CHAPTER V.

CHAITYA HALLS.

CONTENTS.

Structural Chaityas—Bihār Caves—Western Chaitya Halls, etc.

Although, if looked at from a merely artistic point of view, it will probably be found that the rails are the most interesting Buddhist remains that have come down to our time, still, in an historical or architectural sense, they are certainly surpassed by the chaitya halls. These are the temples of the religion, properly so called, and the exact counterpart of the churches of the Christians, not only in form, but in use.

Some twenty or thirty of these are known still to exist in a state of greater or less preservation, but—with very few exceptions—all cut in the rock. In so far as the interior is concerned this is of little or no consequence, but, were it not for one or two recent discoveries, we should not have been able to judge of their external form or effect,¹ and, what is worse, we should not have known how their roofs were constructed. We know that, generally at least, they were formed with semicircular ribs of timber, and it is also nearly certain that on these ribs planks in two or three thicknesses were laid, but we could hardly have guessed what covered the planks externally.

Till recently the only structural one known was that at Sānchī, which is shown in plan in the accompanying woodcut (No. 47). It did not, however, suffice to show us how the roofs of the aisles were supported externally. What it does show, which the caves do not, is that when the aisle which

¹ It had previously been considered probable that a tolerably correct idea of the general exterior appearance of the buildings from which these caves were copied may be obtained from the Rāths (as they are called) of Māmallapuram or Mahavellipore (described further on). These are monuments of a later date, and belonging to a different religion, but they correspond so nearly in all their parts with the temples and monasteries now under consideration, that we could scarcely doubt their being, in most respects, close copies of them, as we now discover that they really are. Curiously enough, the best illustrations of some of them are to be found among the sculptures of the Bharaut Rail.
surrounded the apse could be lighted from the exterior, the
apse was carried up solid. In all the caves the pillars sur-
rounding the dāgaba are of different form and
plainer than those of the nave. They are, in fact,
kept as subdued as possible, as if it was thought
they had no business there, but were necessary
to admit light into the circumambient aisle of
the apse.

The discovery of two old structural chaityas
enables us now to realise the formation of their
roofs. One of these, at Têr in the Naldrug
district of Haidarâbâd,¹ has been appropriated
to Vaishnava worship, and to some extent altered,
but its arrangements will be understood from the
accompanying view and plan (Woodcuts Nos. 48
and 49). The mandap on the east may possibly have been an
addition, but if so, of an early
date, as the mouldings and pilasters testify. The doors
of this and of the shrine have been altered: that on
the north side has been cut out, and the partition
wall across the apse added,

![Plan of Chaitya
Hall, Sâncchi. Scale 30 ft. to 1 in.](image)

49. Plan of Ancient Buddhist Chaitya
at Têr, Scale 50 ft. to 1 in.
(From a Plan by H. Cousens.)

whilst the dāgaba—probably of marble—has been
removed to make room for
two Vaishnava images. The shrine or chaitya is
wholly built of bricks of
large size, measuring 17 in.
by 9, and 3 in. thick, care-
fully laid in a cement of clay.

¹ Têr was identified by Dr. Fleet as
the site of the ancient Tagara (‘Journal
of the Royal Asiatic Society,’ 1901,
pp. 537 ff.); and, led by this, Mr. H.
Cousens visited the place in November
1901, and discovered—this interesting
monument. The plan (Illustration No.
49) and the substance of this account is
based on his paper in the ‘Archaeological
Survey Annual, 1902-03,’ pp. 195 ff.
in length by 12 ft. wide, the apsidal end and barrel-vaulted roof rising about 30 ft. from the floor; it is of brick carefully corbelled inwards to form the vault, and rising to a ridge, all carefully plastered. The mandap in front is about 13 ft. high inside, and has a flat roof of wooden beams supported by wooden pillars, and over-laid by brick and plastered outside. Slender pilasters are formed on the outside walls, supporting thick roll mouldings of an early form. The façade of the chaitya rises about 18 ft. above the hall roof (Woodcut No. 48), and is of special interest: the recess in the middle of it now contains a Hindu image in plaster, but originally it must have been a window to admit light into the chaitya. And if we compare this façade with that of the Buddhist rock-cut chaitya at Elūra, the close resemblance in style, and even in details, derived from earlier wood constructions, is very apparent.

The early chaitya, discovered about eighteen years ago at Chezarlala, in the Kistna district of the Madras presidency, has been preserved, like the preceding, by being appropriated as a Saiva temple of Kapotēśvara—"the pigeon god"; for the legend of Sivi-Uśinara, who offered his own flesh to feed a hawk rather than surrender a dove (kapōta) that had fled to him for protection—is well known from the Mahābhārata and other works;¹ the story has also Buddhist forms in the Jātaka book.² Like the Tēr example, this chaitya is built of bricks

¹ Benfey's 'Panchatantra,' vol. i. p. 399; 'Kathāsaritāgara,' ch. 7; 'Mahābhārata,' Vana-parva, sect. 197.
² The 'Kapōta Jātaka,' is No. 42, and the Sivi Jātaka, No. 499; see also Beal's 'Buddhist Records,' vol. ii. pp. 182-183, and 'Life of Huien Tsang,' p. 125; Burgess, 'Notes on the Baudhāya Rock Temples of Ajanta: their Paintings, etc,' pp. 47, and 75-76.
of the same large size, and a mandapa 25 ft. in length by 9 ft. 9 in. wide has been added at some later date, at the east or front end of it. The original chapel is about 23 ft. in length inside and 8 ft. 9 in. wide in front and somewhat less at the apse. The walls are 3 ft. 6 in. thick, but inside pilasters have been built up to support a flat roof about 7½ ft. from the floor, hiding entirely the inside of the vaulting; outside it is identical with that at Tér. The illustrations Nos. 50, 51, and 52, will enable the reader to form a fairly distinct conception of this interesting monument.

These two examples, though of so small dimensions, fully confirm the inductions arrived at before their discovery, of the form of roof and arrangement of these chapels. They must at one time have been very numerous all over India, and further important discoveries may still reward careful research. At Guntupalle in the Godâvarî district is the ruin of one, measuring 53 ft. 6 in. in length by 14 ft. 6 in. wide; but only a few feet of the walls remain. And at Vidyâdharapuram, near Bezwâdâ, the foundations have been traced by Mr. Rea of still another.

As so much of our information regarding the chaityas, as well as the vihâras, which form the next group to be described, was first derived from the rock-cut examples in western India, it would be convenient, if it were possible, to present something like a statistical account of the number and distribution of the groups of caves found there. From what we know of their numbers and distribution we are warranted in assuming that there are at least fifty groups of caves in India proper.

Some of these groups contain as many as 100 different and distinct excavations, many not more than ten or a dozen; but altogether we may fairly assume that not less than 1200 distinct specimens are to be found. Of these probably 300 may be of Brahmanical or Jaina origin; the remaining 900 are Buddhist—either monasteries or temples, the former being incomparably the more numerous class; for of the latter not more than twenty or thirty are known to exist. This difference arose, no doubt, from the greater number of the vihâras being grouped around structural topes, as was always the case in Afghanistan and Ceylon; and, consequently, they did not require any rock-cut place of worship while possessed of the more usual and appropriate edifice.

The façades of the caves are generally perfect, and form an exception to what has been said of our ignorance of the external appearance of Indian temples and monasteries, since they are executed in the rock with all the detail that could have graced the buildings of which they are copies. In the investigation of these objects, the perfect immutability of a temple once hewn
out of the living rock is a very important advantage. No repair can add to, or indeed scarcely alter, the general features of what is once so executed; and there can be no doubt that we see them now, in all essentials, exactly as originally designed. This advantage will easily be appreciated by any one who has tried to grope for the evidence of a date in the design, afforded by our much-altered and often reconstructed cathedrals of the Middle Ages.

The geographical distribution of the caves is somewhat singular, more than nine-tenths of those now known being found within the limits of the Bombay Presidency. The remainder consist of two groups in Bengal—those of Bihār and Katak, neither of which is important in extent; those of Dhamnār, Kholvi, Besnagar, and Bāgh in Rajputana; in Madras, the groups at Māmallapuram, Bezvādā and Guntupalle; and two or three small groups in the Panjāb and Afghanistan.1

This remarkable local distribution may be accounted for by the greater prevalence in western than in eastern India of rocks perfectly adapted to such works. The great cave district of western India is composed of horizontal strata of amygdaloid and other cognate trap formations, generally speaking of very considerable thickness and great uniformity of texture, and possessing besides the advantage that their edges are generally exposed in nearly perpendicular cliffs. No rock in any part of the world could either be more suited for the purpose or more favourably situated than these formations. They were easily accessible and easily worked. In the rarest possible instances are there any flaws or faults to disturb the uniformity of the design; and, when complete, they afford a perfectly dry temple or abode, singularly uniform in temperature, and more durable than any class of temple found in any other part of the world.

From the time of Aśoka, B.C. 250, when the first cave was excavated at Rājagriha, till about the 8th century, or later, the series is uninterrupted; and, if completely examined and drawn, the caves would furnish us with a complete religious and artistic history of the greater part of India during ten or eleven centuries, the darkest and most perplexing of her existence. But, although during this long period the practice was common to Buddhists, Hindūs, and Jains, it ceased before the Muhammadan conquest. Hardly any excavations have been made or attempted since that period, except, perhaps, some rude Jaina monoliths in the rock at Gwāliar, and three in southern India.

1 For the Afghan caves, see W. Simpson’s paper in ‘Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects,’ N.S., 1891, pp. 254ff, and ‘Journal,’ vol. vii. p. 244.
BIHÄR CAVES.

As might be expected from what we know of the history of the localities, the oldest caves in India are situated in Bihär, in the neighbourhood of Rājagriha—now Rājgir—which was the capital of Bengal at the time of the advent of Buddha. Bihär, however, was also one of the earliest provinces in which the Jaina doctrines were propagated, and their great Tirthankara Mahāvīra was a native of Vaisāli,¹ and a contemporary of Gautama Buddha. He preached in Tirhut, Bihär, and neighbouring districts, and is said to have died at Pāwāpuri, about 10 miles to the north-east of Rājgir, where his samosaran or stūpa stands, marking one of the most sacred places of pilgrimage of the sect.² They have several temples about Rājgir, and in early times they would have bhikshugrihas or residences for their ascetics hewn out in the rocks—just as other sects had. And on the wall of the Sonbhandar cave is an inscription dating perhaps from about A.D. 200, ascribing it to a Muni Vairadèva and as “fit for the residence of Ārahants”³—indicating that it then belonged to the Jains.⁴

The most interesting group is situated at a place called Barābār, 16 miles north of Gayā. One there, called the Karna Chaupār, bears an inscription which records the excavation of the cave in the nineteenth year after the coronation of Asoka (B.C. 244).⁵ It is simply a rectangular hall measuring 33 ft. 6 in. by 14, and except in an arched roof rising 4 ft. 8 in. above walls, 6 ft. 1 in. in height, it has no architectural feature of importance. At the right, or west end, is a low platform as if for an image, and the walls are polished quite smooth. A second, called the Sudāma or Nyagrodha cave (Woodcut No. 53), bears an inscription of Asoka’s twelfth year, the same year in which most of his edicts are dated, B.C. 250, and, consequently, is the oldest architectural example in India. It dedicates the cave to the mendicants of the Ājivika sect.⁶ The cave consists of two apartments: an outer, 32 ft. 9 in. in length, and 19 ft. 6 in. in

⁵ The Ājivikas were followers of Mahākali Gosāla, a contemporary and opponent of Mahāvīra and of Buddha. They were naked recluse devotees and materialists, and were often ranked with the Digambara Jains. The Virva cave here, and the three caves in Nāgārjuni hill, excavated in the reign of Dāsaratha,
breadth, and beyond this a nearly circular apartment 19 ft. 11 in. by 19 ft., in the place usually occupied by the solid dâgaba;¹ in front of which the roof hangs down and projects in a manner very much as if it were intended to represent thatch. The most interesting of the group is that called Lomas Rishi, which, though bearing no contemporary inscription, certainly belongs to the same age. The frontispiece is singularly interesting as representing in the rock the form of the structural chaityas of the age. These, as will be seen from the woodcut (No 55), were apparently constructed with strong wooden posts, sloping slightly inwards, supporting a longitudinal purlin morticed into their heads, while three smaller purlins on each side are employed to keep the roof in form. Between the pillars was a framework of wood, above which are shown five

were all made for the Ajivika ascetics. *Indian Antiquary,* vol. xx. p. 362; *Epigraphia Indica,* vol. ii. pp. 272, 274; Bühler, *Sect of the Jainas,* (English version) p. 39.
¹ At Kondivât, in Salsette, near Bombay, there is a chaitya cave of more modern date, which possesses a circular chamber like this, except that it is sunk perpendicularly into the hill side. In the older examples it is probable a relic or some sacred symbol occupied the cell; in the later it may have been an image—though we know too little of the Ajivikas to say of whom or what.
smaller purlins. Over these lies the roof, apparently formed of three thicknesses of plank, or probably two of timber planks laid reverse ways, and one of metal or some other substance externally. The form of the roof is something of a pointed arch, with a slight ogee point on the summit to form a weathering. The door, like all those of this series, has sloping jambs—a peculiarity arising, as we shall afterwards see, from the lines of the openings following, as in this instance, those of the supports of the roof.

The interior, as will be seen from the annexed plan (No 56), is quite plain in form, and does not seem to have been ever quite completed. It consists of a hall 33 ft. by 19 ft., beyond which is an apartment of nearly circular form, forming a shrine, as in the Sudāma cave.

Three quarters of a mile to the northeast of these, in a ridge of granite, known as the Nāgārjuni hill, are three more caves, each bearing an inscription of Dasaratha, the supposed grandson and successor of Āsoka, about B.C. 220, dedicating them also to the Ājīvikas. The largest is the Gopikā or “Milkmaid’s Cave,” which is a hall 46 ft. 5 in. long, with circular ends, and 19 ft. 2 in. wide, with one door in the centre of the south side. The walls are 6½ ft. high, and the vault of the roof rises to 10½ ft. in the middle. The whole interior is polished, but quite plain, and we can only conjecture that it was formed for a refectory or Dharmasthāla.

The remaining two, called the Vahiyākā and the Vadathikā caves, are so small as hardly to deserve notice. They are on the north side of the ridge. The first is entered from the end, and consists of a single chamber 16 ft. 9 in. in length by 11 ft. 3 in. wide, and 10½ ft. high at the middle of the vault, with highly polished walls. The Vadathikā cave is also entered from the end, and is of about the same size.¹

Judging from the inscriptions on these caves, the whole

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¹ Gen. Cunningham (‘Archaeological Reports,’ vol. i. p. 45) and others have called this an Egyptian form. This it certainly is not, as no Egyptian doorway had sloping jambs. Nor can it properly be called Pelasgic. The Pelasgi did use that form but derived it from stone constructions. The Indians only obtained it from wood.—Conf. Foucaur, ‘L’Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhâra,’ tome i. pp. 107, 108, 130; Simpson, in ‘Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects,’ vol. xxx. (1879-1880), p. 56.

² By an error in reading the inscription, this cave was formerly called Vapiyākā or “Well Cave”; but the epigraph reads “Vahiyākā.”—‘Indian Antiquary,’ vol. xx. p. 364 note.

³ Gen. Cunningham, ‘Archaeological Reports,’ vol. i. p. 50, states the width of this cave as 4 ft. 3 in., but the small drawing on plate 19 measures about 10½ ft.; it is 11 ft. 3 in.—‘Jour. Asiat. Soc. Bengal,’ vol. xvi., plate at p. 408.
were excavated between the date of the Sudāma and that of the "Milkmaid's Cave," so called (which was excavated by Dasaratha), probably within forty years of that date. They appear to range, therefore, from B.C. 250 to about 220, and the Lomas Rishi is probably the most modern—it certainly is the most richly ornamented. No great amount of elaboration, however, is found in these examples, inasmuch as the material in which they are excavated is the hardest and most close-grained granite; and it was hardly to be expected that a people, who so recently had been using chiefly wood as a building material, would have patience sufficient for labours like these. They have polished them like glass in the interior, and with that they have been content.

There is yet another small cave of this class—called Sitā-marhi—about 13 miles south of Rājagriha, and 25 miles east from Gayā. It consists of a chamber rectangular in plan, and measuring 15 ft. 9 in., by 11 ft. 3 in., which is hollowed out of an isolated granite boulder lying detached by itself, and not near any rocks. Inside it is as carefully polished as any of those at Barābar.1 Its principal interest, however, is in its section (Woodcut No. 57), which is that of a pointed arch rising from the floor level to a height of 6 ft. 7 in., without any perpendicular sides, which are found in the other caves here. The jambs of the doorway also slope inwards from the bottom to the top, about 1 in. each. From its peculiarities we might infer that it is possibly the oldest in the district; but we must have a more extended series before we can form a reliable sequence in this direction. In the meantime, however, we may feel sure that this hermitage belongs to the great Mauryan age, but whether before or after Asoka's time must be left at present undetermined.2

**Western Chaitya Halls.**

There are in the Western Ghats and elsewhere in the Bombay Presidency six or seven important chaitya caves whose dates can be made out, either from inscriptions, or from internal evidence, with very fair approximate certainty, and all of which were excavated, if I am not very much mistaken, before the Christian Era. The oldest of these is situated at a place

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2 "Cave Temples," pp. 52-53.
called Bhājā, 4 miles south of the great Kārlē cave in the Bōr Ghat. There is no inscription upon it, but from the plan (Woodcut No. 58), it will be perceived that it is a chaitya hall of the usual plan, but of no great dimensions, being only 60 ft. from the back of the apse to the mortices (a a), in which the supports of the wooden screen once stood. From the woodcut (No. 60), it will be perceived that the pillars of the interior slope inwards at a considerable and most unpleasing angle. The roof-screen which closes the front of other caves of this class is gone, as it is also in the case of the Kondāne and Pital-khorā examples, and in Cave No. 10 at Ajantā. In other examples it is in stone, and consequently remains, but in those instances, where it was originally in wood, it has disappeared, though the holes to receive its posts and the mortices by which it was attached to the walls are still there. The ogee fronton was covered with wooden ornaments, which have disappeared; though the pin-holes remain by which they were fastened to the stone. The framework, or truss, that filled the upper part of the great front opening, no longer exists, but what its appearance was may be judged of by the numerous representations of itself with which it is covered, or from the representation of a chaitya façade from the contemporary rail at Bodh-Gayā (Woodcut No. 59), and there are several others on the rail at Bharaut, which are not only correct elevations of such a façade as this, but represent the wooden carved ornaments which—according to that authority—invariably adorned these façades. The only existing example of this wooden screen is that at Kārlē,¹ but the innumerable

¹ Little more than thirty years ago, the screen in Kondāne chaitya cave was also tolerably entire,—'Archaeological Survey of Western India,' vol. iv., frontispiece.
small repetitions of it, not only here but in all these caves, shows not only its form, but how universal its employment was. The rafters of the roof were of wood, and many of them, as may be seen in the woodcut, remain to the present day. Everything, in fact, that could be made in wood remained in wood, and only the constructive parts necessary for stability were executed in the rock.

It is easy to understand that, the first time men undertook to repeat in stone forms they had only been accustomed to erect in wood, they should have done so literally. The sloping inwards of the pillars was requisite to resist the thrust of the circular roof in the wooden building, but it must have appeared so awkward in stone that it would hardly be often repeated. As, however, it was probably almost universal in structural buildings, the doorways and openings naturally followed the same lines, hence the sloping jambs. Though these were by
no means so objectionable in practice, they varied with the lines of the supports, and, as these became upright, the jambs became parallel. In like manner, when it was done, the architects could hardly fail to perceive that they had wasted both time and labour in cutting away the rock to make way for their wooden screen in front. Had they left it standing, with far less expense they could have got a more ornamental and more durable feature. This was so self-evident that it never, so far as is known, was repeated, but it was some time before the pillars of the interior got quite perpendicular, and the jambs of the doors quite parallel.

There is very little figure sculpture about this cave; none in the interior, and what there is on the façade seems to be of a very domestic character. But on the pillars in the interior at $g$ and $h$ in the plan (Woodcut No. 58), we find two emblems, and at $a$, $e$, and $f$ three others are found somewhat rudely formed, but which occur again so frequently that it may be worth while to quote them here (Woodcut No. 61). They are known as the triratna, or trident—the central point being usually more important than here shown—the shield, and the chakra, or wheel. The two first are generally found in combination, as in Woodcuts Nos. 39 and 45, and the wheel is frequently found edged with triratna ornaments, as in the central compartment of Woodcut No. 43 from Amaravati. The fourth emblem here is the triratna,

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in combination with a face, and the fifth is one which is fan-shaped and frequently repeated on coins and elsewhere, but to which no name has yet been given.

At a short distance along the face of the scarp, is an excavation of some interest, containing a group of fourteen monolithic dågabas of various sizes. All of them have the Buddhist-rail pattern cut round the upper margin of the drum. Five under the overhanging rock vary in diameter from 4 ft. 8 in. to 6 ft. 3 in., and the front two have the square box only on the dome, as in the cave, and without the cornice, while the three behind

See 'Cave Temples of India,' plate vii.
have also the heavy cornice: that upon the largest being connected with the roof by the stone shaft of the "chhattra" or umbrella, whilst the other two had been provided with wooden shafts. Of the nine in front, the first from the north has a handsome capital 3 ft. 8 in. high, very elaborately carved (Woodcut No. 62); most of the others have been broken. One or more had only the box form without abacus, and on four of them are holes on the top as if for relics. The names of the Theras or priests, still legible on several of them, indicate that they served the place of monuments in a cemetery, though they may also have been reverenced as altars to saints.

About 10 miles north-west from Kârlê, in a ravine of the Western Ghâts, are the Kondânê chaitya cave and vihâra. This chaitya is interesting, inasmuch as its façade is even a more literal reproduction of the wooden forms from which it was derived than that at Bhâjâ. Nothing could be more literal than the copying of the overhanging forms of the constructive parts of the façade, which shows no trace of stone construction in any feature, and which it would be hardly possible to construct in masonry. Its dimensions differ but little from those of the Bhâjâ chaitya, being 66½ ft. from the line of the front pillars to the extremity of the apse, 26 ft. 8 in. wide, and 28 ft. 5 in. high to the crown of the arch; the nave was 14 ft. 8 in. wide, surrounded by thirty pillars—most of which have rotted away, but which incline inwards as do the side walls of the aisles. The dâgaba was 9 ft. in diameter with a capital, like that at Bhâjâ, of about double the usual height. These two chaityas may be considered as contemporary or nearly so, and they are the finest among the four which are the very oldest specimens of their class in the west of India.¹

Pitalkhorâ is a ravine among the Indhyâdri hills, about

¹ 'Cave Temples,' pp. 220-222 and plate 8; 'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. iv. pp. 8-10, and plate 1.
12 miles south of Chalisgâm in Khandesh, where there are several caves—Buddhist, Brahmanical, and Jaina. Unfortunately the chaitya is entirely ruined by the decay of the rock, the front half of the temple having quite disappeared. From the style of the vihāras, and a few epigraphs, we can only conclude that it must have ranked quite as early as the preceding.¹

The fourth of this series will be treated of among the four Ajantā chaitya temples. The next group of caves, however, that at Bedsā, 10 or 11 miles south of Kārlē, shows considerable progress towards lithic construction. The screen is in stone; the pillars are more upright though still sloping slightly inwards, the jambs more nearly parallel; and, in fact, we have nearly all the features of a well-designed chaitya cave. The two pillars in front, however, as will be seen from the plan (Woodcut No. 63), are so much too large in proportion to the rest, that they are evidently stambhas, and ought to stand free instead of supporting a verandah. Their capitals (Woodcut No. 64, next page) are more like the Persepolitan type than almost any others in India, and are each surmounted by horses and elephants bearing men and women of bold and free execution.²

From the view (Woodcut No. 65 on page 140) it will be seen

¹ 'Cave Temples,' pp. 242-246, and plate 15; 'Archaeological Survey of Western India,' vol. iv. pp. 11-12.
² In the Pitalkhāra vihāra, we find the Persepolitan capital repeated with a variety of animals over it; for the Hindû artists, from their natural aptitude for modifying and adapting forms, very soon replaced the bicephalous bull and ram of the Persian columns by a great variety of animals, sphinxes, and even human figures in the most grotesque attitudes.—Dr. Le Bon, 'Les Monuments de l’Inde,' p. 15.
how much the surface is covered with the rail decoration, a repetition on a small scale of the rails described in the last section, and which it may here be mentioned is a fair test of the age of any building. It gradually becomes less and less used after the date of these two chaitya caves, and disappears wholly in the 4th or 5th centuries; but during that period its greater or less prevalence in any building is one of the surest indications we have of the relative age of any two examples. In this cave, as will be observed, nearly the whole of the ornamentation is made up of miniature rails, and repetitions of window fronts or façades. It has also a semicircular open-work moulding, like basket-work, which is only found in the very oldest caves, and is evidently so unsuited for stone-work that it was no wonder it was dropped very early. No example of it is known after the Christian Era. There is an inscription in this cave in an ancient form of letters, but without date, and this alone is not sufficient to fix its age absolutely without further evidence.
The next of these early caves is the chaitya at Nasik. Its pillars internally are so nearly perpendicular that their inclination might escape detection, and the door jambs are nearly parallel.

The façade, as seen in the woodcut (No. 66, p. 141), is a very perfect and complete design, but all its details are copied from wooden forms, and nothing was executed in wood in this
cave but the rafters of the roof internally, and these have fallen down.

Outside this cave, over the doorway, there is an inscription, stating that "the villagers of Dhambika gave the carving over it"; and another—though imperfect—on the projecting ledge over the guardian to the left of the entrance, reads that "the rail-pattern and the Yaksha were made by Nadâsiri." A third inscription, on two of the pillars of the nave, ascribes the completion of the "Chaityagriha" to Bhatapâlikâ granddaughter (?) of Mahâ-Hakusiri. The first two are in nearly pure Maurya characters, and appear to be about coeval with the inscription of Krishna-râja in the small vihâra close by, which we ascribe to about B.C. 160; and the third can hardly be much later.1 Taking these inscriptions in conjunction with the architecture, the age of this cave hardly seems doubtful. We may accept B.C. 160 as approximately the date of its inception, though its completion may be a quarter of a century later, and, if this is so, it carries back the caves of Bhâjâ, Bedsâ, and the others, to a period considerably before that time, while, on the other hand, it as certainly is older than the Kârlê cave, which appears to come after it in age, whilst Cave No. 9 at Ajantâ may be quite as old.

Kârlê.

The last of the caves mentioned above, known as that at Kârlê, is situated near the railway between Bombay and Poona, and is the finest of all—the finest, indeed, of its class. It is certainly the largest as well as the most complete chaitya cave known in India, and was excavated at a time when the style was in its greatest purity. In it all the architectural defects of the previous examples are removed; the pillars of the nave are quite perpendicular. The screen is ornamented with sculpture—its first appearance apparently in such a position—and the style had reached a perfection that was never afterwards surpassed.

In this cave there is an inscription in the left end of the porch, and another on the lion-pillar in front, which are certainly integral, and the first ascribes its completion to "Sethi Bhûtapâla of Vaijayanti" (or Banavâsi), whilst the second states that the lion-pillar was the gift of the "Mahârathi Agnimitrana son of Goti"; but neither of these, nor others on pillars, doorway, and arch, help us to a date. We are thus thrown back on style, without any help from examples closely akin in

1Epigraphia Indica,' vol. viii. pp. 91-93.
Details: we have also later inscriptions, of Ushabhadāta, the son-in-law of the Kshatrapa Nahapāna,¹ and, as the latter belongs to the beginning of the 2nd century, Ushabhadāta cannot be placed earlier than about A.D. 120. But the cave had been completed long before this, and we may pretty safely place it in the century B.C., and possibly early in that century.

The building, as will be seen by the annexed woodcuts (Nos. 67, 68, 69), resembles, to a very great extent, an early Christian church in its arrangements: consisting of a nave and side-aisles, terminating in an apse or semidome, round which the aisle is carried. The general dimensions of the interior are 124 ft. 3 in. from the entrance to the back wall, by 45 ft. 6 in. in width. The side-aisles, however, are very much narrower than in Christian churches, the central one being 25 ft. 7 in., so that the others are only 10 ft. wide, including the thickness of the pillars. As a scale for comparison, it may be mentioned that its arrangement and dimensions are very similar to those of the choir of Norwich Cathedral, or

of the Abbaye aux Hommes at Caen, omitting the outer aisles
in the latter buildings. The thickness of the piers at Norwich

and Caen nearly corresponds to the breadth of the aisles in
the Indian temple. In height, however, Kârlé is very inferior,
being only 45 ft. from the floor to the apex.

Fifteen pillars on each side separate the nave from the
aisles; each pillar has a tall base, an octagonal shaft, and richly ornamented capital, on the inner front of which kneel two elephants, each bearing two figures, generally a man and a woman, but sometimes two females, all very much better executed than such ornaments usually are; behind are horses and tigers, each bearing a single figure.\(^1\) The seven pillars behind the altar are plain octagonal piers, without either base or capital, and the four under the entrance gallery differ considerably from those at the sides. The sculptures on the capitals supply the place usually occupied by frieze and cornice in Grecian architecture; and in other examples plain painted surfaces occupy the same space. Above this springs the roof, semicircular in general section, but somewhat stilted at the sides, so as to make its height greater than the semi-diameter. It is ornamented even at this day by a series of wooden ribs, probably coeval with the excavation, which prove beyond the shadow of a doubt that the roof is not a copy of a masonry arch, but of some sort of timber construction which we cannot now very well understand.

Immediately under the semidome of the apse, and nearly where the altar stands in Christian churches, is placed the Dâgâba, in this instance a plain dome, on a two-storeyed circular drum, the upper margins of each section being carved with rail ornaments (Woodcut No. 70). Just under the lower of these are holes or mortices for woodwork, which may have been adorned with hangings, which some of the sculptured representations would lead us to suppose was the usual mode of ornamenting these altars. It is surmounted by a capital or Tee, the base of which is similar to the one shown on Woodcut No. 15, and on this still stand the remains of an umbrella in wood, somewhat decayed and distorted by age. This canopy was circular and minutely carved on the under surface.\(^2\)

Opposite this is the entrance, consisting of three doorways under a gallery exactly corresponding with our roodloft, one leading to the centre, and one to each of the side-aisles; and over the gallery the whole end of the hall is open, as in all these chaitya halls, forming one great window, through which all the light is admitted. This great window is formed in the shape of a horseshoe, and exactly resembles those used as ornaments on the façade of this cave, as well as on those of Bhâjâ, Beśā, and at Nâsîk described above, and which are met with everywhere at this age. Within the arch is a frame-

\(^1\) Drawings of some of the pillars are given in ‘Cave Temples of India,’ plates 12 and 14, and \(^2\) ‘Cave Temples of India,’ p. 235, and \(\text{Archaeological Survey of Western India,}’\ vol. iv. plate 13, plate 13.
work or centering of wood standing free (Woodcut No. 69). This, so far as we can judge, is, like the ribs of the interior, coeval with the building;¹ at all events, if it has been renewed, it is an exact copy of the original form, for it is found repeated in stone in all the niches of the façade, over the doorways, and generally as an ornament everywhere, and, with the Buddhist “rail,” copied from Sâachi, forms the most usual ornament of the style.

The sculpture on the screen wall between the doors is mostly of much later date than the cave itself. All the figures of Buddha there represented are of late date and belong to the

¹ About 1870 it was reported that this screen was in danger of falling outwards, and I wrote repeatedly to India begging that something might be done to preserve it; this was eventually effected, but by “restoration” rather than by judicious repair. Only a small portion of the original ribbing of the Bhâja cave now remains. That of the Bedâa cave was destroyed about 1861 (‘Journal Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,’ vol. viii. p. 223); and it would be a thousand pities if this, which is the only original screen in India, were allowed to perish when a very small outlay would save it. Like the Iron pillar at Mehrauli close to Delhi, which never rusts, teak wood that does not decay, though exposed to the atmosphere for 2000 years, is a phenomenon worth the attention not only of antiquaries, but of natural philosophers.
Mahāyāna school; the larger pairs of figures, however, are earlier and may be original. The later inscriptions are of the time of the Andhra king Pulumāvi (cir. A.D. 150).

The presence of the woodwork is an additional proof, if any were wanted, that there were no arches of construction in any of these Buddhist buildings. There neither were nor are any in any Indian building anterior to the Muhammadan conquest, and very few indeed in any Hindū building afterwards.

To return, however, to Kārlē, the outer porch is considerably wider than the body of the building, being 52 ft. wide by 15 ft. deep, and is closed in front by a screen composed of two stout octagonal pillars, without either base or capital, supporting what is now a plain mass of rock, but which was once ornamented by a wooden gallery forming the principal ornament of the façade. Above this a dwarf colonnade or attic of four columns between pilasters admitted light to the great window, and this again was surmounted by a wooden cornice or ornament of some sort, though we cannot now restore it, since only the mortices remain that attached it to the rock.

In advance of this screen stands the lion-pillar, in this instance a plain shaft with sixteen flutes, or rather faces, surmounted by a capital not unlike that at Kesariyā (Woodcut No. 7), but at Kārlē supporting four lions instead of one, and, for reasons given above (p. 60), they seem almost certainly to have supported a chakra or Buddhist wheel (Woodcut No. 8). A similar pillar probably stood on the opposite side, but it had either fallen or been removed to make way for the little Hindū temple that now occupies its place.

The absence of the wooden ornaments of the external porch, as well as our ignorance of the mode in which this temple was finished laterally, and the porch joined to the main temple, prevents us from judging what the effect of the front would have been if belonging to a free-standing building. But the proportions of such parts as remain are so good, and the effect of the whole so pleasing, that there can be little hesitation in ascribing to such a design a tolerably high rank among architectural compositions.

Of the interior we can judge perfectly, and it certainly is as solemn and grand as any interior can well be, and the mode of lighting the most perfect — one undivided volume of light coming through a single opening overhead at a very favourable angle, and falling directly on the dāgaba or principal object in the building, leaving the rest in comparative obscurity. The effect is considerably heightened by the closely set thick columns that divide the aisles from the nave, as they suffice to prevent the boundary walls from ever being seen, and,
as there are no openings in the walls, the view between the pillars is practically unlimited.

These peculiarities are found more or less developed in all the other caves of the same class in India, varying only with the age and the gradual change that took place from the more purely wooden forms of these caves to the lithic or stone architecture of the more modern ones. This is the principal test by which their relative ages can be determined, and it proves incontestably that the Kārlē cave was excavated not so very long after stone came to be generally used as a building material in India.

There are caves at Ajantā and probably at Junnar which are as old as those just described, and supply details that are wanting in the examples just mentioned. Meanwhile, however, their forms are sufficient to place the history on a firm basis, and to explain the origin and early progress of the style with sufficient distinctness.

From the inscriptions and literary evidence, it seems hardly doubtful that the date of the Kārlē cave is about B.C. 80, and that at Nāsik about B.C. 150. We have no literary authority for the date of the two earlier ones, but the archaeological evidence appears irresistible. The Bhājā and Kondānē caves are so absolutely identical in style with the Lomas Rishi cave in Bihār (Woodcut No. 55) that they must be of very nearly the same age. Their pillars and their doorways slope so nearly at the same angle, and the essential woodenness—if the expression may be used—of each is so exactly the same, that, the one being of the age of Aśoka, the others cannot be far removed from the date of his reign. The Bedsā cave exhibits a degree of progress so nearly half-way between the Bhājā and Nāsik examples, that it may be dated about B.C. 120. The Pītalkhorā cave must also range about the same age, and the whole six, with one or two to be described at Ajantā, thus exhibit the progress of the style during nearly two centuries, and form a basis from which we may proceed to reason with little hesitation or doubt.

AJANTĀ.

There are four chaitya caves in the Ajantā series which, though not so magnificent as some of the four just mentioned, are nearly as important for the purposes of our history. The oldest there is the chaitya, No. 10, which is situated very near

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1 A much fuller account of the Rock-Temples of India will be found in ‘The Cave-Temples of India,’ 1880, and ‘Archaeological Survey of Western India,’ vols. iv. and v.

2 For further particulars regarding the Ajantā caves, the reader is referred to ‘Cave Temples,’ pp. 280-346, and ‘Archaeological Survey of Western India,’ vol. iv. pp. 43-59.
to the next to be referred to, a little higher up in the rock, however, and is of nearly twice its dimensions. It is 96 ft. 6 in.

71. Interior of Chaitya Cave No. 10 at Ajanta. (From a Sketch by the Author.)

72. Cross-section of Cave No. 10 at Ajanta. Scale, about 26 ft. to 1 in.

in depth by 41 ft. 3 in. in width internally, and 36 ft. high. As may be seen from the annexed view (Woodcut No. 71), the nave is separated from the aisles by a range of thirty-nine plain octagonal shafts, very slightly inclined inwards, but without capitals or bases. The triforium belt is of unusual height, and was originally plastered and painted. Traces of this can still be seen, though the design cannot be made out (Woodcut No. 72). Like Bhâjâ and Kondânê it had only a wooden or brick front; but one of the most remarkable characteristics of the cave is that it shows what may be regarded as a sign of transition from wood to stone in its architectural details. As at Pitalkhorâ, the ribs of the aisle are in stone cut in the rock, but copied from the wooden forms of previous examples; but too much stress should not be laid on this feature. The vault of the nave was adorned
with wooden ribs, the mortices for which are still there, and their marks can still be traced in the roof, but the wood itself is gone.

There is a short Pāli inscription on this cave, at the right side of the façade, which seems to be integral, but unfortunately it does not contain names that can be identified;¹ but from the form of the characters a palæographist would almost certainly place it considerably anterior to the Christian Era.

Next to this, the second chaitya here (No. 9), and probably not much later in point of age, is the lowest down on the cliff, and is of the smallest class, being only 45 ft. by 22 ft. 9 in. in width, and 23 ft. high. All its woodwork has perished, though it would not be difficult to restore it from the mortices left and the representations of itself on the façade. There are several inscriptions, but they are not integral: they are painted on the walls, and belong, from the form of their characters, to about the 6th or 7th century of our era, when the frescoes seem to have been renewed, so that the real tests of its age are,—first, its position in the series, which make it, with a neighbouring vihāra (No. 12), undoubtedly one of the oldest there; the other test is the architecture of its façade, which so much resembles that of the Nāsik chaitya that it cannot be very far off in date. It may, however, be somewhat earlier, as the pillars in the interior slope inwards at an angle somewhere between that found at Bhājā and that at Bedsā; and, in so far as that is a test of age, it is in favour of a greater antiquity in the Ajantā example. Such a criterion, however, dependent on the choice of the superintendent of the excavation, is far too delicate to use with much confidence as a chronometrical test.

The façades of both these caves are so much ruined by the rock falling away that it is impossible to assert that there was no sculpture on the lower parts. None, certainly, exists in the interior, where everything depends on painting; and it is, to say the least of it, very improbable that any figure-sculpture adorned No. 9—the figures of Buddha on the sides of the court being of much later date—while it seems likely that No. 10 also depended wholly on conventional architectural forms for its adornment.²

The next chaitya cave in this series (No. 19) is separated from these two by a very long interval of time. Unfortunately,
no inscription exists upon it which would assist in assigning it any precise date; but it belongs to a group of vihāras, Nos. 16 and 17, whose date, as we shall afterwards see, can be fixed with tolerable certainty as belonging to the end of the 5th century A.D. The cave itself, as will be seen from the plan (Woodcut No. 73), is of the smallest size, nearly the same as No. 9, or 46 ft. 4 in. in length, by 23 ft. 7 in. wide and 24 ft. 4 in. high, and its arrangements do not differ much, but its details belong to a totally different school of art. All trace of woodwork has disappeared, but the wooden forms are everywhere repeated in stone, like the triglyphs and mutules of the Doric order, long after their original meaning was lost. More than this, painting in the interval had to a great extent ceased to be the chief means of decoration, both internally and externally, and sculpture substituted for it in monumental works; but the greatest change of all is that Buddha, in all his attitudes, is introduced everywhere. In the next woodcut (No. 74) — the view of the façade — it will be seen how completely figure-sculpture had superseded the plainer architectural forms of the earlier caves. The rail ornament, too, has entirely disappeared; the window heads have been dwarfed down to mere framings for masks; but, what is even more significant than these, is that from a pure atheism we have passed to an overwhelming idolatry. At Kārlē the eight figures that originally adorned the porch are chiefs or donors with their wives, in pairs. All the figures of Buddha that appear there now are long subsequent additions. None but mortals were sculptured in the earlier caves, and among these Sākyamuni nowhere appears. Here, on the contrary, he is Bhagavat — the Holy One — the object of worship, and occupies a position in the front of the dāgaba or altar itself (Woodcut No. 75, p. 153), surmounted by the triple umbrella and as the Numen of the place.

We may be able, in the near future, to fix more nearly the time in which this portentous change took place in Buddhist ritual. For the present it is sufficient to remark that images of Buddha, and their worship, were not known in India much before the commencement of our era, and that the revolution was complete by the 4th century, — if not earlier.

Before leaving this cave, however, it may be well to remark on the change that had taken place in the form of the dāgaba
during these 500 years. If Woodcut No. 75 is compared with the dāgabas in Nos. 70 and 71, it will be seen how much the low rounded form of the early examples had been conventionalised into a tall steeple-like object. The drum had become more important than the dome, and was ornamented with architectural features that have no meaning as applied. But more curious still is the form the triple umbrella had assumed. It had now become a steeple reaching almost to the roof of the cave, and its original form and meaning would hardly be suspected by those who were not familiar with the intermediate steps.

I am not aware of more than three umbrellas being found surmounting any dāgaba in the caves, but the following representation of a model of one found at Sultānpur, near Jalālābād (Woodcut No. 76), probably of about the same age, has six such discs; and in Bihār numerous models are found with seven, making with the base and finial nine stories.¹ which

¹ Kittœ in 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vol. xvii. (1847), pp. 172ff., plate 6; conf. ante, Woodcut No. 20, p. 80; and Foucher, 'L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhāra,' tome i. p. 79.
afterwards in China became the conventional number for the nine-storeyed towers of that land.

The last chaitya at Ajantā (No. 26) is of a medium size, 67 ft. 10 in. by 36 ft. 3 in., and 31 ft. 3 in. high, and has a long inscription and three short ones, but, unfortunately, they contain nothing to enable us to fix its date with certainty.\(^1\) It is certainly more modern than the last-named, its sculptures are coarser, and their meaning more mythological. We shall probably not err in assuming that it was excavated towards the end of the 6th or beginning of the 7th century; and that

the year 600 is not far from its true date.\(^2\) An idea of the

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\(^1\) 'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. iv. pp. 132-136. In the longer inscription, the Arhat or Stāvira Achala is mentioned, who is also spoken of by Huiuen Tsiang.—Beal, 'Buddhist Records,' vol. ii. pp. 257-258.

\(^2\) 'Cave Temples,' pp. 341-345, and plates 37, 38, 50, and 51; 'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. iv. pp. 58, 59, and plates 3 and 36.
richness of the sculpture on the pillars and triforium of this chaitya, and of the style of the interior, will be better conveyed by the accompanying woodcut, No. 77, than by any attempt at description. The pillars are much in the same style as those in Cave No. 1, but even richer and more minute in detail, closely resembling those in No. 25, immediately preceding it in position, if not also in age. The triforium, it will be observed, is overloaded with ornament, and thereby loses
seriously in architectural dignity and effect. Historically its chief interest is in showing how idolatrous Buddhism was becoming when Brahmanism was about to expel the former from the country of its birth.

JUNNAR.

Around the old town of Junnar, about 48 miles north from Poona, are some five separate groups of caves, consisting altogether of fully a hundred and fifty different excavations—the majority of them being small. Like other early caves, they are mostly devoid of figure ornament, and notwithstanding ten chapel or chaitya caves, scattered among the different groups, it might perhaps be questioned whether they should all be classed as Buddhist, or whether some of them at least did not belong to the Jains or other sects. Fuller illustration and study of what figure ornament there is must settle this; but the inscriptions on certain of the caves indicate that they were for followers of certain Buddhist schools. These inscriptions seem to range palaeographically, from about B.C. 100 to A.D. 300.¹

There are not, it is true, any chaityas among them so magnificent as that at Kārāli, nor any probably quite so old as those at Bhājā and Bedsā; but there is, in the Ganesa group, a chaitya, both in plan and dimensions, very like that at Nāsik, and a vihāra, quite equal to the finest at that place. The great interest of the series, however, consists in its possessing examples of forms not known elsewhere.² There are, for instance, among others, six chaitya caves, with square terminations, flat roofs and without internal pillars, and one circular cave, which was quite unique until the discovery of another of the same form at Guntupalle, near the east coast.

The great peculiarity of the series is the extreme simplicity of the caves composing it. They are too early to have any


² These caves have long been known to antiquarians. In 1833 Colonel Sykes published a series of inscriptions copied from them, but without any description of the caves themselves (‘Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,’ vol. iv. pp. 287-291). In 1847, Dr. Bird noticed them in his ‘Historical Researches,’ with some wretched lithographs, so bad as to be almost unintelligible; in 1850, Dr. Wilson described them in the ‘Bombay Journal;’ and in 1857 Dr. Stevenson republished their inscriptions, with translations, in the eighth volume of the same journal; and Mr. W. F. Sinclair, C.S., wrote a short account of them in the ‘Indian Antiquary,’ vol. iii. pp. 33ff. In November 1874, a hurried survey was made, the results of which are given in ‘Cave Temples,’ pp. 248-262 and plates 17, 18; and in the ‘Archaeological Survey of Western India,’ vol. iv. pp. 26-36. Photographs, however, are needed to make them more clearly intelligible.
figures of Buddha himself, but there are not even any of those figures of men and women which we meet with at Kârâlê and elsewhere. Everything at Junnar wears an aspect of simplicity and severity, due partly to the antiquity of the caves of course, but, so far as known, unequalled elsewhere.

There are evidences in several places that plaster and painting were employed for the decoration of these caves; and among them we find ten chaityas—some unfinished—mostly without side aisles or the arched façades we find elsewhere. Only one—that in Mânmoda hill—has any sculpture on the façade: and as will be seen from Woodcut No. 78, this is quite unique in style. In a fan-shaped sculpture is represented the goddess Sri or Gaja Lakshmi, standing with her two elephants pouring water over her, and behind them, on each side are two worshippers in attitudes of adoration. Though so ubiquitous and continuous through all ages, it is seldom this goddess occupies so important a position as she does here; but her history has still to be written. On the edge of the small semicircular centre of the sculpture on this façade is an inscription in an alphabet of about the century B.C., stating that "the hall-front was the gift of Chanda a Yavana." Above the fronton, on each side of the finial, are figures:—on the right, of a Nâgarâja with a fly flap, and on the left a figure with a bird on his shoulders, and behind each is a dâgâba in high relief. The interior of this cave is 30 ft. in length and 12 ft. 6 in. wide between the pillars of the nave, of which three are blocked out on the right side and two just commenced on the left; and the entrance, nearly the width of the nave, is destroyed by the breaking of the lintel. The dâgâba is plain, but, with the whole interior of the cave, it has been left quite unfinished, owing apparently to a soft stratum of rock being met with by the excavators.

A little to the east of this is a series of four cells with a neatly carved façade; each door has the chaitya-window arch over it projecting about 15 in., and is carved below in the same style as over the doorway of the Nâsik chaitya, whilst between the arches are sculptured dâgâbas, rail-pattern and smaller arches—indicative of an early date.5

The Tulpâ Lena group, about 2 miles west from Junnar, consists of some dozen excavations, among which one is a vihâra with five cells, another was, perhaps a refectory hall,

1 There are some defaced images probably of late date in a cell in the Mânmoda group, that are probably late Jaina.—Cave Temples,' p. 261; 'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. iv. p. 36.

2 There is a representation of this cave in Dr. Bird's book, plate 16, but so badly done that it requires being told what is intended in order to find it out.

3 A part of this façade is represented in 'Cave Temples,' plate 17, fig. 5.
Manmoda Chaitya Cave at Junnar
(From a Photograph.)
and a third is the circular chaitya cave. They are all very much dilapidated—the fronts having mostly fallen away—but the carving that remains on two of the façades, consisting of chaitya-window, rail-pattern and dāgaba ornamentation is so like to what we find at Bhājā, Kondāne, Bedsā and Nāsik, that we cannot be far wrong in ascribing this group to the like early period.1

The plan and section (Woodcuts Nos. 79, 80) will explain the form of the circular cave above alluded to. It is not large, only 25 ft. 6 in. across, while its roof is supported by twelve plain octagonal pillars which surround the dāgaba.2 The tee has been removed from the dāgaba to convert it into a lingam of Siva, in which form it is now worshipped. The interest of the arrangement of this cave will be more apparent when we come to describe the dāgabas in Ceylon, which were encircled with pillars in the same manner as this one. Meanwhile the following representation (Woodcut No. 81) of a circular temple from the Buddhist sculptures at Bharaut may enable us to realise, to some extent at least, the external form of these temples, which perhaps were much more common in ancient times than any remains we now possess would justify us in assuming.

Among the other Mānmoda caves are two small unfinished chaityas and a small vihāra beside one of them that have all octagonal pillars with the water-pot bases and capitals in their verandahs, but with a square block between the abacus and architrave. Near the more southerly is an excavation with an inscription by the minister of Nahapāna of A.D. 124, which must be about the date of these caves.3 In the Sivaner

1 'Cave Temples,' plate 17, fig. 4.
2 A cave at Guntupalle, in the Godāvārī district, so far resembles this, that it is circular, 18 ft. in diameter, with a domed roof, but without pillars, and contains a dāgaba, now converted into a Linga.—Infra, p. 167.
3 These caves are all pretty fully described in 'Cave Temples' and 'Archaeological Survey Western India,' vol. iv., the two Mānmoda chaityas are No. 18—'Cave Temples,' p 260, and No. 31—at pp. 261-262, and plan on plate 18, fig. 8.
and Ganesa Lena groups are four other small chaityas, with verandah pillars of the same Nasik type;¹ and in the latter series is one that may justly be regarded as the best example we have of the chaitya of the 1st or 2nd century of our era.² Its proportions are good, and all the details well understood and properly applied. The vihāra³ near it, now converted into a Hindū shrine of Ganesa, measures 50¼ ft. wide by 56½ ft. deep, without pillars, the façade of its verandah being almost a complete copy of that of the Gautamiputra cave (No. 3) at Nasik, with six pillars and two antæ standing on a bench, the outside of which is carved with rail-pattern.

ELÛRÁ.

The celebrated Visvakarma cave at Elûrā is a chaitya of the first class, intermediate, perhaps, in age between the two last described caves at Ajantā, or it may be as modern

¹ The chaityas in the scarp of Sivaner are No. 3—'Cave Temple,' p. 249, and pillar in 'Cave Temple Inscriptions,' plate 17; No. 51—'Cave Temples,' p. 251, plan and section, plate 18, figs. 1, 2, and pillar in 'Cave Temple Inscriptions,' plate 19; and No. 69—'Archaeological Survey,' vol. iv. p. 30. The Ganesa Lena example is No. 15—'Cave Temples,' pp. 256-257 and plan and section, plate 18, figs. 6, 7; and 'Archaeological Survey Western India,' vol. iv. p. 32, No. 15.
² No. 6 — for details see 'Cave Temples,' pp. 254-256, plan, plate 18, fig. 9 to scale 25 ft. to 1 in., and section, fig. 10, to double that scale; pillars in 'Cave Temple Inscriptions,' plate 29, p. 54; 'Archaeological Survey Western India,' vol. iv. p. 31. The other, also a vaulted chaitya here, is No. 32—'Cave Temples,' pp. 257-258.
³ No. 7, 'Cave Temples,' p. 256.
as the last. There are unfortunately no inscriptions nor any traditions that would assist in fixing its age, which must consequently depend wholly on its position in the series and its architectural peculiarities.

The dimensions of this cave are considerable, 85 ft. 10 in. by 43 ft., and 34 ft. high; the inner end is entirely blocked up by the dâgaba which, instead of being circular as in all

the older examples, has a frontispiece attached to it larger than that in Cave No. 19 at Ajantâ, which, as shown in Woodcut No. 73, makes it square in front. On this addition is a figure of Buddha seated with his feet down, and surrounded by attendants and flying figures in the later style of Mahâyâna Buddhist art (Woodcut No. 82). In the roof, all the ribs and ornaments are cut in the rock, though still copied from wooden prototypes, and the triforium is sculptured with groups, as in Nos. 19 and 26 of Ajantâ. Its most marked characteristic, however, is the façade, where for the first time we miss the great horse-shoe opening, which is the most marked feature in all previous
examples. We can still trace a reminiscence of it in the upper part of the window in the centre (Woodcut No. 83); but it was evidently considered necessary, in this instance, to reduce the size of the opening, and it is easy to see why this was the case. At Bedsä, Kârlê, Kanheri, and elsewhere, there was a verandah or porch with a screen in front of the great window, which prevented the direct rays of the sun from reaching it, and all the older caves had wooden screens, as at Kârlê from which curtains could be hung so as to modify

83. Façade of the Virvakarma Cave at Elûrâ. (From a Photograph.)
the light to any desired extent. At Elûrâ, no screen could ever have existed in front, and wooden additions had long ceased to be used, so that it consequently became necessary to reduce the size of the opening. In the two later chaityas at Ajantâ, this is effected by simply reducing their size. At Elûrâ it was done by dividing it. If we had the structural examples in which this change was probably first introduced, we might trace its progress; but, as this one is the only rock example we have of a divided window, we must accept it as one of the latest modifications of the façades of these chaityas. Practically, it may be an improvement, as it is still sufficiently large to light the interior in a satisfactory manner; but artistically it seems rather to be regretted. There is a character and a grandeur about the older design which we miss in this more domestic-looking arrangement, though it is still a form of opening not destitute of beauty.

Owing to the sloping nature of the ground in which it is excavated this cave possesses a forecourt of considerable extent and of great elegance of design, which gives its façade an importance it is not entitled to from any intrinsic merit of its own.²

Kanheri.

One of the best known and most frequently described chaityas in India, is that on the island of Salsette, about 16 miles north of Bombay, and 6 north-west from Thânâ, known as the great Kanheri cave. In dimensions it belongs to the first rank, being 86 ft. 6 in. in length by 39 ft. 10 in. wide, and about 38 ft. high. In the verandah there is an inscription recording that a monk named Buddhagosha dedicated one of the middle-sized statues in the porch to the honour of Bhagavat, i.e. Buddha.³ This does not fix the age of the cave, but on the two front pillars of the same porch are inscriptions—or rather fragments of such—from which it is gathered that the chaitya was begun by two brothers, "the merchants Gajasena and Gajamitra," in the reign of Gautamiputra Siriyaña Sātakarni, that is, about A.D. 180.⁴ This fixes its date some centuries before Nos. 19 and 26 at Ajantâ, but much later than the great Kârlâ chaitya, of which it is a literal copy, but in so inferior a style of art that the architecture

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1 See the chaitya at Tér, ante, p. 126.
3 This and three other short inscriptions on the same verandah are in characters of about the 4th or 5th century A.D.—‘Archaeological Survey of Western India,’ vol. v. p. 77.
4 Loc. cit., pp. 75, 76; other inscriptions of the later Andhra kings occur at Kanheri in caves Nos. 5, 36, and 81, with more of the same age.
of this cave can only be looked upon as an exceptional anomaly, the principles of whose design are unlike anything else to be found in India, emanating probably from some individual caprice, the origin of which we may never now be able to recover. The fact, however, that it was undertaken by two laymen, who may have found the undertaking more expensive than they had anticipated, or who may have died before it was finished, may account for its degraded style: the inferior quality of the rock, and the inexperience of the workmen of the period, under direction of "the reverend Bodhika" as overseer, may also have contributed to the result.

Internally the roof was ornamented with timber rafters, and though these have fallen away, the wooden pins by which they were fastened to the rock still remain; and the screen in front has all the mortices and other indications, as at Kârlê, proving that it was intended to be covered with wooden galleries and framework. What is still more curious, the figures of the donors with their wives, which adorn the front of the screen at Kârlê, are here repeated with necessary variations; and the rock at this spot being pretty close-grained, they are the best carved figures in these caves. They are probably also the only sculptures of the age of the cave. The occurrence of such figures here is the more strange as it belonged to an age when their place was reserved for figures of Buddha, and when, perhaps at Kârlê itself, they were cutting away the old sculptures and old inscriptions, to introduce figures of Buddha,

either seated cross-legged, or borne on the lotus, supported by Nâga figures at its base.¹

¹ A tolerably correct representation of these sculptures is engraved in Langlet's "Monuments anciens et modernes de l'Hindostan," tom. ii. p. 81, after Niebuhr. The curious part of the thing is, that the Buddhist figures of the Kârlê façade are not copied here also.—"Archaeological Survey of Western India," vol. iv., plates 4, and 39-41.
In front of this cave is a dwarf rail (Woodcut No. 84); unfortunately it is so weather-worn that it is difficult to make out all its details; but comparing it with the Gautamiputra rail (Woodcut No. 37) and the Amaravati rail (Woodcut No. 41), it will be seen that it contains all those complications that were introduced in the 1st and 2nd centuries, but which were discontinued in the 4th and 5th, when the rail in any shape fell into disuse as an architectural ornament.

If again we compare the annexed woodcut No. 85, representing one of the capitals in this cave, with those in the Kârlê chaitya, we find the same degradation of style as is exhibited in woodcuts Nos. 103 and 104 (p. 183) illustrating the styles of the Nahapâna and Gautamiputra vihâras at Nâsik.

The evidence in fact seems complete that this cave was excavated in the last years of the 2nd century; but, admitting this, it remains an anomaly, the like of which only occurs once again so far as I know in the history of Indian architecture, and that in a vihâra at Nâsik of the same age, to be described hereafter.1

Dhamnâr.

Near the village of Chandwâs, about half-way between Kotâ and Ujjain, and 48 miles south-west from Jhâlrapâthan, in Râjputâna, there exists a series of caves at a place called Dhamnâr which are of considerable extent, but the interest that might

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1 For further particulars regarding this cave the reader is referred to Fergusson’s ‘Rock-cut Temples, of India,’ plates 11 and 12; to ‘Cave Temples of India,’ pp. 350-353, and plate 53; and to ‘Archaeological Survey of Western India,’ vol. iv, pp. 611.
be felt in them is considerably diminished, by their being cut in a coarse laterite conglomerate, so coarse that all the finer architectural details had to be worked out in plaster, and that, having perished with time, only their plans and outlines can now be recognised. Among the sixty or seventy excavations here found, one in the principal group, which is entered from the east end of a broad terrace that still exists tolerably entire, has a dāgaba in front—9\(\frac{1}{2}\) ft. in diameter and 14 ft. 3 in. high—standing in the centre of a small court, in the open air. Immediately behind it is the cell or sanctuary, in which is a large figure of Buddha seated cross-legged, and on each side of the entrance are two large dwârpañjals, as at Aurangâbâd. The cell is isolated by a covered passage running round it, on the

![Diagram of Caves at Dhamnâr](image)

(Corrected from a Plan by Gen. Cunningham.)
Scale 50 ft. to 1 in.

east side of which is a recumbent figure of the dying Buddha, about 15 ft. long; in the passage behind the cell are three seated figures of Buddhas with smaller standing figures between; and three more stand in the west passage with a sitting one (Woodcut No. 86).

The next is an excavation 25 ft. wide with a curved inner-end—the whole length being 26\(\frac{1}{2}\) ft.—and containing a circular dāgaba 8\(\frac{1}{2}\) ft. in diameter and 16 ft. 3 in. high, which supports the roof. To the west of it is another chaitya cave of some extent, and presenting peculiarities of plan not found elsewhere. It is practically a chaitya cella situated in the midst of a vihâra. The cell in which the dāgaba is situated is only 31 ft. 8 in.
by 13 ft. 6 in., but to this must be added the porch or ante-
chapel that extended about 20 ft. further, making the whole
about 52 ft. On two sides, and on half the third, it is sur-
rrounded by a verandah leading to cells. The third side never
was finished, but in one of the side cells, measuring 15 ft. 8 in.
by 10 ft. 10 in., is a smaller dâgaba; at the back are four cells—
one of them, 17 ft. 4 in. by 11 ft. 9 in., with an arched and
ribbed roof; and on the west side are six cells, of which the
third measures 10½ ft. by 8 ft. 4 in., and has two statues on the
back wall,—the whole making 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 hardly be recognisable.¹

There are no exact data for determining the age of this
cave, but like all of the series it is late, probably between A.D.
600 and 700, and its great interest is that, on comparing it with
the chaitya and vihâra at Bhâjâ or Bedsâ (Woodcuts Nos. 58
and 63), we are enabled to realise the progress and changes that
took place in designing these monuments during the eight or
nine centuries that elapsed between them.²

KHOLVI.

Twenty-two miles south-east from Dhamnâr is another
series of caves not so extensive, but interesting as being
probably the most modern group of Buddhist caves in India.
No complete account of them has yet been published,³ but
enough is known to enable us to feel sure how modern they are.
There are between forty and fifty excavations here, mostly
small, and in three groups on the south, east, and north sides
of the hill—the principal caves being on the south face. The
most marked feature about them is the presence of some seven
stûpas or dâgâbas with square bases, in all the larger of which
shrines have been hollowed out for images. One, called Arjun's
House, is a highly ornamented dâgaba, originally apparently
some 20 ft. in height, but the upper part being in masonry has

¹ In Gen. Cunningham's 'Archaeo-
logical Reports,' vol. ii. the plates 78-83,
for Dhamnâr, and 84 for Kholvi, are on
too small a scale to be of much use. There
are errors also in the plan, as in repre-
senting nine cells on the west of the larger
chaitya instead of six; the façade on
plate 80 belongs, not to "Bhim's bazar,"
but to the "Great Kacheri," as on plate
79; the pillars of the verandah in No. 11
(p. 273) are not "3 ft." in height, but
about 5 ft. 8 in.
² A complete survey of the Dhamnâr
and Kholvi excavations has not been
published, and they present peculiarities
that only a fully detailed survey would
enable us to understand.
³ 'Journal of Bombay Branch Royal
fallen away. Inside this is a cell-open to the front, in which is a cross-legged seated figure of Buddha, showing an approach to the Hindús mode of treating images in their temples, which looks as if Buddhism was on the verge of disappearing.

The same arrangement is repeated in the only excavation here which can be called a chaitya hall. It is only 26 ft. by 13 ft. internally; but the whole of the dāgaba, which is 8 ft. in diameter, has been hollowed out to make a cell, in which an image of Buddha is enshrined. The dāgabas, in fact,—here there are three standing by themselves—have become temples, and only distinguishable from those of the Hindús by their circular forms.1

It is probably hardly necessary to say more on this subject now, as most of the questions, both of art and chronology, will be again touched upon in the next chapter when describing the vihāras which were attached to the chaityas, and were, in fact, parts of the same establishments. As mere residences, the vihāras may be deficient in that dignity and unity which characterises the chaityas, but their number and variety make up to a great extent for their other deficiencies; and altogether their description forms one of the most interesting chapters in our history.

GUNTUPALLE.

At Jilliherigudem near Guntupalle in the Godāvari district, about 20 miles north from Elor, are a dozen or more buried stūpas, and there are caves at five or six different places. These were surveyed by Mr A. Rea in 1887, when he partly excavated one of the mounds which contained a stone stūpa having a drum 18 ft. in diameter and about 7 ft. high, with a dome of about 15 ft. diameter, of which the upper part only seemed to have been disturbed. Near by were the broken shafts of what probably had been a large pillared hall or mandapa.

Two groups of the caves here have been destroyed by hewing away the partition walls between them. Of the others the largest group contains a number of cells of quite limited dimensions—5 to 6 ft. by 7 or 8 ft. They face south-east, and at the south-west end are four cells opening from a verandah with a vaulted roof, one cell being at the left end and three behind—the central one being set 4½ ft. farther back than the other two. Close to these is another verandah with a vaulted roof and two cells opening off it and a vaulted

1 The particulars of the architecture of these caves are taken from Gen. Cunningham's report above alluded to, vol. ii. pp. 280-288.
passage between them leading to the third cell. Next are three more cells grouped by the sides of a vaulted room about 8 ft. 6 in. by 9 ft. 6 in.; but beyond this most of the cells are almost destroyed.

The only ornamentation on these caves is the "chaitya window" over the doors and some of the windows as we find it in the verandah at Bedsâ (Woodcut No. 65), with three curved lattices, and the terminal above is a circular knob. But the door jambs, curiously enough, splay outwards or make the openings widest above; they appear also to have been fitted with wooden posts and lintels. Over the windows and inside doorways only, the projecting horseshoe arch was carved, whilst two of the principal doors had arched heads.

About a hundred yards south from these monks' cells, on the brow of the hill in which they are excavated, is a circular cave, like that at Junnar (Woodcut 80, p. 158), containing a dâgaba. This cave is 18 ft. in diameter and 14 ft. 9 in. high, and the drum of the dâgaba is 3 ft. 9 in. high with a diameter of 12 ft. at the floor; its dome is hemispherical and of 4 ft. 7 in. radius. Upon it is left a knob, as if part of the staff of an umbrella, but, perhaps, it is only a fragment of the original capital which has been hewn away to convert it into the Saiva Lingam for which it is now worshipped. The dome of the roof is elliptical, rising 7 ft. 3 in. in the centre, and is carved with sixteen radiating curved ribs on which four concentric circular rafters are represented as resting. At Junnar these were probably of wood, and have long ago
disappeared. In front of the cave is a vestibule about four yards long with vaulted roof—a thin wall separating it from the shrine, and in this a drip or representation of part of the roof of the cave comes down above as in the Sudāma cave (Woodcut No. 53). The entrance of the vestibule is 8 ft. 6 in. wide below and quite a foot more at the arched head, whilst the façade over it as will be seen in the woodcut (No. 87) is carved with a horse-shoe arch, bearing a rude resemblance to that of the Lomas Rishi cave, and projecting about 14 in.\(^1\)

The structural stūpas and remains of Buddhist sculptures found about them warrant us in attributing these rock excavations to that religious body; and the style of the apartments and of the chaitya cave, compared with the similar remains at Junnar, seem to refer us to an early period, before large vihāra halls were required. Such considerations lead us to ascribe these remains to a date about 200 B.C.

\(^1\) The editor owes to Mr Rea the use of the drawings he made of these Guntupalle or Jilligerigudem caves. The above account is based on his reports in Madras G. O., Nos. 181 and 457 of 1888.—Sketch plans and sections were published in the Journal of the R. Asiatic Society.\(^1\) New ser. vol. xix., pp. 508-511.