CHAPTER VI.
VIHÁRAS, OR MONASTERIES.

CONTENTS.

STRUCTURAL VIHÁRAS.

A Vihára,¹ properly speaking is a residence or dwelling, whether for a monk or an image; and a group of apartments for a community of monks is, strictly speaking a Sangháráma or monastery. The word Vihára, however, like Dágaba, came from Ceylon, where it was used to designate not only a cell but also any monastic establishment,² and this extended application has come to be generally understood by us; and with this explanation we employ it.

We are almost more dependent on rock-cut examples for our knowledge of the Viháras or monasteries of the Buddhists than we are for that of their Chaityas or churches; a circumstance more to be regretted in this instance than in the other. In a chaitya hall the interior is naturally the principal object, and where the art of the architect would be principally lavished. Next would come the façade. The sides and apse are comparatively insignificant and incapable of ornament. The façades and the interior can be as well expressed in the rock as when

¹ As immediately to be explained, “Viháras” is applied only to monasteries, the abodes of monks or hermits. It was not, however, used in former times in that restricted sense only. Híuen Tsiang calls the Great Tower at Bodh-Gayá a vihára, and describes similar towers at Nálanda, 200 and 300 ft. high, as viháras. The “Maháwansa” also applies the term indiscriminately to temples of a certain class, and to residences. The name was used to distinguish them from stúpas or towers, which were relic shrines, or erected as memorials of persons or events, and never were residences or simulated to be such, or contained images, till the last gasp of the style as at Kholvi. Strictly speaking, the monasteries ought to be called Sanghárámas, but, to avoid multiplication of terms, vihára ¹ was used in this work as the synonym of monastery.
² So also in Nepal it is applied to monasteries.—Oldfield’s “Sketches from Nepal,” vol. ii. pp. 275ff.
standing free; but the case is different with the vihāras. A
court or hall surrounded with cells is not an imposing archi-
tectural object. Where the court has galleries two or three
storeys in height, and the pillars that support these are richly
carved, it may attain an amount of picturesqueness we find in
our old hostels, or of that class of beauty that prevails in the
courts of Spanish monasteries. Such was, I believe, the form
many of the Indian structural vihāras may have taken, but
which could hardly be repeated in the rock; and, unless some
representations are discovered among the paintings or sculptures,
we shall probably never know, though we may guess, what the
original appearances may have been.

There was, however, I believe, another form of Vihāra even
less capable of being repeated in the rock. It was pyramidal,
and is the original of all the temples of southern India. Take,
for instance, a description of the Sanghārāma mentioned both
by Fah Hian and Hsiu Tsiang,¹ though neither of them, it must
be confessed, ever saw it, which accounts in part for some
absurdities in the description: — "The building," says Fah-Hian,
"has altogether five storeys. The lowest is shaped with
elephant figures, and has 500 stone cells in it; the second is
made with lion shapes, and has 400 chambers; the third is
made with horse shapes, and has 300 chambers; the fourth
is made with ox shapes, and has 200 chambers; and the fifth
is made with dove shapes, and has 100 chambers in it" — and
the account given of it by Hsiu Tsiang is practically the
same. At first sight, and especially in the earlier translations,
this looks wild enough; but if we understand by it that the
several storeys were adorned with elephants, lions, horses, etc.,
we get a mode of decoration which began at Kārlê where a
range of elephants adorns the lower storey, and was continued
with variations to Halebid, where, as we shall see further on,
all these five animals are, in the 13th century, superimposed
upon one another exactly as here recounted.

The woodcut (No. 89) on next page, taken from one of the
raths at Māmallapuram or "Seven Pagodas," probably correctly
represents such a structure, and I believe also the form of a
great many ancient vihāras in India. The diagram (No. 90)
is intended to explain what probably were the internal arrange-
ments of such a structure. As far as it can be understood
from the rock-cut examples we have, the centre was occupied
by halls of varying dimensions according to height, supported

¹ Beal's "Buddhist Records," vol. i.
1 Introd. p. 69, and vol. ii., pp. 214f.;
p. 102. This monastery was probably at
Sri Sailam, on the Krishnā river. The
present Hindū temple will be noticed at
the end of Book III., chapter iv., p. 408.
Dharmarāja Rath at Māmallapuram. (From a Photograph.)

Diagram explanatory of the arrangement of a Buddhist Vihāra of Four Storeys in Height.
by wooden posts above the ground-floor, and used as the common day-rooms of the monks. The sleeping-cells (Woodcuts Nos. 91, 92) were apparently on the terraces, and may have been such as are frequently represented in the bas-reliefs at Bharaut and from Gandhāra. Alternately they seem to have been square and oblong, and with smaller apartments between. Of course we must not take too literally a representation of a monastery, carried out solidly in the rock for a different purpose, as an absolutely correct representation of its original. The importance, however, of this form, as explaining the peculiarities of subsequent Buddhist and Dravidian architecture, is so great that it is well worth quoting here, though this will be more evident in the sequel than it can be at present. In construction the breadth, in a structural building, would probably have been greater in proportion to the height than in this example, but that is of little consequence for our present purposes.

It is, of course, always difficult, sometimes impossible, to realise the form of buildings from verbal descriptions only, and the Chinese Pilgrims were not adepts at architectural definitions. Still Hiuen Tsiang’s description of the great Nālanda monastery is important, and so germane to our present subject that it cannot well be passed over.

This celebrated monastery, which was the Monte Casino of India for the first five centuries of our era, was situated at the modern Barāgāon, 34 miles south-south-west of Pātna, and 7 miles north of the old capital of Rājagrīha. If not founded under the auspices of the celebrated Nāgārjuna about the 1st century A.D., he at all events resided there, introducing the Mahāyāna or “great translation,” and making it the seat of that school for Central India. After his time six successive kings had built as many vihāras on this spot, when one of them surrounded the whole with a high wall, which can still be traced, measuring 1600 ft. north and south, by 400 ft., and enclosing eight separate courts. Externally to this enclosure were numerous stūpas or tower-like vihāras, ten or twelve of which are easily recognised, and have been identified, with more or less certainty, by General Cunningham, from the Pilgrim’s description. The general appearance of the
place may be gathered from the following:—"In the different courts the houses of the monks were each four storeys in height. The pavilions had pillars ornamented with dragons, and had beams resplendent with all the colours of the rainbow—rafters richly carved—columns ornamented with jade, painted red and richly chiselled, and balustrades of carved open work. The lintels of the doors were decorated with elegance, and the roofs covered with glazed tiles of brilliant colours, which multiplied themselves by reflection, and varied the effect at every moment in a thousand manners." Or as he enthusiastically sums up:—"The Sanghârâmas of India are counted by thousands, but there are none equal to this in majesty or richness, or the height of their construction." ¹

From what we know of the effects of Burmese monasteries at the present day this is probably no exaggeration; and with its groves of Mango-trees, and its immense tanks, which still remain, it must have been, as he says, "an enchanting abode." Here there resided in his time—within and without the walls—10,000 priests and neophytes, and religion and philosophy were taught from a hundred chairs, and here consequently our Pilgrim sojourned for five years, imbibing the doctrines of the Law of Buddha. What Cluny and Clairvaux were to France in the Middle Ages, Nâlânâda was to Central India, the depository of all true learning, and the foundation from which it spread over all the other Buddhist lands; but still, as in all instances connected with that strange parallelism which existed between the two religions, the Buddhists kept five centuries in advance of the Roman Church in the invention and use of all the ceremonies and forms common to both religions.

It would indeed be satisfactory if the architecture of this celebrated monastery could be restored and its arrangements made clear. Something has been done by Cunningham ² towards this, and excavations were made by Mr. Broadley and Captain Marshall. The former, it is feared, destroyed more than he restored, and his drawings are so imperfect as to be utterly unintelligible. The latter did not publish his discoveries. Nothing, however, would probably better repay a systematic exploration than this celebrated spot, if undertaken by some one experienced in such researches, and qualified to make detailed architectural drawings of what is found.

If, however, it should turn out, as hinted above, that the whole of the superstructure of these vihârâs was in wood, either fire or natural decay may have made such havoc among

¹ 'Hiouen Thsang,' tome i. p. 151; or Beal's 'Life of Hiuen Tsiang,' p. 111. ² 'Archæological Reports,' vol. i. pp. 28-36, plate 16.
all that remains of them, as to leave little to reward the labours of the explorer. What has been done in this direction certainly affords no great encouragement to hope for much. At Sultanganj, near Monghyr, a large vihāra was cut through by the railway, but except one remarkable bronze statue of Buddha\textsuperscript{1} nothing was found of importance. The monastery apparently consisted of two large courtyards surrounded by cells. What was found, however, could only have been the foundations, as there were no doorways to the apartments or means of communication between each other or with the exterior.\textsuperscript{2}

The vihāra excavated by Captain Kittoe and Mr. Thomas, at Sārnāth, seems certainly to have been destroyed by fire. All that remained was a series of some twenty cells and four larger halls surrounding a pillared court 50 ft. square. On one side were three cells evidently forming a sanctuary, as is frequently found in the later rock-cut examples.\textsuperscript{3}

The excavations conducted by General Cunningham, at the same place, were hardly more satisfactory in their result. The two buildings he explored seem to bear the relation to one another of a vihāra 60 ft. square over all, and the temple of little more than half these dimensions with a projecting porch on each face.\textsuperscript{4} Only the foundation of these buildings now remains, and nothing to indicate how they were originally finished. The like is doubtless the condition of the extensive excavations made by the Archæological Survey during the last four years at Kasiā in Gorakhpur district as well as at Sārnāth. But no detailed account of the results has yet been made available, and short notices, without plans, are very unsatisfactory, if not occasionally unintelligible. Foundations of numerous temples, stūpas and other buildings, we learn, were laid bare, and interesting sculptures and inscriptions discovered.\textsuperscript{5}

We may eventually hit on some representation which may enable us to form definite ideas on this subject, but till we do this we probably must be content with the interiors as seen in the rock-cut examples.

BENGAL CAVES.

None of the Bihār caves can, properly speaking, be called vihāras, in the sense in which the word is generally used, except perhaps the Son-bhandar cave, which was probably a Jaina or

\textsuperscript{1} In private hands in Birmingham in 1876.

\textsuperscript{2} \textit{Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,} vol. xxxiii. pp. 361 et seqq.

\textsuperscript{3} \textit{Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,} vol. xxxiii. pp. 469 et seqq.

\textsuperscript{4} For this and the other Sārnāth remains see Cunningham's 'Archæological Reports,' vol. i. pp. 114 et seqq., plates 32-34.

\textsuperscript{5} \textit{Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,} 1907, pp. 995ff. See Note below, p. 207.
Ajivika excavation. It is a plain rectangular cave, 33 ft. 9 in. long by 17 ft. wide, and 11 ft. 7 in. to the springing of the curved roof (Woodcuts Nos. 93 and 94). It has one door and one window, but both—like the rest of the cave—without mouldings or any architectural features that would assist in determining its age. The jambs of the doorway slope slightly inwards, but not sufficiently to give an idea of great antiquity. In front there was a wooden verandah, the mortice holes for which are still visible in the front wall, as shown in the woodcut No. 95. Such wooden verandahs were probably common, as they were attached to many of the caves at Kanheri. As mentioned above, if the inscription is as early as the excavation, it may be several centuries later than the Barabar caves; the cave may, however, be earlier than the inscription.  

The other Son-bhandar cave is about 30 ft. "to the right

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1 A detailed account of these Bengal caves is given in Gen. Sir A. Cunningham’s ‘Archaeological Reports,’ vol. i. pp. 25-27, 40-53, and vol. iii. pp. 140-144; but his drawings are on too small a scale, however, and too rough to show all that is wanted.—‘Cave Temples of India,’ pp. 37-46.
of the larger one, and is in all respects similar, except that its dimensions are only 22 ft. by 17 ft., and the roof has fallen in. Between the two a mass of rock is left in order to admit of a stair being cut in it leading to the surface of the rock above; but what stood on the platform there has not been investigated.

The other caves, at Barābar and Nāgārjuni, if not exactly chaityas in the sense in which that term is applied to the western caves, were at least oratories, places of prayer and worship, rather than residences. One Ajivika ascetic may have resided in them, but for the purpose of performing the necessary services. There are no separate cells in them, nor any division that can be considered as separating the ceremonial from the domestic uses of the cave, and they must consequently, for the present at least, be classed as chaityas rather than vihāras.

The case is widely different when we turn to the caves in Orissa, which are among the most interesting, though at the same time the most anomalous, of all the caves in India. With possibly one or two exceptions belonging to other sects, they were evidently excavated for the Jains. Till comparatively recently, however, they were mistaken for Buddhist, but this they clearly never were; hence they must be described in a subsequent section of this work (Book V. chapter ii., in Vol. ii.).

Western Vihāra Caves.

The oldest cave in western India is probably a small vihāra to the west of the Bhājā group, which is unique of its kind. It faces north and consists of a verandah 17½ ft. in length by 7 ft. wide at the east end and 9½ ft. at the west, with a hall, also of somewhat irregular form, 16 ft. deep by 16 ft. 7 in. across, exclusive of a bench 21 in. broad along the east side. The accompanying plan (Woodcut No. 96) will show the arrangement of the four cells entering from the hall and one from the verandah, in three of which are stone beds; besides, there are three cells, or cubicles, with a separate entrance outside the verandah to the left, each with its stone bed—usually an indication of early date.

VOL. I.
The notable feature, however, are the sculptures of the cave: a pillar and pilaster in the east end of the verandah have the bell-shaped quasi-Persepolitan capitals we find on some of the Aśoka lāṭs, and which became more Indianised in detail at Bedsā, Kārlē, and elsewhere; the figures that surmount these are here of exceptional form, being human female busts on bovine bodies (Woodcut No. 97). The jambs of the cell doorways slope inwards, and the walls above and between them are ornamented with the chaitya window pattern. On each wall are three deep niches roofed by three chaitya arches; and between those on the east side, corresponding to the cell doors opposite, are two panels containing standing figures or guards, each with a staff or spear and peculiar head-dresses. In the verandah are three others in very unusual and elaborate costumes and head-dresses; one holding two arrows and another a bow. And on the west end of the verandah is a large sculpture, divided by the cell door. On one side we have Śūrya and his two wives, in his chariot drawn (as in the Greek mythology) by four horses, and apparently accompanied by two guards on horseback, with what may be meant for demons of darkness below the horses; the other half represents two large figures on an elephant, with many smaller ones below and around, and two sacred trees. In the verandah of the Ananta Gumphā at Khandagirī and at Bodh-Gayā are also found representations of Śūrya, and on the Lahore Lōtā both parts of this sculpture are represented with but slight differences.¹ Are these traces of the Śūryopāsakas or Saurapātas, the sun-worshippers, who were long an influential sect in India,² or how are we to account for such sculptures?

Besides this, among the Buddhist caves of western India there are at least six or seven vihāras which we know for certain were excavated before the Christian Era. There are

¹ This cave has been pretty fully illustrated in 'Cave Temples,' pp. 513-517, and plates 96-98; 'Archaeological Survey of Western India,' vol. iv. pp. 3-6, and plate 6; and in Le Bon's 'Les Monuments de l'Inde,' p. 42.
² The five orthodox divisions of Hindūs are the Saivas, Vaishnavas, Saktis, Saurapātas, and Gānapatyas, but the last two are of very limited extent, though sun-worship is still found among the Kāthis and other tribes in Gujarāt.—'Archeological Survey Western India,' vol. ix. pp. 728; Beal, 'Buddhist Records,' vol. i. p. 223; vol. ii. pp. 188, 274; Al-Beruni's 'India,' Sachau's trans., vol. i. pp. 116, 121, 298; and 'Bombay Gazetteer,' vol. ix. part i. pp. 257, 393.
possibly forty, but the evidences are not so clear as to enable us to feel confident in affixing dates to them. The few that are known are those attached to the chaityas at Bhâjâ and Bedsâ (Woodcuts Nos. 58, 63), the two oldest at Ajantâ, Nos. 12 and 13, and those at Nâsik, Pîtalkhorâ, and Kondâné. Those at Kârlé also, but they have been altered and enlarged, and are much destroyed by the rock falling away, so that it would be difficult to describe them;¹ they are excavated in two or three storeys, and the earlier portions are without ornamentation, but almost certainly coeval with the chaitya itself. At Junnar there are several, which are very old, and at Sânâ, Junâgadh and Tâlajâ, in Gujarât, there are numbers of very ancient date.²

One of the oldest of these is that attached to Bhajâ (ante, Woodcut No. 58). It is five-celled; three of these have single stone beds in them, one is double-bedded, and one is without that uncomfortable piece of furniture. In front of these are two long stone benches at either end of a hall 33 ft. in length. It is not clear whether this hall was always open as at present; but, if it was closed, it was by a wooden screen like the chaitya beside it, which is undoubtedly of the same age. They are indeed parts of one design. The same may be said of the Bedsâ vihâra, though placed a little further apart. In this case, however, there are three cells with stone beds in the verandah of the chaitya, and a fourth was commenced, when apparently it was determined to remove the residence a little further off, and no instance, I believe, occurs afterwards in which they were so conjoined, till at least a very late date, as, perhaps, at Dhamnâr (Woodcut No. 86), all the parts got again confounded together. As will be seen from the plan (Woodcut No. 63) it is exceptional in form, being apsidal like the chaitya itself. It is not clear whether this is a copy of any existing wooden erection, or whether it was that, being the first attempt at an independent vihâra in the rock, they thought it ought to resemble a chaitya in plan. My impression is that the latter is the true explanation; such an arrangement in a free-standing structure intended for a residence would be absurd, but we are here assisting at the "incunabula" of the style, and must not be surprised at anomalies.

No. 12 at Ajantâ is a square hall, measuring 36 ft. 8 in. each way. It has no pillars, and its only ornament consists of horse-

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¹ For a detailed account and plans of these vihâras, see "Cave Temples," pp. 240ff., and plate 9; and "Archaeological Survey of Western India," vol. iv. p. 25, and plate 13.
² At Sânâ, about 20 miles north-east of Diu, are sixty-two caves, of which three are chaitya temples; and at Tâlajâ, 30 miles south of Goghâ, are about thirty more. They are all very plain, with scarcely any sculpture, and are probably as early as any in western India.
³ "Archaeological Survey of Western India," vol. ii. pp. 147-150.
shoe-arches over the doors of the twelve cells, with a band of connecting rail-pattern and pairs of smaller arches over recesses between. The cells have each two stone beds, and altogether this vihāra bears so close a resemblance to the one at Bhâjâ, as also to the smaller one, No. 14 at Nâsik, and to that at Kondânē as to assign it to a very early place among those here, and coeval with the chaitya No. 10. Unfortunately, the rock over its front has given way, and carried with it the façade, which probably was the most ornamental part of the design.

Close to No. 12 is cave 13, which may be as old as anything at Ajantâ, but its front also has fallen away, and we have left only a hall 13½ ft. wide by 16½ ft. surrounded by seven cells—in all of which are the stone couches or beds characteristic of the cells of an early age. No decorative feature appears on its walls.

The most marked characteristic of the early vihâras on the western side of India—if we except the Sûrya cave at Bhâjâ, which is not Buddhist—is that, unlike their eastern Jaina contemporaries, they are wholly devoid of figure-sculpture: no bassi-rilievo, not even an emblem, relieves the severity of their simplicity. Over the doorways of the cells there are the usual horse-shoe arches, copied from the windows of the great chaityas, and the invariable Buddhist rail repeated everywhere as a stringcourse, with an occasional pillar or pilaster to relieve the monotony.

The curious difference between the exuberance of figure-sculpture in the east and its total absence in the west in the pre-Christian Era caves, can only be ascribed to the different religions to which they respectively belong. Looking, however, at the progress made of late years in these subjects, there may possibly be further reasons for this difference which, when analysed, will throw fresh light on the early history of Jainism and Buddhism. Meanwhile, it may be worthy of remark, that the only living representation that is common to both sides of India, is the presence of the three-headed Nâga on the façade of the Nâsik chaitya (Woodcut No. 66), and its appearance in a similar position on the Chulakama or Sarpa and Ananta caves at Udayagiri in Orissa. It points to a prominent feature in early Buddhist and Jaina mythology, which was probably encouraged by cognate or identical legends respecting Sâkyamuni and Pârśvanâth. Besides this the three, five, or seven-headed Nâga occurs so frequently at Bharaut, Sâuchi and elsewhere, that his presence here cannot be called a distinctive peculiarity.

Cave No. 11 at Ajantâ is much in advance of Nos. 12 and 13, there being four pillars in its centre (Woodcut No. 98). It has seven cells inside, but the sanctuary is so arranged as to suggest that a cell in the back had been cut through to make
room for it—and thus it may be of much later date than the
cave; the sculptures in the verandah also are not of an early
age. A small cell is excavated high
up in the side wall of the shrine—an
arrangement not found in any other of
the caves here. The hall is 37 ft. by
28, and 10 ft. high; the four octagonal
columns are of unusually clumsy style,
from which it has been inferred that this
was one of the earliest examples of the
introduction of pillars into vihâras; and
the close proximity to the early chaitya
No. 10 was thought to countenance this.
On further consideration, however, it
appears that this cave, in its present
form, must be placed considerably later
than caves 12 and 13, and dating after
the Christian Era.

The next step after the introduction of four pillars to
support the roof,¹ as in cave No. 11 at Ajantâ (Woodcut No. 98),
was to introduce twelve pillars
for this purpose, there being no
intermediate number which would
divide by four, and admit of an
opening in the centre of every
side. This arrangement is shown
in the Woodcut (No. 99), represen-
ting the plan of the cave No. 2
at Ajantâ. Before this stage of
cave architecture had been reached,
the worship had degenerated con-
siderably from its original form;
and these larger caves always
possess a sanctuary containing
an image of Buddha. There are
sometimes, besides this, as in the
instance under consideration, two
side chapels, like those in Catholic churches, containing images
of subordinate saints, or probably of donors or benefactors.

The next and most extensive arrangement of these square
monastery-caves is that in which twenty pillars are placed in the
floor, so as to support the roof, six on each side, counting the
corner pillars twice. There are several of these large caves at

¹ Among the very early caves (prob-
ably Jaina) at Junâgâdhi are examples of
a cave with four, and of another with one
pillar supporting the roof. — 'Archae-
ological Survey of Western India,' vol. ii.
pp. 139-140, and plate 17.
Ajantā and elsewhere; one at Bāgh, in Mālwā, measuring 82 ft. by 80, represented in the woodcut (No. 100), has, besides the ordinary complement, four additional pillars in the centre; these were introduced evidently in consequence of the rock not being sufficiently homogeneous and perfect to support itself without this additional precaution; and there is a Jaina cave at Dhārāsimvā in the Dekhan, which has, in the centre—a square of twelve additional pillars.¹

These— which might be classed, according to the terms used in Greek architecture, as a style, when having no pillars; distyle, when with two pillars in each face; tetrastyle, with four; and hexastyle with six—form the leading and most characteristic division of these excavations, and with slight modification are to be found in all the later series.

The forms, however, of many are so various and so abnormal that it would require a far more extended classification to enable us to describe and include them all. In many instances the great depth of the cave which this square arrangement required

¹ 'Cave Temples,' pp. 503ff. and plate 93; 'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. iii. pp. 4-9, and plate 2.
was felt to be inconvenient; and a more oblong form was adopted, as in the so-called Darbâr cave at Kanheri (Woodcut No. 101), where, besides, the sanctuary is projected forward, and assists, with the pillars, to support the roof. In some examples this is carried even further, and the sanctuary, standing boldly forward to the centre of the hall, forms in reality the only support. This, however, is a late and Brahmanical arrangement, and must be considered more as an economical than an architectural improvement. Indeed by it the dignity and beauty of the whole composition are almost entirely destroyed.

NÂSIK VIHÂRAS.

The two most interesting series of caves for the investigation of the history of the later developments of the Vihâra system, are those at Nâsik and Ajantâ. The latter is by far the most extensive, consisting of twenty-six first-class caves, four of which are chaityas. The former group numbers, it is true, seventeen excavations, but only six or seven of these can be called first-class, and it possesses only one chaitya. The others are small excavations of no particular merit or interest. Ajantâ has also the advantage of retaining a considerable portion of the paintings which once adorned the walls of all vihâras erected subsequently to the Christian Era, while these have almost entirely disappeared at Nâsik, though there seems very little doubt that the walls of all the greater vihâras there were once so ornamented. This indeed was one of the great distinctions between them and the earlier primitive cells of the monks before the Christian Era. The Buddhist church between Asoka and Kanishka was in the same position as that of Christianity between Constantine and Gregory the Great. It was the last-named pontiff who inaugurated the pomp and ceremonial of the Middle Ages. It might, therefore, under certain circumstances be expedient to describe the Ajantâ vihâras first; but they are singularly deficient in well-preserved inscriptions containing recognisable names. Nâsik, on the other hand, is peculiarly rich in this respect, and the history of the series can be made out with very tolerable approximative certainty.¹

¹ These inscriptions were first copied by Lieut. Brett, and published with translations by Dr. Stevenson, in the fifth volume of the 'Journal Bombay Branch of the R. Asiatic Society,' pp. 39 et seqg., plates 1 to 16. They were afterwards revised by Messrs E. W. and A. A. West, in the seventh volume of the same journal, pp. 37, et seqg., and translated by Professor Bhandârkar in the 'Transactions of the International Congress of Orientalists,' 1874. A revised translation was made by Professor G. J. Bühler, and published in the 'Archaeological Survey of Western India,' vol. iv. pp. 98-116; and they have lastly been revised by Mons. É. Senart in 'Epigraphia Indica,' vol. viii. (1905), pp. 59-96, in which, however, he has adopted a different numeration of the caves from that in common use.
The chaitya cave was, as above stated, commenced about 160 years before Christ, and the vihāra of the same age attached to it, is the small one (No. 14) close to it, and on a lower level than those now on each side of it, and consequently more likely to be what we are looking for than they are. It is a simple square hall measuring 14 ft. each way, with two square cells in three of its sides, the fourth opening on a verandah with two octagon pillars in front. The only ornament of the interior is a horse-shoe arch over each cell door, connected by a simple Buddhist rail. In every detail it is in fact identical with the two old vihāras Nos. 13 and 12 at Ajantā, and it bears an inscription of Krishna Rāja, who seems almost certainly to be the second of the Andhrabhṛitya race, and who probably ascended the throne about B.C. 170, and ruled for 18 years. The architectural details accord perfectly with those of the chaitya, and the age ascribed to it.

Turning from these, which practically belong to the last chapter rather than to this, the interest is centred in three great vihāras, the oldest of which (No. 8) bears the name of Nahapāna (Woodcut No. 102), the second (No. 3) that of Gautamīputra, and the third (No. 15) that of Śrī Yajna, — if our chronology is correct, their dates are thus fixed as about A.D. 100, 130, and 180.

The two principal vihāras at Nāsik, Nos. 3 and 8, are so similar in dimensions and in all their arrangements, that it is almost impossible to distinguish between their plans on paper. They are both square halls measuring more than 40 ft. each side, without any pillars in the centre, and are surrounded on three sides by sixteen cells of nearly the same dimensions. On the fourth or front side is a six-pillared verandah, in the one case with a cell at each end, in the other with only one cell, which is the most marked distinction between the two plans. The architecture, too, is in some respects so similar that we can hardly hesitate in assuming that the one is an intentional copy of the other. It is in fact the problem of the great cave at Kanheri, being a copy of that at Kārlē repeated here.¹ Only the difference in age between the two chaityas being greater, the degradation in style is much greater than here, where it appears to be

¹ Ante, p. 162. See also plate 11 of my folio work on the ‘Rock-cut Temples,’ where the pillars of the two caves are contrasted as here.
little more than a generation, and may be largely due to workmen from a different province.

The pillars in the verandah of cave No. 8 (Woodcut No. 103), are so similar to those in the great Kârlê chaitya, that we might hesitate to ascribe any very lengthened interval between them; indeed we find inscriptions at Kârlê of the same Ushavadâta and his wife Dakhamitrâ, the daughter of Nahapâna,

who give two cells in the verandah of this cave in the years A.D. 119-123;¹ and as the inscriptions chiefly record endowments, this cave may have been excavated, for aught we know, a century or more before these donations were made and recorded. There

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¹ The dates in Ushavadâta’s inscriptions are 41, 42, and 45; and as Nahapâna, in a Junnar inscription, gives the date 46, the latter must have been alive at the earlier dates; and as the Kshatrapas use the Saka era, the Nâsik dates correspond to A.D. 119, 120 and 123.
are also minor differences in the proportions of the pillars and the execution of the figure sculptures, that may be indications of some difference of age. On the other hand, no vihâra on this side of India has a facade more richly ornamented than this. Those at Bhâjâ and Bedsâ are quite plain, and those around Kârlê, though richer, are inferior to this, so that on the whole the architectural evidence tends to confirm the date as subsequent to the Christian Era; and if so, then Kârlê may be of somewhat later date than had been previously ascribed to it.

The pillars of the Gautamiputra cave No. 3, as will be seen from the last woodcut (No. 104), have lost much of the elegance of those last described. How far this difference is to be ascribed to the first cave having been constructed under a Mâlwa architect, whilst the latter was probably executed by a Telugu or Dakhani, it is hard to say. Instead of the graceful bell-shaped Persian capitals, we have the pudding forms that afterwards became so prevalent. The shafts are straight posts, and have no bases, and the whole shows an inferiority not to be mistaken. The carved and sculptured doorway also belongs to a much less elegant style. Besides this, there are three things here which prove almost incontestably that it belongs to the same age as the Amarâvatî tope erected in the 2nd century—the rail in front, already given (Woodcut No. 37, p. 113), the pilaster at the end of the verandah, and the bas-relief of a dâgâba, which occupies the same position on the back wall in this cave that the Bhairava with the club now occupies in No. 8.1 It has the same attendants, and the same superfluity of umbrellas, as are found there, so that altogether the age of the excavation can hardly be considered doubtful.

Cave No. 12 is a small vihâra, the central hall being 32 ft. by 23 ft., and with only four cells on one side. It had never been finished, and considerable alterations have been attempted in its interior at some date long subsequent to its first excavation, apparently to adapt it to Hindû worship. Its verandah, however, consisting of two attached and two free-standing columns, is apparently of the same age as the Nahapâna cave No. 8. An inscription upon it states that it was excavated by "Indrâgnidatta, the Yavana, a northerner from Dattâmîtri."2 None of these names can be recognised, but they point to an age when foreigners, possibly of the Panjâb or Arakhosia, visited the Dekhan.

The great vihâra (No. 15) beyond the chaitya cave, and 12 ft. above its level, is one of the most important of the series, not

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1 This is not original, but is a figure of Bhairava formed out of what was originally a dâgâba similar to that in cave 3.—'Cave Temples,' p. 270, and plates 19-23.
2 'Epigraphia Indica,' vol. viii. p. 91.
only from its size, but from its ordinance and date (Woodcut No. 105). The hall is 61 ft. in depth by 37½ ft. wide at the outer end, increasing to 44 ft. at the inner, and with eight cells on each side. Originally it seems as if it had been only 40 ft. in depth, but at a later period was extended — perhaps by the lady Vâsu, mentioned in the inscription in the veranda. The addition forms its most marked peculiarity, which is that it has a regular sanctuary at its inner end, with two richly carved pillars in front (Woodcut No. 106), and within, a colossal figure of Buddha, seated, with flying and standing attendants, dwârpâls, dwarfs, and all the accompaniments usually found in the third and subsequent centuries belonging to the Mahâyâna school of Buddhism.

Fortunately we have in this cave an inscription containing a well-known name. It is said to have been completed by Vâsu, wife of the commander-in-chief of the king Sîrâyajna Sâtakarni, in that king's seventh year, after it had been excavated many years before by Vopaki, an ascetic, but had remained unfinished. We are not able to fix the exact year to which this date refers, but it does not seem doubtful that this king reigned in the last quarter of the 2nd century, and we consequently have in this cave a fixed point (about A.D. 185) on which to base our calculations for the period about that time. Further, over the doorway of the first cell on the left side is a short inscription, in letters of the 5th or 6th century, intimating the gift of a cave—perhaps only the cell—by a lay devotee Mammâ.1

Beyond this there is still another excavation, No. 17—it can hardly be called a vihâra—of very irregular shape, and covered with sculpture of a date perhaps four centuries more modern than that of the cave last described. Buddha is there represented in all his attitudes, standing or sitting, accompanied by chauri bearers, flying figures, dwarfs, etc. On one side is a colossal recumbent figure of him attaining Nirvâna, which is a sign of a comparatively modern date. Besides these, there are

1 'Archaeological Survey of Western India,' vol. iv. pp. 114 and 116; 'Epigraphia Indica,' vol. viii. pp. 93, 94.
Dnyāni Buddhās, Bodhisattvas, and all the modern pantheon of Buddhism, arranged in admired confusion, as in most of the modern caves. There is no inscription, but from its sculpture and the form of its pillars we may safely ascribe it to the last age of Buddhist art, say about the year 600 or later. The pillars approximate closely in style to those found at Elephanta, and in the Brahmanical caves at Ellurā, which, from other evidence, have been assigned to dates varying from 600 to 800 years of our era.

More has perhaps been said about the Nāsik caves than their architectural importance would seem at first sight to justify, but they are one of the most important of the purely Buddhist groups. Their great merit, however, is that they belong to one of the most important of the older Indian dynasties, known as the Andhrabhṛtyas, Sātakarnis, or Sātavāhanas. Owing to their coinage being mostly of lead, this dynasty was for long overlooked by numismatists and others, and could only be rehabilitated by their inscriptions and their architectural work, on which these are found inscribed. And labour on these materials has been rewarded by very important chronological results.

**Ajantā Vihāras**

As before mentioned, the central group of the four oldest caves at Ajantā forms the nucleus from which the caves radiate south-east and south-west—eight in one direction, and fourteen

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1 For further details, see ‘Cave Temples,’ pp. 263 to 279, and plates.
in the other. It seems, however, that there was a pause in the excavation of caves after the first great effort, and that they were then extended, for some time at least, in a south-west direction. Thus caves Nos. 14 to 20 form a tolerably consecutive series, without any violent break. After that, or it may be contemporaneously with the last named, may be grouped Nos. 8, 7, and 6; and, lastly, Nos. 21 to 26 at one end of the series, and Nos. 1 to 5 at the other, form the latest and most ornate group of the whole series.\footnote{The caves run in a semicircle along the north side of the Wágborâ torrent, which, after falling over the cliff here, makes a bend to the north. They were numbered consecutively, like houses in a street, beginning at the south-east end, the first cave there being No. 1, the last accessible cave at the western end being No. 26. For a plan of the group, see 'Archeological Survey of Western India,' vol. iv. plate 21.}

As above explained, four in the centre are certainly anterior to the Christian Era. One, No. 10, is certainly the oldest here, and may consequently be contemporary with the gateways at Sâñchi; and with it are associated Nos. 12 and 13. After this first effort, however, came the pause just alluded to, for Nos. 11, 14, and 15, which are the only caves we can safely assign to the next three centuries, are comparatively insignificant, either in extent or in richness of detail.

Leaving these, we come to two vihâras, Nos. 16 and 17, which are the most beautiful here, and, taken in conjunction with their paintings, probably the most interesting vihâras in India.

No. 16 is a twenty-pillared cave, measuring about 65 ft. each way (Woodcut No. 107), with sixteen cells and a regular sanctuary, in which is a figure of Buddha, seated, with his feet down. The general appearance of the interior may be judged of by the following woodcut (No. 108) in outline, but only a coloured representation in much greater detail could give an idea of the richness of effect produced by its decoration.\footnote{In Mr. Griffiths's 'Paintings in the Buddhist Cave Temples of Ajantâ,' plate 92, he gives a coloured view of the interior also of cave 1.} All
the walls are covered with frescoes representing scenes from the Buddhist jātakas, or from the legends of Buddha's life, and the roof and pillars by arabesques and ornaments, generally of great beauty of outline, heightened by the most harmonious colouring.

No. 17, which is very similar in plan, was long known as the Zodiac cave, from the figure of a Buddhist Bhava-chakra or 'wheel of life,' painted at the left end of its verandah, which was mistaken by early visitors for a celestial emblem. The general effect of its architecture internally may be gathered

1 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' 1894, p. 370 and plate; 'Man' for January 1901. Dr. Bird peeled off many of the figures.—'Cave Temples,' pp. 309fig.
from Woodcut No. 109 (from a photograph), or from the next woodcut (No. 110) representing one of its pillars to a larger scale, from which the curiously wooden construction of the roof will be better observed than from the photograph. It is, in fact, the usual mode of forming flat or terraced roofs at the present day throughout India, and which consequently does not seem to have varied from the 5th century at all events. As may be gathered from these illustrations, the pillars in these caves are almost indefinitely varied, generally in pairs, but no pillars in any one cave are at all like those in any other. In each cave, however, there is a general harmony of design and of form, which prevents their variety from being unpleasing. The effect, on the contrary, is singularly harmonious and satisfactory. The great interest of these two caves lies,
however, in their frescoes, which represent Buddhist legends on a scale and with a distinctness found nowhere else in India. The sculptures of Amarāvatī—which must be considerably earlier—are what most nearly approach them; but, as in most cases, painting admits of greater freedom and greater variety of incident than sculpture ever does, and certainly in this instance vindicates its claim to greater phonetic power. Many of the frets and architectural details painted on the roofs and pillars of these vihāras are also of great elegance and appropriateness, and, when combined with the architecture, make up a whole unrivalled in India for its ethnographic as well as for its architectural beauty.

Fortunately the age of these two caves is not altogether doubtful; there is a long inscription on each, much mutilated, it must be confessed, but of which

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1 For excellent illustrations of these, mostly in colour, see Mr. Griffith's 'Paintings in the Buddhist Cave Temples at Ajantā,' vol. ii.
enough can be made out to show that they were excavated under kings of the Vindhya-rakti race, one of whom, Pravarasena, whose name appears in the inscription on No. 16, married a daughter of a Mahârâja Devagupta. And though, as yet, we cannot fix a definite date for these princes, we may place the inscriptions epigraphically about A.D. 500, or possibly a little earlier.\(^1\) Hence we may approximately date these two caves in the end of the 5th century. They are thus considerably more modern than the Srî Yajna cave, No. 15, at Nâsik, which is the result we would expect to arrive at from their architecture and the form of their sanctuaries.

Their great interest, therefore, from a historical point of view, consists in their being almost unique specimens of the architecture and arts of India during the great Gupta period.

Nos. 18, 19, and 20 succeed this group, both in position and in style, and probably occupied the first half of the 6th century in construction, bringing down our history to about A.D. 550.

Before proceeding further in this direction, the cave-diggers seem to have turned back and excavated Nos. 8, 7, and 6. The last named is the only two-storeyed cave at Ajantâ, and would be very interesting if it were not so fearfully ruined by damp and decay, owing to the faulty nature of the rock in which it is excavated. No. 7 has a singularly elegant verandah, broken by two projecting pavilions. Internally, it is small, and occupied by a whole pantheon of Buddhas.\(^2\) It resembles somewhat No. 15 at Nâsik, with which it is perhaps nearly contemporary.

There still remain the first five caves at the south-east end, and the six last at the western: one of these is a chaitya, the other ten are vihâras of greater or less dimensions. Some are only commenced—and two—Nos. 4 and 24—which were intended to have been the finest of the series, are left in a very incomplete state: interesting, however, as showing the whole process of an excavation from its commencement to its completion. No. 4 is a 28-pillared cave, of which the hall is about 87 ft. square, and except the cells it is nearly finished; but No. 24, though the next largest, is planned with 20 pillars and a hall 73½ ft. wide by 75 ft. deep—but inside, only the front aisle has been advanced towards completion, the pillars in the back and sides being only roughly blocked out. The verandah, however, had been sculptured in a style showing

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1 'Archaeological Survey of Western India,' vol. iv. pp. 53, 128.
2 'Rock-cut Temples,' plate 8. For a fuller account and illustrations, see 'Cave Temples of India,' pp. 299-300, and plate 31; 'Archaeological Survey of Western India,' vol. iv. p. 52, and plates 27 and 28, fig. 1.
that it was intended to be one of the most highly finished monasteries in the group. The pillars of the façade, with one exception, are all destroyed: only the capitals, still attached to the roof, testify to the beauty of design and life and finish of the work. The woodcut No. I11 represents one of these bracket capitals, carved in much the same pattern as the others. The true capital having overhanging leaves, analogous to the Ionic volutes, and which forms so marked a feature in subsequent Indian architecture, seems first to have been perfected about the time this cave was excavated. It is so like in details to those in cave No. 3 at Aurangâbâd1 that there can be little hesitation in assigning them to the same age. The capitals, pillars, and pilasters in this and Nos. 1, 2, and 21 to 26, with the very similar ones at Aurangâbâd may be taken as the types of the last and most elaborate phase of Buddhist architectural decoration in Western India.

Caves Nos. 1 and 2 are among the most richly sculptured of the caves. The façade, indeed, of No. 1 is the most elaborate and beautiful of its class at Ajantâ, and, with the corresponding caves at the opposite end, conveys a higher idea of the perfection to which decorative sculpture had attained at that age than anything else at Ajantâ.2

1 "Archæological Survey of Western India," vol. iii. pp. 66, 69, and plates 44-47.
2 Curiously enough, on the roof of cave 1, there are four square compartments representing the same scene in different manners—a king, or very important personage, drinking out of a cup, with male and female attendants. What the story is, is not known, but the persons represented are not Indians, but Persians, and the costumes those of the Sasanian period.—See Mr. Fergusson "On the Identification of the Portrait of Chosroes II. among the Paintings in the Caves at Ajanta," in "Jour. R. Asiatic Society," vol. xi. (N.S.), pp. 155-170. Copies of these pictures by Mr. Griffiths were among those destroyed by fire in the India Museum at Kensington. — Griffiths' "Ajanta Paintings," vol. ii. plates 94, 95.
The woodcut No. 112, from a photograph of one of the pillars of the verandah of Cave 1, may help to illustrate the mode in which decoration is applied to them. The square base changes into an octagon, but the passage from the one to the other is broken by four little dwarf figures, who reappear on the capital for the same purpose. Above the octagon the shaft is adorned with spiral flutes of singularly pleasing design, bound together with bands of jewelled orna-
ments of great beauty. The capital is ornamented with an oblong bas-relief in the centre, containing a religious scene, as is the case with most of those in the cave, and is supported by flying figures on the brackets, as is also the case in many of the later caves. On the right front corner pillar in the hall the fluting is also spiral, but the twist is reversed in the upper section.

With the last chaitya, which belongs to this group, these caves carry our history down certainly into the 7th century. The work in the unfinished caves, I fancy, must have been arrested by the troubles which took place in Central India about the year 650, or shortly afterwards, and after which it is hardly probable that any Buddhist community would have leisure or means to carry out works, on such a scale at least, as these Ajantā vihāras.

It is, of course, impossible, without a much greater amount of illustration than is compatible with the nature of this work, to convey to those who have not seen them any idea of the various points of interest found in these caves; but the general reader will find a more detailed account in the volume on the 'Cave Temples of India,' supplemented in the 4th volume of the 'Archæological Survey of Western India.'

The fairly complete series of illustrations of the paintings as well as the architecture of these caves which we now possess, forms a valuable contribution to our knowledge, affording examples of Buddhist art, without admixture from any other religion, extending from the second century B.C. till the seventh, after our era; and besides illustrating the arts and feelings of those ages, they form a chronometric scale by which to judge of and synchronise other known series, with which, however, they differ in several important particulars. For instance, at Ajantā, there is no single example of those bell-shaped Persian capitals to pillars, with waterpot bases; nor is there any example of animals with riders crowning the capitals, such as are found at Bedsā, Kārlē, Nāsik, Salsette, Pitalkhorā, and elsewhere.

The earlier copies of the paintings were lost when the disastrous fire at the Crystal Palace, in December 1866, destroyed Major Gill's facsimiles of the paintings—some twenty-five of them—many of large size. Between 1872 and 1885 a serious effort,

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1 'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. iv. p. 49, and plate 18, fig. 2.
2 The fate of these very remarkable remains of early Indian art has been most unfortunate. The Royal Asiatic Society memorialised the Court of Directors in 1844, that an artist might be engaged to make accurate copies of the ancient frescoes referred to in Mr. Fergusson's account of the Ajantā Caves. This was promptly and generously approved by the Court, and Major Robert Gill spent about twelve years making copies of them; these were sent home from time to time, and were exhibited in the Sydenham Crystal Palace, where they were unfor-
however, was made by the Bombay Government to recover, as far as possible, this loss, and the publication of Mr Griffiths’ work on a portion of the results is a splendid addition to our materials.

BAGH.

At a distance of about 150 miles a little west of north from Ajantâ, and 30 miles west of Mandô, near a village of the name of Bâgh, in Mâlwâ, there exists a series of vihâras only little less interesting than the later series at Ajantâ. They are situated in a secluded ravine in the side of the range of hills that bounds the valley of the Narbâdâ on the north and were first visited or at least first described by Lieutenant Dangerfield, in the second volume of the ‘Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay’ (1818). They have since been described more in detail by Dr. Impey in the fifth volume of the ‘Journal Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society’ (1854). Unfortunately the plates that were to accompany that paper were not published with it, but from them and from his paper the principal details that follow have been gleaned.

The series consists of eight or nine vihâras, some of them of the largest class, but no chaitya hall, nor does any excavation of that class seem ever to have been attempted here. On the other hand, the larger vihâras seem to have had a Sâlâ or schoolroom attached to them, which may also have been employed, as Dr. Impey suggested, for religious service; but, like the Darbâr cave at Kanheri, it was more probably a Dharmasâlâ or refectory. The fact, however, that the sanctuaries of the vihâras generally have a dâgâba in them, instead of an image of Buddha, points to a distinction which may hereafter prove of value: possibly they belonged to a Hinayâna

tunately destroyed by fire in 1866—no photographs or coloured copies of them having been secured. Mr. Ferguson and the editor then called the attention of Government to the urgency of recopying what still remained—for visitors and the bats had destroyed much during the previous twenty or thirty years. Finally in 1872 a modest subsidy was provided to employ Mr. John Griffiths, of the Bombay Art School, with some of his students, to copy what was left. With a break of three years, this grant was renewed till 1885, after which the publication of the results was urged, but delayed; and again, out of 335 copies, 163 were destroyed and others damaged by a fire in South Kensington Museum, where they had been placed. Mr. Griffiths subsequently edited for Government a selection of the results,—‘The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave Temples at Ajanta,’ 1896, in two large folio volumes containing 156 plates, besides illustrations in the text.

A somewhat detailed account of the paintings was first published in ‘Notes on the Baudhâda Rock-Temples of Ajanta: their Paintings and Sculptures’ by the editor (Bombay, 1879), which was reproduced with some trifling verbal changes, in the ‘Bombay Gazetteer of Khandesh’ (1880), pp. 496-574; and appeared again, rearranged, in the ‘Aurangabad Gazetteer’ (1884), pp. 430-506. See also ‘Cave Temples,’ pp. 284-288, 291, 306-307, 310-315, and 326-336, and plates 29-43.
sec. On the whole, they are purer and simpler than the latest at Ajantâ, though most probably of a slightly earlier age.

The plan of one has already been given (p. 182), but it is neither so large nor architecturally so important as the great vihâra, shown in plan, Woodcut No. 113. Its great hall is about 96 ft. square, and would at Ajantâ rank as a twenty-eight pillared cave, like No. 4 there, but inside this are eight pillars ranged octagonally; and at a later age, apparently in consequence of some failure of the roof, the damaged portion was hewn out, making the central area higher than the rest of the hall, and four structural pillars—shaded lighter—were introduced. The architraves forming the inner sides of the octagon on the roof are carved with a double row of chaitya window ornaments.

The sâlâ connected with this vihâra measures 94 ft. by 44 ft., and the two are joined together by a verandah measuring 220 ft. in length, adorned by twenty free-standing pillars. At one time the whole of the back wall of this gallery and the inner walls of the vihâra were adorned with a series of frescoes, equalling in beauty and in interest those of Ajantâ. As in those at Ajantâ, the uninitiated would fail to trace among them any symptoms of Buddhism as generally understood. The principal subjects are processions on horseback, or on elephants. In the latter the number of women exceeds that of the men. Dancing and love-making are, as usual, prominently introduced, and only one small picture, containing two men, can be said to be appropriated to worship.
With one exception, no man or woman has any covering on their heads, and the men generally have the hair cropped short, and with only very small moustaches on the face. Some half-dozen are as dark as the Hindûs of the present day. The rest are very much fairer, many as fair as Spaniards, and nearly all wear coloured dresses.\footnote{It is much to be regretted that no attempt has yet been made to secure faithful copies of these interesting wall-paintings, which are fast perishing.}

We are not at present in a position to say, and may not for a long time be able to feel sure, who the races are that are represented in these frescoes or in those at Ajantâ. Certain of the figures are doubtless imaginary superhuman beings—Râkshasas, Yakshas, and the like, and the scenes are more or less ideal. The style of art, especially at Bâgh, is very similar to that of Persia at about the same date.

So far as the materials yet available indicate, the earliest of this group of caves could not well have been commenced much before A.D. 500; the date of the latest, if our chronology is correct, could not well be carried down much beyond 600, but a complete survey of them is required before we can decide with confidence.

Salsette.

One of the most extensive of all the groups of Indian caves is that generally known as the Kanheri Caves on the Island of Salsette between Bombay and Thânâ. The great chaitya cave there, as mentioned above, is only a bad copy of the Kârlê cave, and was excavated in the end of the 2nd century, and none of the vihâras seem to be much earlier. It may have been because it was an island that it remained undisturbed by the troubles of the mainland, and that the practice of excavating caves lasted longer here than in any series above described. Be this as it may, the caves here go straggling on till they fade by almost imperceptible degrees into those of the Hindû religion. The Hindû caves of Montpezir or Mandapesvar and Jogeśvar, and other Buddhist caves at Magathâna and Kondivêté, are so like them, and the change takes place so gradually, that it is sometimes difficult to draw the line between the two religions.

Although, therefore, we have not at Salsette any vihâras that can compare with those of Nâsik, Ajantâ, or Bâgh, yet because they range from the 2nd century to far into the 9th, and fade so gradually into the next phase, are they worthy of considerable attention.

As these caves are so near Bombay and Bassein, and so easily accessible, they early attracted attention, and were...
described by Portuguese visitors of the 16th century and by numerous travellers during the 18th. Daniell's assistants made a large number of drawings for him in 1795-1796, that were never published. Careful measured drawings were made of all of them by the brothers West in 1833-1839; but except the inscriptions and an account of excavations at cave 12, scarcely any of their work was published.

A plan of one has already been given (Woodcut No. 101). It is a two-storeyed vihāra, and one of the finest here, though it would not be considered remarkable anywhere else. Another, of which a representation is given in my 'Illustrations of the Rock-cut Temples,' plate 14, represents Avalokitēśvara with eleven heads—the only instance I know of in India, though it is common in Tibet in modern times. The others are generally cells, though a monograph of these caves would be a most valuable addition to our stock of knowledge of the development of Mahāyāna mythology, which is largely illustrated in their sculptures. Traces of painting have also been found in some of them.

Dhamnār and Kholvi.

There are no vihāras at either of these places, which can at all compare, either in dimensions or in interest, with those already described. The largest, at Dhamnār, is that already given in combination with the chaitya, Woodcut No. 86, p. 165, and, though important, is evidently transitional to another state of matters. Next to this is one called the 'Great Kacheri'; but it is only a six-celled vihāra, with a hall about 25 ft. square, encumbered by four pillars on its floor; and near the chaitya above alluded to is a similar hall, but smaller and without cells. At Kholvi there is nothing that can correctly be called a vihāra at all. There is, indeed, one large hall, called 'Bhim's house,' measuring 42 ft. by 22 ft.; but it has no cells, and is much more like what would be called a Sālā at Bāgh than a vihāra. The others are mere cells, of no architectural importance.

1 Niebuhr, 'Voyage en Arabie et d'autres pays circonvoisins,' 1776-1780. Most of the plates referring to these caves were reproduced by Langles in his 'Monuments d'Hindostan,' vol. ii. plates 77, et seqq.
2 Plates 53 and 54 in the volume upon the 'Cave Temples' are from this collection, which is now in the editor's possession, and might be published. For some account of the caves, see 'Cave Temples,' pp. 348-360, and plates; also 'Archaeological Survey of Western India,' vol. iv. pp. 70, 71, and plates 42, 43.
3 'Cave Temples,' plate 55, fig. 2, and p. 357; Schlagentin, 'Buddhismus in Thibet,' plate 3; Grünwedel, 'Mythologie des Buddhism in Tibet u. Mongolei,' S. 65.
4 The Kholvi group is situated more than 60 miles north of Ujjain, that of Dhamnār about 22 further north, and deeper into the Central Indian jungles.
5 Plans of these caves, with descriptions and some architectural details, will be found in Gen. Cunningham's 'Archaeological Reports,' vol. ii. pp. 270-288, plates 77-84. But till those of Kholvi are photographed we shall not be able to speak positively regarding them; the General’s drawings are on too small a scale for that purpose.
ELURĀ.

At Ėlurā there are numerous vihāras at the extreme south of the group and attached to the Viśvakarma, or the great
chaitya above described (p. 160). Like it, however, they are all modern, but on that very account interesting, as showing more clearly than elsewhere the steps by which Buddhist cave-architecture faded, through devotion to the Mahâyâna idolatry, into something very like that of the Hindûs. Every step of the process can be clearly traced here, though the precise date at which the change took place cannot yet be fixed with certainty. The caves at the extremity of the series, as will be seen from the Woodcut No. 114 are very much ruined.

The great vihâra, which is also evidently contemporary with the chaitya, is known as the Mahârwârâ (No. 5), seen near the left in Woodcut No. 114, and, as will appear from the plan (Woodcut No. 115), it differs considerably from any of those illustrated above. Its dimensions are considerable, being 110 ft. in depth by 70 ft. across the central recesses, its great defect being the lowness of its roof. Its form, too, is exceptional. It looks more like a flat-roofed chaitya, with its three aisles, than an ordinary vihâra; and such it possibly was intended to be, and, if so, it is curious to observe that at Bedsâ (Woodcut No. 63, p. 138) we had one of the earliest complete vihâras, looking like a chaitya in plan; and here we have one of the latest, showing the same confusion of ideas: a thing very common in architectural history, where a new style or a new arrangement generally hampers itself with copying some incongruous form, which it casts off during its vigorous manhood, but to which it returns in its decrepitude—a sure sign that it is passing away. But the form of this cave is, perhaps,
otherwise to be explained by the probability that, like the so-called Darbār cave at Kanheri, this was a refectory, which may account for its arrangements.

Close to the Visvakarma (No. 10), is a small and very pretty vihāra (No. 8), in which the sanctuary stands free, with a passage all round it, as in some of the Buddhist caves at Aurangābād and in Śaiva caves further on; and the appearance of the Mahāyāna warders on each side of the door would lead one rather to expect an image of Śiva inside than the Buddha which actually occupies it. The details, however, of its architecture are the same as in the great cave.

Communicating with this one is a small square vihāra (No. 7), the roof of which has been supported by four pillars of the same detail as in the Dukhya-garh, which is the cave next the chaitya on the north; but though surrounded by cells it has no sanctuary or images.

Higher up the hill than these are two others (Nos. 6 and 9), containing numerous cells, and one with a very handsome hall, the outer half of which has unfortunately fallen in; enough, however, remains to show not only its plan, but all the details, which very much resemble those of the last group of vihāras at Ajantā.

In the sanctuaries of both of these caves are figures of Buddhas sitting with their feet down. On each side of the image in the principal one are nine figures of Buddhas, or rather Bodhisattvas, seated cross-legged, and below them three and three figures, some cross-legged, and others standing, probably devotees, and—one of them a female—the Tārā of later Buddhism. Neither of these caves have been entirely finished.

There is still another group of these small vihāras (Nos. 2, 3, 4), further to the south, at the right in Woodcut 114, called the Dherwārā or 'low caste’s' quarter.1 The first is square, with twelve pillars on the same plan as those at Ajantā, though the pillars are of the cushion form of Elephanta and the Mahārārā, but the capitals are much better formed than in the last example, and more ornamented; the lateral galleries here contain figures of Buddha, all like the one in the sanctuary, sitting with their feet down, and there are only two cells on each side of the sanctuary. The next cave is similar in plan, though the detail is more like that of the Visvakarma. There are eleven cells, and in the sanctuary Buddha sitting with the feet down; it never has been finished, and is now much ruined. The last is a small plain vihāra with cells, but with two pillars in front of the shrine and cells, and much ruined.

1 'Cave Temples of India,' plates 57 and 58. Possibly 'Dherwārā' is a corruption of Therawārā or 'ascetics' quarter.'
The whole of the caves in this group resemble one another so much in detail and execution that it is difficult to make out any succession among them, and it is probable that they were all excavated within the same century as the Viswakarma.

The two temples, north of the Viswakarma, are particularly interesting to the antiquarian, as pointing out the successive steps by which the Buddhistical caves merged into the forms of the Brahmanical.

The first is No. 11, the Dôn Tal or Dukhya-garh, a Buddhist vihâra of which the lower storey was long completely silted up—hence its name of the ‘two storeyed’; but in 1877 the ground floor was excavated, consisting of a verandah 90 ft. in length, with a shrine and the commencement of two cells. Most of its details are so similar to those above described that it may be assumed to be, most probably, of the same age. It is strictly Buddhist in all its details, and shows no more tendency towards Brahmanism than what was pointed out in speaking of the Viswakarma. All its three storeys have been left unfinished.

The next, or Tîn Tal (No. 12), is very similar to the last in arrangement, but on a greatly enlarged scale, and its numerous sculptures are all Buddhist, though deviating from the usual forms by a large representation of the female divinities of the Mahâyâna pantheon. Of its class, this cave is one of the most important and interesting in India; nowhere else do we find a three-storeyed cave temple—adapted for worship rather than as a monastery—executed with the same consistency of design and the like magnificence, so that there is a grandeur and propriety in its conception that it would be difficult to surpass in cave architecture. Its sculptures are of extreme interest, and the delineation or photographing of the whole would be of the greatest value to the antiquary as illustrative of Buddhist iconography.1

It is not easy, in the present state of our knowledge, to determine whether the Elûrâ Buddhist group is later or earlier than those of Dhamnâr and Kholvi. It is certainly finer than either, and conforms more closely with the traditions of the style in its palmiest days; but that may be owing to local circumstances, of which we have no precise knowledge. The manner, however, in which it fades into the Hindû group is in itself sufficient to prove how late it is. If we take A.D. 600 as the medium date for the Viswakarma and its surroundings, and A.D. 750 as a time when Buddhism began to wane in Western India, we shall probably not err to any great extent; but we

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1 'Cave Temples,' pp. 383–384, and plates 64, 65; 'Archaeological Survey of Western India,' vol. v. pp. 16–22, and plates 14 fig. 2; 18 fig. 3; 19; and 20.
must wait for some inscriptions or more precise data before attempting to speak with precision on the subject.

A great deal more requires to be done before this great cartoon can be filled up with anything like completeness; but in the meanwhile it is satisfactory to know that in these "rock-cut temples," eked out by the few structural examples that exist, we have a complete history of the arts and liturgies of the Buddhists for the thousand years that ranged from B.C. 250 to A.D. 750; and that, when any one with zeal and intelligence enough for the purpose will devote himself to the task, he will be able to give us a more vivid and authentic account of this remarkable form of worship than can be gathered from the books known to us.

AURANGĀBĀD, KUDĀ, AND OTHER CAVES.

Besides the caves at Junnar, already noticed, there is a small but important series near Aurangābād, forming three small groups in the scarp of a range of hills to the north of the city, and consisting of twelve or thirteen excavations. The third or most easterly group consists of three unfinished caves without sculpture; but, except a chaitya cave in the first group—nearly half of which has fallen away—most of the others are very rich in sculpture, and the pillars are elaborately carved in the style of the later Ajantā vihāras. Two in the first group, and two larger in the second, are planned on a purely Hindū arrangement, there being a passage for circumambulation quite round the shrine, with cells off this. The attendant figures in the shrines, the dwārpāls at the entrances, and numerous female figures sculptured in these caves, indicate that they belonged to a Mahāyāna or ritualistic sect of Buddhists. No inscription has been found to help us in determining their date, but their whole style indicates that they can hardly be placed earlier than the 7th century of our era, and perhaps towards the end of it. Since, however, they have been described and illustrated, with numerous examples of their richly carved pillars and remarkable sculptures, in the third volume of the 'Archaeological Survey of Western India Reports,' reference may be made to that volume for further details.

The Kudā caves in the Konkan, south from Bombay, form a group of twenty-two excavations, mostly plain and of small dimensions; but though they are rich in inscriptions, these afford us no key to the date of the caves further than that the alphabet of the inscriptions is closely allied to that used in Kārlē, Nāsik, and Kanheri inscriptions of Andhrabhṛtya
times. The architectural style is plain, and the sculptures comparatively few; and as they have been described elsewhere they need not occupy us here. And for the twenty-eight excavations at Mahād, about sixty at Karhād, and other smaller groups in the Konkan and Dekhan, as they present no special features, we must also refer to the detailed accounts in the same works.

No important Buddhist remains have yet been discovered in the south of the peninsula, and the rapid manner in which Hsiu Tsiang passes through these countries, and the slight mention he makes of Buddhist establishments render it somewhat uncertain what important establishments belonging to that sect then existed in Dravida-desa. Yet we gather from him that Buddhists as well as Jains must, at one time, have been very numerous there, though the former had probably lost much of their influence by the 7th century. Their vihāras and temples, being usually of brick, would become the spoil of neighbouring towns and villages for building materials wherever the Buddhists ceased to frequent them, and all traces of them have long since disappeared.

Negapattam, on the coast, 170 miles south from Madras, was the great port of Tanjor and the Kāveri delta, and was noted as a seat of Buddhist worship. We learn that a Buddhist temple here was endowed by Rājendra Chola I. in 1006 A.D., and that it had been built by one "Chulamanavaram King of Kidāram or Katāha"—possibly in south Burma or Siam. And in a later grant Kulottunga Chola I., in 1090, made gifts to at least two Buddhist temples here, whilst a Burmese inscription of the 13th century mentions a visit to Negapattam by some Buddhist priests from Pegu.

1 'Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India,' etc. pp. 3-22; 'Indian Antiquary,' vol. vii. pp. 253-257; 'Cave Temples,' pp. 204-209, and plate 5, fig. 1, and plate 7, fig. 1; 'Archæological Survey of Western India,' vol. iv. pp. 12-18, and plate 8, and the inscriptions at pp. 84-88.
One remarkable fragment survived till 1867, about a mile north-west of Negapatnam, in a ruined brick tower of three storeys about 70 feet high, locally known as Pud'veli-gopura, and to Europeans as the "China pagoda." The interior was open to the top, but showed marks of a floor about 20 ft. from the ground. The brickwork was described as good and closely fitted together without cement, and the storeys were marked off by outside cornices of stepped brickwork, with an opening for a door or window in the middle of each side. Its general appearance in 1846 is presented by the accompanying woodcut (No. 116). This structure had probably formed part of one of the temples mentioned in the 11th century. With the consent of the Madras Government, it was pulled down by the Jesuit priests who had been expelled from the French territory of Pondicherry in 1845, and in its demolition several images of Buddha were found—the pedestal of one of them bearing an old Tamil inscription.  

1 Ante, p. 33.
2 In 1859 the Jesuit missionaries asked permission to pull it down and use the materials for their college, and the district engineer, reporting upon it as not deserving the name of an ancient monument, recommended that an estimate of Rs. 400, sanctioned for its conservation, should be cancelled, and the tower demolished. Sir W. Elliot opposed this, and the building would have been preserved, but the Jesuit priests threw obstructions in the way, and nothing was done. In 1867 they presented a fresh petition for permission to demolish it, which was granted.—"Indian Antiquary," vol. vii. pp. 224 et segq. vol xii. p. 311, and vol. xxii. p. 45. The cut is taken from Yule's "Marco Polo" (3rd ed.). vol. ii. p. 326.

Note. (Ante, p. 175).—Among the sculptures mentioned in the "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1907," p. 997, as discovered in the excavations made in recent years at Sārnāth, besides a fine capital and part of the shaft of an inscribed Araka Lāt, was an interesting flat capital which, though differing from the usual classic forms, bears a distinct resemblance to the capitals of the pilasters of the temple of Apollo Didymneos at Miletos. Conf. Durm, "Die Baustile des Hdbuches der Architectur," Bd. i. S. 189; Texier and Pullan, "Principal Ruins of Asia Minor," plates, 6-8. It is of the same style as the larger example previously discovered by Dr. Waddell at Patna—the ancient Pātaliputra. The abacus of the latter is 49 in. long and 33¾ in. in height, and is represented in the accompanying cut, No. 117. The Sārnāth one is only 13 in. high and, when entire, was about 25 in.
across the top, having its frieze sculptured with a horseman at the gallop, parts of a large plant being shown as beyond the horse (represented in 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society' 1907, plate 3, fig. 4). In the Patna example a honeysuckle or similar plant occupies the area, and the whole form is more elegant and classical in feeling. (Waddell, 'Report on Excavations at Pataliputra,' p. 40 and plate 2.) Both capitals belong to the same order and must be of about the same age; but they differ so essentially from anything we know to be of the age of Asoka, and are so refined and classical in taste that, viewed in connection with the remains found at Jamâlgarh and elsewhere, they seem, more probably, to belong to the period about the commencement of our era, when Hellenic influence in architecture was strongest.—Intra, p. 215.

118. Capital in Side Chapel of Cave xix., at Ajantā.
CHAPTER VII.
GANDHARA MONASTERIES.

CONTENTS.

Monasteries at Jamālgārhi,—Takht-i-Bahai and Shāh-Dherī,—Greek influence.

Few of the later discoveries in India have been more fruitful of important results for the elucidation of the archaeology of India than those obtained from the excavations of ruined monasteries in the neighbourhood of Peshāwar. They supply us with the materials for settling not only the question of the amount of influence classical art exercised on that of India, but also for solving many problems of Buddhist archaeology and art.

As mentioned above, it is from their coins, and from them only, that the names of most of the kings of Baktria and their successors have been recovered; but we have not yet found a vestige of a building that can be said to have been erected by them or in their age, nor one piece of sculpture that, so far as we now know, could have been executed before their downfall, about B.C. 130. This, however, may be owing to the fact that Baktria proper has long been inhabited by fanatic Mōslims, who destroy any representations of the human form they meet with, and no excavations for hidden examples have yet been undertaken in their country; while it is still uncertain how far the influence of the true Baktrians extended eastward, and whether, in fact, they ever really possessed the valley of Peshāwar, where so many of their sculptures have been found. No one, in fact, suspected their existence in our own territory till Lieutenants Lumsden and Stokes, in 1852, partially explored the half-buried monastery at Jamālgārhi, which had been discovered by General Cunningham in 1848. It is situated about 36 miles north-east from Peshāwar, and from it these officers excavated a considerable number of sculptures, which afterwards came into the possession of the Hon. E. Clive Bayley. He published a short account of them in the 'Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society,' in 1853, and brought the collection...
itself to this country. Unfortunately, they were utterly destroyed in the disastrous fire that occurred in December 1866 at the Crystal Palace, where they were being exhibited, and this before they had been photographed, or any serious attempt made to compare them with other sculptures.

Since that time other collections have been dug out of another monastery eight miles further westward, at Takht-i-Baháí, and by Dr. Bellew at a third locality, 10 miles southward, called Shahr-i-Bahlol, some of which have found their way to this country. In 1874 Dr. Leitner brought home an extensive collection, principally from Takht-i-Baháí, which have now gone to Berlin.¹ Again, since the extension of British rule over the North-West Frontier Province during the last few years, numerous fresh sites have been discovered and excavated.² But since they were first discovered, numerous sites have been rifled, at least once; “mostly without definite plan and with motives not altogether disinterested. The history of these depredations would be long and lamentable—from the exploit of the Colonel who, as Cunningham tells us, carried off the statues from Jamálgarh on twelve camels, to those ‘irresponsible diggings,’ the ravages of which in the recently opened district of Swáṭ, Sir H. Deane so justly deplores.”³ Of the earlier official excavations, the worst thing is that they were so unsystematically carried on that it is impossible to ascertain where hundreds of the sculptures now in the Lahor Museum came from, and in almost no instance can the position of any one piece of sculpture be fixed with anything like certainty.⁴

¹ Quite recently the splendid collection of Mr. M. L. Dames, has also gone to Berlin, because the British Museum would not, or could not, purchase it.

² As an example of how such remains were too often treated, we learn that in 1896 the contractors of the Military Works Department, to obtain readily stones for a culvert near Chakdara, destroyed a little vihāra of great archaeological interest.—Foucher, "L’Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhāra," tome i. p. 108.

³ Foucher, loc. cit. tome i. p. 14; Cunningham, 'Archaeological Survey Report,' vol. v. p. 46; 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' 1896, p. 664. M. Foucher adds: “Hardly anywhere were the excavators at the trouble to unearth the buildings to the foundations, in order to determine their plans or restore the scheme of their decoration; their only care was to lay hands on the sculptures; and they took no trouble to put aside or protect pieces that were thought too heavy or too fragmentary for removal. In many places, headless trunks and mutilated reliefs strew the clearings and testify to the ignorance and brutality with which the excavations were conducted, if we may use the word—for it is somewhat ironical to employ that term—since they were mostly left, without European supervision, to the direction of some native subaltern, or even to the discretion of the coolies of the nearest village.”

⁴ The mode in which the excavations were conducted by Government was to send out a party of sappers in the cold weather to dig, but the officer in charge of the party was the subaltern who happened to be in command of the company at the time. A new officer was consequently appointed every year, and no one was ever selected because he had any experience in such matters or any taste for such pursuits; and the result was, as might be expected, painfully disappointing.
The sculptures discovered have been partly collected in the Indian Museums—those of Lahor and Calcutta having between them 1700 or more specimens of this class of art; and small collections were sent to Madras, Rangoon, and Bombay in 1884; there is a large and fine collection at Berlin, and over a hundred pieces at the Louvre, whilst the small collection in the British Museum is due almost entirely to private donors.  

These remarkable sculptures have attracted more attention on the continent than in India or England, and the encouragement given by continental governments has conduced in a marked degree to their study and the solution of some of the problems they present.

The essential elements of a Buddhist monastery were the stūpa and sanghārāma or quarters for the monks; the vihāra proper, or shrines for the images, might be arranged to form a court round the stūpa, or they might surround a separate court, between the stūpa and sanghārāma—and, as in the Mahāyāna schools the images were very numerous, the pantheon must often have overflowed the capacity of the stūpa courts.

The following plans (Woodcuts Nos. 119, 120), of the two principal monasteries which have been excavated in the vicinity of Peshāwar, will explain their arrangements in so far as they have been made out. As will be seen at a glance, they are very similar to each other, or at least consist of the same parts. First a circular or square court, AA, surrounded by cells, evidently intended to contain images, though none were found in situ. In the centre of each stands a circular or square platform, being the basement of a stūpa, approached by steps. The circular one at Jamālgarhī was 22 ft. in diameter and adorned with cross-legged, conventional, seated figures of Buddha, the smaller one, at Takht-i-Bahai, was 15 ft. square and ornamented by two rows of pilasters one over the other. Beyond this is an oblong court, BB, called the "pantheon," from the number of images, small models of topes, and other votive offerings of all sorts, that were found in it. It, like the last court, is surrounded by niches for images, and was the "vihāra" properly so called.

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2 In 1893 Prof. A. Grünwedel, in a handbook of the Gandhāra sculptures at Berlin, discussed the origin of 'Buddhist Art in India,' elucidating the subject from the bas-reliefs in the Royal Museum there. An enlarged edition was issued in 1900, and an English translation revised and greatly extended was published (by Quaritch) in 1901. Dr. A. Foucher's Mission to the North-West Frontier, etc., has already been referred to, ante, p. 89.
3 All the stūpas of the Panjāb and Gandhāra had steps up to the level of the basement, and usually on the side facing the monastery; thus, at Jamālgarhī they were a little to the east of south, whilst at Takht-i-Bahai, they were on the north side. Some had steps on two, and others on all four sides.
Beyond this again was the sāghanārāma or residence, CC, with the usual residential cells. At Takht-i-Bahai there is, at the north-

![Plan of Monastery at Jamālgarh. Scale 50 ft. to 1 in.](image1)

![Plan of Monastery at Takht-i-Bahai. Scale 50 ft. to 1 in.](image2)
west corner, a court, D, 51 ft. square, surrounded by a high wall with only one door leading into it. A corresponding court and of similar size exists at Jamālgarh; but it lies about 30 yards to the east, so that it could not be included in the woodcut. This has been identified by M. Foucher with the Service Hall, so often referred to in Buddhist literature, where all the Bhikshus or "members of the order" met privately on the nights of new and full moon to read their rules and go through their confessional forms, and where they met for all their more solemn purposes—as ordination, excommunication, and the like; and it was often used also as a refectory. This was known as the Upasthānasālā or Meeting Hall. If this was the purpose of these buildings, which seems very probable, they must have been roofed in wood.1

When we attempt to compare these plans with those of rock-cut examples in India, we at once perceive the difficulty of comparing structural with rock-cut examples. The monastery or residential parts are the only ones readily recognised. The pantheon does not apparently exist at Ajantā, nor is anything analogous to it attached to other series of caves. A group of small rock-cut memorial dāgabas exists outside the caves at Bhājā, and a much more extensive one of structural topes formed the cemetery at Kanheri, and similar groups may have existed elsewhere: but these are nowise analogous to the above. Numbers of small models of topes and votive offerings are found in the neighbourhood of all Buddhist establishments, and were originally no doubt deposited in some such place as this. The circular or square base of the stūpa marks the place which the chaitya occupies in all the rock-cut chaitya halls.

One of the most remarkable ornamental features that adorn this monastery is a series of bas-reliefs that adorn the front of the steps of the stairs leading from the so-called pantheon or vihāra to the circular court at Jamālgarh. They are sixteen in number, and each is carved with a bas-relief containing twenty, thirty, or forty figures according to the subject.2 Among these the Vishvantara and Sāma jātakas can easily be recognised,3 and so may others when carefully examined.

1 Foucher, ‘L’Art Gréco-Bouddhique,’ tome i, pp. 162-163. It had been suggested that this roofless hall might have been a cemetery (Cunningham ‘Archæological Reports,’ vol. v. p. 32); and it was pointed out that Turner in his ‘Embassy to Tibet’ (p. 317), describes a similar enclosure at Teshu-lumbu in which the bodies of the deceased monks were exposed to be devoured by the birds; and what happened there in 1800 might possibly have been practised at Peshtwar at a much earlier age; but that this was not the purpose of the two enclosures referred to is quite obvious.

2 These were removed by Gen. Cunningham, and several are now in the British Museum—‘Journal of Indian Art and Industry,’ vol. viii. p. 40, and plates 23, 24; ‘Ancient Monuments, etc. of India,’ plate 151; Cunningham, ‘Archæological Survey Report,’ vol. v. p. 199.

3 ‘Tree and Serpent Worship,’ plates 24 (fig. 3) and 36 (fig. 1); and ‘Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,’ 1893, p. 313.
Besides these there are representations of the chase, processions, dancing, and domestic scenes of various kinds. In fact such a series of sixteen bas-reliefs, one over another, is hardly known to exist anywhere else, but is here only an appropriate part of an exuberance of sculptural ornamentation hardly to be matched, as existing in so small a space, in any other building of its class.

[Image: Corinthian Capital from Jamālgarhī. (From a Photograph.)]

The architecture of this monastery seems to have been of singular richness. General Cunningham brought away a dozen of capitals of the Corinthian order, and others exist in the Lahor Museum. As will be seen from the last two illustrations (Nos. 121, 122), they are unmistakably classical, but of a form to which it is not at first sight easy to assign a date. They are more Greek than Roman in the character of their foliage,

1 The modillion cornice, though placed on the lower capital in the photograph, belongs in reality to another part of the building.
but more like Roman than Greek in the form of their volutes and general design. Perhaps it would be correct to say they are Indian copies or adaptations of classical capitals of the style of the Christian Era.

Not one of these was found in situ, nor, apparently, one quite entire, so that their use or position is not at first sight apparent. Some of them were square, and it is consequently not difficult to see they may have formed the caps of the antæ on each side of the cells, and are so represented in General Cunningham's plate (15). If this is so, the circular ones must have been placed on short circular pillars, one on each side, forming a porch to the cells. One at least seems to have stood free—like a stambha—and, as the General represents it (on plate 48), may have carried a group of elephants on its head.

All these capitals were apparently originally richly gilt, and most of them, as well as some of the best of the sculptures, show traces of gilding, and, as others show traces of colour, the effect of the whole must have been gorgeous in the extreme. From the analogy of what we find in the caves at Ajantá and Bâgh, as well as elsewhere, there can be little doubt that fresco-painting was also employed: but no gilding, as far as I know, has been found in India, nor indeed, with one or two exceptions, any analogue to the Corinthian capital. The capitals found in India are either such as grew out of the necessities of their own wooden construction, or were copied from bell-shaped forms we are familiar with at Persepolis, where alone in Central Asia they seem to have been carried out in stone; and they may have been so employed down to the time of Alexander, if not later. Certain it is, at all events, that this was the earliest form we know of employed in lithic architecture in India, and the one that retained its footing there certainly till after the Christian Era, and also among the Gandhára sculptures to a still later date.

In the decorative sculptures of these monasteries, architectural elements are largely employed in the representation of buildings in which scenes are portrayed, and in pillars separating the panels. These present forms of Perso-Indian pillars employed side by side, sometimes on the same slab, with columns having classical capitals and bases. The capitals of the old Perso-Indian type have new forms given to them—the animal figures being changed, whilst the pillars themselves are placed on the backs of crouching figures with wings. It is the same absurd composition as is found in Assyrian and even

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1 'Archaeological Reports,' vol. v, pp. 49 and 196.
2 'The Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis Restored.' By the Author. Part II. sect. i., et passim.
Lombard architecture, where pillars were placed on animals and monsters; and a similar practice was also long prevalent in Dravidian architecture. Structurally the architecture of the age, we may suppose, would share in the mixed character of these sculptured representations. But the evidence may not be quite decisive; a stūpa, such as the best preserved at 'Ali Masjid, for example, affords but little aid in recovering the style of temples or other structures. What we see represented in the sculptures, together with such structural fragments as remain to us must be our chief guides.

It is not difficult to restore, approximately, the front of the cells in these monasteries, from the numerous representations of them found among the ruins, where they are used as conventional frames for sculptures. It probably was owing to the fact that their fronts may have been adorned with paintings representing scenes from the life of Buddha, or emblems of various sorts, that these miniature representations of them were used to convey the same design in sculpture. These gable-end shaped panels were fixed on four sides of the domes of the smaller stūpas at least, and whilst they may present the general features of the façades of the more highly decorated cells, it is not to be supposed that any of them were so richly sculptured (Woodcut No. 123).

The form of the wooden framework which filled the upper

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2 Conf., 'Buddhist Art in India' (Eng. transl.), pp. 183-185, figs. 70-72.
part of all the great windows of the chaitya halls, from the earliest known examples, is also used for the same purpose in these Gandhāra monasteries. Few things among these sculptures are more common than these semicircular frames, filled with sculpture of the most varied design. They are in fact the counterparts of what would have been carried out in painted glass had they possessed such a material.

It is to be feared that it is hardly likely we shall now recover one of these cells or chapels in so perfect a state as to feel sure of its form and ornamentation. It would, however, be an immense gain to our knowledge of the subject if one were found, for it is hardly safe to depend on restorations made from conventional representations.

Meanwhile there is one monument in India which—mutatis mutandis—reproduces them with considerable exactness. The small detached rath at Māmallapuram is both in plan and dimensions, as well as in design, an almost exact reproduction of these Jamālgarhī cells. Its lower front is entirely open, flanked by two detached pillars. Above this are two roofs, with a narrow waist between them—somewhat differently arranged it must be confessed, but still extremely similar. In the Jamālgarhī representations of these cells everything is simplified to admit of the display of sculpture. At Māmallapuram all the architectural features are retained, but they are still marvellously alike, so much so, that there seems no doubt this little rath (Woodcut No. 185, page 329), with its circular termination, is as exact a copy of what a Buddhist chaitya hall was at the time it was carved, as that the great rath (Woodcut No. 89, p. 172) is a correct reproduction of a Buddhist vihāra at the same period.

If this is so, these Gandhāra sculptures and these raths represent the chaitya hall of the Buddhists in a much more complicated and elaborate form than we find it in the simple but majestic examples at Kārlē, Nā sik, or Ajantā. The Jamālgarhī cells are not at all so modern as the rath at Māmallapuram, but they are certainly approaching to it in form.¹

General Cunningham dug out a small vihāra at Shāh-Dherf, the ancient Taxila, which seems more ancient than these Peshāwar monasteries. As will be seen from the plan

¹ One curious peculiarity of these Gandhāra sculptures is that they generally retain the sloping jamb on each side of their openings. In India and in a structural building this peculiarity would certainly fix their age as anterior to the Christian Era. In Gandhāra it is found chiefly in decorative sculpture, but it seems also to have been occasionally employed structurally, as in the small vihāra near Chakdāra fort in Swat, destroyed in 1896 by the Military Works Department. — Ante, p. 210, note 2.
(Woodcut No. 124), it is not only small in dimensions, but simple in its arrangements—as simple, indeed, as any of those at Katak or in the western Ghâts. Like some of them it has a raised bench, not, however, divided into beds as there, but more like a continuous seat.\(^1\) It no doubt, however, was used for both purposes. Its most remarkable peculiarity, however, is its Ionic order. As will be seen, the bases of the pillars are of the usual form, and as correct as any that could be found in Greece or Rome, from before the Christian Era to the age of Constantine, and, though the capital is not fully made out, there can be little doubt what was intended (Woodcut No. 125). Twelve coins of Azes were found close by, from which it may be inferred the building was not of earlier date than his age, or the 1st century B.C.,\(^3\) and there is nothing in the architecture to militate against this idea. It seems the oldest thing yet found in this province.

The extraordinary classical character and the beauty of the sculptures found in these Gandhára monasteries is of such surpassing interest for the history of Indian art, that it is of the utmost importance their age should be determined, if it is possible to do so. At present, sufficient materials do not exist in this country to enable the general public to form a correct opinion on any argument that may be brought forward on the subject; nor will they be in a position to do so till the Government can be induced to bring some of them home. They are quite thrown away where they now are; here, they would hardly be surpassed in interest by any recent discoveries of the same class. Quite

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\(^1\) Compare the plan of the Râmparth cave, 'Indian Antiquary,' vol. ii., p. 245; of Cunningham's 'Archaeological Reports,' vol. xiii. p. 39 and plate 10.

\(^2\) Assuming that his age has been correctly ascertained: Conf. 'Buddhist Art in India,' p. 78.
recently, however, the solution of most of the questions relating to these sculptures has been taken out of our hands by the French mission to India to study the materials on the spot; and M. Foucher has arranged and illustrated them with such acumen that his work becomes a standard one on the subject.¹

Among Indian antiquaries different views have been held as to the age of these sculptures, General Cunningham's opinion was that the Baktrian Greeks carried with them into Asia the principles of Grecian sculpture and the forms of Grecian architecture, and either during their supremacy or after their expulsion from Baktria established a school of classical art in the Peshâwar valley. This view further assumed that, when Buddhism was established there under Kanishka and his successors, it bloomed into that rich and varied development we find exhibited in these Gandhâra monasteries. He admitted, however, that, as all the sculptures are Buddhist, the earliest must be limited to the age of Kanishka, which he assumed to be about B.C. 40,² and that they extend to A.D. 100, or thereabouts.

Another theory equally admitted the presence of the classical element, derived from the previous existence of the Baktrian Greeks, but spread the development of the classical feeling through Buddhist art over the whole period during which it existed in the valley, or from the 1st to the 7th or 8th century of our era, and ascribed its peculiar forms as much, if not more, to constant communication with the West, from the age of Augustus to that of Justinian, rather than to the original seed planted there by the Baktrians.³

Neither view satisfactorily met the conditions, and, in 1890,⁴ Monsieur Émile Senart reviewed the question afresh and argued that the priestly type of Buddha with the nimbus—a veritable mark of the Græco-Buddhist school—first appearing on the coins of Kanishka, supplies one limit. And next, the regular appearance of this same type among the Amarâvatî sculptures, testifies that, when they were carved, the art of the north-west of India had a fixed type, and had extended its influence to the south-east of the peninsula; and since the Andhra inscriptions engraved on them cannot be assigned to a later date than the 2nd century

¹ The English reader will find an account of these sculptures generally and of their origin in 'Buddhist Art in India,' with 154 illustrations (London, 1901).
² 'Archaeological Reports,' vol. v., Introduction, p. vi., and Appendix pp. 193-194. The date of Kanishka has long been a matter of controversy, the principal views respecting his era, being that of Mr. Fergusson, placing its epoch in A.D. 78; and the other, ably supported by Dr. J. F. Fleet and already referred to, throwing it back to B.C. 57, ante, p. 29.
⁴ 'Journal Asiatique' VIIIe série, tome xv. pp. 139-163. See also the remarks of Count Goblet D'Alviella, 'Ce que l'Inde doit à la Grèce,' pp. 58, 63ff.
of our era, it follows that, "the zenith of the art and period of its greatest expansion falls before the second half of the 2nd century." Such an argument must have much weight in deciding this question.  

About the beginning of our era Greek art had become a matter of commerce and export, and Græculi travelled in all directions with their wares and models, ready to employ their skill in the service of Gaul, Skythian, or Indian to provide images for their pantheons by imitations from their own patterns. They could also represent for their employers the different classical orders of architecture, and would teach their pupils how to carve them; but, with or without models, the copy would be modified to suit the Indian taste; and so, for the acanthus of the Greek capital, were introduced the palms with which the Indian workmen were familiar; and the figures of Nikē—we see in the Corinthian capitals of antæ in the temple of Augustus erected about A.D. 10 at Ancyra, or in those of Priêné, were reproduced in Gandhára as little figures of Buddha. It is an imitation of Greek forms with divergencies—not a copy—but the suggestion must have come from those travelling Greek artists—probably Ionians—who were the agents by whom the Gandhára sculptures were inspired, and Greek statuary was the model from which the Maháyána pantheon was evolved.

Further, it is at least approximately correct to state that no statue of Buddha, in any of his conventional attitudes, has been found in India executed earlier than about the Christian Era. Those on the façade at Kārlé and in the western caves are avowedly insertions of the 2nd or 3rd centuries or later. There are none found at Bodh-Gayā, Bharaut, or Sâncht; nor do I know of any one in India that can be dated before the 1st century. In these Gandhára monasteries they are very frequent, and of a type which in India would be assumed to be as late as the 2nd or 3rd century; some of them even later.

It is true Buddhist books tell us frequently of statues of Buddha having been made at much earlier dates. But Indian books have this fatal defect, that they represent facts and beliefs at the time they were written, or acquired the forms in which we now find them, without much reference to facts at the time at which they are supposed to have happened. The actual remains and the period to which they belong are our surest

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2 ‘Buddhist Art in India,’ p. 153. There is also a capital at Siah, in Syria, on which a bust is introduced, which may be as early as the Christian Era.
3 De Vogüé, ‘Syrie Centrale,’ plate 3.
4 It may be accepted that Greek art furnished India with the images that served for the beliefs.—Goblet D'Alviella, ‘Ce que l’Inde doit à la Grèce,’ p. 152.
5 ‘Buddhist Art in India,’ pp. 171ff.
guides, and we have now sufficient evidence to interpret these sculptures with reasonable confidence.

Besides the figures of Buddha, there are a great number of figures which have all got nimbus-es or glories at the back of their heads. All have the tilaka on their foreheads, as Buddha has, and none have any kingly attributes, but all wear the same ornaments and amulets. These are recognised as representations of the Bodhisattva or of Bodhisattvas. Until Gautama assumed Buddhahood, he was the Bodhisattva of that age, and as such is represented with necklaces and ornaments. But the Mahāyāna school introduced many others into their iconography—mythical beings who are ultimately to be manifested as the Buddhas of future ages.\(^1\)

A more important point than the mere presence of these conventional figures of Buddha or of saints in these monasteries, is their excessive reduplication; to consecrate one was evidently, as among the Jains, a work of religious merit.

In India, no building or cave is known with a date anterior to, say, A.D. 100, in which more than one such figure is represented. Even at Amarāvatī they do not occur on the great rail which was erected at latest about the beginning of the Christian Era (ante, p. 122) but appear first on the basement, which was constructed in the 2nd century; and they occur in such cases as Nos. 19 and 26 at Ajantā, and are numerous in the later caves at Kanheri, Ellūrā, and Aurangābād, none of which seem to be earlier than A.D. 200, and most of them much later.

In the Gandhāra monasteries they exist literally in hundreds—on the base of the stūpas, on the walls, and in the cells. The latter is, indeed, the most remarkable peculiarity of any. Among the Jains, it is the practice to surround the courts of their temples with cells which are small shrines; and here we find also numerous small cells surrounding the courts of the stūpas all consecrated as shrines for images of Buddha and saints, the monastery being quite separate from the structures for worship. And further, here are even separate courts constructed for secondary stūpas and numerous additional image chapels. This wealth of imagery, however, is accounted for by the fact that the Mahāyāna or Greater Translation was much more prevalent in the north of India than in the peninsula, and was considerably in advance of the Hinayāna school of Central India in all complications of ritual observances.

The few inscriptions found on Gandhāra sculptures or on the same sites, are dated in an unnamed era, and range from 78 to 384. One is dated in the twenty-sixth year of King Guduphara

\(^1\) Among these the chief are Maitreya—who is expected to appear first—Avalokiteśvara or Padmapāni, Manjūśrī, Samantabhadra, Vajrapāni, etc.
or Gondophernes of Takshasila or Taxila, and in the year 103 of this era. Now early Christian tradition mentions this king in connection with the mission of St. Thomas, which would fall in the 1st century; and the only Indian era we know of about that time is the Samvat commencing B.C. 57, which makes the twenty-sixth year of Guduphara coincident with A.D. 46, and places his accession in A.D. 20-21. This is quite in agreement, not only with the tradition, but with the place assigned to the coinage of Guduphara; and we can hardly suppose that the other inscriptions should be dated in a different era. Among these there are known three or four of the 1st century A.D., one each of the 2nd and 3rd century, and that of Hashtnagar is dated in 384, that is A.D. 327. The last is not later than might be expected, for when Fah Hian passed through Gandhâra at the commencement of the 5th century, the monasteries were still in a flourishing condition. It was only a century later that the Buddhists were persecuted by the Hûnas under Toramâna and his son Mihirakula, and by that time the art had probably declined; these dates, however, are sufficient to substantiate the conclusion that the Gandhâra sculptures belong to the early centuries of our era, and that its most flourishing period may be assigned to about B.C. 50 to A.D. 200.

From what has been said above regarding the sculptures of Bharaut and Sânci, it appears evident that the Indians had a school of art of their own before they knew anything of the arts of the Western world; but that native art seems to have had very little influence on the arts of Gandhâra. The Western arts, on the contrary, acting through that country, seem to have had considerable influence on those of India at periods about and subsequent to the Christian Era. It seems at least almost impossible to escape the conviction that the arts of Amarâvatî and the later caves, say of the Andhra period, betray marked evidence of Western influence; and it seems that it is only through Gandhâra that it can have reached them.

So strongly marked is all this that it may become a subject of an interesting investigation to enquire whether the Greeks were not the first who taught the Indians idolatry. There is no trace of images in the Vedas or in the laws of Manu, or any of the older books of the Hindús. As repeatedly mentioned, there is as little trace of any image of Buddha or Buddhist figures being set up for worship much before the Christian Era. But the earliest, the finest, and the most essentially classical figures of Buddha are to be found in Gandhâra, and, so far as we

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2 "Buddhist Art in India," p. 84.
at present know, of an earlier date there than any found in India Proper.

Further, if there are traces of Christian doctrine in the 'Bhagavat Gītā,' and of classical learning in other poetic works of the Hindus, we now know at least where they may have come from. In short, when we realise how strongly Hellenic influence prevailed in Gandhāra in the first few centuries after Christ, and think how many thousands, it may be millions, crossed the Indus, going eastward during that period and through that country, we ought not to be surprised at any amount of Western thought or art we may find in India.

In the meanwhile the question that bears most directly on the subject now in hand is the enquiry, how far the undoubted classical influence shown in these Gandhāra sculptures is due to the seed sown by the Baktrian Greeks during the existence of their kingdom there, and how much to the direct influence of Hellenic intercourse between the times of Augustus and Aurelian? Both, most probably, had a part in producing this remarkable result; but we have abundant evidence that the latter was very much more important than the former cause, and that about the commencement of the Christian Era the civilisation of the West exercised an influence on the arts and religion of the inhabitants of this part of India far greater than was formerly suspected.

The question of the subjects of the sculptures is beyond the scope of this work, and for this and their origin the reader must be referred to the excellent work of Mons. A. Foucher, and to the translation of Grünwedel's 'Buddhist Art in India.'