaccessible, group of thirteen caves in the Satmala Range, 68 kilometres from Aurangabad, on the road to Chalisgaon. From the village of Bamarwadi, a 13-kilometre cart-track leads past the villages of Upla, Amba and Tanda to the caves. Due to their inaccessibility, they have not attracted wide attention, and for over a century the group was considered to consist of nine excavations on the north of the ravine. During the last fifteen years, as a result of the systematic clearance of the debris in front of and in the caves, four more were revealed on the opposite side of the ravine. Also brought to light were crystal reliquaries, miniature stupas, inscriptions and some remarkable sculpture.

On palaeographical grounds, based on the inscriptions in Cave Nos. 3 and 4, they may be assigned to the second century b.c. They share the characteristic with other excavations in this region of a long period of disuse after the first phase of Hinayana activity and their reoccupation in the fifth or sixth century a.d. The second phase did not produce any new excavations or any extensive embellishment with sculptured figures of the Buddha or of Bodhisattvas, which is a regular feature elsewhere. In fact, there is not a single image of the Buddha here, the only evidence of Mahayana occupation being the paintings of the Buddha in the chaitya.

There are four chaityas at Pitalkhora, numbered 3, 10, 12 and 13, the last three being on the southern side of the ravine.

The frontage and facade of Chaitya No. 3 (Plate 16) does not exist. In many respects it resembles those at Bhaja and Kondane, wide open and exposed. As a result of the complete clearance of this cave, it is now revealed to be 24.4 metres in length, apsidal and 10.7 metres wide with 37 pillars (Fig. 14C). All that remains of the first five pillars on the right and four on the left are traces in the floor; sixteen were reconstructed by the old Hyderabad State as masonry columns and the remaining twelve stand almost intact in their original form and even retain remnants of sixth-century paintings and two inscriptions.

The pillars have a slight inward rake, an indication of the antiquity of this chaitya. The vault of the nave was once fitted with wooden ribs, though the side aisles have stone ribs in the arched ceiling, unlike the ceilings at Bhaja and Kondane. All the extant pillars are decorated with paintings of the Buddha and of Bodhisattvas. A noticeable feature of the paintings on the walls is that the original surface, which had badly eroded due to the layer of bole, was repaired and strengthened with neatly joined stone slabs covered with plaster, and the paintings were executed thereon.

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The base of the dagoba was rock-cut and the upper portion was partly masonry for obvious reasons. Some of the most interesting finds were discovered in the dagoba. Crystal reliquaries in the shape of stupas containing relics were recovered from narrow rectangular sockets in the drum of the dagoba; each socket was plugged with a close fitting stone cover. As a result of this discovery, the sockets in the dagobas at Bhaja, Karla and elsewhere were now shown to be repositories.

A flight of eleven steps leads down from the floor of the chaitya to the courtyard. On either side of the steps is a sculptured triangular panel containing a winged horse and two yakshas, straining as if to support the balustrade.

The facade has entirely vanished, leaving only a segment of the ribbed chaitya window design and an eroded panel of chaitya arches, high up on the face of the rock and above the adjacent vihara. There was evidently a wooden screen in front pierced by a single door and flanked on either side by a detachable dwarapala, as the limbs of two such figures were recovered from the debris in the forecourt.

The adjoining vihara No. 4, is a novel conception. It seems to rest on the shoulders, of a row of elephants. The motif of elephants, noted for their strength, supporting the base of an edifice, is also to be seen at Kuda No. 6, at Karla in the side walls of the verandah or porch, as well as at Ellora. Entry to the monastery is by a covered staircase on the left which is guarded by two well-executed dwarpalas (Plate 17).

The rock-fall which damaged the chaitya also destroyed the entire frontage of this vihara. The interior consists of a square hall with the remnants of three rows of pillars and pilasters. None of the pillars now exist. There are seven cells in the rear wall; the two or three cells in the right wall have crumbled and formed into one shapeless chamber.

In spite of the vihara being badly damaged, certain features are uncommonly interesting. The doors to the cells are tall and narrow, often with a mock grated window. Above each set of doors and windows is a ribbed chaitya arch and below this are repetitions of the lattice work which existed within the window of the chaitya, the spaces between the transoms and the braces being filled in with animal or dwarf figures. The lower ends of the arches rest on pilasters with bell-shaped capitals, which in turn support a variety of animals. To the left of the rear wall is a pair of sphinx-like creatures. Six of the cells including one on the right have vaulted ceilings with rock-cut beams and rafters, and all the cells have stone beds or benches; some even have three.

The remaining excavations on the north and eastern sides of the ravine also belong to the early Hinayan phase of rock architecture. They are plain astylar viharas, some with porches, others with cells in the rear walls. Being badly ruined, they do not display any points of interest.

On the south-western side of the ravine at a lower level is a small group of four excavations consisting of three small chaityas and a minor stupa gallery. They were commenced in the first or second century A.D. after the main chaitya began to crumble, and were used as subsidiary chapels.

The second chaitya, No. 10, at Pitalkhora is a small unfinished chamber nearly 5.2 metres deep, 2.4 metres wide and 3.8 metres in height. It is pillarless and apsidal,
and the tall dagoba has a broad band of rail pattern. In the facade is a roughly finished doorway not high enough for an average man to stand in. Above the entrance is a semi-circular niche or recess with a small rectangular window. The arch of the recess has stone ribs. Except for pillars, all the essentials of a true chaitya are seen in this cave.

Adjacent to this chaitya is an irregular chamber (with extensions at the rear and on the left) containing three rock-cut dagobas. It was probably the beginning of a stupa gallery, similar to those at Bhaja, Sudhagarh, Dhamner and elsewhere.

The chaitya numbered 12 (Plate 18) is at a lower level. Its entire facade has collapsed. The hall (Fig. 10D) is devoid of pillars. This chaitya is 6.4 metres deep, 2.1 metres wide and 4.6 metres in height. The dagoba at the apsidal end is damaged. The broken off harmika which lies in the cave is unique and consists of rail on all sides, above which are the faces of two figures and above all, two chaitya windows or arches, the whole being surmounted by four slabs and the rail pattern. The vaulted ceiling has rock-cut ribs and rafters.

The fourth chaitya, numbered 13 (Plate 19), is badly damaged, the facade being entirely destroyed. It consists of an apsidal hall, 8.23 metres deep and 4.6 metres wide, its vaulted roof having stone ribs and rafters. Five plain, now eroded, pillars on either side set off the side aisles and four are around the dagoba which is also damaged (Fig. 10D).

At Pitalkhora the rock-cutters encountered a vein of red bole at a height of 1.2 metres from the floor. This was not noticed in the beginning, since the work was carried out from above downwards. This layer of soft rock caused several cracks and fissures to appear in the chaitya and in the viharas, which allowed rain water to enter and flood them. To keep the caves dry, holes were bored in the ceilings like miniature tunnels and covered drains were provided along the walls and floors to divert the water. All this work was done with great attention so as not to mar the sculptural effect of the main excavation. Decayed rock surfaces were hidden by dry masonry with fine jointing and in one case rain water which percolated in was allowed to fall through a bas-relief of a serpent's hood. To prevent the chaitya from collapsing, large blocks of stone were banked around the lower parts of nearly 20 pillars and also large slabs 20 cm thick were used to strengthen and support the walls of the side aisles. This reinforced chaitya stood for centuries till the arrival of the Mahayana Buddhists, who plastered and painted it with standing figures of the Buddha under a triple umbrella, Bodhisattvas and other floral designs.

It was a monument to wasted effort for the chaitya was in danger of giving away shortly after it was excavated. The three small chaityas on the opposite side of the ravine were probably excavated a short while after the vein of soft rock was discovered. They were subsidiary chapels, No. 10 being the earliest of the three, on the grounds of its astylar hall and the inceptive chaitya arch which may have had a wooden overlay as at Bhaja and Manmoda, Junnar. The developed state of the dagobas in the other two chaityas points to the first century A.D. as their probable date.
CHAPTER 15

AJANTA

The most famous group of Buddhist rock-cut sanctuaries is at Ajanta, north of the town of Aurangabad, in Maharashtra State. Their splendid sculpture and lovely wall paintings make them one of the most glorious monuments of India's past. At its height Ajanta must have presented a scene of great spiritual and artistic activity, for besides a considerable number of monks there would have been a large community of artisans and craftsmen, quarrying, sculpturing and painting its numerous and extensive galleries. In this remote valley there existed for at least two centuries a school of art of great influence, religious intensity and originality, which influenced Buddhist art wherever that creed flourished, and which may have extended as far as China and Japan.

The paintings at Ajanta are often incorrectly referred to as “frescoes”. A fresco is painted while the plaster is still damp, while at Ajanta they were made after it had set. Some of the mural paintings, particularly in Chaitya No. 10, date from before the beginning of the Christian era, while those in the later caves, Nos. 1 and 16, were painted five or six hundred years later. These murals depict scenes from the life of the Buddha and the Jatakas. The scenes are not divided one from the other and there is no perspective, the illusion of depth being given by placing the background figures slightly above those in the foreground.

Though painted for religious purposes, the murals are more of a secular nature—princes in palaces, ladies in their private chambers, bearers, ascetics, beggars and peasants along with all the beasts, birds and flowers of India, perpetuated on the dim walls of the caves by the patient hands of many craftsmen.

There are thirty excavations at Ajanta, a site 108 kilometres north of the town of Aurangabad. The numbering here, as elsewhere, is not chronological, but is a matter of convenience, starting with the first excavation in the west. They are excavated in the semi-circular scarp of rock overlooking a narrow valley through which flows the Waghora stream.

There are five chaityas in this group, numbered 9, 10, 19, and 26, and 29 which is unfinished. The earliest excavations here were the productions of the Hinayana Buddhists who occupied this site from the second century B.C. to the second century A.D. To this period belong the chaityas numbered 9 and 10 and the viharas, 8, 12 and 13. The revival of the religion in its Mahayana form saw the reoccupation of these caves in the fifth century A.D. During the ensuing two hundred years, some of the earlier caves were extended or modified to suit the
thetic form of the religion and new excavations were added.

Considerable difference of opinion exists as to which of the two Hinayana chaityas is the older. There are however several indications in favour of No. 10 being the earlier excavation. It is an exceptionally large prayer-hall with a traditional apsidal end, whereas No. 9 is small and rectangular in plan, though its pillars at the far end are arranged in a semi-circle; the palaeography of an inscription to the right of the damaged chaitya window, recording the gift of the facade by Vasithi-puta Katatadi, has been assigned to the beginning of the second century B.C. and the facade of No. 10 having collapsed after so much labour and probably after the chaitya was completed, necessitated an additional chaitya, No. 9, which was excavated at a lower level. It will however be noted that the three caves, Nos. 8, 12 and 13, adjacent to these chaityas, are badly damaged and there is good reason to assume that the landslide or tremor which destroyed the facade of No. 10 was instrumental in destroying these caves as well. In an attempt to repair or replace the damage, a small chaitya was produced and a new vihara was inserted later on in the space between Cave Nos. 10 and 12.

The entire facade of Ajanta No. 9 (Plate 20) was rock-cut and is therefore not as old as the Bhaja Chaitya which has wooden attachments. The only exception is the wooden lattice screen in the chaitya arch and this is characteristic of all early Hinayana chaityas. The Buddha figures on the outer sides are palimpsests of the Mahayana Buddhists who occupied this group five or six centuries later. The ornamentation on the facade, rafters or ribs in the arch, the rail pattern on the front side, the chaitya arch pattern with lattice on either side of the finial above the door and the two windows below is all copied from wood. In some respects the design of the facade resembles the facade above the door at Nasik. It is however earlier than the Nasik Chaitya and probably of the same age as the Bedsa Chaitya.

The hall (Fig. 14D) is rectangular in plan, 13.6 metres in length, 7 metres wide and 7 metres high, whereas Ajanta No. 10 is nearly 29.5 metres in length and 12.5 metres wide. The side aisles of No. 9 are flat-roofed and lighted by windows on either side of the entrance. Besides the two pillars within forming a front aisle, a colonnade of 21 plain octagonal shafts with a slight inward rake forms the nave, the pillars behind the dagoba being placed in a semi-circle and not parallel to the rear wall.

The dagoba is 2.1 metres in diameter with a plain tall base and a heavy dome and is surmounted by a square capital, carved on all sides with the rail pattern. It represents a relic box and probably had a wooden umbrella as at Karla.

The vaulted roof was originally fitted with wooden ribs. When these ribs were found to be superfluous, they were removed and the broad triforium which remained on the wall above the colonnade was used by sixth-century artists for their paintings.

The facing of the arch is broader than usual, and plain. It might have been originally plastered and painted. On the sill of the arch is a broad gallery ornamented with the rail pattern on the outer side. Below this is another terrace extending the whole width of the hall, the front of it being ornamented with patterns of the chaitya window itself as it originally appeared with its wooden lattice in the arch.
That the door had a porch may be seen from the fragments of two wooden-like brackets similar to those in the Bhaja Chaitya.

At right angles to the facade are tall figures of the Buddha and in the projecting rock on either side there is a good deal of sculpture of a later date. The paintings in this chaitya, principally of the Buddha on the left wall, and other figures, are the work of the Mahayana Buddhists.

These Mahayana paintings belong to two periods, some of them having been painted over the earlier ones. This can be seen on the inner side of the front wall above the left window as well as on the left wall. At the extreme left of the former are the heads of two bhikshus with a painted record of the fifth century. It is a part of the later painting covering the old one. In the older painting can be seen separate groups of figures. The left group shows two "nagas" seated under a tree near a grotto; the one having the multiple cobra hood is probably the naga king. The right side group which is badly damaged is apparently a ruler listening to a petition from a group of persons seated near his throne; a couple is seated near the group with a flying figure nearby. The head-dress, ornaments and costumes of these figures resemble those of contemporary reliefs at Sanchi.

In the extreme panel on the left wall is a later painting consisting of six Buddhas. Beyond is a group of devotees moving in procession towards a stupa enclosed by walls, one of which has a torana similar to the Sanchi gateway, with a structure which may be a monastery in the distance. The rest is a group of standing persons in front of a plinth occupied by women. The edge of the later painting is higher than that of the earlier one, the colours used are contrasting and the style and execution are poor.

The remnants of another painting survive on the frieze above the left colonnade of the nave. It is a realistic portrayal of a herdsman pursuing his cattle. There are also several figures of the Buddha in various attitudes. The ceiling of the aisles is decorated with panels containing the lotus.

The second chaitya at Ajanta, No. 10, is adjacent to No. 9. The inner hall (Fig. 14F) is 20.5 metres in length, 12.5 metres wide and 11 metres high. Its large size shows that the craftsmen of Ajanta were becoming bolder in their conceptions, but had apparently ignored or overlooked the stratification of the rock which caused the facade to collapse shortly after the sanctuary was completed.

It is apsidal in plan and is divided into the usual nave and side aisles by 39 plain octagonal pillars, two more than at Karla. The decorative value of pillars had not yet dawned upon these craftsmen. Several of the pillars are broken. The vaulted roof of the nave was ribbed with wood but the ribs of the arched side aisles are of rock. In the Mahayana chaityas the ceilings of the aisles and of the nave have ribs of stone. All the pillars of this chaitya were later plastered and painted and as such no architectural details are visible.

The dagoba is simple and plain and clearly points to the Hinayana character of this excavation. It is 4.7 metres in diameter, the drum is two-storied and the dome is more elongated than hemi-spherical, a characteristic of the later forms.

Besides containing the largest number of painted records, this chaitya also contains early and later paintings, all pertaining to subsequent occupation by the
Mahayana Buddhists.

On the left wall behind the third pillar is a painted record and the subject of the painting appears to be a visit to and worship of a Bodhi Tree and a stupa by a ruler, accompanied by his retinue, ladies, dancers and musicians.

Behind pillars 11 to 15, on the right wall, is depicted the Sama Jataka. (The Jatakas are stories of the Buddha’s previous births as a Bodhisattva.) Born as Sama, the sole support of his blind parents, he was accidentally killed while filling water at a river, by the arrow of the king of Banaras, who was on a hunting expedition. Learning of the helplessness of Sama’s parents, the king prayed to his deity who not only restored Sama to life, but also restored the sight of the parents. The sequence of events of this painting, commencing from the left, is the king with his retinue shooting an arrow towards Sama, who holds a pitcher on his left shoulder. To the right is the penitent king. The third scene, at the hermitage, shows the parents beside the dying boy. To the right is Sama restored to life addressing the king; and still further to the right are the king and Sama seated under a tree, a pair of deer grazing and the “parna shala” or leaf cottage of a hermit.

To the right of the Sama Jataka is the Chhaddanta Jataka in a long horizontal frieze, occupying the rest of the wall behind pillars 2 to 11. The story is not depicted in chronological order. The Bodhisattva was born as a six-tusked royal elephant Chhaddanta, and lived near a lake in the Himalayas with his wives Mahasubbhadda and Chullasubbhadda. Imagining Mahasubbhadda was her husband’s favourite, Chullasubbhadda developed a grudge against her (Mahasubbhadda) and pined to death, praying to be born in her next life as the queen of Banaras, so that she could revenge herself on him. She was born as the favourite queen of the king of Banaras. On a pretext she asked the king for the tusks of Chhaddanta. Though wounded by the hunter Sonuttara, Chhaddanta helped his adversary to saw off his own tusks. At the sight of the tusks the queen died of remorse. The painting shows Chhaddanta’s life in the Himalayas, his resort under the Bodhi Tree, the lotus lake, and his presentation of a lotus to Mahasubbhadda, which made Chullasubbhadda jealous. As queen of Banaras, she directs Sonuttara to the elephant; Sonuttara sawing off the tusks and bringing them to Chullasubbhadda, who swoons at their sight. The painting concludes with a scene in which the royal party with their retinue are approaching a chaitya.

The later paintings are mostly figures of the Buddha.

The major part of Cave No. 8, a vihara, was damaged in the landslide which swept away the facade of No. 10. Two of the oldest monasteries at Ajanta are Nos. 12 and 13 whose facades have also been destroyed. They are astylar halls with cells on three sides, each cell having two beds.

The irregularity of its pillars and cells and the angle at which it was inserted in relation to Nos. 10 and 12, indicate that Cave No. 11 was a later addition. A flight of steps leads to the verandah which has two cells at each end, the outer cells having collapsed. The pillars of the verandah have square bases of varying sizes and unequal length. The ceiling of the hall is supported on four pillars with moulded bases, tapering shafts and inverted bell-shaped capitals. There are three cells in the rear and left walls, whereas a low plinth runs along the right wall. A roughly carved figure of the Buddha has been sculptured on an unfinished dagoba in the rear wall.
High up on the left is a small chamber. The roof of the porch is painted with birds and animals, floral and geometrical designs, of which an interesting panel is the quadripartite deer similar to that sculptured in Cave No. 1. The walls of the inner hall are decorated with paintings, mainly of the Buddha and of Bodhisattvas.

When this retreat was revived in the middle of the fifth century A.D. by the followers of the Great Vehicle, the two old chaityas, Nos. 9 and 10, were sufficient for the ritual, but monastic accommodation being inadequate, the viharas numbered 11, 7 and 6, in that order, were added. A further increase in the community brought into existence Nos. 15 to 20, which included the elaborate chaitya No. 19. In the middle of the sixth century, a separate group was begun in the extreme east, which was partially detached from the others owing to an intervening water-course. This included the Chaitya No. 26. A little later Cave Nos. 1 to 5 were excavated at the western end of the ravine and the final phase of rock architecture at Ajanta was the commencement of the caves at the eastern extremity.

Commencing with the westernmost excavation, Cave No. 1 is one of the finest viharas, lavishly decorated with an abundance of sculpture and painted pictures. Its facade (Plate 21) consisted of a small porch leading to a handsome pillared verandah, no two shafts of which are alike in shape and design. Besides the cells at either end of the verandah, there are subsidiary chapels with inner chambers at either end of the courtyard in front. The inner chamber of the chapel on the right, having perished, now forms the entrance to the Ajanta group of caves. The frieze above the verandah pillars is carved with various human and animal motifs of which fighting bulls and elephants are skilfully rendered. This frieze which continues above the chapel on the left has three of the Four Ominous Signs, a sick man, an old man and a corpse, (the fourth being a beggar), which ultimately led to the Buddha’s decision of renunciation.

Three doors lead to the inner hall (Fig. 4B). The central door is decorated with floral patterns and human figures which include five couples playing musical instruments. The hall is 19.5 metres square and consists of twenty pillars arranged around the four sides. The pillars of the hall are as decorative as those in the verandah, particularly the two opposite the shrine. The bracket capitals have scenes from the Buddha’s life, worship of the stupa, as well as groups of figures and animals including the quadripartite deer.

A small pillared antechamber leads to the shrine in which is a large seated figure of the Buddha (Plate 22). On either side are “chauri-bearers” (attendants with fly-whisks). The panel below the Buddha is a reference to the First Sermon in the Deer Park at Banaras, when he set in motion the Wheel of the Law. It depicts the edge of a wheel between two deer, that on the right preceding five monks, his first five disciples.

Many of the paintings in this cave have unfortunately been damaged. Besides the two tall figures of Bodhisattvas with their consorts and attendants in the antechamber, there are two important incidents from the Buddha’s life. That on the left represents the “Assault and Temptation of Mara”, while the right wall has the “Miracle of Sravasti”. On the eve of his enlightenment, Mara, the Evil One, tried to draw the Buddha away from his seat (later known as the “vajrasana”) under the
Bodhi Tree. Gautama remained unmoved and invoked the Earth to bear witness to his right to the seat. Confronted by six heretical teachers at Sravasti, the Buddha performed the Miracle of the Thousand Buddhas in the presence of a large gathering. He multiplied himself into innumerable Buddhas in various mudras or poses.

The walls of the hall are illustrated with the Sibi, Samkhapala, Mahajanaka, Mahammagga and Champeyya Jatakas.

The inner wall to the right of the main door has the controversial “court scene”. In the centre is a ruler seated on a throne amidst his courtiers. To the right are a number of visiting dignitaries, some within the chamber, others at the entrance. Those near the throne are in the act of offering gold and jewels. This scene has been interpreted by some as the Chalukya king Pulakesin II (A.D. 610-642) receiving a delegation from Persia, and by others as Asoka’s reception of foreign embassies.

Cave No. 2, a vihara, is similar in design, the difference being that on either side of the antechamber is a subsidiary chapel. The chapel on the left is carved with two large yakshas whose hair styles are so typical of Ajanta. The chapel shows Hariti and her consort. Hariti was an ogress who used to devour the children of Rajagriha. The Buddha provoked her by hiding her favourite child, here shown seated on her knee, and eventually converted her.

The walls of the main shrine, antechamber and part of the walls of the hall are painted with “thousands of Buddhas”. On the ceilings are a profusion of floral and geometrical designs, birds, flying figures and jesters. One of the finest works of the painter’s art is a procession of twenty-three geese on the ceiling of the shrine. In addition to the nativity scene of the Buddha painted on the left wall, there are the Hamsa, Vidhurapandita and Ruru Jatakas and the recurring theme of women with offerings so reminiscent of the ritual prevailing in the contemporary and later temples of the Hindus.

The largest vihara at Ajanta, which was never completed, is No. 4, situated between the two incomplete excavations, Cave Nos. 3 and 5. It consists of the usual pillared porch with a cell at each end, a pillared hall and a shrine preceded by an antechamber. The central door to the hall is more elaborately decorated than that of Cave No. 1. Female dwarpalas, flying figures, seated figures of the Buddha and elephants with riders vie for place around the door frame, which also has a standing figure of Avalokitesvara surrounded by devotees praying to be rescued from the Eight Great Perils.

The walls of the antechamber are carved with six large figures of the Buddha, two of which are unfinished. The shrine also has a large image of the Buddha in the company of Vajrapani and Padmapani.

There is only one two-storied vihara at Ajanta, Cave No. 6 (Figs. 15A and B). The verandah of the lower floor has completely disappeared. The plan of the hall is much the same as the other Mahayana viharas at Ajanta and elsewhere. Sixteen pillars are arranged in four rows, with sixteen cells in the walls. Above the entrance to the shrine at the far end is an arch springing from the mouths of makaras within which is a naga surrounded by flying figures. The image of the Buddha is detached from the rear wall. The shrine was originally painted with figures of the Buddha and the antechamber with the “Assault and Temptation of Mara” scene.
FIG. 15
FLOOR PLAN OF AJANTA NO. 6
A, Upper storey; B, Lower storey
A staircase on the right leads to the upper storey which differs slightly from the ground floor in that its twelve pillars are arranged in a square. Besides the seated figure, the main shrine contains several standing figures of the Buddha. The upper storey was not completed. Some of the cells have pillared porches in front and the subsidiary shrines being left without sculpture were decorated with paintings.

The plan of Cave No. 7 differs from the other monasteries at Ajanta. Its general appearance (Plate 23) is of two small porches which lead to a verandah at the rear wall of which are two cells on either side of the antechamber. The walls of the antechamber are carved with the “Miracle of Sravasti” episode. In the shrine is a seated image of the Buddha and on its walls are six standing figures of the Buddha.

To the east of the Hinayana group are three excavations at different levels, of minor importance and interest.

There is much in common between Cave No. 1 and Cave No. 16—the verandah, the fourteen cells and twenty pillars in the hall, the sculptural embellishment and the paintings, most of which have unfortunately perished. The ceiling of the front aisle is carved with imitation rafters and beams, their ends being supported by brackets on which are flying couples, musicians and dwarfs, some groaning under the weight, others enjoying it. There is no antechamber to the shrine, its place being taken by two side aisles with pillars and pilasters. A large image of the Buddha is carved in high relief on a slab with space around it for circumambulation.

Of the surviving paintings, the composition immediately after the front pilaster of the left wall depicts the feelings of a princess painted at the sight of a crown held by a servant. She is Sundari, the wife of Nanda, the Buddha’s half-brother who joined the Order at the insistence of the Buddha. The right wall is devoted to the illustrations of incidents from the life of the Buddha. Fragments of the Hasti, Mahaummagga and Sutasoma Jatakas can be recognised in the hall.

Cave No. 16 is one of the most elegant viharas in this group. An inscription on the left wall of the verandah records “the dedication of this magnificent dwelling, excavated in the hill, for the use of the best of ascetics, by Varahadeva, a minister of the Vakataka king Harisena (A.D. 475-500), and that the dwelling was adorned with windows, doors, picture galleries, statues of celestial nymphs, ornamental pillars and that it had a shrine. It was also provided with a large reservoir and a shrine of the Lord of the Nagas”. The vihara bears out all the details of the inscription.

Similar in plan to its neighbour, Cave No. 17 is another fine vihara, every inch being covered with sculpture or painting, some of which are very well known. The entrance to the shrine is elaborately decorated with figures of the Buddha, female dwarpalas, scroll work and floral designs. In the corner projections are shapelessly maidens standing on makaras. The shrine has the usual seated figure of the Buddha, detached from the rear wall. The Buddha is attended by Padmapani and Vajrapani and two other figures. The decoration of the pillars and pilasters of the antechamber is exceptionally ornate.

The greatest number of mural paintings are preserved in this monastery. The uppermost panel on the doorway has reliefs of the seven Manushi Buddhas (Vipasyin, Sikhi, Visvabhu, Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni, Kashyapa and Sakyamuni) together
with Maitreya, the Coming One, all seated under Bodhi trees. Below is a scene containing eight amorous couples. In the damaged panel to the left of the doorway may be seen an airborne warrior attended by apsaras, celestial nymphs and musicians. Another well-known mural is further to the left, the “palace scene”: the prince seated in a balcony offering his consort, who appears to be seated on his lap, a cup of wine, surrounded by a large group of mendicants, ascetics and others. The pictures of apsaras painted on the right door, particularly their turban-like head-dress, are symbolic of the Ajanta school.

Further to the right is the story of the “Taming of the Wild Elephant”. Devadatta, the Buddha’s cousin, had planned a series of attacks on him. In one of these attempts on the Buddha’s life, Devadatta set loose a wild elephant, Nalagiri, in Rajagriha. The beast when it saw the Buddha bowed before him.

The ceiling of the verandah is covered with intriguing designs and the walls of the hall are painted with no less than fifteen Jatakas. On the left wall between the two pilasters is the Vessantara Jataka. Born as the generous and over-charitable prince Vessantara, his father king Sanjaya had to banish him because he had given away an elephant who could cause the rain to fall. On his way, with his family, to a hermitage provided by the god Sakra, he gave away his horses and his chariot, later his children and finally his wife. The story commences at the extreme left; Vessantara tells his wife of his banishment, his departure, the gifting away of his children and his wife, and finally the reconciliation of Vessantara and his family with the king, through the intercession of Sakra.

On the rear wall to the left of the antechamber is the Sutasoma Jataka. As Sutasoma, he cured Saudasa (who was born of a lioness) of his fondness for eating human flesh. The story commences at the lower part of the first and second cell doors, and shows Saudasa, Saudasa’s father, setting out on a hunting expedition. The next scene is the sleeping king with a lioness licking his feet, who gets up and faces it. Above and to the right is the lioness moving towards the palace and then being ushered into the presence of the king, who has a child on his lap. Then follows the education of prince Saudasa, his installment and the three scenes of preparing human flesh for his consumption. The rest of the story shows the hundred odd persons, one of whom was Sutasoma whom Saudasa would in due course have eaten, but who drew him away from this habit.

Near the pilaster on the right wall is the famous Toilet Scene. The walls of the antechamber are painted with scenes from the life of the Buddha which include the “Miracle of Sravasti.”

The third chaitya, No. 19, is considered to be an excellent specimen of Mahayana rock-sculpture. It maintains the orthodox plan, the only change being that the image of the Buddha is now carved on the dagoba.

It is difficult to describe this chaitya which has been termed “the treasure chest of the sculptor”. The porch, facade and the interior are carved with elaborate and magnificent sculpture which renders description difficult.

A large courtyard existed in front before the rock-fall reduced it to a broad ledge. On either side of the courtyard are chapels. The pillars of the chapel on the right are in good condition and their most attractive feature is the design of “a vase
overflowing with foliage and fruit." On the left wall, at right angles to the facade is a fine sculpture of a Naga couple attended by female chauri-bearers.

An elegant pillared porch leads to the chaitya hall. The entire front, facade, porch and cornice, is in good condition and is a classical specimen of Buddhist art. The roof of the porch forms a massive entablature, the upper surface of which was probably used as a minstrel's gallery. At the back rises the elaborate chaitya window flanked by yakshas against a background of delicately carved figures. The height of the facade is 11.6 metres with a width of 9.6 metres. In the side walls are a balanced array of Buddha figures of which the two standing on either side of the entrance, with ornate crowns held over their heads by flying ganas, foreshadow the crowned Buddhas of a later period (Plate 24).

The interior (Fig. 6A) is divided into a nave and aisles by a colonnade of 15 pillars in addition to the two at the entrance. All are closely set and are about 3.4 metres in height. Their bases are square with small figures at each corner; then follows an octagonal belt and a circular band with two belts of tracery. Above the shaft is a cushion-shaped capital with ponderous brackets above. These bracket capitals are richly sculptured with images of the Buddha, elephants with riders, and flying figures. Supported by these brackets is the triforium, 1.5 metres wide, divided into panels and continued round the nave. These compartments have bands of arabesque between figures of the Buddha in various mudras.

Above is the vaulted roof with ribs, no longer wooden attachments, but carved out of the rock itself. The end of every fifth rib is carved with a tiger's head. Images of the Buddha empanelled, canopied or niched are the principal figures and in contrast are aerial beings, some mounted on winged animals, others in flight. The interior of the chaitya is 14 metres in length, 7.3 metres wide and 7 metres in height. It is merely the setting for the dagoba which it enshrines.

The floor of the apse in which the dagoba stands is slightly higher than that of the nave. Its front corners were originally guarded by two standing figures emerging from the corresponding pillars. Only the feet of these figures now remain. The dagoba (Plate 6) is a composite one, about 6.7 metres in height, its apex almost touching the vault of the apse above. On a low pedestal stands an elongated drum, rather a dome, on the front of which are two demi-columns supporting an arch which springs from the mouths of makaras, which are resting on pillars. Within this arch is carved a standing figure of the Buddha in high relief. Above the dome rises a tall finial in tiers consisting of a harmika and three diminishing umbrellas upheld on each of four sides by four small figures. This is surmounted by a small dagoba on which is a miniature harmika almost touching the ceiling. From the top of the lower harmika hang garlands also cut in stone.

The dagoba as a whole bears little resemblance to the low hemi-spherical brick mound from which it was derived.

The roof of the aisles is flat and is painted with flowers, animals, birds and human figures, as well as with figures of the Buddha and with chaitya arches. The walls of the hall are painted with figures of the Buddha in panels. The panel on the left wall opposite the sixth pillar shows the Buddha offering his begging-bowl to his son Rahula, with Yashodhara nearby. The roof of the front aisle is also painted
in small panels, one of which depicts an elephant fight. An inscription in this chaitya places it in the middle of the sixth century A.D.

Besides the beauty and richness of detail, this is a chaitya wholly in stone. Not only are the roof ribs of the nave cut out of the rock, but so is the triple umbrella over the dagoba which is festooned with garlands. All the accessories of the facade are purely lithic. The long transformation from wood to stone which spanned nearly eight hundred years of chaitya architecture is now complete.

The majority of the caves between the two Mahayana chaityas Nos. 19 and 26 were not completed. Cave No. 20 is a small vihara with the unique feature of the ante-chamber advancing into the hall. The capitals of the pillars of the ante-chamber support an entablature carved in panels with seven figures of the Buddha with attendants. The strip of wall between the pilasters is carved with nagas, amorous couples and damsels standing under trees.

The hall is devoid of pillars and some of the cells are incomplete. The rear wall of the shrine has the usual figure of the Buddha in the company of chauribearers and flying figures.

Cave Nos. 21, 22 and 23 do not display any new motifs or features. In the right wall of the shrine of No. 22, above the figure of the Buddha, are painted the Seven Manushi Buddhas along with Maitreya under Bodhi trees. The names of these Buddhas are inscribed below each figure. Cave No. 23 (Plate 23) is similar to Cave No. 21 though the ante-chamber, shrine and adjacent cells are unfinished. The pillars of the verandah and the hall are sculptured in great detail. If completed, No. 24 would have been the grandest vihara at Ajanta. The pillars of the verandah or porch have perished, but the decoration now remaining on the fragment of the pilaster on the left shows great skill and refinement. The lintel of the door has a fine frieze of flying figures. The hall was planned for 20 pillars of which only one is partly completed. To the left of the verandah is a shrine with a pillared porch, and within is a seated figure of the Buddha with the usual attendants.

The fourth chaitya, No. 26, was probably commenced towards the end of the sixth century, with some of its imagery being done about fifty years later. Whereas No. 19 has been executed and decorated in good taste, this gives the impression of excessive yet monotonous ornamentation and unbalanced proportions. The inner hall is 20.7 metres deep, 11 metres wide and 9.3 metres in height (Fig. 6B). The nave has 26 pillars, each 3.65 metres tall, besides the two in front. The pillars around the dagoba are the usual plain octagonal shafts.

Externally this chaitya has been much damaged (Plate 26). The broad pillared porch which extended across the front has disappeared; only the lower portion of these pillars now remain. At each end of the verandah is a pillared chamber, the one on the right leading to two cells, and that on the left to one cell. An inscription on the back wall of the verandah over the right side door records "the gift of the temple of Sujata (Buddha) by the monk Buddhabhadra, friend of Bhavviraja, who was minister of the king Asmaka". The palaeography suggests a date between A.D. 450 and 525?

The courtyard in front of the porch had subsidiary shrines with cells on either side. The shrine on the left, which has a small flight of steps, a pillared verandah
and an attached cell, is badly destroyed. On the left wall of the landing is the Litany of Avalokitesvara—as the Saviour of Mankind. This compassionate Bodhisattva rescues man from the Eight Perils—a lion, an elephant, fire, smoke, a thief or theft, water or floods, imprisonment and a demon. To the right is a standing figure of the Buddha either in the attitude of Blessing or in the attitude of Teaching. On the left is a stone bed with a raised pillow.

Over the verandah in front of the chaitya arch and the upper facade, there was a balcony about 2.4 metres wide and 12.2 metres long, which was entered at the right end from the front of the adjoining vihara, No. 25. The sill of the chaitya arch is yet 1.2 metres above this and is decorated with small seated Buddhas.

The facade on either side and to the top, as well as the projecting side walls at the ends of the balcony, is divided into compartments of various sizes and is sculptured with figures of the Buddha. The rail and the chaitya arch patterns have now completely disappeared. On either side of the chaitya window is a seated figure of Kubera, the God of Wealth, and beyond in an alcove is a standing figure of the Buddha, about 4.9 metres in height. Under the figure to the left is a dedicatory inscription. There is a longer inscription to the left of the entrance, recording the construction of this chaitya hall by Devaraya and his father Bhavviraja, both ministers of king Asmaka.

The chaitya arch and window are larger than those of No. 19 though similar in design and shape. It has ornamental stone rafters and between the ledge and the second rafter, on either side, are carved seated and standing figures of the Buddha. In addition to the central door, there are two smaller doors leading to the aisles. The frames of all three doors are decorated with figure sculpture.

The architectural treatment of the hall is also in much the same style as No. 19 but the ornamentation has been increased, as may be seen in the additional member introduced into the capital of the pillars, the recessing of the panels, the elaboration of the triforium and the insertion of decorative features wherever space was available. The pillars behind the dagoba are plain octagonal shafts, while all the others are elaborately decorated and resemble those in Cave No. 2, a vihara. A four-armed dwarf is carved on each capital in front of the narrow architrave, as if holding up the arched roof. The frieze which projects over the architrave is divided into compartments which are also elaborately carved.

The dagoba (Plate 5) is imposing, and overlaid with a wealth of detail. The conventional cylinder or drum here rests on a low pedestal, and its front surface is flat, carved with pilasters, a cornice and a mandap or porch on top, which is decorated with miniature chaitya arches. Within is the figure of the Buddha seated on a "sinhasana" or Lion Throne, his robe reaching his ankles. Below is a lotus upheld by two small figures with naga canopies (snake-hoods) behind, and two elephants. The rest of the drum is divided by pilasters into compartments containing figures of the Buddha in various attitudes. The dome is squat and the box or harmika has standing and seated figures on its sides. Above are eight projecting fillets crowned by a fragment of a broken stone umbrella. The traditional dagoba has now become an ornamental member, the emphasis being placed on the high plinth.

The aisles contain a good deal of sculpture, much of which has been damaged
or defaced. In the right aisle are large compartments with the Buddha, attendants and naga figures. Over the Buddha are flying figures and above them, a line of arabesque with small panels containing more figures.

In the left wall is a large seven-metre sculpture of the “Reclining Buddha”. The Buddha is lying on his right side between two sal trees, one at his head and the other at his feet, under which are shown standing his disciples Ananda and Kashyapa mourning his passing. Above the reclining figure are several odd figures representing devas, “making the air ring with celestial music”, and scattering incense and flowers. In front of the bed are more disciples and bhikshus showing grief at his departure.

Further along the wall is another panel of the Buddha in the attitude of teaching, attended by a Bodhisattva on the left and Padmapani on the right. On the same wall is the “Temptation of Mara” scene, a large and beautiful sculpture. Here the Buddha is seated under the Bodhi Tree. On the left is Mara on an elephant accompanied by his demon host who are besieging the Buddha. On the right is shown the retreat of Mara. In the foreground are the daughters of Mara enticing the Buddha with dancing and music. In the bottom right-hand corner is the dejected figure of Mara.

Painting was also resorted to in this chaitya, but due to hardly any plain or uncarved surfaces available, it is little more than a colouring over the sculpture, most of which has perished.

The remaining excavations at Ajanta were commenced about the middle of the seventh century and mark the end of architectural activity in this area. Cave No. 27 appears to be an adjunct of the chaitya No. 29. Its upper storey has been damaged by a landslide. Entrance to the shrine is from the landing and the verandah of the Chaitya. The strip of wall to the right of the pilaster is divided into three compartments containing a naga, a couple and a graceful damsel standing on a makara. On her right hand is perched a bird while her left hand rests on the head of a dwarf. The shrine has an image of the Buddha, and of the cells only four have survived. The major part of the left wall, the roof of the shrine and the antechamber have collapsed.

Beyond is an unfinished vihara and the fifth chaitya, No. 29 which is in its initial stages of excavation. They are at the highest level and are not easily accessible.
CHAPTER 16
BEDSA

The small group of twelve caves at Bedsa is not as well known as those at Bhaja and Karla, and only recently a “jeepable” road has been opened to the foot of the hill. It branches off the Bombay-Poona Road one and a half kilometre east of Kamshet, traverses the Baur Pass to Baurvadi and thence to the villages of Karunj and Bedsa. From here the path leading to the caves is well defined and easy to follow.

The entrance to the chaitya (Plate 27) is through an irregular passage 10.7 metres long and 1.5 metres wide in places, cut through the rock to get sufficiently back to obtain the necessary height for the facade. This mass of rock hides the chaitya but it has preserved and protected it from the elements and the destructive activities of man. The purpose of retaining this rock is not clear, for this is the only chaitya which does not have a courtyard in front.

The front of the chaitya is made up of two pillars and two pilasters. It is the design and execution of the pillars of this porch which make the facade such a remarkable production. These pillars, derived from the Asokan free-standing monoliths, show a departure from the classical model during the intervening two hundred years. The bell-shaped capital differs slightly and the carved Buddhist symbols on top correspond to those on the Asokan pillars.

The bases of these pillars are of the “lota” type; the octagonal shafts taper slightly (a wooden expedient) and are surmounted by the bell-shaped capital grooved vertically, supporting a square torus in a square frame. Over this are four tiles each projecting above the one below. On the corners of these capitals crouch elephants, horses, bulls and sphinx-like animals with male and female riders. These groups are fine examples of rock-sculpture.

Above the figures are the beams and other wooden features, all copied almost literally in the rock. The verandah or porch (Plate 28A) within these pillars is 3.7 metres wide and nearly 9 metres in length, with benched cells at each end. An additional cell on the right has a one-line inscription above the door recording its gift by a banker from Nasik. The corresponding additional cell on the left was only commenced. Along the base of the walls and from the level of the lintels of the cell doors upwards, the walls are carved with the rail pattern on flat and curved surfaces, intermixed with the chaitya arch design, but entirely devoid of human or even animal representations. This and the complete absence of the Buddha image is decisive proof of its early Hinayana character. The rail decoration becomes less
used after the date of the Bedsa Chaitya and disappears completely in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. But during that period its greater or less prevalence is the surest proof of the relative age of any two examples.

The door jambs slant slightly inward, as well as the pillars in the hall, which are further indications of its early age. The arch of the chaitya window resembles that at Karla in its curve, though it is much smaller. It was fitted with the usual lunettes and transoms. The gallery on the sill of the chaitya arch extends one metre into the hall.

One door surmounted by a small chaitya arch and flanked by two pierced lattice windows originally led to the inner hall. The window to the left of the entrance was subsequently cut through to form a second door, that on the right being left intact.

The chaitya hall is severely plain (Fig. 14E). It is 13.6 metres in length and 6.4 metres wide, and in addition to the two irregular columns in front, has 24 octagonal shafts without base and capital. The inner pillars show a distinct inward rake. Over the pillars is a narrow fillet followed by a triforium 1.2 metres high. Five pillars on the right side near the dagoba have Buddhist symbols carved on them—the dharmachakra, a shield, the trisul and a lotus, similar to those at Bhaja.

On the columns, as late as 1871, could be traced portions of ancient paintings, chiefly the Buddha with attendants, but a local official with the intention of cleaning this cave had the whole beslobbered with whitewash. These paintings, the additional door and the blank panels in the verandah are an indication of fleeting Mahayana occupation in the fourth or fifth century.

The roof is vaulted and was ribbed with wood which has since disappeared. In the apsidal end is a tall dagoba with a broad band of the rail pattern at the base and at the top of the cylinder, from which rises a second and shorter drum also surrounded by the rail pattern on the upper edge. The harmika is small and is surmounted by a heavy capital on which stands the wooden shaft of an umbrella, at the top of which is a bud-like ornament, the umbrella itself having disappeared.

At Bedsa the wooden screen (of the Bhaja and the Kondane chaityas) has been replaced by one cut entirely from the natural rock, which indicates that the Bedsa Chaitya is later than those at Bhaja and Kondane, but followed them rather closely.

Evidence of later Mahayana occupation can be found in the paintings on the pillars and traces of painting on the dagoba. Another indication of the presence of the Mahayanists is the blank panels on the side walls and the inner facade of the verandah. Whatever form of decoration which originally filled these panels was cut away to make place for the sculptures similar to those at Karla and Ajanta—possibly the intention was to plaster and paint these panels with figures of the Buddha, but before this work could be commenced, these caves were abandoned.

The vihara at Bedsa, a short distance to the north of the chaitya is unique in design (Fig. 3A). It consists of a porch with two cells on the left and a recessed cistern on the right, and a vaulted hall. It evidently had a structural front which has now perished and fallen away. The interior is 9.75 metres deep by 5.5 metres wide, but the far end is apsidal. In its walls are nine cells with two benches each, the doors of these cells being surmounted by chaitya arches. In the walls between the
doors are mock grated windows. Unfortunately, the whole has been plastered and lime-washed and is now besmoked, some devotee having made this his asylum and having carved his deity on the back wall, to which "puja" is done by the local people when they visit this place.

The remainder of the group to the left or south of the chaitya consists of a tall dagoba standing in the open, a small circular chamber containing an unfinished dagoba and a few cells and several cisterns. To the north between the chaitya and the vihara is a large unfinished cell, and finally beyond the vihara are two or three small excavations of little importance or interest.

The Bedsa Chaitya has preserved its essential Hinayana character and fortunately has retained its ancient form due to the narrow passage leading to it. All the external sculptures are, in what may be termed, good condition and the two pillars and the two pilasters forming the front porch are excellent examples of the old rood screen, now wrought in stone, which in the examples hitherto described have perished being made of wood, but which in the specimens to be described hereafter are developments of the Bedsa arrangement.
Chapter 17

Nasik

Nearly eight kilometres south-east of Nasik, in one of the three isolated hills called in inscriptions “Trirasi”, the early Hinayana Buddhists established a monastic retreat of 23 caves, now generally referred to as “Pandu Lena”. They are about 90 metres above the surrounding plain and are easily reached by a path leading off the Agra Road.

The group is almost entirely of an early date, and the Hinayana character of its chaitya is noticeable from the absence of imagery and representations of the Buddha as an object of worship. The caves have been considerably damaged by the weather and also by blasting at a more recent date.

The only chaitya in this group is No. 18 which belongs to a date much earlier than the rest of the excavations, probably about the same time as Ajanta No. 9 and the Bedsa Chaitya, though it resembles to some extent the Manmoda Chaitya at Junnar. There are however some features which set it apart, as for instance the sculpture around the door, and the pillars in half-relief with animal capitals, on either side of the chaitya window. Moreover this chaitya has neither a wooden nor a rock-cut porch.

A distinctive feature of the facade (Plate 29) is the lunette carved above the door. Above the lintel of the door is a semi-circle of lattice which is surmounted by a lunette with braces—but between the transoms animals have been introduced. At Lomas Rishi the lattice is above the animal figures.

The trisul and shield emblems occur in an ornamental form. The whole is surmounted by a very wooden-looking chaitya arch which has the ends of rafters on the inner surface. On either side of the door-posts, in an otherwise plain front wall, are carved dwarpalas or door-keepers; only the one on the left side now remains.

Running across the facade is a broad band of rail pattern, apparently supported by rafters whose ends are visible, every other rafter-end being carved with a face. Above the chaitya arch of the door is the chaitya window in which the rafter motif is seen again. It is around the chaitya window that new motifs appear. Commencing from below the overhanging ledge of the rock, there is a comparatively narrow band of rail on which are chaitya arches complete with lunettes and lattice. These are no doubt replicas of the chaitya window; smaller arches stand on a panel at the upper end and figures are sculptured below. The lower band is a cornice with supporting brackets on which are pillars in half-relief with bell-shaped capitals.
PLATE 34
The Great Chaitya, Karla
PLATE 35
A, Verandah of the Great Chaitya, Karla
B, Sculpture of couples, verandah, the Great Chaitya, Karla
PLATE 37
Standing Buddha, Kanheri
PLATE 38
A, Dagoba cell, Kanheri
B, Mahayana sculpture,
Cave No. 67, Kanheri
PLATE 39
Visvakarma Chaitya, Ellora
PLATE 40
A, Chaitya window, Visvakarma, Ellora
B, Dagoba in Visvakarma Chaitya, Ellora
PLATE 41
Cave No. 12 ("Teen Tal"), Ellora
PLATE 42
Vajrayana sculpture, Ellora
PLATE 43

Interior, Chaitya No. 4, Aurangabad, showing the dagoba
Vatsyayana sculpture, Cave No. 7, Aurangabad

PLATE 44
supporting animals. Between these pillars are dagobas against a screen and crowned with chaitya arches. The whole rests on another cornice with supporting brackets under which is the rail pattern.

The woodwork that filled this chaitya window and also the roof of the nave has long since disappeared. The gallery which normally existed along the sill of the chaitya window, is here on the inner side of the facade and was supported by two irregular pillars in the hall to which a wooden screen was fixed to shut in the nave from observation from outside. Grooves and sockets for the attachment of this gallery and screen are to be seen immediately within the hall.

Hitherto the interior of these early Hinayana chaityas was comparatively plain and simple in plan. At Nasik the change takes place first in the pillars, then in the proportions of the dagoba and in the side aisles. The designers of the Nasik Chaitya were beginning to recognise the decorative value of the pillar. More attention was paid to the bases, which are of the "lota" or vase design, than to the capitals which are a rudimentary square abacus. Another feature of the Nasik pillars is their proportions, which instead of being broad and massive, are tall and slender with a diameter of one-eighth of their height, a proportion quite near to the finest Greek and Roman models of approximately the same date.

There are five octagonal pillars with base and capital in each side of the nave and five plain shafts around the apse, a total of 15 pillars, all of which taper slightly. The hall (Fig. 16A) is 11.9 metres in length, nearly 6.7 metres wide and 7 metres high. At the far end is the dagoba, the drum of which is 1.67 metres in diameter and 1.8 metres high, surmounted by a small dome and a heavy capital. The dagoba has been elongated by lengthening the cylindrical drum, the first sign of movement skywards, which in the examples to follow, those of the Mahayana, become tall and awe-inspiring.

The remaining excavations in this group are small chambers, a number of viharas containing sculpture of a later date and several pondhios or cisterns. Cave No. 14 is a small chapel which was first cut to provide accommodation for the monks who were entrusted with the excavation of the chaitya, as well as for the conduct of the ritual.

Four of the viharas deserve special comment, of which those numbered 3 and 10 are so alike that they may be copies. Cave No. 3 (Fig. 17A) is a large astylar monastery 12.5 metres wide and 14 metres deep. There are eighteen cells with stone benches in its walls which open onto a low plinth that extends around three sides. On the rear wall has been carved a dagoba complete with capital and umbrella. There are four entrances to this hall, the main or central doorway being sculptured in the style of a Sanchi torana. The side pilasters are divided into six compartments, each filled with men and women in various stages of a story, which seems to end in the women being abducted by the men. Over the door are the three symbols so typical of the Hinayana sculptors, a Bodhi tree, a dagoba and a chakra or wheel with worshippers on either side. The horizontal lintels or bands of the torana with volute ends are bracketed with rampant lions. The dwarfaplas on either side of the door against the windows are additions though not of Mahayana origin, as the style of the head-dress is similar to that on the
FIG. 16
FLOOR PLANS OF HINAYANA CHAITYAS
A, Nasik; B, Junaar — Ganesh Lena (Lenyadri No. 6); C, Karla; D, Kanheri
screens at Karla and Kanheri and in the paintings in Cave No. 10 at Ajanta.

The pillared porch (Plate 30) is an interesting production. Six octagonal pillars with compressed bell-shaped capitals rise from a dwarf wall. Their capitals are surmounted by a square torus which have small figures at the corners, and a square abacus upon which rest pairs of animals. A broad beam connects the superstructures of the pillars, above which is seen the ends of rafters, a string course of animals, an ornamental railing and ultimately a second row of animals under the overhanging ledge of rock.

The dwarf wall is decorated by a rail between floral garlands above and animal figures below. The dwarf wall in turn rests on rafters and beams which are carried on the shoulders of human figures which seem to rise out of the earth. Percy Brown has graphically described them as “elemental beings being forced into the service of the Creed”.

The vihara numbered 10 is similar in style and decoration to Cave No. 3 and Cave No. 20. Its attraction is its dignified facade (Plate 31). Here the dwarf wall has been omitted, the octagonal pillars are complete with “lota” bases resting on a stepped pedestal. The upper portion of the porch resembles a hanging railed balcony supported on rafters, the front ends of which protrude through the beams. At either end of the porch are cells; three plain doorways lead into the hall which is lit by two broad windows. On the rear wall between the two central cells was carved a dagoba, as can be seen from the remains of its capital and umbrella, which was later converted into a grotesque figure.

There are several features in Cave No. 17, a vihara, adjacent to the upper portion of the chaitya, which indicate that it was entirely the work of the Mahayana Buddhists in the seventh century. The inner hall has a rear aisle screened by two unfinished pillars. To the left of the aisle is a standing figure of the Buddha, and in the left wall is a long recess intended either as a seat or for a row of images. The verandah or porch is peculiar to say the least as it seems that a small chamber was commenced by mistake. It resulted in the adjacent cell projecting into the verandah, and a cell attached to the hall piercing the walls of the chaitya. On the right are four cells without benches. An inscription in this vihara records that it was the gift of a “yavana”, a Greek from Dattamiri.

Cave No. 20 is the largest vihara at Nasik. It is 18.6 metres deep and varies from 11.3 to 13.4 metres at the far end. It was apparently 12.5 metres deep but was extended in the sixth or seventh century by one Marma, as recorded on the wall. There are eight cells in each of the three sides and two cells to the left of the ante-chamber at the rear. On either side of the shrine are tall Bodhisattvas with attendant females or their saktis. In the shrine is a seated figure of the Buddha with Padmapani and Vajrapani in attendance.

Twenty metres away is probably the oldest excavation in the group, Cave No. 14, which was both chapel and residence. It evidently had a wooden screen in front which has since disappeared. This chaitya-vihara was equipped with eisterns, a raised stone bench and a circular base for a structural dagoba. Later modifications by the followers of the Great Vehicle were the cutting of adjacent cells, shrines and compartments, and the insertion of figures of the Buddha with attendants on
FIG. 17
FLOOR PLANS
A, Nasik No. 3; B, Nasik No. 15; C, Aurangabad No. 3; D, Ellora No. 2
the walls.

Though this group was later occupied by the Mahayana Buddhists, the chaitya was left untouched. Cave No. 23 however, so resembles the later chaitya-viharas at Aurangabad, Ellora and Ajanta both in plan and its sculptural embellishment, that there can be little hesitation in assigning it to a period much later than the other excavations at Nasik.

It is an irregular excavation, the front portion of which was apparently made of timber, which has long since disappeared. On the floor of central hall is a raised stone bench as well as a cylindrical base for a structural dagoba or a portable image of the Buddha. Its Mahayan character may be seen in the sculpture in the shrines, one of which portrays the Buddha with a moustache, and also on the walls in compartments. The imagery is mainly of the Buddha attended by Avalokitesvara or Padmapani and Vajrapani and several reliefs of female deities.
JUNNAR, NINETY KILOMETRES NORTH OF POONA, is a town of considerable antiquity and was once of greater importance than Poona. There are nearly 400 excavations in the three hills, Manmoda, Shivneri and Sulaiman, around the city. The majority are small cells or “bhikshu-grihas” and most of them are devoid of figure ornament or imagery. They all belong to either the early or later periods of Hinayana activity, and the ornamentation is chiefly the rail pattern, the chaitya arch and the dagoba motifs, while elephants, tigers and other animals appear on the pillar capitals. These excavations cover almost all forms of rock-cut temples and several forms not found elsewhere. They are an intermediate stage between the severe plainness of the Gujarath groups and those of the age which succeeded them. Inscriptions record the pious acts of devotees and do not allude to kings and royal families. Some of the earlier caves were excavated in the first century B.C. and the latest were commenced about two to three hundred years later.

The caves at Junnar are located in the three hills around the city:

1. Three groups in the Manmoda Hill, south-west of the town.
2. Several groups in the Shivneri Hill, as well as the Tulja Lena group in the same hill.
3. The Ganesh Lena group, also called Lenyadri, in the Sulaiman Hills, to the north, and a second group east of the same hill.

MANMODA HILL

The Manmoda Hill is south-west of Junnar and about one and a half kilometres to the west of the main road. A track leaves this road at a point 85 kilometres from Poona. In the first group is an unfinished chaitya, locally known as Bhima Shankar.

The porch or verandah of the Bhima Shankar Chaitya is made up of two octagonal pillars between pilasters, which rise from a low parapet, decorated with the rail pattern on the outer side. The capitals of the pillars are inverted “lotas” or vases surmounted by a stepped abacus and a small rectangular block on which rests the entablature, which is also carved with the rail pattern. The chaitya arch above is unfinished and the window is “blind”. It bears a great resemblance to the Ambika Chaitya in the second group in the Manmoda Hill. Flaws in the rock caused this chaitya to be abandoned, yet the lower portion was completed, whereas the upper
part of the facade, where normally excavation was commenced, was left unfinished.

The interior is a long flat-roofed rectangular hall without pillars, whose rear end widens (Fig. 13E). At the far end is a large mass of rock which was meant to be the dagoba, and which in more recent times was carved into a squatting figure and worshipped as Bhima Shankar. A well in the rear indicates why this chaitya was abandoned.

To the left is a monastery, a pillared verandah with three cells, and the remaining excavations are small cells of no significance.

A short distance away is the group known as Ambika Lena and numbered 17 to 33. The chief excavation here is once again an unfinished chaitya (Plate 32B) whose frontage bears some resemblance to the Beda Chaitya.

The verandah is composed of two pillars between pilasters. Plain octagonal shafts rise from "lota" bases which rest on a square stepped base. The capitals of the pillars are inverted "lotas" slightly elongated, which are surmounted by square abaci and a square block which supports the entablature. In fact this is the usual pattern of both internal and external pillars at Junnar. The two central pillars of the verandah have not been completed, the upper portion above the capital being left as a plain square shaft.

Above the rectangular door which leads to the inner hall is the chaitya arch and window (Fig. 5D). The window which is a semi-elliptical opening was not fitted with the usual lattice. The hall is apsidal, has been roughly excavated, and the dagoba is an irregular mass. The interior pillars have not been commenced nor is the vaulted ceiling complete. The hall is approximately 12.2 metres in length and about 4 metres wide. There are several inscriptions on the main wall of the verandah and even on the chaitya arch, which place the excavation sometime between A.D. 110 and 138.

To the left of the Ambika Chaitya is a small circular cell containing a dagoba, which is possibly one of the oldest excavations in the group. To the east is Cave No. 24, a second incomplete chaitya containing a dagoba whose umbrella is carved on the roof and connected to the capital by a stone shaft, a part of which still remains.

In the third group, the principal cave is No. 39, yet another unfinished chaitya, but one of the most interesting at Junnar—the Manmoda Chaitya, also known as Budh Lena (Plate 3).

A glance at the damaged facade reveals that it belongs to an early phase of rock architecture. The chaitya window was still being developed and in its place there is a semi-circular arch divided into seven recessed compartments radiating from a half-round centre, which has been likened to the petals of a lotus. The chaitya arch surrounds and protrudes over this panel and around its inner edge are parallel rock-cut rafters resembling wooden originals. Though the arch retains its traditional shape, the purpose of the window, to filter the light which fell on the dagoba, is lost.

The door is nearly the whole width of the nave and above is the recessed semi-circular "window", the lintel of which has broken away, making the door and the blind window one elongated opening.

Above the broad arched window is the semi-circular fan-shaped panel within
the chaitya arch. On either side of the finial of the arch are naga figures in high relief, and on the outer edge of these figures are dagobas also in high relief, roughly finished with heavy square capitals. On the projecting frieze above are seven chaitya arches, the space between them being occupied by smaller arches, the whole standing on the Buddhist rail. On the upper end of both the uprights of the frieze and on the door lintels are again chaitya arches, as well as smaller arches on either side of the lintels. The lower portion is left unfinished.

The unique feature of the Manmoda Chaitya is the half-lotus with seven sculptured petals within the blind arch. The figure in the central petal with one arm raised in the gesture of assurance, as was common in early Indian iconography, resembles Lakshmi. On either side in the broad section of the compartment is a flower. In the two petals on either side are elephants standing on a lotus holding water jars in their trunks. These are followed by male figures, probably yakshas, with hands joined overhead; and in the end compartments are female figures in the same position.

Since the largest sculpture is above and in front, it bears out the theory that the excavation and the ornamentation started from the top and by the time they worked down, flaws were noticed in the rock or the rock crumbled away. As they proceeded inwards and downwards the diagonal soft stratum was struck which caused the work to be abandoned. As such five octagonal pillars on the right were blocked out, those on the left being indicated, and the tall dagoba was only commenced.

The chaitya is apsidal in plan with a vaulted roof, nave and side aisles. The roof of the front aisle is flat whereas the roofs of the aisles are arched. The interior would be about 10.7 metres deep and nearly 6 metres wide.

Although the Manmoda Chaitya had to be abandoned, its facade furnishes evidence of a subsequent stage in the evolution of the chaitya. The chaitya window has not yet been cut through and the rafters in the arch and the rail pattern point to the early period in which the chaitya was excavated. It is an example of a comparatively successful attempt of the early “cave architects” to emancipate themselves from the trammels of the wooden style. It is a thoroughly lithic example with no provision for, nor had it even any wooden porches or vestibules. The feature of the facade, the lunette, if it could be so called, is similar to Pandu Lena; whereas at Nasik it is above the door, at Manmoda it fills the upper space of the blind chaitya arch.

Due to the layer of soft rock, all work was stopped. But the whole design and the decoration of the cave is a daring attempt to renounce the carpenter’s art for that of the mason, and in ambitiously trying to execute a seven-petalled flower in stone, these early designers and architects found it to be a more difficult task than it would have been in wood.

SHIVNERI HILL

The Shivneri hill-fort, the birthplace of Shivaji, lies to the south-west of the town and can be approached from the north and from the south-east spurs. A steep and
difficult track leads to the sixty odd caves in the Shivneri Hill. They are mainly small cells and viharas, but there are also four chaityas with special features.

In the lower scarp of the south-east spur are several solitary cells and a square chaitya (Fig. 13C). It consists of a narrow porch made up of two pillars between pilasters, so typical of Junnar, and a single door which leads to the hall which is about 6 metres square. Set towards the far end, and not in the centre of the hall is the rock-cut drum of the dagoba, the dome of which may have been made of brick. The remaining excavations in this level are cisterns. In the southern end of the upper level is a small two-storied vihara, consisting of seven cells in the lower hall and a large chamber above, whose frontage is badly damaged. At a slightly higher level is another vihara which shows that considerable wooden screening was used. There are sockets in the capitals of the pilasters of the porch for the fitment of a detachable screen.

On the southern face of the hill are several cells, a large excavation containing twelve cells and a small unfinished chaitya. The interesting features in this cave are the sockets in the floor and in the upper part of the front.

The Shivneri Chaitya, Cave No. 48 (Fig. 13D), is a rectangular flat-roofed excavation. It has neither a facade, a chaitya window, nor pillared aisles. The front wall was originally pierced with two windows and one central door. Later the sill of the window to the right of the door was cut away forming one large door. The interior of this chaitya has one feature which does not occur elsewhere. There is only one aisle in the front of the hall formed by two pillars between pilasters, which are decorated with the usual "lota" bases and inverted "lota" capitals. From the top of the capitals rise short square shafts up to the architrave that runs under the ceiling. The hall is 9.3 metres deep, 6.4 metres wide and 5.9 metres in height. In the far end is a well-proportioned dagoba, three metres in diameter with the rail pattern along the upper end of the cylinder. The umbrella as in the early chaityas is carved on the roof and connected with the capital by a short stone shaft. The ceiling is neatly painted in geometrical patterns of squares containing concentric rings in orange, brown, white and black. The dagoba also shows signs of painting. There is a row of sockets in the floor between the dagoba and the front aisle. Possibly a partition or wooden pillars, fixed along the centre of the hall, created the effect of a circumambulatory passage, as this chaitya has no pillared aisles.

The circular chaitya in the Tulja Lena group has been described in Chapter 8. This group is so named because Cave No. 4, a vihara, has been taken over by the Hindus and dedicated to Tulja, another form of Bhawani, the consort of Siva.

SULAIMAN HILLS

There are two groups in the Sulaiman Hills, which are five kilometres north of Junnar—the Ganesh Lena group also called Lenyadri, and a second group to the east of the same hill.

The Ganesh Lena Chaitya (Lenyadri No. 6) is so called because it is adjacent to the vihara now known as Ganesh Lena. It is reached by rock-cut steps similar to those at Karla and Bedsa. This chaitya though small is almost complete and is
considered to be the "most perfect to be found anywhere in India." Its proportions are good and all the details experimentally used at Nasik, Karla and elsewhere are here understood and applied without hesitation. Its layout and richness of decoration, although within limited space, make it a typical example in miniature of Buddhist rock-architecture. It is about the same dimensions as the Nasik Chaitya and the treatment of its pillars is also similar to that in the Nasik vibharas. Groining is however not of wood but rock-cut. The style of the excavation places it round about A.D. 100.

The verandah in front (Plate 33) is 4 metres broad, made up of two free-standing and two attached pillars, with the usual bases and capitals. Above the capitals are enclosed amalakas, stepped abaci and crowning animals, too badly eroded to be identified. There is only one entrance to the hall, and the chaitya window above the entrance is present as a shallow arch, the smoothed inner surface of which shows that it was not meant to be an aperture. There is an inscription above the door.

The inner apsidal hall is 12.2 metres deep, 6.7 metres wide and 7.3 metres in height, with sixteen perpendicular pillars separating the nave from the side aisles. Five columns similar to those in the verandah, on either side, have richly decorated bases and capitals, holding lions, tigers and elephants, and the remaining six around the dagoba are the usual plain octagonal shafts. The aisle behind the dagoba is one metre wide and is ribbed and linked to the roof with imitation wooden ribs (Fig. 16B).

The dagoba is nearly 5 metres in height, a plain drum decorated with the rail pattern on the upper edge. The dome is also ornamented with the rail pattern and is surmounted by a harmika and a square abacus of five slab-like members with a socket to hold the shaft of the umbrella and four small recesses for relics.

Though small, the Ganesh Lena Chaitya is considered to be perfect. It is the earliest known instance of stone and not wooden ribs both in the nave and in the aisles, and except for the umbrella, everything was lithic.

West of this chaitya, a flight of steps leads to the Ganesh Lena, a large square hall with a plinth on three sides, and twenty cells in the side walls. Beyond are several solitary cells.

There is another chaitya in the Sulaiman Hills, No. 15 (Fig. 15F). Its simplicity of arrangement and detail marks it as the earliest of the chaityas at Jumnar, with the possible exception of the circular chaitya in the Tulja Lena group. The verandah is 7 metres broad and 6 metres deep—it is broader than the hall within, and has two octagonal pillars in front between pilasters. The capitals have four fillets on a square abacus, a thin torus not enclosed at the corners, and the inverted "lotas". The bases are similar to the capitals. An inscription at the left corner of the door in old square Pali of the first century B.C. reads, "a pious gift of charity designed for a sanctuary by Ananda, the youngest son of the believer, Tapala; and the grandson of the believer, Kapala."

The inner hall is flat-roofed and rectangular, 6.7 metres in length, 4 metres wide and 4.3 metres in height. The dagoba is connected to the umbrella carved on the roof by a stone shaft.
There is a third unfinished chaitya in the second group. This group is difficult of access and the easternmost excavation is a small unfinished chaitya, 6.7 metres deep and 2.4 metres wide. The walls are not perpendicular nor is the floor level, and the side aisles were not commenced. The dagoba is 1.5 metres in diameter and a little over one metre in height; only its upper part is finished. Outside, the facade is carved with the chaitya arch decoration and the rail pattern, and the fronton around the window is carved with a geometrical design.

The Junnar chaityas reveal a number of variations from the general pattern of such excavations. There are apsidal vaulted chaityas, rectangular flat-roofed halls, a circular chaitya, a square chaitya and a few dagoba cells. Some of the groups have more than one chaitya, but most of them are unfinished, some due to flaws in the rock, others were just left incomplete. The blind chaitya window is a feature frequently met at Junnar, but otherwise unknown elsewhere. These departures from the standard form could imply an early and experimental stage in rock architecture.

It is possible to trace the development of Hinayana chaitya architecture at Junnar, commencing with the dagoba cell near the Ambika Chaitya (Plate 32B) in the Manmoda Hill and the Tulja Lena Chaitya, to the next stage, Lenadri 15. Though rectangular, it bears a resemblance to the Mahakali Chaitya before the front porch and the facade were destroyed, and if we visualise the removal of the wall dividing the sanctum from the hall. Hereafter follow experiments with verandas, chaitya arches and windows. The Manmoda Chaitya has neither a veranda nor a true chaitya window, whereas the Bhima Shankar Chaitya and the Ganesh Lena Chaitya (Lenadri 6) have verandas and blind chaitya windows. The Ambika Chaitya has a pillared verandah, and a proper chaitya arch surrounding a pierced window.

The design and layout of the interiors also vary from simple rectangular astylar halls, where the processional path was formed by a structural partition in the centre, to conventional halls with pillared aisles as in the case of the Manmoda Chaitya whose aisles are incomplete, and the Ganesh Lena Chaitya which is regarded as an excellent specimen in miniature. In several examples the umbrella was carved on the ceiling and connected to the dagoba by a stone shaft; in the case of the Ganesh Lena Chaitya, the dagoba was completely lithic except for the umbrella.

The chaitya arch and rail pattern ornamentation and dagoba motifs predominate at Junnar, and except for the Manmoda Chaitya, figure sculpture hardly exists, yet the Shivneri Chaitya still retains fragments of painting on the ceiling and on the dagoba.

There are no traces of Mahayana occupation at Junnar.
Chapter 19

Karla

Five kilometres north of the Malavli railway station is the group of Buddhist caves known as Karla. The easiest approach is to leave the Bombay-Poona Road by a well-defined path, 91 kilometres from Bombay. The ultimate portion of the track ascends 150 metres and is made easy by steps built by the ancient Buddhists. The group consists of a large chaitya and several viharas, some of which are now in ruins.

The Great Chaitya of Karla (Plate 34) would rank among the important monuments of the world. It is the largest and most complete—impressive and well-balanced—and was designed on a magnificent scale. It is described in one of its own inscriptions as the "most excellent rock mansion in Jambudvipa (India)."

There were originally two free-standing pillars, one on each side of the facade and slightly in advance of the entrance. These Lion Pillars were at least 15 metres in height, equaling that of the Asokan column at Sarnath. Their great size must have struck the imagination of worshippers and were an imposing introduction to the wonders within. The pillar on the right was destroyed when the flaw or fault in the rock damaged the right side of the frontage. The temple of Ekvira now occupies the place where this pillar stood.

The plain tapering sixteen-sided pillar stands on a wide cylindrical base, surmounted by a bell-shaped capital on which were four addorsed lions supporting a wheel, probably made of metal.

The outer porch which is wider than the main hall, is 16.4 metres broad and 4.6 metres deep. It is made up of two thick plain octagonal pillars without bases and capitals, forming a triple entrance and supports a mass of rock in which are four pillars between pilasters that give the effect of a dwarf colonnade above. Below the ledge of the rock is a neat band of rail. The front screen though a conspicuous innovation hides most of the facade.

In the space between these upper and lower openings of the screen, numerous mortice holes exist for the attachment of a wooden gallery or balcony, which extended right across the front. Access to this gallery (which has completely perished) was by means of a stairway behind the Lion Pillar on the left side.

Beyond the rock-cut screen is the facade decorated with chaitya arches, sculptured figures and dominated by the chaitya window. The chaitya arch occupies the greater part of the inner wall within which is recessed the window. Portions of the wooden transoms still remain, but the lower portion with its semi-circular lattice
is missing. In the spandrels on either side of the arch and also on the narrower ends of the porch are carved tiers of chaitya arches separated by bands of decorative rail. The panel of elephants, half-size and in high-relief, in the ends of the porch are a particularly artistic decoration.

Several modifications were made later by the Mahayana Buddhists. The frieze above the elephants was cut away to insert figures of the Buddha and his attendants (Plate 35A). Above this was a quadrantal moulding and another band of rail, the return of which forms the sill of the chaitya window. On this stand miniature temple fronts crowned with chaitya arches and between them are figures—some of the finest sculptures in India. Above this the rail and chaitya arch patterns are repeated to the top.

On the central or front wall, both the friezes of rail at the bottom and at the top were removed to make room for figures of the Buddha and attendants. In this process some of the older inscriptions have been cut away. The couples on either side of the door (Plate 35B) however appear to be part of the original decoration as at Kanheri. In the middle of the space between the central and the right door is a later insertion of the Buddha attended by Padmapani and Manjusri—the Buddha is seated on a Lion Throne or “sinhasana”, with feet on a lotus, over a wheel supported by two deer. There are naga figures beneath the wheel and above the Buddha are two vidhyadharas holding a crown.

The entrance to the chaitya hall consisted of three doorways, the central door being reserved for priests and others of standing; the floor of the porch on either side of the central door was sunk to form shallow dips, and the laity stepped through these pools of water on their way to the side doors.

The inner hall is majestic. Nearly two thousand years have passed since the sound of pilgrims’ feet or the chanting of saffron-robed monks broke the silence of this pillared hall. It is 37.8 metres in length, 13.9 metres wide and 44 metres in height. Along with the verandah it is over 550 square metres in area, a veritable cathedral among chaityas, which has rightly been called the Great Chaitya of Karla (Fig. 16C). Fifteen pillars on each side separate the nave from the aisles which are 2.7 metres wide. These pillars (Plate 4B) repeat the design and the theme of the Lion Pillars in front, each consisting of a “lota” base on a plinth, an octagonal shaft and a bell-shaped capital with a spreading abacus surmounted by a neatly sculptured group of kneeling elephants with male and female riders (Plate 28B). Though similar there is a variation in their design and they form a sculptured frieze of great beauty. On the inner side, that is, within the aisles, horses take the place of the elephants. These figures are allegorical and intend to signify the opulence and power of earthly rulers on their lordly elephants, who kneel in humility before the shrine of the Buddha. There is reason to believe that the horses had metal trappings and the elephants both on these pillars as well as in the verandah had ivory tusks.

The eighth pillar on the right is sixteen-sided and has a dagoba carved on it, flanked by a chakra symbol and a sinha-stambha; the latter was probably the design of the Lion Pillars outside the porch. The seven pillars behind the dagoba are the usual plain octagonal shafts, but the four pillars under the entrance gallery differ considerably from all others.
Above the sculptured capitals of the inner pillars rises the arched vault of the roof, still fitted with wooden ribs, those in the apsidal end converging at the centre. These ribs must have been renewed from time to time. Their purpose is however difficult to establish for they are neither wooden copies nor do they strengthen the roof. Probably their purpose was to remove echo, the absence of which in such a large hall is noticeable.

The dagoba (Plate 4A) consists of a two-storied drum with the rail pattern on the upper edge, suggestive of the processional path around the stupa at Sanchi. There are sockets in the drum which have now been conclusively proved to be the repositories of caskets containing relics. The squat dome is surmounted by a capital decorated with the rail pattern, in which stands a wooden umbrella, the underside of which is carved with a delicate pattern including a lotus. In the capital near the right corner is a recess 25 cm deep covered with a rectangular stone slab. Around the upper edge of the capital are eight holes either for the fitment of a metal rail or for hanging a drape which enclosed the relics when they were exhibited.

The most characteristic feature of this chaitya is the chaitya arch and window (Fig. 5C, Pl. 34). On this depended the whole system of lighting. At Karla, light was first filtered through the rock-cut screen, then broken up by the grill of the window and fell evenly on the dagoba, leaving the rest of the chamber in comparative obscurity; the walls can hardly be seen because the broad pillars screen most of the light, and as there are no openings in the walls, the view between the pillars is limited.

There are several inscriptions in this chaitya, which help in deciding certain dates. Nahapana’s and Ushabhadata’s names occur in connection with certain grants of land, whose revenues were set aside for the benefit of the monks. This was no doubt after the conclusion of the work and as such furnishes a limit of A.D. 120 in one direction. Two inscriptions, one above the elephants on the left of the porch and the other on the Lion Pillar in front, mention the king Bhutapala (Devabhuti of the Sunga dynasty) of about 70 B.C.

With the Great Chaitya at Karla, Hinayana rock-architecture reached its climax, for the examples which followed show a distinct degeneracy in style, bad proportions and excessive sculpture, much of which is oppressive.

The remaining excavations at Karla are mostly cells, plain viharas of which only a few of the adjoining cells have benches, and several pondhis or cisterns.

Some of the early monasteries were modified by the followers of the Great Vehicle, probably in the sixth and seventh centuries, and embellished with figures of the Buddha and of Bodhisattvas with female attendants. This is particularly noticeable in Cave Nos. 2 and 10. To provide additional accommodation several of the viharas were excavated at different levels, which give them the appearance of being storied, but all the viharas at Karla without exception are dwarfed and overshadowed by the majestic Great Chaitya.

Of the viharas which deserve mention is the upper part of Cave No. 2 to the left of the chaitya. The entrances of the attached cells were not only fitted with wooden doors, but each cell could be isolated from the others by a sort of screen or curtain. Cave Nos. 6 and 11 are original Mahayana excavations. The former
was approached by a staircase through Cave No. 5. On its rear and right walls are standing figures of the Buddha, that on the rear wall under a crown held by flying figures, beneath an arch or garland issuing from the mouths of makaras. It bears such a close resemblance to a similar relief in Cave No. 21 at Mahad that it could very well be a copy.

A reference has already been made to the temple of the goddess Ekvira, which is said to have been rebuilt in 1866. The image of the goddess is carved out of the rock behind, and her worshippers are mostly Kolis and Prabhus from the Konkan. From comparative mythology it appears that the worship of Ekvira is a relic of Dravidian culture and has kept its own, although modern Hinduism has absorbed it. As such the worship of Ekvira and the site might be pre-Buddhistic, and the popularity of this locality may have induced the ancient Buddhists to select this spot as a centre of their own culture and religion.

The village of Vehargaon near Karla, so called because of the monasteries nearby and the modern township of Lonavla or Lenauli, which means an abundance of "lenas" or caves, are strong indications that this area, which includes Bhaja and Bedsa, was a stronghold of Buddhism with Karla as the centre of pilgrimage.
Chapter 20

Kanheri

North of the city of Bombay and east of the township of Borivli is the Kanheri National Park. The hill in which this extensive group of caves is located is known as Krishna-giri or Kanha-giri, Krishna’s Hill. Its summit is formed by a large mass of compact rock under which a softer stratum has in many places been washed away. It is in the layer below this that the Kanheri Caves were excavated. There are a total of 109 caves here, the majority of which are solitary cells with a stone bench and a verandah in front.

There are two chaityas at Kanheri, numbered 1 and 3. The former (Plate 36) is unfinished, its interior being hardly excavated at all. It is probably one of the latest excavations at Kanheri and may date from as late as the eighth or ninth century A.D. To the north is Cave No. 2, a large excavation containing two dagobas, the third having been broken at its base. The rock surrounding the dagobas is carved with figures of the Buddha and the Litany of Avalokitesvara.

The next excavation, the Kanheri Chaitya No. 3 (Plate 32A), is in a class by itself, and according to inscriptive evidence was completed as late as A.D. 180. In style it is a smaller and inferior version of the Great Chaitya of Karla. Its history may be seen in the sculpture on its façade.

Commenced in the second century A.D. it was never completed, but all the same was used by the Hinayana Buddhists and later by the followers of the Great Vehicle, who altered its exterior and made it suitable for the theistic ritual by additional sculpture. Some of the sculpture subsequently introduced is the most striking part of the composition, for besides the statuary on the façade, at each end of the verandah are colossal statues of the Buddha nearly seven metres high (Plate 37). Only the exterior of this chaitya was modified with later impositions, the interior remaining as it was originally designed.

The Kanheri Chaitya provides useful information as to the exteriors of these Hinayana chaityas, besides explaining the arrangements in front of Karla before the rock-fall destroyed its symmetry. In front of the chaitya is a well-defined courtyard enclosed by a low wall decorated with an ornamental rail pattern and a row of animals at the base, with flowers and figures above. The entrance to the courtyard is guarded by dwarpalas or door-keepers. The entire composition bears a striking resemblance to the parapet of the verandah of Cave No. 3 at Nasik. On either side of the forecourt are pillars similar to the “sinha-stambhas” or Lion Pillars of Karla; here however they are not free-standing but are attached to the
side-rock like prominent pilasters. The middle or centre of these shafts is interrupted by a cushion, and above the abacus are the remnants of figures. Surmounting the pillar on the right are lions as at Karla, while on the left pillar are three squat figures similar to those on the pillar in the forecourt of the Jain temple at Ellora, known as Indra Sabha.

To the left of the court are two small cells entered one through the other, but of a later date than the chaitya. The outer cave has a good deal of sculpture in it.

The facade of the porch consists of two tall columns above which is a dwarf colonnade containing five narrow windows. The surface of the facade has numerous sockets which indicate that considerable woodwork including an overhanging balcony was attached. Every portion of this chaitya is patterned with such holes, showing that much of it was supplemented by timber construction. In fact, it goes to prove that as this type of rock-cut chaitya progressed, it began to return to its earlier form of being more than half-timbered.

The chaitya window, usually the richest feature in a chaitya, is here little more than a bare semi-circular aperture and is obviously unfinished. It is also hardly noticed being hidden behind and shadowed by the rock-cut screen in front. It was probably faced with wood and had a timbered lattice window fixed within the arch. The sculpture on the front screen is in the same position and is similar if not better executed than that at Karla. The style and dress of the donor couples is of the age of the Satakarnis (1st-2nd century A.D.). The earrings are long and heavy and wrought with care, the anklets are also heavy and the turbans are carefully sculptured. This style of dress does not occur in any of the later chaityas or even in the mural paintings, and further confirms the age of the excavation. The standing figures of the Bodhisatvā Avalokitesvara, the images of the Buddha on the front wall to the left of the verandah and the two tall statues of the Buddha at the ends of the verandah however belong to a later period, probably the fifth or sixth century.

The inner hall (Fig. 16D) is 26 metres in length, 12.2 metres wide and 15.2 metres in height, with 34 pillars forming side aisles and a cross aisle in front, directly behind the entrance, which is covered by the gallery beneath the chaitya window. The pillars are closely set and are short massive columns unlike those at Karla, Nasik and even Junnar, which are elegantly proportioned. Six on the right and eleven on the left have ornamental bases and capitals of extremely good workmanship; the thirteen around the apse are however plain octagonal shafts. Decorated pillars are invariably set equally on either side of the nave, only those behind the dagoba being plain shafts. It is therefore difficult to understand why five on the right were reduced to or retained as plain octagonal shafts.

The vaulted roof is ribbed, but all its woodwork has perished; only the pegs which held them in place remain. The presence of rafters in an otherwise highly evolved excavation like this was purposeful and indicates that canopies and drapes were probably fitted. The ceiling of the aisles is plain and flat.

The dagoba is 4.9 metres in height. It has a series of relic sockets along the centre of the drum, which has a moulding above and a second band around the dome. The capital has been destroyed.

The impression conveyed by this chaitya is that while the architectural tech-
FIG. 18
FLOOR PLANS
A. Kanheri No. 10 (Darbar Cave); B. Ellora No. 5
nique shows signs of deterioration, the “plastic” or sculptural embellishment, particular of the figures, has maintained its high quality. As a whole, the Kanheri Chaitya is a distinct falling away from the high standard of its forerunner at Karla, showing that it was a final effort before the early phase of rock architecture came to an end.

To the left of the forecourt is a small circular cell containing a solid dagoba (Plate 38A), which from its position, is almost certainly of an earlier date than the chaitya, if not the oldest excavation in the group. The relief of the Buddha in front is however a later addition. There are three such dagoba cells at Kanheri.

The numbers now allotted to the caves at Kanheri have only resulted in creating more confusion than what existed before. The system used by James Burgess late in the last century was admittedly erratic, which was to be expected as the caves were excavated at different levels on both sides of the ravine. What has caused the confusion is that Burgess’ numbers still stand, sometimes more prominently than the new series. In this account, Burgess’ numbering has been retained, the new numbers being shown in parenthesis, whenever necessary.

North-east of the chaitya, No. 3, on the right or southern side of the ravine is the Darbar Cave, the largest vihara at Kanheri. Although it has 12 cells in its eastern and southern walls it was also used as an assembly or convocation hall. The cell opposite the entrance is carved with a seated Buddha attended by Padmapani and another Bodhisattva on either side. At the entrance to this shrine sat the Elder, who presided over or addressed the gathering which was assembled in two parallel rows in front. The Darbar Cave, No. 10 (11), consists of a courtyard with a cistern on either side and three flights of steps leading to a pillared verandah (Fig. 18A). To the left of the verandah is an unfinished subsidiary shrine. The inner hall is 22.3 metres broad and 9.8 metres deep, with two parallel plinths running from east to west, similar to those in Cave No. 5 at Ellora. A raised platform against the left and rear sides leads to three cells on the left and eight at the back, the fifth being the shrine. A corresponding platform with attached cells on the right was left incomplete. Beneath the Darbar Cave is a separate small plain chamber, No. 9, rather roughly executed.

There are more than twenty excavations in this range, commencing with Cave No. 5, a rock-cut reservoir fed by a perennial spring, up to No. 23.

Cave No. 13 (33) as it now stands has four cells with benches. It was probably three separate caves which were converted to one. The central chamber had four brick dagobas which contained a large number of clay tablets with characters of the tenth century (many of which were encased in small clay stupas similar to those at Nalanda), circular sealings also of the same period and several small votive stupas and plaques with reliefs of the Buddha. Nearby were also found two small stone urns containing ashes and five copper coins belonging to the Bahamani dynasty (14th-15th century).

The next excavation, No. 14, is a large hall with a plinth on either side; two slender pillars between pilasters form the antechamber, the inner walls of which are carved with four standing figures of the Buddha. The shrine which is now empty probably contained an image of the Buddha.
Clearance of the area in front of Cave No. 18 brought to light 55 small stupas of varying sizes arranged in three rows on a brick-paved floor, a ruined stupa and a flight of rock-cut steps.

Excavated in the eighth or ninth century is Cave No. 23. It consists of a court, a small portico in front of a pillared verandah, an astylar hall with a cell on either side and a shrine with figures of the Buddha on its walls. There is also a representation of a four-armed eleven-headed Avalokitesvara, said to be the only relief of its kind in India. The figure of a multi-headed Avalokitesvara is frequently found in Nepal and Tibet and in the later sculptures and paintings of Cambodia, China and Japan. Here it shows that Buddhism had adopted the prevailing Hindu practice of portraying their divinities with several heads and arms. This cave also has traces of painting, mainly of the Buddha.

At a slightly higher level is another series awkwardly numbered from west to east, which includes Nos. 29 to 35, 77 to 73, 98 and 99, 44 to 42 and 72 to 69. Cave No. 35 depicts the Dipankhara Jataka; several have inscriptions, and the largest, No. 76, is a fine vihara with cells in the side walls. The verandah is composed of four pillars rising from a dwarf wall. The walls of the verandah and the far end of the inner hall are carved with figures of the Buddha, Bodhisattvas and their consorts.

Beyond this at the highest level are Nos. 49 to 45 and 56 to 68. This range has some interesting excavations Nos. 64, 66 and 67 being remarkable for their profusion of sculpture (Plate 38B), chiefly of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas with male and female attendants. Cave No. 66 (90) has a fine sculptured Litany of Avalokitesvara in his role as the Saviour of the Eight Great Perils, with Tara on either side (Plate 8A). The adjacent cave has a large panel carved with the Buddha seated on a Lotus Throne, the lower stem of which is held by nagas, above whom are seated Bodhisattvas with their consorts, and on either side of the Buddha is the Bodhisattva Vajrapani with his sakti. Along the edge of the panel are standing and seated figures of the Buddha, with celestial figures above.

There is a range of ten caves, numbered 90, 91, 50, 51, 37 and 52 to 56 to the south, above the chaitya caves. They are in no way remarkable.

On the northern side of the ravine, almost opposite the Darbar Cave, is Cave No. 78, which consists of a pillared verandah, a small inner hall and a smaller cell containing an image of the Buddha. The adjacent excavation has a dagoba, instead of an image of the Buddha.

Further up and on the same side of the ravine is No. 83, a large excavation so ruined by the decay of the rock that it resembles a natural cavern. It has a large hall, of which the entire façade has disappeared, a square ante-chamber and two cells on the left and three on the right. The inner shrine is now empty. In front stood a brick dagoba which was rifled long ago. The remaining caves in this range, Nos. 78 to 87, are in a dilapidated condition. Nearly opposite the latter is a dam (said to have been broken by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century) which formed a reservoir and contained the water above. On the hill to the north, near the ruined temple, are the remains of structural and monolithic stupas. From here a badly eroded flight of steps leads down to the broad end of the ravine.

Recently several interesting discoveries have come to light at Kanheri. In
addition to the circular structure which was exposed in front of the chaitya, the bases of the structural stupas which once existed here were excavated. They yielded two small copper urns, one of which contained ashes, a ruby, a pearl, pieces of gold, a gold casket with a piece of cloth. In the other was a smaller silver casket containing a piece of cloth. These were accompanied by a copper plate inscription with a date corresponding to A.D. 324.

In front of Cave No. 2, the large excavation containing the monolithic dagobas, a stone coffer was found which held an earthen pot, which in turn contained shell and carnelian beads, coins and some decorated terracotta objects.

Finally, on the northern side of the ravine, in front of Cave No. 84, the existence of old furnaces show that these monks extracted and refined metals.

One of the striking features of this group of caves is the number of steps and paths, many with handrails, leading from one cave to the next. Another, is the stone seats outside the caves, which, from the position of sockets in the rock above, were apparently sheltered by screens. A third is the system of runnels, cisterns and reservoirs, which provided almost every excavation with a supply of water.

About 300 metres south of the chaitya, a path leads to the “stupa galleries of Kanheri”. In the first gallery are about twenty brick stupas. Beyond these is the ruin of a large stupa, behind which, in the rock, are three small cells with badly eroded sculptures and traces of painting. Further to the south-west, where the floor rises, are the ruins of 11 small brick stupas. Another rise leads to the remains of 33 small stupas. In the wall behind are dagobas in half-relief and three benched recesses (Plate 13B).

Whereas elsewhere in the Deccan, the monasteries show signs of having been abandoned from the second or third century to the fifth century A.D., recent excavations at Kanheri indicate that this settlement was continuously occupied from the second century B.C. to the ninth or tenth century A.D., if not later. Besides being excavated over a long period of time, the existence at Kanheri of the various forms of sculpture suggest that the primitive or Hinayana form of Buddhism flourished side by side with the theistic system of Mahayana, and that even the arrival of the exponents of the Vehicle of the Thunderbolt in no way restricted the activity of the followers of the two earlier schools. Though there are female divinities in the company of Bodhisattvas, other deities of the Vajrayana pantheon, which are in abundance at Ellora and at Aurangabad, are missing at Kanheri.

By the tenth century Buddhism was on the decline and with the Muslim invasion it disappeared from India for all purposes. Small bands of monks continued to reside in these damaged and deserted monasteries till the advent of the Portuguese. Kanheri did not escape the religious zeal of these new conquerors, and in 1535 Fr. Antonio de Porto, a Franciscan priest, not only converted the remaining Buddhist ascetics to Christianity, but renamed the chaitya, the Church of St. Michael.
Chapter 21

Ellora

Whereas at Ajanta the Hinayana Buddhists had excavated a group of monasteries and temples towards the beginning of the Christian era, at Ellora no earlier excavations had been commenced, the area apparently being previously unoccupied. Here a new undertaking was commenced by the followers of the Great Vehicle, which eventually developed under the Jains and the Hindus into a comprehensive range of Indian rock-cut monuments.

At Ellora, 29 kilometres north-west of Aurangabad, there are 34 excavations, the product of these three religious systems. Each had its own individual style of architecture and sculpture, and at Ellora the varied styles are presented side by side. Cave Nos. 1 to 12 are Buddhist; 13 to 29 belong to the Hindus and 30 to 34 constitute the Jain group.

The Mahayana movement at Ajanta and at Ellora apparently started about the same time, whereas the group at Aurangabad seems to be of a slightly later date and was probably an offshoot from Ellora.

The Buddhists were the earliest of the three great religious communities to occupy this site, and as such their caves are in the southern end of the scarp, the most favourable position. Here they practised their religion for nearly two centuries, from about 450 to 650 A.D. Although contemporary with the corresponding series at Ajanta, there are architectural and sculptural differences at Ellora which indicate that each monastic establishment followed its own particular system or doctrine. There is an unrestrained abundance of sculptured figures on the walls, and the doors of the shrines are invariably flanked by towering Bodhisattvas, often in the company of female deities, saktis and Taras or Saviouresses. Bodhisattvas and their female counterparts not only appear independently but the function of the Compassionate Avalokitesvara, as the Saviour of the Eight Great Perils is given to Tara. Representations of the Buddha in the shrine are dwarfed by gigantic Bodhisattvas and the familiar figures of the Mahayana pantheon, so prominent at Ajanta and elsewhere, seldom appear here.

From about the fifth century A.D. primitive ideas of magic and sexual mysticism began to filter into the religions of India, and Mahayana Buddhism was affected by these developments. Although Vajrayana, the Vehicle of the Thunderbolt, as it later came to be known, became established and flourished in Eastern India in the eighth century, its roots had already spread to Andhra, the Deccan and to Gujarat. The followers of these doctrines reached Aurangabad late in the sixth or
at the beginning of the seventh century, whence they influenced the existing Mahayana communities in that locality. It is these elements of Vajrayana that are visible at Ellora—a host of divine Bodhisattvas with their saktis and Taras and a varied iconography in competition with that of the Brahmanical deities (Plate 42).

Most of the caves at Ellora were originally painted, traces of which still persist. There is however no mural at Ellora which can compare with any at Ajanta.

With the exception of the Ellora Chaitya and the caves numbered 11 and 12, the monasteries here are all single-storied excavations, consisting of a verandah, a large central hall and a shrine. Cave Nos. 1 and 7 are unfinished and badly damaged as well.

Considerably different from the other excavations is Cave No. 2 (Fig. 17D). In place of the usual cells leading out from the hall, two side galleries have been added which are screened by an additional row of four pillars. The verandah is decorated with panels of seated Buddhas and the entrance to the hall is guarded by Avalokitesvara and Vajrapani. Twelve massive pillars form an aisle all round the hall which is 14 metres square. The front wall of the hall is carved with images of the Buddha and with Tara with female attendants, all standing on a lotus. The main pillars of the hall are highly ornamental, the upper members resembling a succession of diminishing petals, surmounted by an amalaka or melon-shaped capital, usually referred to as a compressed cushion.

On either side of the hall are pillaried vestibules or galleries leading to the subsidiary shrines, which contain life-size images of the Buddha with Bodhisattvas in attendance. The entrance to the main shrine is flanked by Avalokitesvara and Manjusri, and against the rear wall is a figure of the Buddha seated on a Lion Throne with Padmapani (Avalokitesvara) and Manjusri depicted as chauri-bearers.

The adjacent Cave No. 3, is about the same size. Twelve pillars with the "vase and foliage" motif form an aisle around the hall. There are twelve cells in the side walls including the two on either side of the shrine. Sculptural decoration consists of the Litany of Avalokitesvara in the verandah and the Bodhisattvas Padmapani and Vajrapani as dwarpalas and as attendants of the Buddha in the shrine. The next four caves are so damaged that it is difficult to say which were separate excavations and how many belonged to one.

Cave No. 4 was not completed and is also much ruined. A door in the right wall leads to a shrine; the left wall which was designed for cells has been left unfinished. The inner hall is devoid of pillars except for two pillars between pilasters in front of the shrine. Besides the figures of Bodhisattvas as dwarpalas or as attendants of the Buddha and the Litany of Avalokitesvara, female Bodhisattvas are now prominent. On the left wall of the shrine is Avalokitesvara flanked by Tara and Bhrikuti, the former holding a lotus and the latter a string of beads. This theme also appears in the subsidiary shrine in front.

Of uncommon design is Cave No. 5, an exceptionally large and complex monastery (Fig. 18B). The inner hall is divided by twenty-four pillars into nave, side, front and rear aisles, with two parallel plinths running the entire length of the nave similar to those in Cave No. 10 at Kanheri. The hall is 35.6 metres deep and 18 metres wide. The front aisle has a ruined annexe which consists of a small veran-
dah, a shrine with a processional path around it and cells in the sides of this passage.

In the centre of the side walls are two rectangular pillared vestibules with attached cells. The left wall has an additional shrine preceded by a pillared antechamber. In the far end of the hall is the main shrine containing a seated figure of the Buddha attended by Avalokitesvara with Tara and Bhrikuti on the one side and Maitreya with two goddesses on the other. The pillars in the rear row are carved with decorative medallions, while the others resemble those in Cave No. 2.

Cave No. 6 is a large excavation consisting of an astylar hall and two secondary vestibules on either side with cells in their side walls. At the far end is the antechamber and shrine. Though architecturally similar to the other excavations, the walls of the antechamber are richly decorated with statuary of the Vajrayana pantheon.

On the left wall is Tara with male and female devotees, and on the right is Mahamayuri, the Tantric goddess of spells and the magic arts, standing under an ornate canopy with female attendants and dwarfs. On either side of the doors of the sanctuary are Avalokitesvaras and Vajrapanis with attendants of both sexes, and the door-posts of the sanctuary are carved with the river goddesses, Ganga and Yamuna. In the shrine is an image of the Buddha seated on a Lion Throne with attendants. The side walls are embellished with rows of Buddha images and male and female worshippers. Facing the seated figure of the Buddha, inside the shrine, are two panels of what appear to be a seated Buddha and his consort.

The shrine of Cave No. 8, instead of being located at the far end, is projected into the hall and provided with a processional path or passage all round, similar to some of the monasteries at Aurangabad. The passage has three cells on the left; and a pillared gallery at the back, partially finished, and two pillars in front which set off the shrine from the hall. In front of the shrine is a smaller chamber with a pillared chapel and a cell.

Sculptural decoration in this cave is much the same as in the other viharas, the Buddha seated in the midst of Maitreya, Vajrapani and Manjusri, other Bodhisattvas as dwarpalas, and female devotees. On the wall of the antechamber appears for the second time Mahamayuri, a female chauri-bearer on her left and a monk reading a manuscript. Within the sanctuary is a seated image of the Buddha flanked by Avalokitesvara accepting the homage of worshippers, some of them with offerings of fruit and others with incense. Both Avalokitesvara and Maitreya, on the other side, are accompanied by their saktis, who hold a string of beads and a lotus. On the left, outside this monastery, is a panel of Hariti and Panchika.

The next excavation is an open terrace with a parapet in front and a pillared chapel at the back. The facade is divided into compartments, each containing a figure of the Buddha with Bodhisattvas. Above are five chaitya arches within which are images of the Buddha or of Avalokitesvara. An interesting sculpture is Tara in her role as the Saviour of the Eight Great Perils. The shrine contains an image of the Buddha with attendant Bodhisattvas, female deities and devotees.

The Ellora Chaitya, Cave No. 10, known as Visvakarma or the Carpenters’ Cave, is the most remarkable in this group. Its external appearance is so altered that it is difficult to recognise it in its original form (Plate 39).
A door leads to an open courtyard which has on three sides a raised verandah or corridor whose plinth is relieved by the forequarters of animals. Beyond the side corridors are cells arranged in three tiers. The pillars of the corridor are of great elegance, having tall square bases, changing to octagons, then to sixteen sides and even more, finally returning to the square, surmounted by "vase and foliage" capitals. Above the capitals are plain brackets supporting the beam from which projects the architrave. This has a long frieze of a forest scene, above which is an arcading containing "amorous couples" and scroll work, which composes the front or outer side of the parapet of the upper corridor.

The central corridor below has an unfinished shrine on the left and an elaborate shrine dedicated to Avalokitesvara on the right. The latter consists of a pillared antechamber carved with a seated figure of the Bodhisattva, with Tara and other male and female deities. Images of the Buddha with attendant Bodhisattvas are placed above these sculptures. The walls of the shrine have additional images of the same Bodhisattva and of other Bodhisattvas and deities.

A staircase on the left of the central verandah leads to the upper facade of the chaitya, which is made up of an outer verandah, from which one door flanked by two windows (now closed with wire netting) leads to an inner gallery.

The facade of this chaitya is a remarkable feature, and unlike the chaitya windows elsewhere, is here formed into a trefoil arch with a circular window in the upper part (Fig. 5F, Pl. 40A). The ends of two rafters are to be seen within the arch and the edge of a third protrudes through the face of the arch. This radical transformation of the famous chaitya arch is the final phase of its development—it is the last of its series and of its class, as no further development of the true lidded form of the chaitya arch exists anywhere in India.

The arch is crowned by a "kirtimukha", below which and on either side are flying vidhyadharas (Plate 40A).

On either side of the door are elaborate panels, that on the right depicting Avalokitesvara with Prajnaparamita. At the northern and southern ends of this verandah, on either side of the chaitya window, are two recesses or alcoves, surmounted by a pyramid of chaitya arches. The recess on the left has a large image of Vajrapani with Tara on either side, above which is a panel of maithuna couples. That on the right has Avalokitesvara with Tara and Bhrikuti on either side below a panel of dwarfs above. The last vestige of wooden forms is the roof of the verandah which seems to rest on rafters.

The entrance to the chaitya hall is through three doors, which lead to the nave and side aisles, the frames of which are decorated with maithuna couples.

The chaitya hall (Fig. 7) is larger than the two Mahayana chaityas at Ajanta, and measures 26 metres in length, 13.4 metres in width and 10.4 metres in height. It is a splendid effort. The hall is separated into a front aisle (which is below the inner gallery above) by two central pillars, and the side aisles are formed by 28 columns. The two central pillars have tall square bases, octagonal shafts, "vase and foliage" members with mouldings and foliated capitals; the remaining 28 pillars (4.3 metres in height) with bracket capitals, are octagonal, except for a narrow fluted necking, with unfinished medallions immediately below and above. The
seventh pillar on the right has an inscription, whose palaeography points to a date in the thirteenth century.

The triforium has at its base a frieze of dwarf figures in various poses. Above this, in compartments matching the pillars below, are seated and standing figures of the Buddha with Bodhisattva attendants. From the top of these compartments spring the rock-cut beams of the vaulted roof, which meet at a central ridge, which is also rock-cut. The ends or bases of the beams are alternately carved with a multihooded naga with folded hands and a nagini with flowers. Above the frieze of dwarfs on the front of the triforium are three panels, the central panel depicting the donation of this chaitya, while those on either side have amorous scenes. The aisle on the left has an interesting carving of Tara, Avalokitesvara and Prajnaparamita.

In the far end is the dagoba, nearly 4.9 metres in diameter and 8.2 metres in height, which unlike the other examples has a larger frontispiece, similar to those in Ajanta No. 19 and No. 26. On this is carved a large seated Buddha attended by Avalokitesvara and Maitreya, under a Bodhi Tree with gandharvas on either side (Plate 40B).

The traditional rock-cut chaitya, normally an apsidal hall which was exclusively used for worship, saw its culmination in the Ellora Chaitya. Not only had its most distinguishing feature, the chaitya arch, changed but its outward appearance was so altered that it is difficult to recognize it in its original form. The dagoba, reminiscent of the dead Master and so greatly venerated in ancient times, became a setting for the Living Buddha, the Saviour. Images of the Buddha appeared everywhere and even dominated and overshadowed the dagoba itself. Mahayana eventually no longer considered it necessary to maintain separate prayer-halls; their viharas became self-contained and resplendent, and were complete with main and subsidiary shrines containing images of the Buddha. These “chaitya-viharas” served the dual purpose of being both places of worship and halls of residence; in fact, the chaitya, so essential to the Buddhist faith, came to be absorbed into the vihara, whence it originated.

Both the three-storied monasteries at Ellora, Nos. 11 and 12, are remarkable for their originality and design. Though fashioned on what may be termed a massive scale, they yet give the impression of simple three-storied viharas, each floor having a pillared verandah in front (Plate 41). In contrast to the simplicity of the facades, the inner halls of these storied sanctuaries have considerable sculptured details, and no two floors of any cave are alike. The basic difference between these monasteries is that Cave No. 11 does not have any residential cells.

The “Do Tal”, Cave No. 11, is so-called as one storey was hidden under an accumulation of earth. Its description “Do Tal” has been retained to distinguish it from the other three-storied excavation, which is called “Teen Tal” (Plate 41).

The ground floor is a broad pillared verandah with two cells and a central shrine containing a seated figure of the Buddha in the company of Avalokitesvara and Vajrapani. On the left, in a chamber from which a flight of steps leads to the upper floor, is a recess or minor shrine dedicated to Avalokitesvara, who is flanked by Tara and Bhrikuti; the adjacent walls are carved with figures of the Buddha above, and Avalokitesvara, Vajrapani, Kunda and other deities below.
The first floor is a row of five chambers to the rear of a pillared verandah. The first cell is incomplete and the fifth is a plain cell with a rock-cut bench. The three central cells are shrines extravagantly sculptured with figures of the Buddha and almost every major and minor deity of the Vajrayana pantheon. At the south end of the verandah is another small shrine with similar embellishment.

The upper level has in addition to the pillared verandah a second row of pillars which screens the shrine at the rear. The shrine has a seated image of the Buddha with Avalokitesvara on either side, and its walls are relieved with carvings of the Buddha, of male and female Bodhisattvas, their attendants and other deities.

The “Teen Tal”, Cave No. 12 (Plate 41), is an even more remarkable excavation both for its architectural plan and the abundance of sculpture at all levels. The long transition from symbols of the Buddha to images of the Buddha; and from these images to representations of Bodhisattvas and their saktis reached its climax at Ellora. The Buddha, though not completely relegated to the background, is here overshadowed by a host of divine Bodhisattvas and their female counterparts and considerably more importance is given to all other deities which Vajrayana had introduced and had begun to worship.

A narrow doorway leads to a large rectangular courtyard, almost 34 metres broad and 12 metres deep, at the eastern or farther end of which is the lower level of Cave No. 12. The ground floor of the “Teen Tal” is shaped like an inverted T, the antechamber and shrine being placed at the far end. There are three cells in the left wall, four in the rear (two on either side but not connected to the antechamber) and three in the right wall. In addition there is one cell in each of the side walls of the antechamber. The main hall has three rows of eight pillars and the antechamber has three rows of two which create a corridor or colonnade leading up to the entrance of the shrine.

On either side of the door of the shrine are carved seated figures of Maitreya and Manjusri. Within the shrine is a large statue of the Buddha in the dhyani-mudra which is surrounded by figures of Manjusri, Jnanaketu, Tara, Kunda and other deities, all carved below smaller seated images of the Buddha.

Large images of the Buddha with attendant Bodhisattvas occupy the side walls of the antechamber. The rear walls of the hall as well as the pilasters are carved with images of Vajrapani, Vajrasattva, Padmapani, Kunda and Tara as well as the Buddhist “mandala”—the mystic square composed of nine compartments containing figures of Bodhisattvas, the Buddha and other deities.

A flight of steps leads from the first cell on the right to the level above. The walls of the staircase are covered with carvings of Avalokitesvara, Vajrapani, the mandala, along with Tara, Kunda and Bhrikuti, now shown with halos. The plan of this level is similar to that below—the hall having three rows of eight pillars with one row of four pillars in the antechamber; most of the sculpture is also on the walls towards the far end. Vajrasattva, the sixth Dhyani Buddha, is depicted on a pilaster flanked by Padmapani and Vajrapani, below which are panels of the Buddha, Tara and a Bodhisattva.

The doors of the shrine have images of Padmapani and Vajrapani who are also on either side of the seated image of the Buddha within. The inner walls of
the shrine are carved with images of Tara, Jambhala and other female deities below seven smaller figures of the Buddha.

The staircase leading to the upper level is on the northern or left side of the hall. There are five rows of eight pillars in the main hall and two pillars between pilasters which screen the antechamber. The first row of eight pillars serves to form a verandah; the remaining four rows divide the hall into four cross or traverse aisles. At the ends of each aisle are identical seated images of the Buddha, with Avalokitesvara and Vajrapani on either side under the Bodhi Tree. On the rear wall of the main hall, on either side of the antechamber, are carved the Seven Manushi or Mortal Buddhas, and the Seven Dhyani Buddhas, the sixth being Vajrasattva and the seventh the Adi Buddha, who when depicted in sculpture is referred to as Vajradhara, and is regarded as a Buddha in Meditation.

On the side and rear walls of the antechamber is a panel of twelve female deities, which include the three Taras, Kunda, Janguli, Mahamayuri, Bhrikuti, Pandara, Vajradhatisvari and others. Above these goddesses are eighteen images of the Buddha.

The shrine has a large seated image of the Buddha with Avalokitesvara and Vajrapani on either side, and its walls are carved with images of Bodhisattvas, of whom Maitreya, Manjusri and Jnanaketu can be recognised. Above these images are seven figures of the Buddha, and on the walls opposite the statue of the Buddha are Tara and Jambhala.
AURANGABAD

The twelve sanctuaries at Aurangabad have been excavated in a precipitous scarp of the hill, three kilometres north of the city. They consist of a group of five caves north of the suburb of Begumpara and a second series of four, one and a half kilometre east of the former. Further east are three plain cells which are of no importance and interest.

Aurangabad witnessed the three phases of Buddhist rock architecture. The earliest productions belong to the followers of the Lesser Vehicle who excavated one chaitya, Cave No. 4, in the second century a.D. With the revival of the religion at the end of the fifth century by the Mahayana Buddhists, the older caves were occupied and modified and probably new excavations were commenced. The exponents of the Vajrayana doctrine emerged at Aurangabad in the seventh century and during the ensuing two hundred years concentrated their activities mainly at the eastern end of the group. The existing Mahayana community apparently succumbed to these new influences, just as Hinayana had taken to the worship of the image of the Buddha.

Some of the sculptures here surpass even the finest at Ajanta. Besides displaying great technical skill and a wealth of detail, the representations of female deities and goddesses of large and voluptuous proportions, in their scanty garments and ornate head-dresses, and in their physical appearance, are a vivid picture of the people of that period. Other compositions depict the ritual and practices which Vajrayana had taken over from the Hindus.

The first excavation is the most westerly of the group, and is also at the highest level. The verandah had four pillars in front which formed a porch similar to that in Cave No. 1 at Ajanta. These are now destroyed. The eight pillars of the verandah have square bases and round or polygonal shafts of different patterns. In the struts under each wing of the bracket capitals are small female figures under trees. The pilasters are decorated with circular and semi-circular medallions.

Three doors lead from the verandah, which is 23 metres in length, to an incomplete hall. The central door is decorated with carvings of the river goddesses Ganga and Yamuna and of maithuna couples. Above the lintel is a frieze of miniature chaitya-fronts, each with a figure of the Buddha within. On the inner wall of the verandah as well as on the end walls are panels of the Buddha with Avalokiteshvara and Vajrapani. Outside the verandah, beyond the pilaster on the left, is a relief of seven images of the Buddha between the same two Bodhisattvas.
Cave No. 2 is a square flat-roofed sanctuary without cells in the side walls. The front is completely destroyed. The floor of the inner hall is 60 cm. higher than that of the verandah. Towards the front end of the hall is a colonnade made up of two pillars between pilasters which are decorated with medallions and half-medallions. The shrine has a processional path around it, the walls of which are carved with figures of the Buddha attended by Vajrapani and Padmapani. On either side of the door to the shrine are Avalokitesvara and Manjusri attended by nagas and flying figures. The shrine has a majestic statue of the Buddha seated on a Lion Throne. Smaller figures of the Buddha and of Bodhisattvas are carved on the surrounding walls.

Although damaged, Cave No. 3 is one of the finest at Aurangabad. The verandah with a chapel at either end is completely ruined. The hall which is 12.5 metres square has twelve pillars which create the effect of a front, side and rear aisles or corridors. The pillars of the hall have a variety of designs and an abundance of detail all executed with care and precision, even the fluting and shafts being filled with rosettes. Pillars such as these are also to be found at Ajanta, but here the effort seems to be to fill every vacant space and to surpass all previous efforts. On the frieze above the pillars are a series of chaitya-fronts containing figures of the Buddha with attendants, as well as scenes from his life. An arresting feature of all the pillars is the number of panels containing figures in pursuit of pleasure—dancing, drinking and frolicking—some even quarrelling, as well as maithuna couples, jesters and dwarfs.

At each end of the front and rear aisles are cells, and leading off the two side aisles are pillared vestibules (Fig. 17C).

The antechamber is also screened with highly ornamental pillars and pilasters and its entrance is decorated with the figures of the river goddesses Ganga and Yamuna. It is however in the shrine that some of the most remarkable sculpture is to be seen. The central position is occupied by a seated figure of the Buddha with Avalokitesvara and Manjusri on either side; and the side walls have two nearly life-size groups of votaries kneeling in adoration before the image of the Buddha. There are male and female figures, some offering garlands, others with hands clasped, and all displaying a touching eagerness in their attitude and expression.

A few metres to the east is the Aurangabad Chaitya, Cave No. 4. It is badly ruined, the entire facade having been destroyed, as well as parts of the vaulted roof, the dagoba and all the pillars. It is rectangular in plan, 12.2 metres deep and 9.6 metres wide, with 17 octagonal pillars which separate the nave from the aisles. Except for two fragments, these pillars are recent restorations (Plate 43), and are arranged in a semi-circle at the far end as at Ajanta No. 9. The vaulted roof is ribbed in stone, while the ceiling of the aisles is flat and plain. The triforium is decorated with a row of chaitya arches, above a continuous band of the rail, which rests on a row of pilasters, corbels and plain lintels.

The dagoba, 1.8 metres in diameter, consists of a tall damaged drum and a dome surmounted by a tall pedestal decorated with the rail pattern (Plate 43).

On the grounds of its rectangular plan, comparatively tall dagoba and the arcing on the triforium, this chaitya has been assigned to the second or early third
century A.D. Though contemporary with or slightly later than the Kanheri Chaitya, to which it bears no resemblance, it has one feature in common, the absence of an attached monastery.

A flight of steps leads to a small sanctuary, 2.5 metres square, which contains an image of the Buddha seated between Avalokitesvara and Manjusri. Panels on the outer wall and to the right of the shrine depict the Buddha in various mudras or attitudes. This cave, No. 5, has been appropriated by the Jains, the statue of the Buddha being treated as a "Tirthankara".

At a higher level, the westernmost excavation in the second series is Cave No. 6. It consists of a shrine, a processional path surrounding the antechamber and four cells in each side with two more at the back, the latter being subsidiary shrines. The verandah in front is in ruins.

The walls of the antechamber are decorated with figures of Jambhala in the company of female attendants. The doors of the shrine as well as of the subsidiary shrines are carved with Bodhisattvas as dvarpalas, particularly striking being the images of Manjusri and Vajrapani at the main shrine.

The shrine is occupied by a seated figure of the Buddha with Bodhisattvas in attendance, and on either side is a congregation of kneeling devotees, similar to that in Cave No. 3, though not so well executed.

From the plan of Cave No. 7 (Fig. 6C), it will be seen that this excavation resembles the later Brahmanical temples. The shrine is now in the centre with the processional path around it. The pillared verandah in front has a subsidiary shrine at either end and two additional shrines are cut into the rear wall of the passage. It is datable to the 7th century.

This is one of the latest and most decorative of the caves at Aurangabad. Though images of the Buddha are carved in the shrines, the emphasis has passed to the Bodhisattvas, their sakritis and other deities of the Vajrayana pantheon.

In the chapel to the left of the verandah, besides the standing figures of the Buddha between Bodhisattvas, there is a fine panel of six female deities, sakritis of the Dhyani Buddhas or Bodhisattvas, with the Buddha on the right and Avalokitesvara on the left. The elaborate head-dress of these figures, their scanty garments, and each holding a bouquet of flowers, make this a pleasing composition. The corresponding chapel on the right is carved with the figures of Panchika and Hariti on her lap, and female attendants. The pillars of these chapels resemble those in Cave Nos. 23 and 24 at Ajanta. The frieze of elephants above the pillars is a novel feature, and so also are the statues of goddesses standing on pedestals at the corners of the verandah along the back wall.

To the right of the main door leading to the passage is a panel containing Manjusri, the Bodhisattva who was charged with the spread of Buddhism, attended by male and female attendants and dwarfs. On the left is an extremely clear panel of the Litany of Avalokitesvara. In each scene around the Bodhisattva two figures seem to be praying to be saved from some form of danger. They are met by Avalokitesvara flying to their rescue. In the uppermost panel on the right, the danger is "fire", the next is the "sword of an enemy", next are "chains or fetters (imprisonment)" and in the lowest, the danger is "shipwreck or water". To the left the upper-
most represents "the attack of a lion", then the "danger from snakes", then an "enraged elephant", and the last is "death", which is shown by a female, a Kali-like demon, about to snatch away a child from its mother's lap.

This litany repeatedly occurs in the later cave temples. It is said that the Buddha had great regard for the mercantile community who not only endowed and supported the monasteries but who also faced unknown hazards in providing the community with goods brought from far away places. In Mahayana times many a rich merchant caused this litany to be carved in the monastery he had endowed.

The inner hall is 24 metres broad and 11.5 metres deep. It is actually the circumambulatory passage and has three cells on each side and two subsidiary shrines behind the main shrine.

On either side of the door of the main shrine are the famed Tara panels of Aurangabad. Tara is shown standing on a lotus with a lotus in hand, and an elaborate head-dress against a nimbus; her attendants are also elaborately attired. Above are vidhyadharas and to the side are smaller seated figures of the Buddha.

The sanctuary contains a large image of the Buddha seated on a Lion Throne, celestial musicians and flying figures over his shoulder. On the right wall is Avalokitesvara and Tara standing, while on the left wall is the "Temple Dancer", one of the most famous panels at Aurangabad—a superb composition of a handsome dancer in the midst of six female seated musicians (Plate 44). The pose of the central figure is typical of the Indian style of dancing and the expressions on the faces of the musicians, particularly of the flute and cymbal players, show naturalness and ease. Such a scene in the sanctuary, facing the image of the Buddha, indicates that the Vajrayana Buddhists, under the influence of the Hindus, had included dance performances in their ritual, such as existed in the Brahmanical ceremonies of contemporary and later periods.

The remaining two caves, Nos. 8 and 9, are both unfinished and ruined. The former appears to be an unfinished square vihara with two cells on the left and a small hall on the right. Cave No. 9 consists of an extensive verandah 26 metres long and 6.1 metres broad, behind which are three chapels, the central one being larger than the other two, as well as having an antechamber in front of the shrine.

The verandah, though subjected to torrential rain and scorching heat, has retained much of its original sculpture. There is a "Reclining Buddha" on the left similar to that in Cave No. 26 at Ajanta, a four-armed Avalokitesvara, and a standing figure of Manjusri on the other wall. Around the central cave are female figures with flowers in their hands, as well as Tara with Bodhisattva attendants. The doors of the shrines are guarded by Avalokitesvara and Manjusri or with nagas and dwarfs, and the side wall of the antechamber has a tall crowned and bejewelled Padmapani with a lotus in his hand.

The divinities of Aurangabad are kind and compassionate, and may be appealed to for protection—for the Buddha had passed into Nirvana and was unaffected by human suffering. A legend grew up that a Bodhisattva of such compassion and self-denial had pledged himself never to seek through Nirvana that state of peace, until he had redeemed the whole human race from suffering and ignorance. Such is Padmapani or Avalokitesvara, the Bodhisattva, the Manifested Lord, or the Lord Who Looks Down, the Saviour and Lover of mankind.
## APPENDIX

### I. APSIDAL CHAITYAS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Pillars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Karla</td>
<td>525 sq. metres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajanta No. 10</td>
<td>369 &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellora (Visvakarma)</td>
<td>348 &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanheri</td>
<td>317 &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pitalkhora No. 3</td>
<td>261 &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajanta No. 26</td>
<td>228 &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kondane</td>
<td>167 &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhaja</td>
<td>148 &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aurangabad No. 4</td>
<td>117 &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajanta No. 19</td>
<td>102 &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajanta No. 9</td>
<td>95 &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bedsa</td>
<td>87 &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junnar-Ganesh Lena</td>
<td>81 &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasik</td>
<td>80 &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sana</td>
<td>51 &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karad No. 5</td>
<td>48 &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhamner No. 12</td>
<td>45 &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pitalkhora No. 13</td>
<td>38 &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shirwal</td>
<td>26 &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pitalkhora No. 10</td>
<td>13 &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* See page 126
** See page 81
*** See page 61
II. CHRONOLOGY OF THE BUDDHIST CAVE GROUPS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B.C.</th>
<th>Anno Domini</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
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<tr>
<td>700</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>900</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ajanta
Aurangabad
Bagh
Bedsa
Bhaja
Dhamner
Ellora
Guntapalli
Junagadh
Junnar
Kasheeri
Karad
Karla
Khambalida
Kolvi
Kondane
Kuda
Mahad
Mahakali
Nagik
Pitalkhora
Sana
Shelarwadi
Sudhagarh
Talaja
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INDEX AND GLOSSARY

abacus, a square or rectangular table forming the crowning member of the capital
Adamantine Way, see Vajrayana
Adi-Buddha, the primordial god, also called Vajradhara, 37, 124
Afghanistan, 6, 28
aisle, lateral division running at the sides of the nave
Ajanta, 18, 23, 80-92
  Chaitiya, cave No. 9, 18, 23, 81-82
  Chaitiya, cave No. 10, 18, 22, 23, 81, 82-83
  Chaitiya, cave No. 19, 27, 81, 88-90
  Chaitiya, cave No. 26, 27, 81, 90-92
Ajivika sect, founded by Gosala Maskariputra, contemporary and former friend of Mahavira; now no longer extant
Aksobhya, Dhyani Buddha
amalaka, flat, fluted melon-shaped member, usually at the summit of a spire or column
Amaravati, 39, 44
Amitabha, Dhyani Buddha
Amoghasiddhi, Dhyani Buddha
amygdaloidal trap, fine-grained igneous rock often lying in steps, in which almond-shaped cavities have been filled with minerals, 3
Ananda, disciple of the Buddha
Andhra, 29, 44
apsaras, celestial nymph
apsc, apsidal, the circular termination of a building; first applied to a Roman Basilica
architrave, the beam or lowest division of the entablature, which extends from column to column
arthant, a perfected being, one who has realised Nirvana, 14, 30
Asanga, Buddhist philosopher, 31, 38
Asoka, Emperor, 3, 7-10, 14, 16, 46, 50
Aurangabad, 40, 125-128
Chaitiya, cave No. 4, 23, 126
"Temple Dancer"; 128
Avalokitesvara, Bodhisattva, "the Lord who looks down in compassion", 31, 37, 39, 40, 56, 85, 91, 99, 109, 119, 121, 122, 123, 124, 126, 127, 128
four-armed, at Aurangabad, cave No. 9, 128
four-armed, eleven-headed, at Kanheri, 116
Bagh, 57-58
  Rang Mahal, cave No. 4, 58
Barabar Hill, 2, 8
Beda, 23, 26, 93-95
apsidal vihara, 19, 67, 95
Chaitiya, 93-94, 103
Bhadrapala, Bodhisattva
Bhaja, 23, 26, 71-74
cave No. 18, 74
Chaitiya, 22, 23, 71-73
bhikshu (Pali: bhikkhu), lit. a beggar, a mendicant. One who begs for food for the body and food for the mind
bhikshu-griha, a solitary cell
Bhrikuti, Buddhist Tantric goddess, 31, 119, 120, 121, 122, 124
Bo, Bodhi tree, the pipal tree, the Tree of Wisdom, Ficus religiosa. The tree under which the Buddha attained Enlightenment
Bodhisattva, in Hinayana Buddhism, a previous incarnation of the Buddha; in Mahayana Buddhism, a heavenly being who voluntarily postpones Buddhahood in order to work for the welfare of the world, 30-33, 37
Avalokitesvara, 31, 37, 39, 85, 91, 116, 119, 120
Bhadrapala, 33
Ghantapani, 33
Jnanaketu, 33
Ksitigarbha, 33
Maitreya, the future Buddha, 14, 30, 31, 46, 88, 90
Manjusri, 31, 37, 38
Padmapani, the Lotus Bearer, epithet of Avalokitesvara
Ratnapani, 33, 37
Samantabhadra, 33, 37
Vajrapani, 31, 37
Visvapani, 31, 37
Bojjannakonda Hill, 44, 45
bôle, a friable earthy clay, usually red
Brahma, Hindu god
brahman, the priestly class
Broach, Bhriguacca, Barygaza, 27, 50
Buddha, Buddhism, 5-6, 11-15, 29-31, 37, 111
Buddhist Rail, see Rail
Burma, 5

cella, small chamber, compartment for the image or symbol
Ceylon or Sri Lanka, 5, 12, 50
chaitya arch, ornamental arch over the entrance to the chaityas or temples; also used as a decorative motif on walls, above windows and doors, 22, 23, 27, 35, 52, 65, 121
chaityas, primitive, 22, 43-48
Guntapalli, 22, 44-45
Junnar (Tulja Lena), 22, 47-48
Mahakali, 22, 46-47
chaitya-vihara, a structure or a cave temple which served the purpose of both shrine and monastery
chaitya window, 23, 24, 35
chakra, wheel, Buddhist symbol; the Wheel of the Law
chattri, umbrella, symbol of universal paramountcy
chauri-bearer, attendant with fly-whisk
China, 5
Christianity, 1, 14, 24, 31
conceptions, abstract, 38; mental, 38
Cutch, 27, 29

dagoba, cult object corresponding to the open-air stupa, located within a rock-cut or structural chaitya, 12, 17, 22, 24, 27, 33, 34, 122.

See stupa
dakini, she-ghoul
Devnimori, 50
Dhamner, 60-62
"Bhim ka bazaar", cave No. 12, 61
dharini, sacred spells
dharma, law; in Asokan inscriptions = righteousness; in Buddhism = (a) doctrine, (b) a momentary configuration of events
dharmakaya, body of essence, 30, 37. See Three Bodies
Dhyani Buddhas, Buddhas in Meditation, 37, 39, 123
Aksobhya, 37
Amitabha, 37
Amoghasiddhi, 37
Ratnasambhava, 37
Vairocana, 37
Vajrasattva, 37

Docetic Heresy, a second century heresy, that Christ’s body was only a semblance or else of ethereal substance, 31
dormer window, window in a sloping roof
do tal, two-storied. See “storied excavations” dwarapala, door-keeper

Eastern Ghats, 45
Eightfold Noble Path, 13
Eight Great Perils, see Litany of Avalokitesvara
Eight Holy Places, Lumbini, Gayà, Sarnath, Kusinagara, Sravasti, Sankasya, Rajagriha and Vaisali; 16
Ekvira, temple of, at Karla, 108, 111. Also known as Yamai
Ellora, 27, 35, 40, 118-124
Do tal, 122-123
Teen tal, 123-124
Visvakarma, the Carpenter’s Cave, Chaitya cave No. 10, 2, 24, 27, 120-122

Fa Hsien (Fa-Hien), Chinese pilgrim who journeyed to India at the beginning of the fifth century A.D. in order to obtain authentic texts of Buddhist books on monastic discipline, 29
First Council, 11
First Sermon, in the Deer Park near Banaras, 6, 37
Four Noble Truths, 12-13, 14
Four Ominous Signs, a sick man, an old man, a corpse and a beggar or mendicant
Fourth Great Council, 12, 28
fresco, a mode of painting upon walls covered with damp freshly-laid plaster
fron son, pediment
gajalakshmi, goddess situated between two elephants
Gandhara, area comprising the districts of Pesha-
war and Rawalpindi in Pakistan and a part of eastern Afghanistan, 28, 29
gandharva(s), heavenly divine musicians; female counterparts were the nymphs or apsaras-Ganga, Ganges river, Buddhist river-goddess, 38, 120, 125
gauri(s), minor Vajrayana goddesses, violent in character, with a garland of heads
Gautama, personal name of the Buddha
Ghantapani, Bodhisattva; also considered an emanation of Vajrasattva, the sixth Dhyani Buddha, 33
Going Forth, 6
Gopuram, cow gate, ornamental structure over entrance of temples in South India, 17
Great Vehicle, see Mahayana
Gujarat, 27
Guntapalli, 22, 43, 44-45
Hariti, an ogress who used to prey on the children of Rajagriha, 38, 85, 120, 127
harimika, pedestal on the dome of a stupa or a dagoba
Hebrews, 26
Hinayana, the Lesser Vehicle, one of the three great divisions of Buddhism, 12, 14, 18, 22-23, 24-27, 29-30, 37, 56, 59, 61, 110, 112, 125
Holy Places, 7, 16. See Eight Holy Places
Hsuan Tsang (Yuan Chwang), Chinese pilgrim who traversed India from A.D. 630 to 643 in search of authentic Buddhist scriptures, 27, 39, 53, 56

Indra, god
Iran or Persia, 28, 30
Islam, 24, 26, 41

Jains, Jainism, 5, 26, 118
Jambhala, Buddhist guardian of wealth; also guardian of a quarter, 38, 124, 127
Janguli, serpent goddess, 38, 124
Japan, 5
Jatakas, stories of the previous births of the Buddha, 30, 80, 83, 85, Champeya, 85; Chhaddanta, 83; Dipankhara, 116; Hamsa, 85; Hasti, 87; Mahajanaka, 85; Mahamagga, 85, 87; Ruru, 85; Sama, 83; Sambhapa, 85; Sibi, 85; Sutasoma, 87, 88; Vessantara, 88; Vidhurapandita, 85
Jnanaketu, Bodhisattva, 33, 123, 124
Jumna, see Yamuna
Junagadh, 27, 52-53
Uparkot, old fort of Junagadh, 52
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Kalpa, age, 37
Kanheri, 17, 26, 40, 45, 46, 63, 112-117
Chaitya, cave No. 1, 112
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stupa gallery, 117, q.v.
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Karla, 17, 23, 26, 108-111
Great Chaitya, 23, 108-110
karma, the law of fate
Karnataka or Mysore
Karsamble, see Nenvali (Sudhaghar)
Kashmir, 12
Kashyapa, disciple of the Buddha
Kathiawar Peninsula, 12, 26, 50-56
Kambhalida, 54, 56
kirtimukha, face of fame, an ornamental mask of great antiquity in Indian art
Kol, 70
Kolvi, 58-60
Kondane, 2, 19, 23, 26, 75-76
Chaitiya, 19, 23, 26, 75-76
Kondive, see Mahakali
Konkan, narrow strip of lowland along the west coast of India, extending from the Damanganga river in the north, to Goa, 63-70
Krishna (Kistna), a river in Andhra, 44
Kshatriya, a member of the warrior class
Ksitigarbha, Bodhisattva, 33
Kubera, god of wealth
Kuda, 63-65
Kunda, Buddhist goddess of spells and mantras, 38, 122, 123
lanja dibba, courtex's mounds, Buddhist mounds in Andhra, 39
lena, cave
Lesser Vehicle, see Hinayana
linga, lingam, phallic emblem, 47
Litany of Avalokitesvara, 31, 40, 85, 91, 113, 116, 119, 127
Litany of Tara, 40, 118, 120
Locana, sakri of the Dhyani Buddha Vairocana, 31, 37

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lota, water-pot
lunette, crescent shape, a semi-circular space or opening
Mahad, 67-68
Mahakali, 22, 43, 45-47, 63
Mahamayuri, Buddhist goddess of spells and magic arts, 38, 120, 124
Mahasanghika, Buddhist sect, 11, 12, 28
mahavana, great forest
Mahavira, founder of Jainism
Mahayana, the Great Vehicle, one of the three great divisions of Buddhism, 12, 15, 18, 19, 23, 27, 28-35, 36, 37, 112, 118, 122, 125
maithuna couples, amorous or loving couples
Maitreya, the Coming or Future Buddha, 14, 30, 31, 46, 88, 90, 120, 122, 123, 124
makara, mythical sea monster
Malwa, 27, 57, 59
Mamaki, sakti of Aksobhya, 31, 37
mandala, mystic diagram or magical symbol
Manjusri, Bodhisattva, 31, 37, 109, 119, 120, 123, 124, 125, 127, 128
Manmoda Hill, see Junnar
mantra, spell or formula
Manuski Buddha, mortal Buddhas. Vipasyin, Sikh, Visvabhu, Krakuchanda, Kanakamuni, Kashyapa and Sakyamuni (Gautama the Buddha), 14, 29, 31, 38, 46, 87, 90, 124
Mara, assault and temptation of the Buddha, by, 84, 92
Marol, see Mahakali
matangi, outcaste woman
Middle Course or Way, 12-13
Miracle of Svarosti, 84, 88
Mongolia, 5
mudra, attitude or pose
Mysore or Karnatika
naga, nagini, male, female snake spirit
Nagarjunakonda, 44, 50
Nagajuni Hill, 8
Nalanda, 41, 56, 115
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Chaitya, cave No. 18, 23, 96-97
chaitya-vihara, cave No. 14, 74, 97, 99
Sri Yajna Cave, No. 15, 19
nave, the central or main compartment of a building
Nenavali, 54, 69. See also Sudhagarh
Nirgranthas, Jains
nirmanakaya, created body. See Three Bodies
Nirvana, lit. blowing out, the cessation of individual existence, 13, 14, 29, 30
Noble Eightfold Path, 13
Padmapani, the Lotus Bearer, Bodhisattva, epithet of Avalokitesvara, q.v.
Padmasambhava, Buddhist missionary, 41
Pakistan, 16
Pala, see Mahad
palimpsest, an inscription or manuscript over which another has been subsequently written
Panchika, consort of Hariti
Pandara, sakti of Amitabha, 31, 37, 124
Pandu Lena, see Nasik
paramitas, spiritual perfections, 31
Parinirvana, Final Blowing Out, 6, 12, 14
Persia or Iran
pikipal tree, see Bo Tree
pisaci, demoness
Pitalkhora, 19, 22, 40, 77-79
Chaitya, cave No. 3, 77-78
Chaitya, cave No. 10, 78-79
Chaitya, cave No. 12, 79
Chaitya, cave No. 13, 79
stupa gallery, 79
pondhi, cistern or tank
pradakshina patha, processional path or circumambulatory
Prajnaparamita, perfection of Insight, the personification of the qualities of a Bodhisattva, 36, 38, 121, 122
Pratyeka Buddhas, those who, without guidance, had found the truth for themselves and had not disclosed it to the world, 29
puja, devotion or worship
Rahula, the Buddha's son
Rail, vedika, the Buddhist Rail, 8, 17, 24, 35
Rang Mahal, see Bagh
Ramapani, Bodhisattva, 33, 37
Ramnasambhava, Dhyani Buddha, 37
Reclining Buddha, 92, 128
rroid screen, frame separating the chancel from the rest of the building runnel, small hollow,
rupa, form, one of the five elements of the Universe, 37
sadakshara, six syllables, "Om mani padme hum", 38
sadhu, devotee
Sakra, see Indra
sakti, divine energy, force or potency; consort, 36, 127
Saktis of Dhyani Buddhas, 37, 127; Locana, 37;
Mamaki, 37; Pandara, 37; Tara; 38; Vajradhatisvari, 37. See Tantric goddesses
Samantabhadra, Bodhisattva, 33
sambhogakaya, body of bliss. See Three Bodies
samjna, name, one of the five elements of the Universe, 37
Sammitiya, sect of Buddhism, 26
samskara, conformation, one of the five elements of the Universe, 37
Sana, 54
sangha, brotherhood, the Buddhist Order
Sankaram, 39, 44, 45
Sarasvati, a river which no longer exists; river goddess; Buddhist goddess of learning, 38
Sarvastivadin, Buddhist sect, 12, 27, 28, 29, 56
Second Council, 11
Shankara, Shankaracharya, 41
Shelarwadi, 69
Shirwal, 70
Shivneri Hill, see Junnar
sinhasana, lion throne
sinhabamptha, lion pillar
Sitamarhi, 8
Siva, Hindu god, 3, 47, 69
Sopara, ancient Surparaka or Suparaka, 45, 46, 50
spandrel, the space between the curve of an arch and the enclosing mouldings
spiritual disciplines, 38
Sthaviravadin, Pali: Thervadi, Elder; Buddhist sect, 11, 14, 29
strored excavations
Ajanta, 19, 85
Ellora, 19, 122-124
Junagadh, Uparkot, 52-53
Junnar, Shivneri Hill, 105
Kolvi, 59
stupa, Pali: thupa, funerary mound; mound commemorating the Buddha’s death, object of supreme veneration, 7-8, 12, 16, 27, 59.
See also dagoba
stupa galleries
Bhaja, 73
Kanheri, 117
Pitalkhora, 79
Thanale (Sudhagarh), 69
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Bhimayaga, 60
Kolvi, 59-60
Sudama, 1, 8, 22, 43
Sudhagarh, 54, 68-69
Thanale, 68-69
Nenaval (Karsamble), 54, 69
Sulaiman Hills, see Junnar
Svayambhu Chaitya, Nepal, 37
Talaja, 53-54
Taming of the Wild Elephant, 88
Tantras, religious literature prescribing methods and performances through esoteric yoga, hymns, rituals and even magic and medicine for the realisation of the Supreme Goal
Tantric Buddhism, 31, 36-37, 38-40
Tantric goddesses, Bhrikuti, Janguli, Kunda, Mahamayuri; also Locana, Mamaki, Vajradhatisvari, Pandara and Tara
Tara, consort, saviouress; one who helps to cross the ocean of existence; mother-goddess, 31, 35, 38, 39, 118; sakti of Dhyani Buddha Amoghasiddhi, 37, 120, 121
Tathagatha, one who has attained the truth; a title of the Buddha, 12
Taxila, 16
teen tal, three-storied. See storied excavations
Thanale, 68-69. See also Sudhagarh
Third Great Council, 7, 11
Three Bodies, 30-31, 37
Three Jewels, 29
Thunderbolt, Vehicle of the; see Vajrayana
Tibet, 5, 38, 41
tirthankara, lit. ford maker; one of the twenty-four teachers of Jainism
torana, gateway, 8, 16, 18
torus, convex moulding chiefly used in pillar bases
transmigration, 14, 30
transom, horizontal divisions or cross-bars to windows
trefoil, arranged in three lobes
triforium, gallery or arcade above the arches of the nave or aisle
trisul, trident
Tulja Lena, 43, 48. See also Junnar
 tumulus, funerary mound. See stupa, dagoba
Uparkot, old fort of Junnar, 52
“two-storied hall”, 52-53
vajra, diamond or thunderbolt, 31, 37
Vajradhara, Adi-Buddha, q.v.
Vajradhatisvari, sakti of Ratnasambhava, 37, 124
Vajrapani, Bodhisattva, 31, 56, 116, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 125, 127
Vajrasana, Bodh Gaya
Vajrasattva, sixth Dhyani Buddha, 37, 124
Vajrayana, the Vehicle of the Thunderbolt, the Adamantine Way, the third great division of Buddhism, 36-42, 117, 118-119, 123, 125, 127
Vajravarni, Hindu temple to the goddess, 40
Valabhi, 27, 29, 41, 56
vay, stepped well, usually found in Gujarat
vedana, sensation, one of the five elements of
the Universe, 37
Vedas, ancient books, the foundation of Hindu-
ism; they give their name to the Vedic Age
vedika, Buddhist Rail
Vidhyadharapuram, 45
vidhyadharas, class of demi-gods
vihara, monastery or residence, 11, 18-22, 27, 33
vijnana, consciousness, one of the five elements
of the Universe, 37
Vishnu, Hindu god, 3
Ninth Incarnation of, 41
Visvakarma, the Carpenter's Cave, Ellora
 Chaitya, Cave No. 10

Visvapani, Bodhisattva, 33, 37
Wai, 70
Western Ghats, 2, 3
wheel, Buddhist symbol of Dharma or Law
Yaksha, semi-divine being, demi-god
Yamai, goddess. See Ekvira
Yamuna, Jumna, river in North India; Buddhist
river goddess, 38, 120, 125
Yashodhara, the Buddha's wife
yogini, sorceress
Yuan Chwang, see Hsuan Tsang

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