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A photograph of a row of ancient stone columns in a cave. The columns are octagonal and have decorative capitals. The text is overlaid on the image.

# Documentation of Caves in MMR

REPORT  
SUBMITTED  
BY  
Sathye College

To

MMRHCS

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## **Acknowledgments**

MMRHCS

Archaeological Survey of India

American Institute of Indian Studies

Dr. A. P. Jamkhedkar

Dr. Kavita Rege

Ms. Radha Sabnis

Ms. Aditi Dukhande

Mr. Akshmeya Patil

Niyam Mayekar

Sathaye College Staff and Students



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## Preamble

The project entitled '**Documentation of Caves in MMR**' was started on 21<sup>st</sup> April 2016 with the support from **MMRHCS** at **Department of Ancient Indian Culture, Sathaye College** and this is the Final report for the same. We are glad to submit this report to the experts in the committee for their comments and guidance.

### *The team*

*Ms. Shamika Sarvankar*

*Ms. Nishigandha Usapkar*

*Mr. Sandeep Dahisarkar*

*Dr. Milind Paradkar*

*Dr. Suraj A. Pandit*



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## Introduction:

Mumbai metropolitan region has more than 200 caves dating back to ancient period. They shade light on the history of the region. These cave are comprised in clusters which can be divided into two broad categories, i.e., Buddhist and Hindu. Numerically Buddhist cave dominate the region but Shaivas have produced the master pieces of the ancient art and architecture in the region.

The region was known as Aparānta in ancient Period. This was economically developed region having numerous commercial centres within. SOpara, Kalyan, Gharapuri (Elephanta), Chaaul, and Thane in later period are few of these port towns which brought the prosperity here. Various commercial hubs have been discussed in the region in ancient literature supported by archaeological evidence.

Chronologically these caves can be divided into three phases.

First Phase:	From 2 <sup>nd</sup> century BC to 4 <sup>th</sup> Century CE
Classical Phase:	From 5 <sup>th</sup> Century CE to 11 <sup>th</sup> Century CE
Decline:	11 <sup>th</sup> century CE to 15 <sup>th</sup> century CE

Phase one refers to the region primarily under Satavahana supremacy, phase two when the Traikutaka-s were dominant, and the third phase to the period when the region was first under Rashtrakuta-s and then Shilahara-s.

However, even earlier, in 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C., this region was under Mauryan kings who undertook purposeful expansion of urbanization in the region. The first known king to rule over the region was king Ashoka; fragments of two of his edicts—edicts No. 8 and 9—have been reported from Sopara. In fact, the Deccan region was occupied by Megalithic-culture people till 1<sup>st</sup> century C.E.; this assertion is supported by archaeological evidence from sites such as Maski. Even if this statement is disputable, at the very least, people were still observing megalithic religious practices when Ashoka had begun to accelerate the process of purposeful expansion of urbanization in Deccan. These people were semi-nomadic people and were engaged in inland trade. Most probably, they developed the abovementioned trade routes in the mainland of the Deccan region, which were then probably followed by king Ashoka as well. Moreover, northern migrants must have established trade with them via these routes, and the migrants

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might have helped the local people by teaching new agricultural techniques that made them settle at one place.

Very little is known about the early political history of this region, especially after the fall of the Mauryans; most probably, local chiefs or small kings ruled over this region but we have hardly any information about them. We can make a few guesses through literatures such as the Avadāna stories and references from Kathāsaritsāgara of the later period. Under the Satavahanas, there were many chiefs who were quite powerful, and they have been identified mainly with the help of the numismatic evidence found in the Deccan and Konkan regions. The Satavahana-s probably rose from such a background and their early kings might have been one of the local chieftains. Archaeological evidences in the form of microliths found from many sites in Mumbai suggest stylistic affinities with the Sindh region. These have been dated to 5<sup>th</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.<sup>1</sup> Although there is no clear evidence for early Satavahana rule over this region, it can be assumed that they were ruling over the adjacent regions since all the early Satavahana inscriptions were found in caves in the neighbouring city of Nasik and the pass of Naneghat.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ancient India*, Vol. 6

Kanheri, Kondivate, Kondane and Ambivali caves house the ancient inscriptions. Largest number of inscriptions is reported from Kanheri caves. There are few later inscriptions reported from Jogeshwari and one of the modern period inscriptions from Mandapeshwara. For the reconstruction of the political history of Ancient period of the region, Kanheri inscriptions is the only source.

The earliest epigraphical evidence from Kanheri that refer to political powers is of the late Satavahana period. At the site, we have the following inscriptions referring to Satavahana and post-Satavahana kings and political heads:

1. Inscription referring to Vasiṣṭhiputra Sātakarṇi (Cave No. 5)
2. Inscriptions referring to Yajña Sātakarṇi (Cave No. 3)
3. Inscription referring to Māṭhariputra Śakasena (Cave No. 74)
4. Inscription referring to Chutukulananda Sātakarṇi (Cave No. 66)
5. Inscriptions referring to Mahārāṭhi-s (Caves No. 66)
6. Inscriptions referring to Mahābhojaka (ki)-s. (Cave Nos. 50, 66 & 98.)



The genealogy and chronology of the Satavahana-s are knotty problems in the study of the political history of early Deccan. Satavahana is the name of the first known dynasty from the Deccan region, and they ruled not only over a vast area here but also gave political stability for couple of centuries. As mentioned in the Puranas, the Satavahana-s ruled for 460 years. A few scholars, e.g. V.V. Mirashi, have dated the early Satavahana kings to 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C., as per the Puranas. On the other hand, some scholars, for example A. M. Shastri, have assigned 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. to the early Satavahana kings. All the early inscriptions of the Satavahana-s are found at Nasik and Naneghat. The chronology of the later Satavahana kings is less controversial and much clearer to us now. Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi was one of the major late Satavahana kings who restored the glory of this dynasty, and he was a contemporary of the Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapa king Nahapāna, according to numismatic and epigraphical evidences mainly from the Nasik region. Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi destroyed the supremacy of Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapa-s in this region by defeating Nahapāna. By analyzing the order of successors of Gautamiputra Satakarni, Vasishthiputra Pulumavi, Vasishthiputra Skanda Satakarni and Vasishthiputra Satakarni,

the reign of Yajñashri Satakarni, the successor of Vasishthiputra Satakarni, can be assigned to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century C.E. The chaitya cave at Kanheri was excavated during his reign, and this is also confirmed by stylistic studies of the cave.<sup>2</sup>

In an inscription at Kanheri, a queen's minister, who had donated a water cistern in Cave No. 5, refers to Vasishthiputra Satakarni's name. This inscription records the matrimonial alliance between the Satavahana-s and western Kshatrapa-s but remains silent about the ruling years of either of the kings.<sup>3</sup> It is quite possible that this cistern was developed earlier than the main chaitya.<sup>4</sup> Dr. Shobhana Gokhale suggests that

<sup>2</sup> The name of the king is, however, damaged and only the word 'Sātakarṇi' can be seen. This definitely does not refer to 'Gautamiputra Satakarni' since the *chaitya* cave at Kanheri is stylistically of the later date than the *chaitya* cave at Karla.

<sup>3</sup> Inscription in Cave No. 5. (Gokhale S. (1991), pp. 62).

L1. (Va) sith (i) putrasya sri Satakar (n)i(s)ya deya Kardamakarajavamsapra (bha)v (a) maha kshatra(pa) Ru (p) utry (ah)...

L2. ....sya ..... V(I) saayasyaamatasya saterakasy paniyabhajanam deyadharm (m) a (hi)

<sup>4</sup> Cave Nos. 2 and 4 at the site are earlier than the main *chaitya*. Cave No. 6 also stylistically agrees with Cave No. 2. Although this cistern lies on the path leading to Cave No. 6 from Cave No. 4, this can be earlier than the main *chaitya*. For a detailed discussion, see chapter II.

It is also possible that when the queen's minister donated the cistern, the king was unfortunately not alive. However, the queen of

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Vashishtiputra Satakarni, who ruled over this region before Yajña Satakarni, might have been the viceroy of his father-in-law, i.e. Rudradaman, in Aparanta.<sup>5</sup>

Inscriptions in Cave Nos. 3 and 21 at the site give the name of a king Yajña Satakarni. In the inscription in Cave No. 3, the portion that probably mentioned his ruling year is unfortunately missing. It records the name as ‘Gotama’, which indicates the initial portion of his metronymic, viz. ‘Gautamiputra’; we know about two Gautamiputra-s in the history of late Satavahana kings—‘Gautamiputra Satakarni’ whose inscriptions are in Nasik and Karla caves and ‘Gautamiputra Yajña Satakarni’. Stylistically, there are vast differences between the art at Nasik and Karla, and at Kanheri. Hence, this king was probably Yajña Satakarni. However, the sculptures on the pillar capitals in the chaitya hall suggest a date near mid 2<sup>nd</sup> century C.E. Most probably, the excavation took place in the beginning of his reign. Another inscription in Cave No. 21 refers to the 16<sup>th</sup> year of his reign. This is also a donatory inscription and it records the gift of a cave by one Aparenuka. His name is also mentioned in the inscription as a merchant

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Vashishthiputra Satakarni retained high status in the royal family because of her political background.

<sup>5</sup> Gokhale S. (1991), pp. 8.

from Sopara who completed the work of excavating the chaitya, i.e. Cave No. 3.

The next reference is to Mathariputra Shakasena.<sup>6</sup> We have only two inscriptions of this king and both are from Cave No. 74 in Kanheri. In one inscription, mentions of the season and other details are lost, but the other one mentions the 8<sup>th</sup> year of his reign. Apart from these inscriptions, there are a few coins with a legend on the obverse and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse. Most probably, these also belong to him since the legend reads as ‘Mathariputasa’ or ‘Ma...’ etc.<sup>7</sup>

Most of the names of the kings in this period indicate that keeping metronymic names had become a trend in the post-Satavahana period. Besides the early Vakataka-s, the Abhira, Ikshvaku, Chutu and Kshatrapa-s were the major dynasties in

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<sup>6</sup> Prof. H.S. Thosar expressed doubts about this king being a Satavahana king since although he is considered to be Yajñashrī Satakarni’s successor, his relation with him is not yet clear. According to Dr. Mirashi, he was the ruler of Vidarbha and Andhra regions. Prof. Thosar’s question is related to the word Shaka in his name, which is closely related to the Kshatrapas who were one of the major enemies of the Satavahanas. It is quite possible that he was not a Satavahana ruler and that this was the beginning of the disintegration of the Satavahana empire. His name is not mentioned in the *Puranic* tradition as well. Stylistically, this cave can be placed to early 3<sup>rd</sup> century C.E. His inscription has also been palaeographically placed to 3<sup>rd</sup> century C.E. by Dr. S. Gokhale, 1991.

<sup>7</sup> Rama Rao (1942), *Andhra Pradesh Government Catalogue of Coins*, Coin nos. 309–312, pp. 58–9.

the Deccan region around this time. Mathariputra Shakasena was probably one of the early Abhira kings. The Abhira-s appear to have been foreign people who entered India shortly before or along with the Shaka-s from some parts of eastern Iran.<sup>8</sup> In early epigraphic records, the Abhira-s appear as generals of the Shaka Mahakshatraps of western India. The Gunda inscription<sup>9</sup> records the digging of a tank by a general (senapati) Rudrabhuti, the son of the Abhira general (senapati) Bapaka, at the village of Rasopadra. This inscription was engraved in the year 103 (of Shaka era), i.e. 181 C.E.<sup>10</sup> We also know one Ishvaradatta from his silver coins of the Kshatraps style, and he is actually known to be a Mahakshatraps in possession of a major part of the Shaka territories for about two years. The coins of this ruler are dated to the second and third years of his reign (188–189 C.E.).<sup>11</sup> The only known king of this dynasty is Mathariputra Ishvarasena.<sup>12</sup> The inscription of

Ishvarasena proves that his domain comprised the Nasik region in northern Maharashtra, but the actual extent of his kingdom is uncertain. This king may be the real successor of the Satavahanas. Although we do not have any evidence for Mathariputra Shakasena being a Shaka ruler, we can as well make a guess to that effect on this basis.

The family name, which is related to Shakasena, also occurs in the Ikshvaku family. The Ikshvaku king Mathariputra Virapurushadatta ruled over southeastern Deccan and the regions of Amaravati and Nagarjunikond, and he was one of the most powerful kings of this dynasty. Three of Virapurushadatta's queens are known to have been the daughters of his father's sister. Mahadevi Rudradhara-Bhattarika, very probably a queen of the same king, is described as a daughter of the maharaja of Ujjain. This queen seems to have been related to Rudrasena II (ca. 255–77 C.E.), the contemporary Mahakshatraps of western India. Virapurushadatta gave his daughter in marriage to a maharaja of Vanavasi, who was most probably none other than Chutusatakarṇi of Kuntala. Such a connection vividly conveys the

<sup>8</sup> Mujumdar R.C. (Ed.) (1990 reprint), *The History and Culture of Indian People*, Vol. II, pp. 221.

<sup>9</sup> *Lüders List*: Inscription No. 963.

<sup>10</sup> *raño kshatrapasya svami Rudrasimhasya varshe triyuttarashate 100 3 Vaishakhashuddhapanchamidhatyatithau Rohininakshatramuhurte*  
- Gunda Inscription. Mirashi  
V.V. (1981), pp.131.

<sup>11</sup> Mujumdar R.C. (1990), reprint, p. 221.

<sup>12</sup> Nasik Inscription (*Lüders List*, Inscription No. 1137).

*rañah Madhariputrasya Shivadatta Abhiraputrasya Abhasy Eshvarasenasya samvatsare nava [me] [gi]mapakkhe chothe 4 divasa trayodasha 10 3 . . ya puvaya.*

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various influences that can be seen at Kanheri in the art and inscriptions from different places; of course, it is true that the main reason behind this was trade, but political forces would also have played an important role in the entire process.

The next king referred to in an inscription at the site is Chutukulananda Satakarni whose name is present in Cave No. 65.<sup>13</sup> His name is also a metronymic like the later Satavahana kings. We do not know his exact place in the post-Satavahana chronology and his direct relationship with the main branch. He must have ruled over a vast region from Vanavasi to Aparanta in the 1<sup>st</sup> half of 3<sup>rd</sup> century C.E., i.e. at the end of the Satavahana dynasty. His Malavalli pillar inscription<sup>14</sup> mentions him as a king of Vaijayantipura, i.e. Vanavasi. These inscriptions record the 9<sup>th</sup> (Kanheri) and 12<sup>th</sup> (Vanavasi) years of his reign.<sup>15</sup> He must have ruled over this region for at least a very short period.

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<sup>13</sup> King Mana, the king of Ma hishaka country, also has this title 'Chutukula'. Mirashi V.V. (1949), *J.N.S.I.*, June, Vol. XI, pp. 1ff.

<sup>14</sup> *Lüder's List*, Inscription No. 1195.

<sup>15</sup> Although the name of the king in the Kanheri inscription is lost, H. Lüders has pointed out similarities in personal names, titles and personal information of the donor in the Vanavasi and Kanheri inscriptions. It is convincing that this inscription belongs to Chutukulananda Satakarni's reign. (*Lüder's List*, Inscription No. 1021).

Apart from this, we have references of Maharathi and Bhojika in inscriptions from Cave Nos. 65 and 98. These are the provincial officers of the Satavahanas. One of the Ashokan edicts also gives the term 'Maharathi' which was most probably used for provincial governors. Although we do not know the exact functions of these officers, they must have occupied a high rank in the administration.

Further, the decline of the Satavahana dynasty must have created political chaos in the Deccan and Konkan regions. Many small kingdoms might have emerged as a result, e.g. the Kura kings in Kolhapur, Mahisha-s in Karnataka, etc. However, there are references to another possibly important dynasty at the site—the Traikutaka-s. They were not the immediate successors of the Satavahana-s in the region. They ruled over northern Konkan from ca. early 4<sup>th</sup> century C.E. and are believed to have had political affiliations with the Abhiras; they used the Abhira Era of the ruler Ishvarasena (in later periods, this era was known as Kalachuri Era). The Traikutaka-s not only ruled over Konkan but also ancient Lata in the Tapi

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Another noticeable feature here is the mention of the son of Nagamulanika, the donor of the cave at Kanheri and the daughter of king Chutukulananda Satakarni, mentioned as Skanda-Naga-Sataka; in the Vanavasi inscription (*Lüder's List*: Inscription No. 1186), he is mentioned as *Yuvaraja*. Nagamulanika's *naga* race is also mentioned at Kanheri.

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valley. Darhasena proclaims in his charter of 453–54 C.E. to have performed the Ashvamedha sacrifice.<sup>16</sup>

However, their exact date is still controversial since not a single copperplate of the kings of this dynasty refers to the name of the era used by them. Although scholars like V.V. Mirashi have considered the era to be the Kalachuri Era, there are evidences indicating that this era was started by the Abhira-s in 248–49 C.E. Others like H.S. Thosar have opined that the copperplates must be referring to the Shaka era that started in 78 C.E. According to the Puranic tradition, the Satavahana-s were followed by the Abhira-s in the Deccan region. Further, according to Mirashi, the Traikutaka-s were one of the feudatories of the Abhira-s in the early period. There are similarities in the Traikutaka coins and epigraphical data (since their era is not mentioned) with the Kshatrapa-s as well. Thosar has dated these copperplates to the immediate post-Satavahana period. M.A. Dhaky<sup>17</sup> has given the date as late 5<sup>th</sup> century C.E. and early 6<sup>th</sup> century C.E. by supporting Mirashi's view.

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<sup>16</sup> Pandit S. (2011), *Age of Traikutakas*.

<sup>17</sup> Dhaky M.A. (1988), *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture*, AILL, Delhi, pp. 79.

One copperplate mentioning the name of this dynasty has been received from Kanheri and gives the year as 245. Scholars like Dr. Shobhana Gokhale<sup>18</sup> have suggested that this is 494/5 C.E. If we consider this as the Shaka era, this must be of ca. 323 C.E. The genealogy of the Traikutaka kings can then be reconstructed on the basis of numismatic and epigraphical data as follows: Indradatta-Darhasena (known year 204)-Vyaghrasena (known years 238, 245)<sup>19</sup>-Madhyamasena (known year 257)-Vikramasena (known year 284). The name Trikuta is also present in Harishena's inscription at Ajanta (5<sup>th</sup> century C.E.) as the name of a region, along with Lata and Andhra. Now, in this case, we do not have any reference to the name of the ruler. The stupa at Kanheri, from which we have received the abovementioned copperplate, is also in a ruined state; nevertheless, the stupa itself can be dated to at least 5<sup>th</sup> century C.E. The bricks found here resemble the bricks found in Cave No. 87, which have been dated to 5<sup>th</sup> century C.E. on the basis of stylistic studies of the decorative motifs and palaeographic studies of their epitaphs.

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<sup>18</sup> Gokhale S. (1991), *Kanheri Inscriptions*, Deccan College Pub, pp. 8.

<sup>19</sup> Although the name of the king is not mentioned in the Kanheri copperplate, scholars have assumed that it belongs to Vyaghrasena's reign.



The reign of the Traikutaka-s appears to have been interrupted by the Vakataka-s, and in the last quarter of 5<sup>th</sup> century C.E., the Vakataka king Harishena of Vastagulma probably conquered the region. As suggested by Gokhale,<sup>20</sup> the epitaphs in Cave No. 87 at Kanheri follow the Vakataka style of palaeography. Moreover, the art and iconographic style at Kanheri follow the Ajanta tradition; for example, the stupa in Cave No. 31 at Kanheri has stylistic affiliations with Ajanta. However, the Kanheri copperplate proves the reinstatement of the power of the Traikutaka-s in this region, which happened most probably immediately after the death of the great Vakataka empire of Harishena and during the reign of Vyaghrasena.

The last epigraphical evidence for the Traikutaka-s is that of Vikramasena,<sup>21</sup> the grandson of Vyaghrasena, in a copperplate dated to 533 C.E. Most probably, the territory was subsequently annexed by the first Kalachuri ruler Krishnaraja who had consolidated his power in Vidarbha, the heartland of the earlier Vakataka dynasty. In this manner, it seems that the Traikutaka-s were followed by the Kalachuri-s who ruled from

<sup>20</sup> (1991), *Kanheri Inscriptions*, p. 9.

<sup>21</sup> This king might have been responsible for Cave No. 1 at Kanheri.

their capital at Mahishmati. However, this early Kalachuri rule was short lived. In the beginning of 7<sup>th</sup> century C.E., during the reign of the Chalukya king Pulakeshi II, this region went back to the control of Maurya kings. We know this from the 7<sup>th</sup> century C.E. inscription of Pulakeshi II at Aihole, which describes the conquests of Kirtivarman<sup>22</sup> who destroyed the Nalas, Mauryas and Kadambas; Pulakeshi also destroyed the city of Puri which was the capital of the Mauryas.<sup>23</sup> In fact, Prof. Dhaky has credited the Maurya kings as being great patrons of the Jogeshvari, Mandapeshvara and Elephanta

<sup>22</sup> (1901), *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI., pp. 7–12.

(V. 9.) His son was Kirtivarman, the knight of doom to the Nalas, Mauryas and Kadambas, whose mind,

although his thoughts kept aloof from others' wives, was attracted by the Fortune of his adversary.

<sup>23</sup> (1901), *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI. Calcutta, pp. 7–12.

(V. 20.) In the Konkan is the impetuous waves of the forces directed by him speedily swept away the rising

wavelets of pools-the Mauryas.

(V. 21.) When, radiant like the destroyer of Pura, He besieged Purī, the Fortune of the western sea, with

hundreds of ships in appearance like arrays of rutting elephants, the sky, dark-blue, as a young

lotus and covered with tiers of massive clouds, resembled the sea, and the sea was like the sky

(V. 22.) Subdued by His splendour, the Latas, Malavas and Gurjaras became as it were teachers of how

feudatories, subdued by force, ought to behave.

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caves,<sup>24</sup> whereas Walter Spink believes that the Kalachuris were responsible. It is true that these Shaiva caves can be dated to 6<sup>th</sup> century C.E., a period that was known for introducing new religious sects to this region, such as the Pashupata sect; these major caves, i.e. Jogeshvari, Elephanta and Mandapeshvara were Pashupata centres.

In short, after the reign of the Satavahana-s, this region was ruled by various dynasties till 6<sup>th</sup> century C.E., among which, two major ruling dynasties were the Traikutaka-s and Konkana Maurya-s. In particular, these two dynasties ruled over this region in 5<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> century C.E., and their religious tolerance helped the monastery at Kanheri to flourish.

Vikramaditya I, the son and successor of Pulakeshi II, placed his younger brother Jayasimha Dharashraya in charge of Nasik district. Pulakeshi II had earlier given South Gujarat to the charge of the Sendraka-s, but this led to a great power struggle between the Sendraka-s and Maitraka-s of Valabhi in this region, especially in Gujarat and the adjacent north Konkan. Finally, the Chalukyas stepped in again, and the region was given to Jayasimha Dharashraya. The political conditions in this region in the period were very interesting.

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<sup>24</sup> Dhaky M.A. (1988), pp.79–91.

There was a king ruling over north Konkan (Kolaba district), and his name was king Svamichandra of ‘Harichandra’ family, who was very dear to Vikramaditya I. He was said to have been the ruler of the Puri-Konkana country with its 14,000 villages.<sup>25</sup> After the death of Jayasimha Dharashraya, Svamichandra’s grandson Bhogashakti seems to have been placed in charge of the Nasik and Ahmadnagar districts. At that time, Thane was under the rule of a king called Mangalarasa who was the younger son of Jayasimha Dharashraya.

Furthermore, according to the Manor plates of the Rashtrakutas, in Shaka era 671, i.e. 749 C.E., the region was under Dantidurga, the founder of Rashtrakuta power. Apart from this, we have one copperplate of one Sugatipa who was the Arab governor of the Rashtrakuta-s and in charge of managing the province of Sanjan. Interestingly enough, the Sanjan copperplate of Sugatipa, the Arab feudatory of the Rashtrakuta king Indra III, refers to Pañchagaudiya Mahaparishad which was responsible for the construction of a Bhagavati temple at Sanjan in north Konkan. The Brahmins in the region were divided into two groups—Pañcha Dravida and Panch Gaudiya. Pancha Dravida comprised five groups—

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<sup>25</sup> Mirashi V.V. (1977), CII, Vol. VI, pp. vi, vii.

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Andhra, Dravida, Karnata, Maharashtra and Gurjarat—while Pancha Gaudiya comprised five groups—Sarasvata, Kanyakubja, Gauda, Maithila and Utkala.<sup>26</sup>

The next known ruler of this region was Kapardin I who founded the north Shilahara branch. Shilahara kings ruled over Konkan for approximately four centuries. As can be seen from the inscriptions at Kanheri, the early kings of the Shilahara dynasty, such as Pullashakti and Kapardin, were the feudatories of the Rashtrakuta-s.

The earliest Marathi 'Bakhar', i.e. 'Mahikavatichi Bakhara' also refers to the site of Kanheri. According to this text, it was from Kanheri that King Bimba of Konkan allotted provinces to his officials. A Sanskrit text called Kumarapalacharita describes a war between the Chalukya (Gujarat) king Kumarapala and Shilahara king Mallikarjuna (ca. 1155–1170 C.E.). In Prabandhachintamani of Merutunga, all the details of this war are given, including those missing from Kumarapalacharita.<sup>27</sup> Although the veracity of this legend can always be challenged as being a late record, it cannot be overlooked that it is one of the literary sources of history. After

Kumarapala's commander Ambada was defeated by Mallikarjuna, he took shelter at Krishnagiri, i.e. Kanheri; subsequently, after receiving help from Kumarapala, he again attacked Mallikarjuna's territory and won the war.<sup>28</sup> These events suggest that in later periods, Kanheri had become a significant place in the local politics. The religious importance of the site during this period has been challenged by a few scholars on the basis of the above evidences as well as those from a few Pahlavi inscriptions found at the site and dated to early 11<sup>th</sup> century C.E.<sup>29</sup> However, there is a reference to Kanheri in a Nepalese manuscript Ashtasahasrikaprañapajramita dated to 1015 C.E. This text illustrates two stupas from Kanheri, referred to as 'Khadga Chaitya' and 'Pratyeka-Buddha-Shikhara Chaitya'.<sup>30</sup> This clearly indicates that Buddhist monks resided here till at least 11<sup>th</sup> century C.E. Different types of records testifying the survival and existence of Buddhism in the region of Mumbai also support such an observation.

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<sup>28</sup> Mirashi V.V. (1977 & 1974).

<sup>29</sup> For a detailed discussion about these inscriptions, see appendix III of chapter II.

<sup>30</sup> Leese M. (1983), p.2 also p.10 (*fn.1*).

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<sup>26</sup> Mirashi V.V. (1958), pp. 149–170.

<sup>27</sup> A detailed discussion on this is given in Chapter II.

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A few inscriptions of the later Shilahara kings are present in the vicinity of Kanheri. We know about the inscriptions of Haripaladeva (Mahul inscription, Trombay, dated to Shaka era 1075, i.e. 1153 C.E.), Aparaditya (Parel inscription, dated to Shaka era 1108, i.e. 1187 C.E.) and other kings. Their reigns were followed by the rule of the Yadava-s and then that of the Islamic rulers.

Before we summarize, it is noteworthy to pause and remember that all the major inscriptions of the kings from the early period are present in Buddhist monuments. The known political history of the region begins with the Mauryan king Ashoka. The Satavahana-s were the successors of the Maurya-s in the region. The main site was excavated during the reign of Vasishthiputra Satakarni. In the following centuries, the site was under the control of the Abhira-s, Traikutaka-s, (Konkan) Maurya-s and then the Kalachuri-s. The Kalachuri-s were responsible for the spread of the Pashupata sect of Shaivism. They were followed by the Chalukya-s of Badami. In the succeeding years, although the region was under the Rashtrakuta-s, their feudatories were local rulers. A few feudatories of foreign origin, such as Arabs, had control over north Konkan. Another family, which was subordinate to the

Rashtrakuta-s in the early period before becoming independent, was the Shilahara-s. Four branches of this dynasty are known to us, and among them, two were ruling over the north Konkan region till at least 11<sup>th</sup> century C.E. The region subsequently passed into Yadava supremacy after which Muslim rulers took charge in the early medieval period.

In the post Yadava period the region was ruled by local dynasties like Nayata. There are five inscriptions of king Hambirrao has been found from the region stating his significant rise on the political horizon of the medieval period. This was followed by the rule of Gujjrat Sultanas and then by arrival of Portuguese. Each of this political change has left long-lasting impact on the cultural history of these caves in MMR.

### **PATRONAGE OF BUDDHIST CAVES**

Indian society has always remained under a virtual umbrella of many religions even as its internal forces have moulded the religious developments. We can see that Indian social and religious institutions are essentially interdependent. Indian society was initially a patron of three different ideological and philosophical streams, viz. Buddhism, Hinduism and Jainism, and the institutions—

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social and religious—complemented and assisted each other to sustain themselves during the assimilation period as well as during political and economic crises.

The Indian society was vertically and horizontally divided into *varna* and *ashrama* comprising four parts each—*Brahmana*, *Kshatriya*, *Vaishya* and *Shudra* and *Brahmacharyashrama*, *Grihasthashrama*, *Vanaprasthashrama* and *Sanyasashrama*, respectively. We can trace their origins to the Vedic society during which time their duties were fixed and codified in the religious texts. In the Brahmanical tradition, *gruhastha*, the householder, is placed at the centre of the social setup and he is the foundation of the entire social structure. He had to perform various duties to achieve *purusharthas*, including paying debts; here, giving donations was one of the ways by which the ancient Indian people could repay the three debts.

In the course of time, rituals gained importance in the Brahmanical tradition and lost their real meaning. Buddha's preaching of the doctrine of Universal Momentariness and Dependent origins began and spread against this background. The Buddha denied the central

position of the householder and emphasized asceticism and renunciation of the world. The Buddha was not the only person who emphasised renunciation and the ethical way of life; other sects like Ajivika and Jains also similarly believed and practiced renunciation.

We have seen earlier that new trade centres sprung during the Mauryan period under the urbanization process in Deccan and north Konkan. A new social setup was introduced in the region. According to a legend, Buddhism was spread in Aparanta by *Sthavira* Dhammarakkhita<sup>31</sup> in the reign of King Ashoka. This must have been followed by monastic establishments and the excavation of caves, a process that continued in this particular region for some time<sup>32</sup> and probably changed the entire social setup for at least some periods.

The monastery at Kanheri was now receiving numerous donations from all strata of the society. However, it is difficult to believe that all the lay follower donors were Buddhists. There are a few examples wherein donors have

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<sup>31</sup> Dr. Sohoni S.V. (1971), *Mahavamsatika*, pp. 271–76.

<sup>32</sup> Jivadhan caves have been dated to the Mauryan period by Dr. Nagaraju and considered as one of the early Buddhist caves in south India (Nagaraju (1981)).



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tried to maintain their Brahmanical social identity while giving donations to Buddhist monasteries. At Kuda, there is an inscription in Cave No. 9 describing the donation of a *chaitya* by a Brahmin lady Bhayila; her husband emphasizes his name as ‘Brahmin *upasaka* Ayitilu’.<sup>33</sup> It is possible that the concept of ‘religious donations’ overcame the barriers of caste and faith in this period.

In the later period (3<sup>rd</sup> century C.E. onwards), this social structure became rigid as a social response to the various socio-cultural and political assimilations. With the rise of the Gupta-s and Vakataka-s, there was a turning of the tide towards Hinduism in Deccan and Aparanta. Furthermore, Huna invasions disturbed the entire socio-economic structure of the region. By the early medieval period, a few Arabs had begun to rule over this region as feudatories of the Rashtrakuta-s.<sup>34</sup>

Various new castes and sub-castes began to spring up, and thereby, the socio-political background of phases II

and III became totally different from that of phase I. The epigraphical data of phase II at the site indicates its contact with northwestern India. Most of the donations given here during this period were by monks. As can be seen in the phase III inscriptions, cultural contacts with eastern India became extremely significant. We do not have many donatory inscriptions of any lay followers in the later period. In the copperplate grant of Sugatipa, the Arab feudatory of the Rashtrakutas, there is a reference to Gaudiya Brahmins.

Moreover, most of the inscriptions suggest the existence of a joint family system. Usually, donors share their religious merit with all their relatives and family members.

Donors can be classified into the following four categories:

1. Members of royal families
2. Shramana and Brahmanas
3. Traders and trade guilds
4. Women donors

We have already discussed the political background of the site in brief, but, unlike Ajanta for example, very few contributions or donations to the site came from the royal

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<sup>33</sup> Samuel S. (1998), pp. 94.

<sup>34</sup> One copperplate has been found at Sanjan, a village in modern Gujarat-Maharashtra border; it mentions the rule of an Arab feudatory of Rashtrakuta-s. Mirashi V.V. (1958), *Samshodhana Muktavali*, Sar III, pp. 149–170.

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class. Many inscriptions refer to the ruling dynasty or the king, but hardly any donations seem to have been given directly by the king. Most of the few donations from the royal class are from royal families. Administrative officers have also given a few donations but their number in proportion to the overall statistics is negligible.

The major donor group who gave maximum donations to the Buddhist monastery was the trader group whose donations included caves, water cisterns, benches, paths, tank and other forms of architecture as well as architectural elements.

An interesting donation of agricultural land has been recorded in an inscription from Cave No. 21 at Kanheri. There were a few villages on Salsette Island such as Magathane, and they are referred to in an inscription from Kanheri dated to 2<sup>nd</sup> century C.E. A merchant Aparenu of Sopara donated a field from the village Magathane.<sup>35</sup> It is interesting to note that a person who was a resident of Kalyan, which was one of the major ports and trade centres in ancient Aparanta, gave the donation of a field in the village of Magathane to the monastery at Kanheri.

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<sup>35</sup> Inscription in Cave No. 21.

Moreover, this village gives us the evidence of a few Buddhist caves which have been dated to 6<sup>th</sup> century C.E. The term used for the field in the inscription is ‘*adhapana khetiya*’. This phrase denotes a person who possesses the right to half the share in the property. ‘Aparenu’ given in the present inscription possessed the field in question, together with an unnamed partner and had donated his share for religious purposes.<sup>36</sup> The other person whose name is not mentioned in the inscription but had rights over half the field might have been a resident of Magathane. Aparenu, being the resident of Sopara, must have appointed some local person as a caretaker of the field.

There are a few references to *shreshthis* in the Kanheri inscriptions of the early period. These *shreshthis* had a definite role to play in the social and economic systems and had become an indispensable part of the rural-urban socio-economic life. They were generally of the *vaishya* class. *Shreshthis* in the urban areas were known to engage in large-scale trade, both internal as well as

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<sup>36</sup> Gokhale S. (1991), *Kanheri Inscriptions*, pp. 75.

external.<sup>37</sup> Not only the epigraphical evidences of the Satavahana period but also those of the medieval period shed light on the role of the various crafts and trade of the *shreshthis* and their role as money lenders as well as other important personas in the urban-rural socio-economic life of the region. From the Shilahara records, they appear to have been considered to be respectable citizens and often received favours from the kings. A few *shreshthis* were working as trustees of the temple of god Lonaditya in the Shilahara period.<sup>38</sup>

Since a very early period, trade guilds—known as *shrenis*—were a common feature of economic life throughout India. A guild is basically an expression of organized economic activity. The structure in which men of different professions and trades came together to form groups with definite rules and regulations to guide them was known as *shreni*. The Jatakas talk about 18 such

*shrenis*, while the Satavahana inscriptions give references to six such *shrenis*.<sup>39</sup> References to such guilds can be seen in numerous inscriptions of the early period not only from Kanheri but also from other sites like Nasik,<sup>40</sup> Junnar<sup>41</sup> and Kuda. These guilds also used to maintain their own armed forces for protection from bandits on the trade routes. These guilds have been referred to as *shreni*, *puga*, *gana*, *kuta*, etc.<sup>42</sup> In the Bhadana copperplates of Aparajit, ‘guild’ is referred to by an unusual word ‘*Nagara*’. Mirashi suggests that this ‘*Nagara*’ is the same as Kannada ‘*Nakara*’ which means guild.<sup>43</sup> Although the guilds were engaged in various activities, their main interest was to promote economic activities through mutual assistance. There are references to ‘*Hamyamana Nagara*’ in Shilahara inscriptions. The word *Hamyamana* in Kannada means

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<sup>37</sup> Ranade Anuradha (2003), *Sethis in Socio-economic Life [Studies in Indian Epigraphy]*, Vol. XXIX, Ramesh K.V. (Ed.), ESOI, Mysore, pp. 28–32.

By comparing *shethi*-s in ancient India and *shete*-s in modern society, their place in the socio-economic structure of the society has been investigated.

<sup>38</sup> Paranjpe B. (1989), *Cultural History of the Konkan Based on Shilahara Inscriptions*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis submitted to the University of Pune, Dept. of Archaeology, Pune, pp. 102.

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<sup>39</sup> *Adeyamtikka, Tilapisaka, Kularika, Koliya, Dhatrika, Vamsakra*.

<sup>40</sup> There are references to the guilds of Kolikanikaya (weavers) (*Lüders List: Inscription No. 1133*) and Odayantrika (workers fabricating hydraulic engines) (*Lüders List: Inscription No. 1137*).

<sup>41</sup> There are references to the guilds of Dhamñika (corn-dealers) (*Lüders List: Inscription No. 1180*) and Vasakara (bamboo-worker) (*Lüders List: 1165*).

<sup>42</sup> Paranjpe B. (1989), *Cultural History of Konkan Based on Shilahara Inscriptions*, unpublished Ph.D. Theses Submitted to University of Pune, Dept. of Archaeology, Pune, pp. 94.

<sup>43</sup> CII, Vol. VI, Inscription No. 7, Bhadana Grant of Aparajita: Shaka Year 919.

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artisan, and hence, it may be concluded that the abovementioned word refers to the guilds of artisans.

There are also various records of perpetual endowments, i.e. donations given in the form of fixed deposits. References to such donations can be seen in the inscriptions at the site from the Satavahana period to the Shilahara period. An inscription of the reign of Kapardin II at Kanheri mentions a provision that the donee, in this case Gomin Avighnakara, would continue to collect interest till he lives, and after his death, the monastery would start receiving the interest.

However, there are no references to the donations of fixed deposits in the Shilahara period, maybe because the practice of giving donations in the form of fixed deposits was more common among Buddhist followers than among Brahmanical followers. The Brahmanical institutions during this period mainly received land donations.<sup>44</sup> This also suggests that the administrative structure of the Buddhist monasteries was more reliable.

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<sup>44</sup> Paranjpe B. (1989), *Cultural History of the Konkan Based on Shilahara Inscriptions*, unpublished Ph.D. Theses Submitted to University of Pune, Dept. of Archaeology, Pune, pp. 97.

## **Women Donors**

In general, the complexity of social structures is reflected in the relationship and behavioural patterns at an individual level and can be often ascertained and evaluated on the basis of the status of women who form one of the basic elements of any social structure. Indian society has always been known for its patriarchal structure, and references in the inscriptions about women typically suggest their social dependency. Most of the names of female donors are always mentioned with some references to the male member in the family, viz. husband, brother or father. The inscriptions give lists of names of the donor's relatives with whom the donor desires to share his/her merit of donation. Nevertheless, there are also many Satavahana kings whose names were taken from their mother's name. At Kanheri, we have inscriptions of Vasishtipurta Satakarni and Mathariputra Shakasena. An inscription in Cave No. 5 at Kanheri refers to the personal minister of the queen of Vasishtipurta Satakarni.

A few inscriptions describe nuns who gave donations to the monastery in memory of their teachers. A donor Sarpa is mentioned to be an ascetic as well as

*kulapriya*. Her father was Dharma, an inhabitant of Dhenukakata. This specific mention shows that he must have been alive at the time of this donation. At the same time, Sarpa refers to her sister as well which suggests that Sarpa was one of the children of Dharma. This inscription suggests that the female members of a family had the freedom of becoming a nun at any phase of life. An inscription in Cave No. 80 is of the merchant Navinaka, and it is in honour of his mother. One inscription from Karla makes a reference to a nun Kodi and her son Ghunika.<sup>45</sup> An inscription from Cave No. 93 at Kanheri describes ‘*pravrajita* Jamadevika’, the daughter of Shivatana. Epigraphical evidences give us some titles like *pravrajita* or *bhikshuni*, which suggest their status within the *sangha*. *Vinayapitaka*, which contains the code of the *sangha*, gives the first rule for a nun (*bhikshuni*) as follows: ‘even if aged hundred she should give respect to a monk younger than her’.<sup>46</sup> It is noteworthy that there are no

inscriptions of monks who have made such pious donations in the first phase.<sup>47</sup>

A few inscriptions at the site give direct evidence for the background of the common man. For example, the name Venhunandin in the inscription in Cave No. 74 at Kanheri suggests his Brahmanical background; he and his wife had donated a cave, a room and a water cistern. An inscription in Cave No. 4 at Kanheri mentions the donation of a stupa of *thera* Dhammapala by Shivapalitanika, the wife of a goldsmith. This lady must have been a lay worshiper and not a *theri* or *pravrajita* because this inscription does not give such a title for her. Three more inscriptions give references to occupations, those of Halanika, who is the wife of a merchant, Lavanika, the wife of *sethi* Achala, and Damila, the wife of *Bhojaka* of Aparanta. Damila is the only lady who has this title ‘*Bhojiki*’. She seems to have some significant status in society as the wife of a *Bhojaka*.<sup>48</sup> Another interesting thing about this lady is that the donation given by her is

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<sup>45</sup> Deo S.B. (1984), pp. 90.

<sup>46</sup> Max Muller (1984), reprint, Vol. 20.

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<sup>47</sup> It is possible that the names of *thera*-s as teachers suggest the superior position of males in the *sangha*. We do not have any inscriptions about the donation of a stupa of *theri* or of a female teacher.

<sup>48</sup> *Bhojika* must have been a post equivalent to provincial governor.



mentioned twice in the same cave. In the second inscription, she is referred to as a female ascetic and her title *Bhojiki* is dropped.<sup>49</sup> These inscriptions suggest that in the contemporary society, women must have had some share in their husband's or father's properties, even though *sutra* literature hardly seems to allow it.<sup>50</sup>

There are no references to Sati in the inscriptions of the Satavahana period but the life of a widow has been referred to in various inscriptions.<sup>51</sup> There are four *gathas*<sup>52</sup> in *Gathasattasai* of Hala, a Satavahana king, about the practice of Sati.<sup>53</sup> But these *gathas* can be a later addition in the text. As we know, there are five to six editions of this text, and some of them can be dated to the Vakataka period and even to the post-Vakataka period.<sup>54</sup> We know that the

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<sup>49</sup> Here, her title as ascetic (*bhikhuni*) may suggest her widowhood. The inscription of Naganika refers to her as an ascetic because of her widowhood. Although *Manusmriti* describes the life of widow in terms of a female ascetic, this hypothesis can always be challenged.

<sup>50</sup> Mirashi V.V. (1979).

<sup>51</sup> Naneghat inscription of Naganika and copperplate of Prabhavati Gupta (Mirashi (1979, 1963)).

<sup>52</sup> Gatha Nos. 407, 449, 633 and 876.

<sup>53</sup> Jogalekar A.S. (1956), pp. 273 and 419–20.

<sup>54</sup> Mirashi V.V. (1957), pp. 124–25. A.M. Shastri suggests the Sati tradition.

practice of Sati was known in the Gupta period since Kalidasa and Shudraka refer to it.<sup>55</sup>

A few inscriptions also suggest that women were allowed to participate in religious practices and to enjoy their share of merit. *Gathasattasai* refers to the participation of women in Phalgunotsava, i.e. Holi.<sup>56</sup>

In this manner, it is evident that these donations were coming from different strata of the society. Moreover, donations for the benefit of the Buddhist faith were sometimes made by royal families and Brahmins as well. People who belonged to the *vaishya* class, like merchants and sethis, have also made donations. Various craftsmen can be seen working for this faith. Buddhism had accepted members of different *varnas* within its fold. From the abovementioned examples of *theris*, it becomes clear that Buddhism also denied the *ashrama* system.

Another interesting aspect is the source for the donations. As mentioned earlier, an *upasika*, i.e. a female devotee of the Buddha, can get a share in the property of her husband or her father. *Apastambha-sutra* denies such a

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<sup>55</sup> Alatekar A.S. & R.C. Mujumdar (1954), pp. 351.

<sup>56</sup> Jogalekar S.A., *ibid.* pp. 249–50.

right to the husband's property, but not to the father's property.<sup>57</sup> However, the question arises about the donations given by the *theris*; maybe, they received money from their rich relatives or their lay followers such as *sethis*, *Bhojakas* and *merchants*. There is also the possibility of changes to the Theravada tradition which had not allowed monks and nuns to keep money. In the new tradition, the keeping of some money might have been allowed, even after their renunciation. This late Satavahana as well as post-Satavahana phase is also known to be a transitional phase between the so-called Hinayana and Mahayana. Hence, it is possible that there may have some changes in the *vinaya* rules of the *sangha*.

We do not have any references to donations given by women after 3<sup>rd</sup> century C.E., except some copperplates issued by queens like Prabhavatigupta of the eastern branch of the Vakataka family. At the site of Kanheri, we have around 35 inscriptions and epitaphs that belong to the second phase. None of them refers to women as donors or as teachers or as *theris*. This became a general feature of all the contemporary epigraphical data from western India.

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<sup>57</sup> Mirashi V.V. (1979), pp. 134–35.

The question is 'why did this sudden decline in the number of women donors take place'? The donatory inscriptions themselves are much less in number in this phase while the donations made by female donors are not to be seen at all.

The position of women was probably not as high as it was earlier in the 1<sup>st</sup> phase. We can see this reflected in contemporary literature as well. 'Deification' of women began taking place, even as Kalidasa tried to emphasize the human nature of the gods. He has depicted Parvati in *Kumarasambhavam* more as a human rather than as a goddess. The character of Charudatta's wife in *Mruchhakatika* has been described as an ideal wife as per *sutra* norms. A belief in the extraordinary powers of the devoted wife, i.e. Pativrata, is reflected in the story of *Dashakumaracharitam*.

There was a sudden decline in the status of women. Yañavalkya records that one can always challenge the authenticity of legal documents and donations by women.<sup>58</sup> Dr. Kane<sup>59</sup> explains that 'this situation might have arisen due to illiteracy among women'. Political turmoil in this

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<sup>58</sup> Kane P.V. (1962), Vol. II, pp. 583–98.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*

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region in this particular phase may also have led to this situation. The Huna invasion had its own adverse effects on political stability, and the process of their absorption into the Hindu society must have had its own repercussions.<sup>60</sup> It is typical for the position of women to become highly affected in such situations. This new political and social upheaval must have resulted in the decline of the social status of women.

We can say that there are various factors which affect the social structure as well as the role of the basic elements in society, and women are the first to suffer from the social changes. During the Satavahana period, the society was economically prosperous because of the Indo-Roman trade, while, politically, Deccan was under a stable rule. Although the Satavahana kings called themselves '*Ekabrahmana*', they were liberal in their religious patronage. Similarly, women also enjoyed more economic and religious freedom and to some extent more social freedom than in the later phase. During the second phase, after the decline of the Vakataka-s and Gupta-s, Deccan suffered political turmoil. The society also faced the process of the assimilation of tribes in mainstream Indian

society. Further, because of the war of supremacy in the Deccan region, battles became unavoidable. Most probably, this was one of the major political reasons for the fall in the status of woman. Women in the royal families did not suffer much but women from lower strata suffered from loss of their economic, social and religious freedom and an overall decline in their status.

#### **PATRONAGE OF BUDDHIST CAVES**

There are Shaiva sites like Jogeshwari, Elephanta and Mandapeshwara under MMR. It is difficult to comment on the patronage of any of the sites in the dearth of epigraphical evidence. There are two inscriptions which have been discussed in the due course of description of sites at Jogeshwari and Elephanta. An inscription at Elephanta is lost and no traces of whereabouts of the same. An inscription from Jogeshwari dated to Shilahara period has been discussed in the report. This inscription does not talk about the patronage and patrons responsible for making if the monuments but of the later period, which helped it to sustain. These sites must have worked as Mathas and linked with each other through the network of smaller centres, traces of which are lost in the due

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<sup>60</sup> Karve I. (1991), reprint, pp. 61, 62 and 63.

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course of time. Baradevi sculptural hoard suggest the same from archaeological point of view.

Chronologically these important Shaiva cave clusters can be dated to late 5<sup>th</sup> to late 6<sup>th</sup> century CE. There are few early caves at Elephanta which mark the beginning of the rock-cut activity at Shaiva site which develops into the gigantic caves like Jogeshwari, Elephanta Cave 1 and Mandapeshwara by the end of 6<sup>th</sup> century CE. Dynastic affiliation of these monuments has been a topic of debate for long time. Kalachuris, Chalukyas and Konkan Mauryas have been assigned the patronage of these monuments by art historians. 'Ajant to Ellora', a work by Prof. Walter Spink assigns these monuments to the Kalachuris which is now widely accepted by scholars worldwide. This discussion on the patronage is mainly based on the archaeological and art historical data coming from these sites.

### Monastery

On the basis of archaeological evidence, the antiquity of Sopara can be traced back to at least 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. However, literary evidence takes it back to a much earlier period. In addition to early Buddhist literature and Jataka

stories, various Jaina and Hindu sources have described Sopara as Shurparaka or Surpur. In *Purnavadana*, one of the *Avadana* stories, Sopara is referred to as a city with 18 gateways and that Buddha had visited the city; it was also one of the earliest Buddhist centres in south India. Sopara most probably developed under the Mauryans during the purposeful urbanisation of south India. The Buddhist monks came to south India with traders. According to a legend, immediately after the 3<sup>rd</sup> Buddhist council during the reign of Ashoka, Buddhism was spread in Aparanta by *Sthavira* Dhammarakkhita.<sup>61</sup> According to the Buddhist historical work *Mahavamsa* written in Sri Lanka in 4<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> century C.E., Mahadharmarakshita went to Maharashtra. He narrated the *Jataka*, after which 84,000 were converted to the Buddhist path while 13,000 people took order from him.<sup>62</sup> This must have been followed by monastic establishments and the excavation of caves, a process that also continued in this particular region.<sup>63</sup> The inscription of Nahapana in Cave No. 10 at Nasik tells us about

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<sup>61</sup> Dr. S.V. Sohoni (1971), *Mhavamsatika*, Navanalanda Mahavihar Pub., Patna, pp. 271–76.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> Jivadhan caves have been dated to the Mauryan period by Dr. Nagaraju and considered as one of the earliest Buddhist caves in south India. (Nagaraju (1981)). A fragment of an Ashokan edict has also been recorded from Sopara.

a monastery at Sopara.<sup>64</sup> Although the monks were living like ascetics, Buddhism's success in spreading to the masses basically depended on their skill of communication with the masses. A few monks having higher statuses in the monastic hierarchy must have also settled there for the maintenance of the monastery. The decline of Sopara as a trade centre started at around 1<sup>st</sup> century C.E., and this, along with various other reasons like scarcity of land, lack of resources and isolated life of monks, may have been the reasons for monks to shift to the adjacent islands. Two major sites began to emerge in this

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<sup>64</sup> It is mentioned that they were 'Charaka Sampradaya'. (Gokhale S. (1975), pp. 135–139).

Line 3 ..... गोवर्धने सुवर्णमुखे शोर्पारगे च रामतीर्थे चरकर्षभ्यः ग्रामे नानंगोले द्वात्रीशत-  
नालीगेर मूल सहस्रप्रदेन .....

The reading of the same line is given by Dr. Mirashi V.V. (1979, pp. 102–107) as follows:

Line 3 ..... गोवर्धने सुवर्णमुखे शोर्पारगे च रामतीर्थे चरकर्षभ्यः ग्रामे नानंगोले  
द्वात्रीशतनालीगेरमूलसहस्रप्रदेन .....

The reading and translation given by Dr. Gokhale have been considered for this study, and it has been matched by the author with the ink impression of the same inscription given in the same text by Dr. Gokhale. With this reading, Dr. Gokhale has suggested us that these monks were experts in medical science. Moreover, it is interesting that although the soil here is not good for the vegetative growth of plants, it naturally gives us various medicinal herbs.

The Buddhist approach to *Ayurveda* has also been noted by Muralimadhavan P.C. In a research paper, the author has given a few interesting observations about monks and their knowledge about the medicinal science and their references in various Buddhist texts. (Muralimadhavan P.C. (1996), pp.127–139).

period in the same region—Kanheri and Mahakali (Kondivate).<sup>65</sup> Clearly, the monks must have wanted to exploit this forest region in their search of natural resources. Both the sites had sufficient water supply too. Although the stream flowing today at Kanheri is not perennial, it turns into a river near the foot of the hills and has been known to flood till the recent past. Another source of water was the many lakes in the region. Both the cave sites have lakes nearby. The 'Tulsi Lake' is located near Kanheri, while there are two lakes—'Arey Colony Lake' and 'Powai Lake'—near Kondivate. Big water tanks on the top of the hills and small water cisterns near the caves can be seen at both the sites. These might be the reason for the emergence of the cave sites at these particular locations. These sites are not far from village settlements such as Magathane, which are recorded in the epigraphical data retrieved from these sites.

Apart from this, the royal patronage in the early years of the establishment helped the monastery at Kanheri to

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<sup>65</sup> Although the date of this cave site has been suggested by Fergusson as 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. on the basis of the plan of Cave No. 9 (Fergusson (1988)), stylistic features of the stupa suggest that it can be dated to at least 1<sup>st</sup> century C.E.

achieve a strong footing.<sup>66</sup> Although the rock at Kanheri is not of the best quality for delicate carvings, it is better than any of the other available rock accessible in the hills around. The poor quality of rock may be the reason for extensive woodwork, plaster and painting work. Around 75 caves can be dated to two initial centuries of activity. One of the major early caves here is Cave No. 3, i.e. the main *chaitya*. This was started by two merchant brothers Gajasena and Gajamitra and completed by a merchant Aparenu.<sup>67</sup> Cave Nos. 2 and 4 are definitely earlier than Cave No. 3, but they also belong to 2<sup>nd</sup> century C.E.; this supports the hypothesis that there must have been some habitation before the beginning of excavation of Cave No. 3. Nevertheless, the excavation of Cave No. 3 was probably the event which brought Kanheri into the limelight of the contemporary Buddhist world. Another inscription on the opposite pillar mentions a donation for some structure at Sopara, a prayer hall (*chaitya*) at Ambalika *vihara* at Kalyan, a

<sup>66</sup> Cave No. 5 has an inscription by the minister of the Satavahana queen, who was the wife of king Vashishtiputra Satakarni and the daughter of the Kshatrapa king of Gujarat, Rudradaman.

<sup>67</sup> His name is also mentioned as Aparenuka, son of Ananda and merchant of Kalyan, in an inscription in Cave No. 21 as the donor of the cave.

meditation room and a residential room near Paithan<sup>68</sup> as well as various other donations that are unclear in the inscription because of its weathering. This inscription not only refers to Sopara and Kalyan, but also suggests that the fame of Kanheri had reached up to Paithan. Not only this, the art in Cave No. 3 suggests some influence of the Kshatrapa art of the contemporary Gujarat region.<sup>69</sup> There are around 12 inscriptions referring to donations by the inhabitants of Kalyan and not less than five inscriptions referring to donations by the inhabitants of Sopara. Moreover, out of the 43 inscriptions at the site of the 1<sup>st</sup> phase, two inscriptions are from Chaul. This shows that the economic flow from Kalyan and Sopara became diverted towards Kanheri, and this must have helped Kanheri to establish itself and flourish.

<sup>68</sup> Paithan was the capital of the Satavahana rulers in this period and mentioned in various literary and epigraphical evidences known as Pratishtana. The inscription says that

L8	sa-akhayanivikâ Râjatalâka Paithânapathe
L9	sana chulika - yakuti kodhi cha khani ta sada
L10	sevâjuya (viha)re sanghâramo sa-akhayaniviko
	kâ

<sup>69</sup> In the sculptures of phase I, we can see this influence. There is a depiction of double-humped camels (Bactrian camels) in the same cave, which suggests its linkages with the 'Silk Route'.

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We can identify a few groups of caves at Kanheri on the basis of their location, chronology and stylistic features. The monastery must have played an important role not only in the excavation of caves but also in deciding the location, plan and major panels to be carved. Most of the early caves are near the water stream, and in rare cases, have a small courtyard. On the other hand, the courtyard is a general feature of later caves. This architectural feature and the cave location are inter-related factors. The location of the cave must have been fixed after discussions between three important agencies—the donor, chief architect and the higher authorities of the monastery. Further, the higher authorities of the monastery must have had some specific ideas about the cave and its utility. Naturally, the location of the cave depends on its planned usage as well as the geology of the hill. The first part, i.e. the fixing of the cave location on the basis of the cave utility was the responsibility of the higher authorities of the monastery, whereas the chief architect analyzed the geology of the rocks. Finally, the donor, who is the most important factor in the entire process, enters the scene. The chief architect typically fixed the location, discussed the demands of the higher authorities of the monastery and

considered the wishes of the donor before finally deciding the plan of the cave.

As mentioned earlier, the early caves did not have courtyards or open courts similar to the later caves with sloping sides. The open court plays an important role in the cave plan to achieve a particular height. Hence, the early donors and chief architect must have avoided spending time, money and manpower on just digging for achieving the height, except in a few cases. After all, they were in a position to get steep scarp to excavate the caves to avoid losses of time, money and manpower. An inscription in Cave No. 3, i.e. the main prayer hall at the site describes a *thera Sêumla*<sup>70</sup> as the overseer of the excavation work.

Often, there is more than one donor for a cave, for example, the *chaitya* caves at Karla and Kanheri. In fact, the main *chaitya* at a site usually has more than one donor. The typical explanation for this is that ‘these are huge and expensive caves’, but questions about their location, plan and the role of the donor in this remains. We believe that the higher authorities of the monastery must have taken most of the

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<sup>70</sup> This name is given as *Seümla* by Dr. Gokhale (1991). This reading is from Lüders List, Inscription No. 987.

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decisions with the advice of the chief architect. Modifications and additions to the caves must have seen similar decision-making with more donations required for extending the cave. This shows that in addition to the donor's wish and the chief architect's capability, the cave's usage requirements as per the monastery also play an important role.

The caves at the site can be grouped on the basis of their location, chronology and stylistic features. Each group comprises at least one prayer hall and a group of residential rooms (*viharas*). The early groups are near water streams, but the later groups are in the upper layers of the caves on the hillocks. This was probably because of the availability of space. The existence of these groups might also be because of sectarian affiliations. There are references to two Buddhist sects in the inscriptions—Bhadrayaniya<sup>71</sup> and Aparashaila.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> This sect is mentioned in the inscription in Cave Nos. 3 and 50. This sect is a sub-sect of Vajjiputtaka, which was under the Theravada tradition. (Rhys Davids (1979)).

<sup>72</sup> An inscription in Cave No. 65, palaeographically dated to 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D., discusses this sect. The reference of Aparashaila is from the later text of Mahavamsa, which mentions that it was one of the 6 sects, which had emerged after the 3<sup>rd</sup> council in 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. These six sects are as follows: Hemavata, Rajagiriya, Siddhanthika, Purvashaila, Aparashaila and Vajiriya. (Dr. Sohoni, S.V. (1971), pp.: 271–76). The Aparashaila sect is considered as a sub-sect of the Andhaka sect in early Buddhism.

Most of the donors of the site were merchants, trade guilds and people from royal families. They have donated caves, water cisterns, pathways, benches and also permanent endowments. However, some authority or administrative committee must have been required for maintenance and upkeep. There are many references to deposits looked after by the monasteries. In the absence of an organized system, donors may not continue to donate. For example, an interesting reference is to a dam and a field in an inscription that recorded the construction of a reservoir by 'Sethi Punaka'. One of the inscriptions at Kanheri refers to the fields around Kanheri, which were under cultivation for the maintenance of Buddhist monks.<sup>73</sup> Now, there must have been some governing body to look after these fields and the maintenance of the reservoir, and they were probably in the form of some council of monks having a higher status in the monastic hierarchy.

We can classify donors briefly into three groups—royal donors, monks and lay worshipers. The Satavahana-s and Shilahara-s gave direct royal patronage to the site. The Traikutaka-s are mentioned in the donatory inscriptions of a

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(Mahavamsa, 5.12.) This is also referred to as the Cheityika group sect. (Dutta N. (1987)).

<sup>73</sup> Gokhale S. (1991), pp. 84.



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merchant who belonged to Sindhu *vishaya* (province); he had donated a brick stupa opposite to Cave No. 3 in which the copperplate was found.<sup>74</sup> Most of the phase I inscriptions have records of donations from lay worshippers. These people belonged to wealthy classes such as merchants, administrative officers or rich Brahmins. There are references to various trade guilds in the inscriptions as well. The *shreshthis* were in charge of guilds, or, groups of various traders. One interesting donation is recorded in Cave No. 21; the inscription contains a term ‘*Adhapana Khetiya*’. This phrase has been used to denote a person who possesses the right to half a share in the property. In the present inscription, Aparenu possessed a field together with an unnamed partner and donated his share for religious purposes.<sup>75</sup> In these inscriptions, we can see a few village names besides Sopara, Kalyan, Chaul and Nasik, which were actually major trade centres. Magalasthana and Saphaü have been identified as Magathane, around 7 km away from Kanheri on the modern Western Express highway, and Saphale, near Virar and not far from the ancient township of Sopara, respectively. It is quite possible that Saphale was one of the villages that supported the township of Sopara. Another

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<sup>74</sup> Bird J. (1841), p. 94–97.

<sup>75</sup> Gokhale S. (1991), pp. 75.

interesting reference is of ‘*Ambalika Vihara*’ at Kalyan. This is recorded in the inscriptions in Caves Nos. 3 and 75. Various identifications have been suggested for this site, but the most convincing one is that of the site of Ambivali, which is 8 km southeast of modern Kalyan. Ambivali is on the banks of river ‘Ulhas’ which might have been the route to the ancient port of Kalyan.<sup>76</sup>

It is surprising to note that except for Saphale, all the places have Buddhist caves; Saphale is an exception and it is difficult to discuss it in detail since no extensive explorations have been undertaken in the Saphale region. Also, Magathane caves are later in date, and hence, we will discuss it in part II of this paper. However, as we have seen, the monastery at Kanheri utilised religious forces to exploit the locally available economic resources at Sopara consciously or unconsciously. Such a conclusion is also applicable to Kalyan with reference to the establishment at Ambivali. If it is not so, what else can be the explanation to the recording of such donations at Kanheri? The records of the donations given at Paithan and Nasik can be explained by the fact that these places were the most important political, religious and economic centres in

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<sup>76</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 101.

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contemporary Maharashtra. Nasik was the early capital of the Satavahana-s while Paithan was the later one. However, this is not true in the case of Kalyan. During this period, Sopara might have served as the administrative headquarters of the surrounding region, as is evident from later inscriptions, but no single contemporary record refers to Sopara as a capital.<sup>77</sup>

The monastery must have played an important role in the life of the common man. A reference in *Mahavamsa* about the narration of *Mahanarada Kashyapa Jataka* gives us a clue as to how the monks spread and popularized Buddhism. *Jataka* stories—a collection of folklore containing Buddhist teachings—played an important role. Buddhist literature indirectly tells us about the interactive healthy relationships between these social institutions. Such a healthy relationship in social institutions is always based on interactions from both sides. In Hinduism, we can see a similar development of religious centres in the Ganga valley. Religious centres played the role of a link between the faiths and the common man. In other words, although people may not have visited these centres daily, they must have visited them periodically, on

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<sup>77</sup> In *Purnavadana*, Sopara is mentioned as a capital of some minor local king. A few references occur in the folklore as well, but obviously of a later period.

some special occasions, on the day of some sermon or on some festival period. These monastic centres must have played an important role in the life of the common man. This is also supported by an observation that most of the important *chaityas* in the early sites are near their ancient entrances and more easily accessible than the residential halls at the sites.

In brief, the monastery at Kanheri was successful in diverting the economic flow from various sources to the establishment, consciously or unconsciously, for ensuring its existence; this not only popularized Buddhism among the masses but also led to a golden age. This analysis is especially valid for phase I when the Indo-Roman trade was in its highest glory. However, with the beginning of phase II, the prosperity of these trade routes and centres began to decline; nevertheless, interestingly enough, the monastery continued to flourish. Therefore, it becomes imperative to determine the mechanism that helped the monastery to sustain under such apparently adverse conditions.

With the decline in the prosperity in the trade routes and trade centres, most of the Buddhist sites came to an end. The excavation activities of caves were very limited throughout western India during this period. However, at Kanheri, the

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monastery retained its fame and prominence. Note that in this period, we do not have a single donation made by women. There are very few records of donative inscriptions from lay worshipers or lay followers. Most of them refer to donations made only by those monks who were the residents of Kanheri. It is also interesting to note that very few caves were excavated during this period. On the other hand, various intrusive sculptures can be seen in the newly excavated caves as well as in the earlier caves which chronologically belong to phase I. Kanheri also has sculptures belonging to the post-Ajanta and pre-Aurangabad (late) period. In this study, an attempt has been made to study how the monastery managed with very few donations, while simultaneously maintaining a large number of monks.

In the second phase, various monks had donated Buddha figures in the main *chaitya*, an activity that has been observed in the case of Ajanta as well. Moreover, these monks have specifically mentioned their Shakya clan.<sup>78</sup> One of the

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<sup>78</sup> Dr. Cohen has showed in his doctoral thesis that these Shakya *Bhikshus* were Mūlasarvastivadin who brought some revolutionary changes in the contemporary Buddhist doctrine. (1995, pp. 202–245). The '*Divyavadana*' refers to Sopara as one of the major Buddhist centres and also the place where the Bodhisattva Purna uses to live; '*Purnavadana*' belongs to Mulasarvastivada. (see Winternitz M. (1993), reprint, pp. 273)

monks who had donated a Buddha figure refers to himself as Shakya Buddhaghosha and also mentions that he is a guardian of Gandhakuti.<sup>79</sup> Interestingly enough, we can see a small room in the courtyard of the same *chaitya*; this may have been the residence of this monk. There are a few other inscriptions mentioning the Shakya clan and also giving references to Mahayana Buddhism.<sup>80</sup> A donor Sarpa is mentioned here as an ascetic in one of the phase I inscriptions in Cave No. 65. Her father was Dharma, an inhabitant of Dhenukakata.<sup>81</sup> This specific mention suggests that he must have been alive at the time of this donation and that she might have taken money from him. One inscription from Karla gives a reference of a nun called Kodi and her son Ghunika.<sup>82</sup> An inscription from Cave No. 93 talks about '*pravrajitâ*' Jamadevika, the daughter of Shivatana. In such cases, we can guess their source of

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<sup>79</sup> Gandhakuti is a place where the Buddha used to take rest, as referenced in the story of Jetavana. Here, this word is used for *chaitya*.

<sup>80</sup> One inscription in the verandah of *chaitya* cave, engraved on the small *Dagoba* carved in bas-relief, gives us a hymn from the text '*Mahayanasutrasangraha*', which is one of the major texts of later schools in Mahayana Buddhism. (Gokhale S. (1991), pp. 56.) The same verse in Pali can be seen in the *Vinaya* text *Mahavagga-Sariputtamoggalayanapabbajakatha*.

<sup>81</sup> This place has been identified as Dahanu in Thane district. However, some scholars believe that it is Dharanikotta in Andhra Pradesh.

<sup>82</sup> Deo S.B. (1984), pp. 90.

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income, but a question remains about these monks—was the monastery allowed to keep money until this period? Or were they able to divert the resources of their lay followers to the monastery in their own name, which sounds somewhat difficult. We know that the first split in the *sangha* between Theravadin-s and Mahasanghika-s in 2<sup>nd</sup> council was over ten controversial points, and one of them was ‘the acceptance of gold and silver’;<sup>83</sup> hence, maybe, the monastery was indeed allowed to keep money.

On the other hand, we do not have any evidence of direct royal patronage as in Ajanta; we have found one copperplate mentioning Traikutaka rule but the donation was not given by any king. This was a donation by Buddharuchi who was a resident of the village Kanaka in the Sindhu *vishaya*. This copperplate records the donation of a brick *chaitya*.<sup>84</sup> If this event is considered as a turning point in phase II, which brings Kanheri back into the limelight, as believed by various scholars, one must explain this donation and the original village of the donor. The donor has specifically

mentioned that he belongs to a village in Sindhu *vishaya* and that the donation is given to the great monastery at Krishnagiri (Kanheri). The monastery was clearly quite famous in 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> century C.E. even though epigraphical records do not support it. The monastery was probably converted into an educational centre during the period. Note that there are no earlier evidences to suggest that this monastery had turned into an educational centre. Moreover, a phase II inscription in Cave No. 3 has mentioned the title of the donor monk as teacher (*Acharya*) Buddharakshita. Various epitaphs have been recovered from Cave No. 87, and they record very high qualifications of the monks with their titles as teacher *Acharya*, *Sthavira*, etc. This establishment was clearly a religious centre originally, and subsequently, it was converted into a monastery, before finally gaining the status of an educational centre. This type of development suggests the presence of a great administrative system within the existing monastic structure.

Another feature of this phase is the intrusive sculptures. Although we do not find many donative inscriptions, we can see various intrusive sculptures not only in phase I caves like Cave Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 56, 67 and 74 but also in phase II caves.

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<sup>83</sup> Dipavamsa IV, pp. 55–56. (Ed. P. Sinh. (1996), pp. 66–67), and also N. Dutta (1980), pp. 125.

<sup>84</sup> There are two inscriptions describing the donation of brick stupas in the same cave, i.e. Cave No. 3. Further, there were remains of two brick structures in front of the *chaitya*, but only one is visible today.

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Very few panels seen here are based on different themes, and most of them are trinity<sup>85</sup> or Shravasti miracle panels. Why are so many identical panels repeatedly carved in the caves? We can stylistically date these sculptures to 5<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup> centuries C.E. In the later period of Buddhist art, i.e. phase II at Kanheri, the excavation of Buddhist caves was on a very small scale. In this period, Buddhism was not as popular with the masses as in phase I and hence mostly restricted to the upper classes of the society. In other words, these later caves have a different socio-economic, political and cultural background from the early caves. To gain the benefits of the donation of Buddha figures, people must have started donating trinity panels. The donation of the trinity panel in the main chamber of the cave was necessary before the donation of the cave. As in the case of temples, it is necessary to install an idol of the main deity in the sanctum (*garbhagriha*) to sanctify the temple after its construction and before its use. The trinity panels must have had a similar function, and people, who were not able to donate caves, must have donated these intrusive figures to gain a part of the benefit of the donation to the monastery. The monastery itself must have played some significant role to make up for the

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<sup>85</sup> Here, the word Trinity is used for a panel depicting the Buddha attended by two Bodhisattva-s, one on either side.

expenses after the decline of the royal patronage as a result of political instability; in this period, various dynasties had sprung up and vanished, for example the Traikutaka-s, Maurya-s, etc.

In these caves, the main types of figures are of the Buddha, Bodhisattva and Tara. We also have panels such as the litany of Avalokiteshvara (Ashtamahabhayatrana panel), panel of Bodhisattva-s and Tara-s, Shravasti miracle panels, Trinity panels, Manushi Buddha panels, Jataka-s and scenes from Buddha's life. The development of various sects and cults are reflected in the contemporary art. The development of the cult of Avalokiteshvara can be observed through panels such as the litany of Avalokiteshvara (Ashtamahabhayatrana Panel) in Cave Nos. 2, 41 and 90, and panels of Bodhisattva-s and Tara-s in Cave No. 67. Faith in many Buddha-s can be seen in the panel of mortal Buddha-s (Manushi Buddha panels) depicted in Caves No. 2, 3 and 67. We also have a few fragments of painting in early caves such as Cave No. 36. A few paint remains, plaster remains and line drawings can be seen in phase II caves such as Cave Nos. 34 and 41.

These panels were carved, plastered and painted repeatedly by artists as per the demand of the donors. It is quite possible that just as in the cave excavations, the monastery

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actively participated in this matter. The monastery might have appointed a few artists and received donations to carve such panels in the caves at that particular place. This arrangement was probably mutually satisfactory to all the concerned parties since it is quite possible that artists received money, donors obtained spiritual benefits of the donation, while the monastery received some economic support. The donors must have had their names painted on the plaster. Most of the caves here at Kanheri have plaster remains, and a few of them also have paint remains. We should remember that most of the Ajanta inscriptions, which belong to more or less the same period, are in paint, and they record donations of some paintings, pillars or some architectural elements in the cave. Unfortunately, here at Kanheri, we have not found any painted inscription in the caves, but various plaster and paint remains can be noticed. The development of the monastery and the existence of various intrusive panels can be explained only in this manner.

We can see the emergence of various cave sites on the periphery of the monastery at Kanheri. These are mainly Buddhists and Shaiva caves. Among these, we can note Buddhist activities at sites such as Magathane and Mahakali

(Kondivate)<sup>86</sup> and Lonad and Ambivali. These sites are not far from the Shaiva caves at Mandapeshvara and Jogeshvari, respectively. At Lonad, we have an unfinished cave, probably left unfinished because of the bad quality of rock and water leakages in the cave. From its stylistic affiliations with Ajanta,<sup>87</sup> it can be dated to the beginning of phase II excavations at Kanheri. Lonad was followed by the excavation of the caves at Magathane. This cave site is not far from Kanheri and is located on the modern Western Express highway. Here, we have three caves with a few surrounding minor excavations. Earlier, there was a water tank in front of the caves, but it is now filled with debris and soil. Only one cave is accessible; it is rectangular in plan and can be stylistically dated to early 6<sup>th</sup> century C.E. References to this place in phase I inscriptions have been noted previously. Some agricultural land from this village has been given to the monastery at Kanheri. The author has also recorded two monolithic stupas from the modern settlement of the village Magathane. Note that Kondivate (Mahakali) as a Buddhist centre had already existed in phase I.

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<sup>86</sup> Although the cave is of an early date, as discussed above, we can see a few phase II panels in the early caves.

<sup>87</sup> Deshpande M.N. and Jamkhedkar, A.P. (1986), pp. 163–168.

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It has become clear to us that various Buddhist caves were coming up on a very small scale on all sides around Kanheri. Sopara continued to remain as a religious centre although it was no more a famous port, while Kalyan remained active as an economic centre during this period. These activities clearly suggest the emergence of satellite settlements of the main monastic centre of Kanheri. The Lonad cave was present on the trade route from Sopara to Kalyan and in the later period from Ghodbandar to Kalyan.<sup>88</sup> As we know, Magathane had agricultural lands. The caves at Ambivali are also located on the trade route leading from the Kalyan-Thane ports to the plateau above, just on the hilly terrain of the Kusr ghat.<sup>89</sup> This may have been a conscious or unconscious development for the exploitation of local resources and to maintain the accessibility over the economic resources in the particular region. As mentioned above, various Shaiva caves and shrines came up in the region adjacent to these Buddhist caves and settlements. All the sites discussed above have Shaiva shrines or cave in their vicinity. Shaiva activity began

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<sup>88</sup> This village is also not far from the river Ulhas on the banks of which various ancient ports and trade centres existed.

<sup>89</sup> Nagaraju S. (1981), pp. 105. The abovementioned Kusr ghat is known as Kasara pass today and is a part of the rail link which joins Nasik with Kalyan. Ambivali is on the bank of a tributary of the river Ulhas.

here in this region from 6<sup>th</sup> century C.E., and the last two quarters of 6<sup>th</sup> century C.E. gave us some of the best Shaiva caves, for example Jogeshvari and Elephanta. We can see the rise of Pashupata centres of the Shaiva-s in the vicinity of these Buddhist caves.

During this period, the economic flow began to be divided into two parts, one part for the Buddhists and the other for Shaivas. A similar development can also be noticed at Ellora in the later period. The new groups of traders or guilds were now in the favour of the Shaivas. Various new caves with new architectural features and plans based on the temple architecture can be noticed in this region now, e.g. the caves at Jogeshvari and Elephanta.

Now, in order to survive, the monastery must have spread its arms to grasp resources even as the Shaiva activity began to obstruct many of these establishments economically. The monastery at Kanheri tried various ways to divert the economic flow from the peripheral centres to the monastery itself and to ensure that the tradition of getting various types of donations continues in numerous ways. In the abovementioned

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copperplate, there is a reference to Kanheri as a monastery.<sup>90</sup> In short, survival with donations was not as simple for the monastery in phase II as it was during the phase I. The monastery tried its best to exploit economic resources with every possible option and always kept its options for economic resources open.

Moreover, the decline of the Roman empire and the silk route impacted the economy of the contemporary world. The entire silk route was also politically disturbed. After the decline in India's trade with Rome, southeast Asian trade became important. On the western coast, trade with Arabs also flourished. In other words, sea routes became more important than land routes. New trade centres began to emerge in this region. Economically, the process of decentralisation of wealth also appears to have started. We can see various land grants and donations given to Brahmins and temples recorded in copperplates. This was a transitional phase politically as well. Till the rise of the Shilahara-s in this region, there was political

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<sup>90</sup> L1 references Kanheri as 'Krishnagirimahavihara' which is quite significant. Nalanda is referred to us as Mahavihara. As in the following centuries, Ratnagiri Mahavihara, Madhavapur Mahavihara and Simhaprastha Mahavihara came up in Orissa; here, we can see activities of copying texts on a large scale. These were also the major educational centres in the later period in the region.

chaos, and various kings and dynasties such as Traikutaka-s, Maurya-s, Kalachuri-s, and Rashtrakuta-s tried to establish themselves. A new social setup can also be noticed during the period. This region was now undergoing various significant socio-economical, political, religious and cultural changes, and although it appears to have begun in 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> century C.E., the impact on the society was particularly felt in phase III.

Very few donative inscriptions of Phase III are present at Kanheri. Some of them record the names of the Shilahara kings, Kapardi I, Pullashakti and Kapardi II. In his inscription, Pullashakti mentions himself as a feudatory of the Rashtrakuta king Amoghavarsha I (ca. 814-880 C.E.). This belongs to the Shaka era 765 (843-844 C.E.) and records the donation of a perpetual endowment for the worship of the Buddha, repairs to vihara-s and clothes (chivara) for monks and for religious books. This was the donation by Vishnu (gupta), son of Purnahari.<sup>91</sup> The 2<sup>nd</sup> inscription is dated to Shaka era 775, i.e. 854 C.E. This inscription records a donation given during the

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<sup>91</sup> The word 'Gupta' is not clearly visible here, and hence, Dr. Gokhale has put it within brackets. The name of the father of Vishnu is given as Purnahasta by mistake by Dr. Mirashi in his Marathi text, 'शिलाहार राजवंशाचा इतिहास आणि कोरीव लेख' (1974, Part II p. 3); however, simultaneously, the same name is given as Purnahari by Dr. Mirashi in Vol. VI of '*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*'. (1977, p. 2, 3).



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reign of King Kapardi II who refers to himself as a feudal chief of the Rashtrakuta king, Amoghavarsha. This inscription records the donation of a perpetual endowment for the clothing of monks (chivara) and rooms for their meditation at Maharaja Mahavihara, i.e. Cave No. 11 at Kanheri.<sup>92</sup> This is the donation by Gomin Avighnakara, a devout worshipper of the Buddha (sugata), who had come to this very far place from the country of Gauda (Bengal). The third inscription is of the reign of the same king and records the Shaka era 799 (877–878 C.E.). This also records the donation of a room for meditation along with clothing and other gifts to be made to the monks dwelling in the Maharaja Mahavihara on the hill of Krishnagiri by the donor, Veva.<sup>93</sup> Interestingly enough, the witnesses to this donation are Acharya Dharmakaramitra of Chikhallapallika (which has been identified as Chikalali, close to Ambarnath in

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<sup>92</sup> In the case of this particular cave, which was excavated in three phases, viz. main hall, small sculptured chamber in that hall and inner meditation rooms, only a few are complete. This inscription must be talking about these inner meditation rooms.

<sup>93</sup> 'Keilhorn read Vishnu as the name of the person who made this endowment evidently in view of the occurrence of that name in line 3 of inscription of Pulashakti. But it is doubtful if Vishnu who made that endowment 34 years before was living at that time when this inscription was inscribed. The later do not admit of that reading'. (Mirashi, V.V. (1977), p. 8 *fn*).

the Kalyan taluka of Thana district, and located approximately 20 miles east of the Kanheri), Patiyana Yoga and Gomin Avighnakara. These three names occur in an earlier inscription, the 1<sup>st</sup> two persons as witnesses and Gomin Avighnakara as the donor. The reference to Acharya clearly suggests the inter-relationship between Chikhallali and Kanheri. It is very possible that this relationship is similar to that of a religious centre and its satellite settlement, which became a religious sub-centre in the later period. It is also interesting to know that this Gomin Avighnakara was here for around 20 to 24 years since his name occurs in both the inscriptions. Interestingly enough, in the Sanjan copperplate of Sugatipa, the Arab feudatory of the Rashtrakuta king Indra III talks about the Panchagaudiya Mahaparishad which was responsible for the Bhagavati temple at Sanjan in north Konkan. The Brahmins in the region were divided into two groups—Pancha Dravida and Panch Gaudiya. Pancha Dravida comprises five sub-divisions—Andhra, Dravida, Karnata, Maharashtra and Gurjara—while Pancha Gaudiya comprises five sub-groups—Sarasvata, Kanyakubja, Gauda, Maithila and Utkala.<sup>94</sup> This shows that in contemporary north Konkan, the Gaudas held a prominent position in the

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<sup>94</sup> Mirashi, V.V. (1958), pp. 149–170.

social and religious matters. They used to actively participate in the religious affairs of the villages. In eastern India, the Palas were becoming prominent. Both the coastlines opened for trade, with the Arabs involved in the west and southeast Asian countries in the east. Most of the important ports were in north Konkan since they could be easily accessed by the Arabs by sea and also by land routes.

An excavation at Kanheri has provided us with a few seals with an impression of the seated Buddha figure in the Bhumisparsha mudra with an inscription, ‘ye dharma maha shramanah’ in the upper-most layer. This can be dated to 8<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> century C.E. palaeographically.<sup>95</sup> Apart from this, a wooden image of Tara has been recorded by Dr. M.G. Dixit and stylistically dated to 9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> century C.E. by H.D. Sankalia.<sup>96</sup> This image again shows some affiliation with Pala art.<sup>97</sup> Kanheri’s affiliation with eastern India has been proved by various scholars. However, this is not the topic of our present discussion. We mention this to show that one of the major donors of Kanheri belonged to eastern India. With the rise of phase III, Buddhism took the form of Tantrayana or Tantrik

<sup>95</sup> Lal B.B. (1973), pp. 21, 22 and plates XXXII, XXXIII and XXXIV.

<sup>96</sup> Sankalisa H.D. (1985), pp. 35–37.

<sup>97</sup> For a photograph of the figure, see Gokhale S. (1991), Pl. 8.

Buddhism or Vajrayana Buddhism. This phase can be seen at only three places besides Kanheri—first at Ellora, then at Panhale Kaji and finally at Mahakali (Kondivate) caves. Similar to Panhale Kaji and Mahakali (Kondivate), many votive stupas have been placed above the caves at Kanheri. We have one figure of Buddha in bhumisparshamudra in Cave No. 56 which can be identified as that of Akshobhya who is considered as the head of the Vajra family. At Kondivate, one monolithic stupa has been recorded with a Vajrayana deity on the drum, and this can be dated to ca. 10<sup>th</sup> century C.E.<sup>98</sup> One figure of another Vajrayana deity Mahachandaroshana was recorded from Panhale Kaji which is also of the same period.<sup>99</sup> Parallels to this figure can be seen at Ratnagiri in Orissa.

Three Pahlavi inscriptions in Cave No. 90 have been dated to 10<sup>th</sup> October 1009, 24<sup>th</sup> November 1009 and 30<sup>th</sup> October 1021; the first is incomplete. They contain the names of certain Parsees who visited Kanheri caves in early 11<sup>th</sup> century C.E. These inscriptions have been considered as those of visitors and not of donors, which is somewhat difficult to believe. Firstly, these inscriptions give us detailed information

<sup>98</sup> Deshpande M.N. (1986). Plate 2. The caves of Panhale Kaji.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*

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about the father and forefathers of these people. Secondly, West has recorded one inscription on a monolithic dagoba (stupa) with the same date mentioned in the 3<sup>rd</sup> inscription and one of the mentioned names. Apart from this, there is one more dagoba, which is in the museum of the ‘Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society’; it gives us a few Pahlavi letters with similar features.<sup>100</sup> The first two inscriptions record the same names with a difference of 45 days in the dates. It is quite possible that these people stayed here for that period at least. Interestingly enough, a literary record called ‘Kissa-I-Sanjan’, written in the late medieval period, tells us that a few Parsees settled at Sanjan in 766 C.E. Sanjan is not far from Sopara and on the route to Bharuch, and it came up as a major political and economic centre in the later period. We can see references to Sanjan in a few Shilahara inscriptions.<sup>101</sup>

This region developed in quite an interesting manner. As in phase I, there were a few villages mentioned in the inscriptions, which, in phase II, developed further into

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<sup>100</sup> Gokhale S. (1991), pp. 142–47.

<sup>101</sup> A temple is mentioned in two different copperplates—the 17<sup>th</sup> April 926 copperplate of Sugatapa, who was the feudal chief of the Rashtrakuta-s (Mirashi V.V. (1958), pp. 149–170), and the copperplate of Chamundaraja who was the feudal chief of the Shilahara king Cchitaraja (Mirashi V.V. (1977), pp. 71–75).

Buddhism centres. In phase III, various land grants were given by kings and royal people from various villages which had newly emerged as a support to the newly emerged urban political and religious centres such as Thane and Sanjan, or as supportive centres of old centres such as Kalyan and Puri.<sup>102</sup> Various villages played such supportive roles, for example, Chavinare (Chavinar), Nagwa (Nagamba), Pogaon (Puagamba), Talavali (Talavalipallika),<sup>103</sup> Vadavali, Asangaon (Asalgrama), Umargaon (Umbaravalligrama), Kandivali (Kandhevalipallika), Khanivade (Khanavali) and Virar.<sup>104</sup> Apart from this, the role of Lonad is also known to us through inscriptions and architectural evidences from 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> century C.E.

Excavations at Sopara gave us a casket with Manushi Buddha figures stylistically dated to 8<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> century C.E.<sup>105</sup> This suggests that Sopara remained as a religious centre after its decline as a major port. The entire Mumbai region gives us

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<sup>102</sup> This Puri is identified by scholars as Gharapuri (Elephanta), Rajapuri and Surpur (Sopara). It is also known to us as an early capital of Shilahara-s.

<sup>103</sup> Mentioned in the Thana copperplate of the Shilahara king Arikesari dated to Shaka 939 (1017 C.E.).

<sup>104</sup> Mentioned in the Thana copperplate of the Shilahara king Mummuni dated to Shaka 970 (1059 C.E.).

<sup>105</sup> Indraji B. (1929), pp. 273–328.

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scattered evidences of the spread of Buddhism in the form of a stupa at Mahim, an Avalokiteshvara figure which can be stylistically dated to 11<sup>th</sup> century, and so on. Finally, I will also cite the example of an interesting literary evidence. A text called ‘Kumarapalacharita’ talks about a war between the Chalukya (Gujarat) King Kumarapala and Shilahara King Mallikarjuna (ca.1155–1170 C.E.). In the ‘Prabandhachintamani’ of Merutunga, all the details of this war are given, including those not recorded in ‘Kumarapalacharita’. Although one can always challenge this legend as being recorded late, it cannot be overlooked that it is one of the literary sources of history. Kumarapala’s commander Ambada was defeated by Mallikarjuna immediately and took shelter in the Krishnagiri, i.e. Kanheri. After receiving help from Kumarapala, he again attacked Mallikarjuna’s territory and won the war.<sup>106</sup>

In the last days of its existence, the monastery at Kanheri must have either perforce lost its control over activities or there was a deliberate development. I will now discuss this final phase in brief. In phase III, Kanheri became an isolated centre of eastern Buddhism and also of esoteric

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<sup>106</sup> Mirashi. V.V. (977 & 1974).

Buddhism. Nevertheless, it was still quite famous in the contemporary world. A Nepalese manuscript of 1015 C.E.—Ashtasahasrikaprañaparamita—gives illustrations of two stupas from Kanheri.<sup>107</sup> After 8<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> century C.E., Ellora also came to an end as a Buddhist centre and was occupied by Shaivas and then Jains. Only two centres can be seen in north Konkan at this time—Kanheri and Kondivate (Mahakali). In south Konkan, Panhale Kaji continued to exist, and it was again linked to Kanheri by a trade route. Kanheri and Kondivate were sister settlements from the beginning and remained together till the end. When all the existing sources were taken away by the Shaiva-s<sup>108</sup> and long distance sources were not accessible any more, Kanheri’s resources dried up and it came to a tragic end along with its sister settlements. Panhale Kaji got converted into a Natha Sampradaya site. Such conversions into Shaiva and Natha Sampradaya at sites might have happened along with conversions by monks.

Finally, in conclusion, I will briefly review the development of the site of Kanheri along with its peripheral centres, especially in relation to the patronage. It is important

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<sup>107</sup> Leese M. (1983) p.2 also p.10 (*fn.1*).

<sup>108</sup> At Kanheri, Burgess has also recorded a painting resembling the Shiva *Tandava* in Cave No. 34.

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to understand that the development must be viewed as the reaction of the monastery to the changing socio-political, economic and religious backgrounds. As we have seen here previously, I have proposed a hypothesis for the emergence of the site. Sopara must have played an important role in phase I; it was not only a commercial centre but also a religious centre. This led the monks to think about adjacent regions that were favourable for monks as well as easily accessible to lay worshippers. With the decline of Sopara as a commercial centre, Kanheri and Mahakali emerged as religious centres. Mahakali gives us details of parallel developments along with Kanheri as a sister settlement till the decline of Buddhism in this region. Essentially, the site was established as a religious centre but it became converted into a monastic settlement in phase I. In this period, the monastery tried to divert the economic potential of adjacent commercial centres towards the settlement. Various supportive villages of these urban centres also became involved in the process. In phase II, the site became an educational centre, while also retaining its character as a monastic settlement. Simultaneously, we can see peripheral sites emerging. This activity can be traced as occurring toward the end of Phase I through epigraphical data. Small villages

referred in phase I inscriptions began to emerge as satellite settlements of the site along the adjacent trade routes. Apart from this, we can see that very few donative inscriptions were received during phases II and III in comparison to Phase I. The intrusive sculptures in the caves in phase II may represent one of the many attempts to meet the economic requirements of the monastery. In phase III, all the economic supports in this region collapsed. With the rise of Shaiva centres on the periphery of the site in phase II, the monastery suffered due to the heavy losses in its economic support from the traders and trade guilds. In phase III, Kanheri remained as an isolated centre of east Indian Vajrayana Buddhism. And till date, it has continued to develop subordinate religious centres.

When we analyze the development of the monastic structure, we can see that during phase I, the monastery was quite extroverted and dominant, but, by phase II, it had lost its supremacy and hold over the region. In phase III, the monastery became introverted and tried to sustain itself with the help of its religious sub-centres and major eastern Indian centres of Buddhism. Deep-rooted Buddhism survived in the Mumbai (Bombay) region till at least 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> century C.E. in small pockets, as suggested by the archaeological and art

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historical evidences, but finally declined and ended. And, the end of these isolated Buddhist sites in Konkan came with their conversion into Shaiva and Natha Sampradaya sites.

Among the Shaiva sites it is difficult to draw any conclusive relation due to lack of data. These sites were Pashupata Mathas / centres since their inception and continued to remain same till the arrival of Portuguese. There was a lull in the patronage in the post Shilahara period as suggested by archaeological evidence. Buddhist site of Kondane is on the

trade route linking Konkan port and Deccan commercial centres. It has its own pattern of patronage which is different than these caves on and in the vicinity of the Salsette Island.

It gives us a great pleasure to submit this final report on the 'Documentation of Caves in MMR.' We thank all the members of the MMRHCS for their support.



**Section I**

**Buddhist Caves**

**Kanheri Caves**

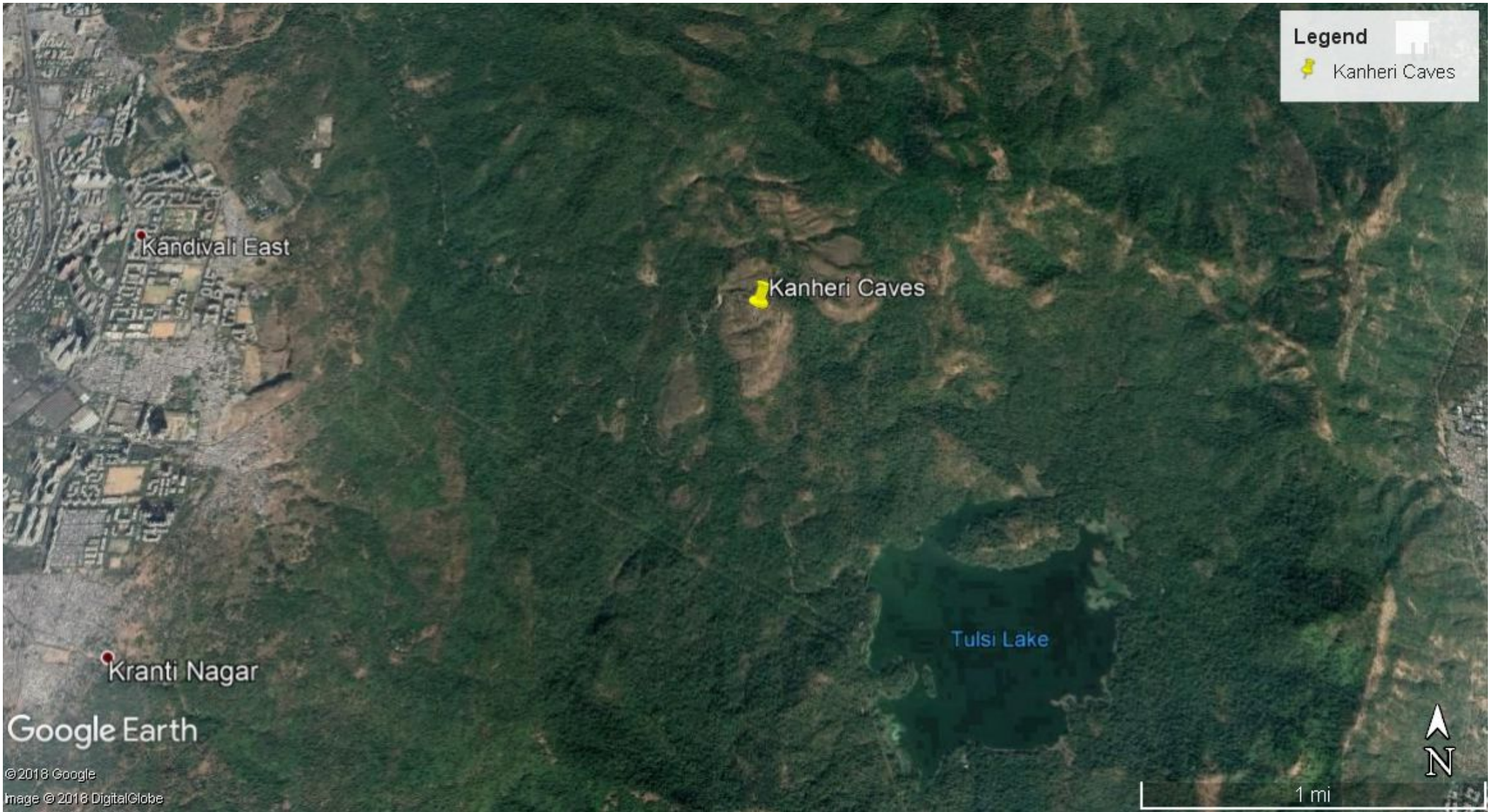
## KANHERI CAVES

Over these blunted, these tormented hills,  
Hawks hail and wheel, toboggan down the sky.  
It seems this green ambiguous landscape tilts  
And tecters the perspective of the eye.  
Only two centuries after Christ, this cliff  
Was colonised by a mild antique race  
Who left us, like a faded photograph,  
Their memories that dry up in this place.

They left no ghosts. The rock alone endures.  
The drains and cisterns work, but wrecked the stairs;  
Blocks are fallen: sunlight cracks those floors,  
And fidgets in a courtyard where a pair  
Of giant Buddhas smile and wait their crash.  
Then temples, audience-halls, a lonely tomb.  
I touch its side. The stone's worn smooth as flesh.  
A stranger dangles peaceful in that womb.

Worm he will be, if born: blink in the sun.  
I'll crawl into his dark; perhaps he'll climb  
Beyond the trippers to the final stone  
Flat of the hillock, there to grow in Time.  
Dry pubic ferns prickle the bitter sand.  
Hawks in a hot concentric ecstasy  
Of flight and shriek will wake his vision. And  
When the clouds lift, he'll glimpse the miles-off sea.





**Legend**

-  Kanheri Caves

Kandivali East

Kanheri Caves

Kranti Nagar

Tulsi Lake

Google Earth

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Image © 2018 DigitalGlobe

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Kanheri is one of the important monastic settlements in MMR. This has survived for more than 1600 years and gives glimpses of history of the region from 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE to 15<sup>th</sup> century CE. This Buddhist monastery was one of the important educational centres in the region and visited by numerous monks and scholars then. The glory of the monastery is seen reached upto east and central Asian countries from where donations have been received by the monastery.

There are more than 100 caves and more or less equal number of inscriptions at the site. The site is rich in archaeological material and give evidence of caves, inscriptions, coins, temple, fortress, microliths and numerous other type of archaeological data.

## Introduction

Many of our expressions and experiences are limited by mere words that often fail to evoke or recreate emotions fully or even in half-measure. In particular, the experience of arts often exposes the limitations of language in conveying the original emotion evoked in the presence of beauty. On the other hand, art is also the result of such experiences. Art is a reflection of the world and of the perceptions of human beings of their surroundings. Indeed, our abstract world is based on our sensory experiences, and the fragrance of experience will always enhance the flowering of art. Simultaneously, art originates in the human mind as a form of an idea or a concept. Our abstract artistic experiences or forms are then recreated physically through the media of physical materials that are given cognizable shapes with the help of technology. Moreover, art requires specialized skills, technology, and raw material, and these elements are different for every art form. In other words, the journey of human art progresses from abstract culture to material culture. These factors—specialized skills, technology, and raw material—are also the basic criteria used by art historians for dating ancient art specimens. Different understanding and perceptions of the world

and surroundings and various observations of nature have led to considerable variations in art forms, concepts, and modes across cultures and time spans. Moreover, humans started sharing their experiences with others as well as with the next generation. Today, we know of various art schools in the Indian tradition. A school is not merely a continuation of art style; it is a heritage of ideas, thinking processes, and skills. In this tradition, the teacher not only passes on art forms and styles to students but also teaches the methodology of interpretation of the abstract concepts. In this case, the continuation is not only of the art style but also of the symbolism. This is the basic difference between ‘regional art’ and ‘art school’. Art schools not only follow the art style but also the themes in the depictions, as seen in the previous chapter.

Human beings first started copying ‘Mother Nature’ from as early as the prehistoric period itself. It is convincing that natural cave shelters inspired human beings to excavate caves since they were inhabitants of such cave shelters from a very early period. Although concrete evidence is not available today, it is highly probably that there were a few modified natural caves in the pre-Mauryan period. The last phase

in the development of these excavations can be considered to be the Lomash Rishi caves in Barabar hills and the tradition that continued in the Deccan.

In this thesis, various art styles are named after the contemporary dynasties, and these names are used not only to indicate time frames but also the region that has influenced the art at Kanheri. The dynastic names are used here as a kind of code for the specific socio-cultural background in a particular time frame.

The Deccan region emerged with indigenous features and was influenced by various styles from north and south India as well as from beyond the physical boundaries of the Indian subcontinent. Because of its peculiar geology and geography, trade (internal and international), and royal patronage (e.g., by Satavahana-s and Vakataka-s), the culture of Deccan developed its own features. The Deccan region was the meeting place of southern and northern cultural traits, and its culture is a result of the assimilation of rigid south Indian traditions and the comparatively open or liberal northern traditions. Ajanta, for instance, shows concepts or themes of the paintings from

northwestern India, with the influence of classical north Indian Gupta art, as well as sculptural schemes from Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda. The paintings at Ajanta follow the various elements present in the figures in the sculptural panels, narrative methods, and the elements used in the background of the main sculptural panels from Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda.

Caves of the early period in Deccan are not just blind copies of caves like Lomasha Rishi or of the contemporary wooden architecture. As the raw material changed, we can observe many changes in the aesthetics of the entire architecture and their proportions as well as shapes, sizes, and ratios of the internal elements of the structure. Each raw material has its own characteristic features as well as limitations. At Sanchi, ivory carvers working in stone gave a totally different perspective to the carved panels. But, although stone itself makes it possible to build structures with massive sizes, giving it firmness, it has less softness and ultimately less delicacy. In the case of caves, pillars typically serve no purpose except that of decoration, unlike wooden architecture whereas they act as a support to the ceiling. This observation indicates that although the basic model for making caves was the contemporary wooden structure, the artists

were also aware of the benefits and drawbacks of this raw material.

What was the relationship between the early caves in India and early caves in western India? The earliest known man-made caves in India have been dated to the Mauryan period with the help of epigraphical evidence. These seven caves are situated in an isolated range of granite hills, locally known as Barabar hills, on the left bank of the river Phalgu about 16 miles due north from the town of Gaya. Their dimensions are modest. The largest among them, the Nagarjuni cave, is a plain hall measuring 46 feet × 19 feet 5 inches with semi-circular ends. Lomash Rishi, which does not have any inscriptions, and Sudama are considered as some of the earliest caves. The Sudama cave itself can be dated to the Ashokan period on the basis of epigraphical evidence. These two caves are divided into two parts—a circular chamber and a rectangular hall. The most important feature of these caves is the entrance which is from the side and not from the front as in the western Indian rock-cut caves. It is highly probable that the Mauryan polish made small entrances possible since light gets reflected because of the polish

from the walls in the hall and the small chamber which do not have any windows.

If we consider Bhaja as one of the earliest caves in western India, it is much larger than the early caves and also has an entrance from the front and a huge *chaitya* window. Although the stupa in the cave has polish, the cave is not divided into two parts as in the case of the Lomash Rishi cave. The side entrance of the early caves can be justified by the hardness of the raw material. The earliest caves were excavated in granite which is one of the hardest rocks, while western India has igneous rock which is comparatively soft; this could be the main reason for the change in proportions. We can see the beginning of apsidal architecture, which became popular subsequently in western India, in Nagarjuni hills itself. These two different types of structural architectures must have got copied and transferred into the rock. The apsidal plan appears to be more convenient in larger proportions than in small caves.

The tradition of circular chambers was also alive throughout the centuries, and there are many such examples in western Indian rock-cut caves, e.g., at Cave No. 3, Junnar-Tulja

Lena; the specimen at Cave No. 9, Kondivate; and Cave Nos. 4 and 36, Kanheri. Cave No. 3 at Tulja Lena is a circular *chaitya* with tilted octagonal pillars around the stupa. The Kondivate cave follows a similar plan to the Lomash Rishi one. At Kanheri, Cave No. 4 is a simple circular *chaitya* without pillars, which was excavated in the memory of *thera* Dhammapala, and Cave No. 36 is also a circular *chaitya* but with an attached rectangular room with a bench. Among these four caves, only the Kondivate cave follows the old plan. The time bracket of the construction of these caves is four hundred ending with the 2<sup>nd</sup> century C.E. Moreover, these caves are not copies of old structures or continuation of an old tradition of cave excavations, but copies of contemporary existing religious structures.

We have two different names In the case of *chaityas* in different time spans in literature and in inscriptions— *gandhakuti* and *chetiyaghara* or *chaityasgriha*. *Gandhakuti* is used in the story of Jetavana as discussed previously and refers to a temporary residential structure for the Buddha. This term also occurs in one of the inscriptions at Kanheri in Cave No. 3 which is used for the main *chaitya*. Note that the term *lena* is frequently used in inscriptions for the caves (e.g., at Nasik). The

word *chaityasgriha* is used in the inscriptions at Karla and Kanheri. The term *prāsāda* occurs for the first time in the context of structural architecture in the early miscellaneous inscriptions from Mathura. In Buddhist literature, it occurs in the *Vinayapitaka*. While *gandhakuti*, *chaityagriha*, and *lena* connote different types of architecture, words like ‘*kuti*’, ‘*griha*’, and ‘*prāsāda*’ refer to the architectural development (*kuti* is related to asceticism, and *prāsāda* to royal residence).

We can trace the conceptual development of these architectural forms in western Indian rock-cut architecture. Early caves are considered as simple caves with supplementary wooden architectural elements. At the site of Bhaja, we can see a symbolic representation of a multi-stored structure in the form of rows of *chaitya* windows with human figures. The *Karlachaitya* is considered as the biggest *chaitya* in western Indian rock-cut caves and is still referred to as *chaitya* and does not have any actual upper storey. Figures of so-called donor couples can be observed at the entrance of the main *chaitya* at Karla in the verandah as well as in the rows of *chaitya* windows above the entrance and in between the windows. Most probably, this is a depiction of people on the upper storey of the structure. Another

important addition is that of a portico. These two newly introduced elements suggest their affinity with royal structures. This probably portrays the development from *chaityagriha* to *prāsāda*. Most probably, this is the earliest attempt at equating the Buddha to a *chakravarti*. At Nasik, human faces are shown in a row of small *chaitya* windows, and this continues at Kanheri as well, where a wooden upper storey itself appears to have been added above the verandah of the main *chaitya*.

A study of this transition in architecture has been made by scholars like Nagaraju and Dhavalikar. Before we begin with descriptions and discussions on the chronology of the Kanheri caves, we will first review previous studies into this topic.

Nagaraju reviewed the development of western Indian Buddhist caves of the 'Hinayana' phase from 250 B.C. to 300 C.E. He concludes his work as follows:

'We feel that these items reveal that the Mahayana architectural tradition is just in continuation of a natural process of architectural development that was all along there in the Hinayana phase. There appears not to be any stylistic or

chronological gap between the Hinayana and Mahayana traditions'.

Dhavalikar attempted to mark a new phase in the Buddhist architecture of western India of this period, which he has termed the 'Late Hinayana' architecture. He correlates it with the rise of the Kshatrapa-s, along with whom various foreigners, viz. Parthians and Persians, came to Deccan. While discussing monasteries, he underlines the significance of Kanheri using the following words:

'Although Kanheri caves form a separate complex, they share many elements in common with the late Hinayana shrines discussed earlier. In fact, but for the shrine chambers, their plan is identical with the late Hinayana shrines at Kuda, Mahad, and Shelarwadi. They usually have one or two cells, instead of several as at Mahad and very probably meant for occupation by one or two monks. They do not appear to be mere *Vassa-vasa-s* but more or less permanent residences. This must have been necessitated by the permanent endowments (*akhaya-nivi*) made by donors for clothes, shoes and medicines, etc. for the monks. Some monks may have been residing permanently for

the administration of endowments. It has been estimated that the total endowments were of the order of 60,000 *kārshāpana*-s, quite a tidy sum, besides fields.

Kanheri also was receiving influences from the Andhra country the noteworthy contribution of which was the *chandrashilā* at the base of the flight of steps and the *shālā* and *kuta* motifs. But the most important contribution of the Krishna valley perhaps was the Buddha image, which, as we have seen, may have been introduced by the Aparashailiya-s of the Mahasanghika school. This may have been due to the shifting of the political centre of the Satavahana-s to the Krishna valley at Dhanyakataka (present Dharanikota) from middle of the second century A.D.’

Kanheri (19°13’ N; 72°55’ E), the Kanhasela, Krishnagiri, Kanhagiri of ancient inscriptions, is located north of Mumbai, was a major Buddhist centre. Kanheri is located in the island of Salsette and 6 miles from Thana. The caves are excavated in volcanic breccia, the hills rising at places to 1550’ above mean sea level. Kanheri is credited with the largest number of cave excavations in a single hill. To the west is the Borivili

railway station and across the creek is the Arabian Sea. Kanheri thrived due to its proximity to ancient sea port towns like Sopara (Surparaka, the Supara of Greek; Subara of Arab writers; the ancient capital of northern Konkan), Kalyan a thriving port; Chemula, the Samylla of Greek geographers, Chemula of Silaharas, on the island of Trombay; the other ancient localities nearby were Vasya, perhaps Vasai or Bassein; Sri Staanara or Thana; and Ghodabandar. It is generally believed that Buddhism first arrived in Aparantha (Western India) at Sopara which is very close to Kanheri. The caves were excavated as early as mid 3rd century B.C. and were in occupation right up to 11th century A.D. They were mentioned by early visitors like the Portuguese in the 16th century A.D. and other travellers and voyagers of Europe. Of the numerous donor inscriptions found here mention of ancient cities like Suparaka (Sopara); Nasika (Nasik); Chemuli (Chemula); Kalyana (Kalyan); Dhenukakata (Dhanyakataka, modern Amaravati in Guntur district of Andhra Pradesh) are found. The donors were from all class of the society, from the members of the royal families to the commoners. The prominent among the royal families mentioned in the inscriptions are Gautamiputra Satakarni (c. 106-130 A.D.); Vasisthiputra Sri



Pulumavi (c. 130-158 A.D.); Sri Yajna Satakarni (c. 172-201 A.D.); Madhariputra Sakasena (c. end of 3rd century A.D.); the rulers of Satavahana dynasty whose ancient capital was Pratishtana (modern Paithan, district Aurangabad); Amoghavarsha of the Rashtrakuta dynasty dated in 853 A.D., etc.<sup>109</sup>

## **Previous references**

### **Faxian**

Faxian was a Chinese pilgrim who traveled extensively across India during 4th century CE. James Legge translated his accounts into English. Faxian's accounts about Dakshina country goes like this, "...there is a country named Dakshina, where there is a monastery (dedicated to) the bygone Kasyapa Buddha, and which has been hewn out from a large hill of rock. It consists in all of five storeys;—the lowest, having the form of an elephant, with 500 apartments in the rock; the second, having the form of a lion, with 400 apartments; the third, having the form of a horse, with 300 apartments; the fourth, having the form of an ox, with 200 apartments; and the fifth, having the form of a pigeon, with 100 apartments.' 'At the very top there is a spring, the water of which, always in front of the apartments in the rock, goes round among the rooms, now circling, now curving, till in this way it arrives at the lowest storey, having followed the shape of the structure, and flows out there at the door. Everywhere in the apartments of the monks, the rock has been pierced so as to form windows for the admission of light, so that they are all

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<sup>109</sup> [http://asi.nic.in/asi\\_monu\\_tktd\\_maha\\_kanhericaves.asp](http://asi.nic.in/asi_monu_tktd_maha_kanhericaves.asp)

bright, without any being left in darkness. At the four corners of the (tiers of) apartments, the rock has been hewn so as to form steps for ascending to the top (of each). The men of the present day, being of small size, and going up step by step, manage to get to the top; but in a former age, they did so at one step. Because of this, the monastery is called Paravata that being the Indian name for a pigeon.’ He further mentions that the country around this is uncultivated hillocks, without inhabitants. At a very long distance from the hill there are villages where the people all have bad and erroneous views. On account of the inaccessibility of the monastery, Faxian was unable to visit the site and so narrated the information that he gathered from other travelers.<sup>110</sup>

### **Joao de Castro**

The first definitive reference of Kanheri available to me comes from Joao de Castro, a Portuguese naval officer and the fourth viceroy of Portuguese India, who visited India in 1538-39. He mentions that about a league and a half from the ruined city of Thana, among the great hills, in a most grand high and round

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<sup>110</sup> Legge James,(2005). A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms by Faxian,

rock, from the plain below to the highest point, are many sumptuous temples and noble many storied palace-like buildings, with images, columns, houses, porticoes, figures, pillars, cisterns, temples and chapels all cut in rock, a thing certainly not within the power of man, so wonderful that it may be ranked among the seven wonders of the world, unless, instead of thinking them to be the work of men, we attribute them to spirits.

He mentions about a magnificent temple outside of which, in a courtyard, are two high columns. The column to the right hand has on top a wheel like a Catherine’s wheel, places above four lions beautifully carved. The column on the left hand has some men supporting in their hands a great ball like the world and looking as if they were in much borne down by the weight. This magnificent temple seems to be the present Great Chaitya cave. Castro mentions about 83 houses and 15 chapels.<sup>111</sup>

### **Garcia de Orta**

He was a Portuguese physician, who traveled to India in 1534 and later got the island of Bombay on lease however he

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<sup>111</sup> Joao de Castro (1538-39, Primeiro Roteiro da Costa da India)

never lived in Bombay. He mentions two underground temples in Salsette, one of which in a hill larger than a fortress of Diu and might be compared to a Portuguese city of four hundred houses. There were 3000 houses with images carved in stone. Each house had a cistern, with conduits bringing rain water. This might be the Kanheri cave complex as there is no other nearby complex which can be that large as mentioned by him.<sup>112</sup>

### **Diogo de Couto**

Couto mentions that in the center of the island of Salsette, there exists a wonderful Pagoda of Canari, thus called from its being supposed to have been the work of the Canaras. About the huge Buddha statues he mentions that these giant figures are twice as big as the Giants exhibited on the Procession of the Corpus Christi Feast in Lisbon. These are executed so beautiful, elegant, and so well executed that even in silver they could not be better wrought and made with such perfection. He writes that these caves were inhabited by Hindu jogis who were living on

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<sup>112</sup> Garcia de Orta (1563) *Colóquios dos simples e drogas he cousas medicinais da Índia*)

alms. The chief jogi was converted to a Christian by the Priests of St. Francis, and called as Paulo Raposo. They also converted another jogi, and named him Francisco de Santa Maria, who gained more reputation than the chief jogi. The latter became an evangelical preacher and converted many into Christians. The first Christian priest who lived here and converted many jogis was Fre Antonio de Porto, of the order of Menorites. He constructed a church dedicated to St Michael while his stay which probably he achieved by converting the chaitya cave into a church.

Antonio de Porto was also informed of a novel, wonderful, and intricate labyrinth not to be compared to any in the world. Couto was told by the natives that this labyrinth was constructed by the Hindu king Bimalamenta who ruled before one thousand and three hundred before from east to west of India. Couto tells that from the foot to the top of the hill, there are more than three thousand small room like cells, each of them having a water cistern at its door, and what is more wondered at is, that there is an aqueduct constructed so ingeniously, that it passes through all the three thousand apartments, receives all the water

from that hill, supplies it to the cisterns that are at the doors of the rooms.<sup>113</sup>

### **John Huighen Van Linschoten**

Linschoten did not mention Kanheri however about the cave temples at Salsette he did mention about a complex where Gray Fryers had made a cloister called S. Michaels. He mentions that there are many galleries of the pagode and chambers encircling the hill. He also mentions water cisterns against these pagode and chambers. He tells that there are 4 such circles or galleries amounting to 300 houses or pagodes. He tells that all are carved with fearful, horrible and develish forms, that it is wonderful to behold.<sup>114</sup>

### **Sir Thomas Herbert**

He was an English traveler and historian. He came to India during his tenure of embassy to Persia. He was the first person to publish Persian accounts in English. He mentioned two

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<sup>113</sup> Diogo de Couto (1559, Da Asia Decada)

<sup>114</sup> John Huighen Van Linschoten (1583, Itinerario)

temples of profane worship at Salsette. He provided very less detail, except a notice that one of these had three galleries. This three galleries temple might be the chaitya cave of Kanheri.<sup>115</sup>

### **John Fryer**

He was an English doctor and traveler who traveled to India in 1673. During his stay in India, though he was more focused on medicine, however he made stray references of the surrounding. He referred the hill as a city cut out of a rock, where is presented Vulcan's forge supported by the two might colossus, belied in the middle with two globes. Next comes a temple with a beautiful frontispiece. Within the porch on the each side stand two monstrous giants, where two lesser and one great gate give a noble entrance.<sup>116</sup>

### **Gemelli Careri**

He was an Italian traveler, who is well known for his travel around the world. He started his journey in 1693 and

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<sup>115</sup> Sir Thomas Herbert (1625, Some Years Travels into Africa and Asia the Great)

<sup>116</sup> John Fryer (1675, New Account of East Asia and Persia)

published his accounts in 1699. He mentions about various caves here, including the Great Chaitya cave. He provides measurements of these various caves in spans. About the stupas, he writes that these are supposed to have been sepulchers of the ancient gentiles and he wonder how it could be as there is no opening to put a body or ashes.<sup>117</sup>

### **Alexander Hamilton**

He was a Scottish sailor and merchant who traveled to Bombay in 1688. He set up his private company and started operating from Surat. Later he became the commander of the Bombay Marine in 1717. In 1727 he published his book, *New Account of East Indies*. He mentions Kanheri as Canra which is the only city on Salsette island. It was all hewn out of rock, have antique figures curiously carved in the rock and many good water springs. He mentions that it was inhabited only by wild beasts and birds of prey.

Charles Boone, then governor of Bombay between 1716 and 1720, made drawings of temples and statues along with a very

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<sup>117</sup> Gemelli Careri (1695, *Giro Del Mondo*)

good description of these caves. He writes that this stupendous work must have been the labor of forty thousand men for forty years. Time and zeal of the Portuguese have defaced a great deal. When they first took the island, imagining those places to be the habitations of spirits and demons, they used constantly to discharge their great guns at them.<sup>118</sup>

### **John Henry Grose**

Grose described the history of Salsette island in very detail however for Kanheri caves he only provided a stray reference. He referred the area as Canara and mentions that the excavations are large in numbers, and contemporary of Elephanta however none of them approaching to it in bigness or workmanship.<sup>119</sup>

### **Anquetil du Perron**

De Perron is celebrated as the first professional French scholar of Indian culture. He stayed in India for seven years. He visited Salsette in December 1760 and left a detailed account of

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<sup>118</sup> Alexander Hamilton (1720, *New Account of East Indies*)  
<sup>119</sup> (1750, *Voyage to the East Indies*)

the Kanheri caves. He visited almost all the caves and numbered these, however these numbers were revisited by West few years later. This was the best exhaustive account of the caves till that date. Du Perron though numbered the caves during his visit however it was not proper, which made Bhau Daji Lad to renumber these in 1860.<sup>120</sup>

### **Charles Boon**

Boon referred the area as the city of Canorin. Chaitya cave dimensions provided as 84 feet long and 46 wide supported on 34 massive pillars. The stupa is 27 feet high.<sup>121</sup>

### **Hector Macneil**

He referred the area as Cannara. He writes, ‘On my first approach to this singular and astonishing scene, I was filled with new wonder at every step; palaces, statues, giants, monsters, and deities seemed as if starting from the bowels of the earth to open day’.

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<sup>120</sup> (1760)

<sup>121</sup> (1780, Archaeologica vol VII)

Though he might have visited many caves, if not all, however he restricted his description only to the main Chaitya cave. He noticed two large Buddha statues, which he said that these are more English rather than Hindu. The couple donors at the entrance he took as dancers. He suggests that there would have been a wooden gallery between the first and the ground floor access to which might have provided via wooden staircase. After visiting many other caves at site, Macneil suggests that this was not merely a place of worship but a permanent residence for a set of people who would have inhabited it for quite some time. Presence of water cisterns at each cave also strengthens this view.<sup>122</sup>

### **William Hunter**

He visited various cave shrines in 1781 including Kanheri, Elephanta and Jogeshwari. He tells, “In different parts of the island of Salsette, and in the neighbourhood of that of Bombay, we meet with some most stupendous monument of human labour and ingenuity; which would be matter of

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<sup>122</sup> (1783, Archaeologica vol VIII)

admiration in any part of world, but must astonish us still more, when we find them in a country remarkable for the indolence of its present inhabitants”.He referred these caves as the caves at Canara. He mentions that there are numerous caves at this site however he gave his attention of major caves. He noticed the two large size Buddha statues whose measurements he provides as 20 feet high. His account only covered the Great Chaitya cave. At last he mentions, “from considering the incredible labour that must have been employed in cutting these caves in hard and solid rock, the idea has been suggested, that it may, at the time the work was performed, have been of a softer consistence, and been afterwards hardened by exposure to air.”.<sup>123</sup>

### **Anton Pantaleon Hove**

Hove traveled to India on a mission to understand various crops and carrying other scientific experiments. However been a keen observer, he writes few stray references of monuments and other buildings. Though he was not set up at Bombay however during his visit to the city, he visited these caves. In his journal,

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<sup>123</sup> (1785, Archaeologia vol VII)

he gave attention only to the Great Chaitya cave. He mentioned that the relic shrine at the end of the hall was still worshiped by the Hindus.<sup>124</sup>

### **George Valentia**

Valentia only described the main Chaitya cave as he did not have much time to visit all the caves there. He mentions that the peculiar ornament of the cave are two gigantic Buddha images which are nearly twenty feet high. These are exactly alike and in perfect preservation in consequence of their having been christened and painted red by the Portuguese, who left them as an appendage to a Christian church. He tells that in one of the large square caves which adjoin that above described, are many figures, and one that is very remarkable shows Vishnu himself in the act of fanning Buddha with a chourie.

He tells that it is not only the numerous caves, that give an idea of what the population of this barren rock must once have been, but the tanks, the terraces, and the flight of steps which lead

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<sup>124</sup> (1787, Tours for Scientific and Economic Research)

from one part to another; yet now not a human footstep is to be heard, except when the curiosity of a traveler leads him to pay a hasty visit to the ruined inhabitation of those, whose very name has passed away, and whose cultivated fields are become an almost impassable jungle. I wonder that how significant this statement is even in the present context.<sup>125</sup>

### **Henry Salt**

His paper, 'Account of the Caves in Salsette', included the plan and drawings furnished by Major Atkins of the Bombay establishment. He referred the caves as the Kenery caves located in the city of Canorin. Though he visited many caves however his account has details on cave no 1, 2, 3 and the Darbar cave, Cave 3 and the Darbar cave getting maximum attention. The Buddha figures are mentioned 23 feet high. He points to a small Buddha image, above the central door of the entrance to the chaitya hall, which wears a conical cap. He compared this with Chinese deity, Fo, who is often supposed to be same as Buddha.

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<sup>125</sup> (1802, Voyage and Travels to India and Ceylon)

The measurement of the chaitya hall is given as 83 feet long and 30 feet broad.<sup>126</sup>

### **Reginald Heber**

He was an English clergyman who served as the Bishop of Calcutta till his sudden death at the age of 42. In June 1824, he sets out with few companions on the tour of north India to be ended at Bombay. He arrived Bombay in April and stayed there for four months. In his travelogue, he mentions about Kanheri caves however put more emphasis on the Darbar and Chaitya caves.<sup>127</sup>

### **John Vaupell**

He described these caves in short and brief.<sup>128</sup>

### **Dr. James Bird**

Dr Bird tells that immediately in front of the large arched cave and on a ledge of the mountain, some thirty or forty feet

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<sup>126</sup> (1806, Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay vol

<sup>127</sup> (1825, *Travels*)

<sup>128</sup> (1837, Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society)



below, there are several small Thopas or monumental receptacles for the bones of a Buddha or Rahat, built of cut stone at the base. They were once of a pyramidal shape, but are now much dilapidated, and appear like a heap of stone. He further tells that the largest of the topes selected for examination appeared to have been one time between twelve and sixteen feet height. It was much dilapidated, and was penetrated from above to the base, which was built of cut stone.

After digging to the level of ground and clearing away the material, there was found a circular stone, hollow in center and covered on top with a piece of gypsum. This contained two small copper urns, in which were found small pieces of gold, a ruby, a pearl and a small gold box and a silver box. Two copper-plates were also found with these urns. These are the only such plates found at Kanheri, however, unfortunately these are not traceable at present.<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> Dr. James Bird (1839, Historical Researches)

### **James Fergusson**

He provided a small account of these under his article titled 'Cave Temples and Monasteries of Western India'.<sup>130</sup>

### **J Stevenson**

Though various travelers and scholars mentioned above talks about miscellaneous inscriptions of the site, however it was Stevenson who first published few of these in 1850. Paris-plaster castes of these inscriptions were obtained from the cave commission setup by John Wilson. Stevenson examined only two Pali inscriptions and attempted their translation.

In 1852, he read another article to the Bombay Royal Asiatic Society on historical facts and names found in the Kanheri inscriptions. He tells that the most ancient name found here is that of Chanakya, the prime-minister of Chandragupta Maurya. He says that he is referred here with his gentile name, 'Damila'. He further takes Rohini-Mitra to be in relation with the Pushyamitra family of the Sunga dynasty. These two conclusions

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<sup>130</sup> James Fergusson (1843, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society vol VIII)

of his were of course incorrect however he was right in noticing Gautamiputra Sri Yajna Satkarni but he took these as referring to two different Andhra sovereigns. About the architects of the cave, he identifies Dhanuka-kata with Xenocrates as some another inscription mentions that the architects were Greek. He suggests that Buddhaghosha mentioned in an inscription here probably refers to the famous Buddhist monk of 5th century CE who later moved to Sri Lanka. He also points to a reference of Mahakshatrapa as a minister of this race engraved an inscription at Kanheri. Among the places, Stevenson tells references of Kalyan, Wasai, Nasik, Sopara found among the inscriptions at Kanheri. Stevenson read an inscription as 'Sakya-datya-lena' and based upon this he tried to establish the theory of 'Buddha Tooth Relic'. he suggest that this relic was temporarily deposited in this cave Its permanent deposit place was the large stupa opened by Dr Bird as the copper-plate found inside is a conclusive evidence of this. On the date of the caves, Stevenson takes help of the copper-plate charter which has number 245, and taking it as equivalent of 189 CE. None of his deductions, however, were correct. He also provided translation of about 18 inscriptions in

this paper. Many of his translations were rectified to a great degree by later scholars.<sup>131</sup>

### **E W West**

He was the first scholar who first published the copies of as many as 60 inscriptions of Kanheri caves . He provided the facsimiles of then available inscriptions. His article was also accompanied with the plan and description of almost all the caves. He also carried out excavations of the stupa gallery. Among the many small stupas, Bird took the single largest one for excavation in 1853. From his excavation, he concluded that this stupa was a sixteen-sided polygon topped with a circular dome. At various heights, it has been surrounded by tiers of sculptures, remains of seven of these were found among the ruins and about 10 at the lowest level were in situ. The dome of the stupa was already broken into before his time and its relics were emptied out. He also excavated eight small stupas however did not found any relics.He also carried excavation in cave no 13 which resulted in some interesting findings. He found many dried

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<sup>131</sup> J Stevenson (1850, Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society vol V)

clay seals carrying a figure of Buddha with an inscription. The inscription is the famous Buddhist formula, 'Ye dharma hetu prabhava hetun teshan Tathagato hyavadat-teshan cha yo nirodha evamvadi Maha Sramana'. All the seals carrying the figure of Buddha is made from same source as same defect occurs in all. He also found two stone pots inside which were found five copper coins of the Bahmani dynasty of 15th century CE.<sup>132</sup>

### **James Burgess**

He was the Government Archaeological Surveyor and published few inscriptions of Kanheri with Bhagvanlal Indraji. Their emphasis was on the Pehalvi inscriptions.<sup>133</sup>

### **Henry Cousens**

He contributed for the text in the Bombay Gazetteer published by J M Campbell. He first consolidated all the past references of these caves and then described almost all the caves

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<sup>132</sup> E W West (1860, Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society vol VI)

<sup>133</sup> James Burgess (1881, Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India)

known at that time. He also provided the translation of the inscriptions found in that cave along with its description. It was the most exhaustive account of these caves till that time.<sup>134</sup>

### **Kanaiyalal H Vakil**

This included Kanheri caves however it was a brief description.<sup>135</sup>

### **S R Wauchop**

Wauchop mentions that these caves were very much neglected and so little known among the people of those days. He tells that in so large a group there must be considerable differences in the ages of some of the excavations. He started his description from the present cave 1 which he assigns to be the latest unfinished excavation datable to tenth century CE. He describes the Chaitya cave in much detail, providing references from Fergusson. About the single stupa cell outside this Chaitya cave, he also supports the theory that it was the ancient most cave

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<sup>134</sup> (1882, The Bombay Gazetteer)

<sup>135</sup> (1932, Rock-cut Temples Around Bombay at Elephanta and Jogeshwari Mandapeshwar and Kanheri)

excavated at this site. He dates this cave to second century CE on the basis of Gautamiputra II's inscription.

Then he proceeds to cave X, which he refers as Great Maharaja or Durbar Cave. The raised platform inside the cave would have been used for seating for the monks as per him. From here he mentions cave 16, 35, 66, 67, 68. He comments on some striking features found in these caves, like number of steps and path many of which had hand-rails leading from cave to cave, number of stone seats outside the caves and finally the good and remarkable system of water cisterns which nearly every cave has.<sup>136</sup>

### **Devipriya Valisinha**

She was the general secretary of the Mahabodhi Society of Sri Lanka. In her compilation, she provided a small reference of Kanheri caves, describing in brief only the Chaitya cave and Darbar cave. She mentions that few characteristics which sets this complex apart from others are, connecting paths were built to

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<sup>136</sup> S R Wauchop (1933, The Buddhist Cave Temples of India)

make navigation across caves possible, water cisterns and water availability in front of all caves etc.<sup>137</sup>

### **Ruth Wingfield Boosman**

She published a detailed account of the Kanheri caves accompanied with few inscriptions. Her works was supported with a large number of plates.<sup>138</sup>

### **Debala Mitra**

In her omnibus of Buddhist monuments, Debala Mitra has a small chapter for Kanheri. In preface of her work she admits that due to large number of monuments needs to be covered in her work hence she can only be brief about their description. She mentions that Kanheri has the largest number of rock-cut caves on a single hill among other similar establishment. Though the caves overwhelms a visitor by its numbers but fails the same in case of art and architecture.

She mentions that most of the Buddha images are in similar posture, either standing with his right hand in varada-mudra or

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<sup>137</sup> Devipriya Valisinha (1948, The Buddhist Shrines in India)  
<sup>138</sup> 1961

seated in dharma-chakra-pravartana-mudra. He is also often depicted seated in pralambapada-asana-mudra as well. When Buddha is shown seated above a lotus, its stalk is usually held by a pair of nagas, sometimes accompanied with their female counterparts. She notices the unique sculpture where Buddha is shown seated over a lotus and on its stalk, apart from usual nagas, one a level above is shown Indra (shakra) and Vajra as ayudha-purusha. Divine harpist Pachasikha is also present. Mitra suggests that it represents the tradition of Indra's visit to Buddha in Indrashala at Rajagriha. Indra went to clarify his doubts with Indra, and his arrival was announced by Pachasikha by playing the harp. She also talks about eleven-headed Avalokiteshvara image which he says is the only one in India. She also talks about the Litany of Avalokiteshvara and says that nowhere in composition is so elaborate and the treatment so elegant as in cave no 90 at Kanheri. A kundika (water-pot) in his left and his right hand in abhaya-mudra is the evidence that it confirms to prescription laid down in Avalokiteshvara ekadashamukha-dharani for two-armed Avalokiteshvara image.<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> Debala Mitra (1971, Buddhist Monuments)

### **Owen C Kail**

In his very exhaustive survey around India for Buddhist cave shrines, Owen dedicated a full chapter to Kanheri. He mentions that the first chaitya cave at the present entrance is probably the latest addition at the site, which might have constructed in eighth or ninth century CE. He described many caves at the site, providing details of all the major and important caves. He also described the eleven-headed Avalokiteshvara and attendant Taras.<sup>140</sup>

### **B N Chaudhury**

Chaudhury briefly described the caves in general without going into details of any of the caves, not even to the Great Chaitya cave (cave no 3). He mentions that it is evident from an inscription that Aparasaila sect of Buddhism resided in the monastery at Kanheri.<sup>141</sup>

### **Shobhana Gokhale:**

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<sup>140</sup> Owen C Kail (1975, Buddhist Cave Temples of India)

<sup>141</sup> (1982, Buddhist Centers in Ancient India)

Shobhana Gokhale published a comprehensive list of all the inscriptions discovered at Kanheri. She consolidated all the inscriptions published in previous attempts accompanied with newly discovered inscriptions. She carried out an extensive survey to discover new inscription and to locate the previous published accounts. Her attempt was first such a comprehensive attempt in this direction. She also wrote an article on the eleven-headed Avalokiteshvara image found at Kanheri.<sup>142</sup>

### **Dulari Qureshi**

Dulari Qureshi mentions about all important caves, in detail Chaitya cave and Darbar cave. She came up with few new insights like the influence of the Vajrayana Buddhism of Ellora over Kanheri reflecting through many sculptures found here.<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> Shobhana Gokhale (1991, Kanheri Inscriptions)

<sup>143</sup> Dulari Qureshi (2010, Rock-cut Temples of Western India)

### **Previous work on inscriptions of Kanheri**

In 1851, Stevenson translated two Pali inscriptions, out of five Pali and one Sanskrit plaster-casts received from Dr Brett, and published these in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. These two Pali inscriptions are:

*“The charitable gift of a Svastika temple by Sulasadata, son of Rohinimita, the goldsmith, whose eye is directed to prosperity”*

*“A tank, the charitable gift of him who, devoted to intellect, has crossed over the water of affliction.”*

Dr Bird in his Caves of Western India provides copies of 27 inscriptions. In 1852, Stevenson published translations of 20 inscriptions and one copper-plate charter in the fifth volume of the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. He talks about some important names found in these inscriptions. He mentions that the most ancient name found here is of Chanakya who is referred with his gentile name, Damila (Dramila in Sanskrit). He is said to be an inhabitant of Kalyana in the inscriptions. The inscriptions (No 15 of his list) merely talks

about the dedication of the caves to him but the name of the donor is not given.

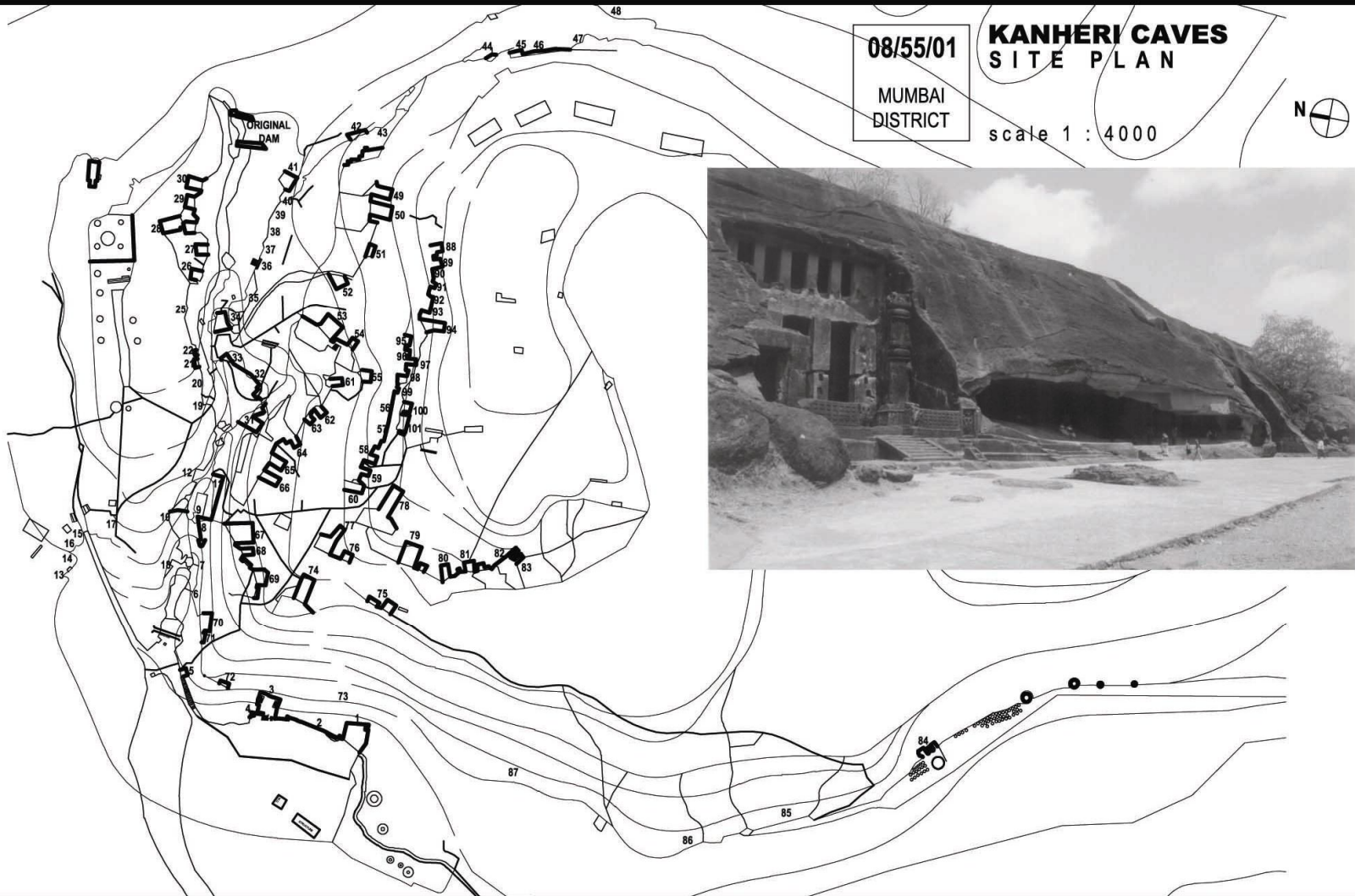
The other two important names are of Gautami-putra and Yadnya Sri-Sat-Karni, two famous sovereigns of the Andhra dynasty. Stevenson further tells that another name mentioned in the inscriptions is of Buddhaghosha who is claimed to be an apostle from the eastern peninsula. He mentions that this Buddhaghosha might be the same who is found in the Sri Lankan chronicles, who left India to Burma and on the way stayed in Sri Lanka where he translated many Buddhist treatise. He thinks that as there is no certainty whether he returned to India, hence this inscription would have been of the time before he left India.

In 1860, E W West read a paper in which he mentioned 60 inscriptions found in the Kanheri caves. His article was published in the sixth volume of the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. In the same volume, Bhau Daji reports the discovery of two more inscriptions. He mentions that one inscription has 'swasti' and date '799 Saka' in figures and words. The name of 'Maharajadhiraja Kokalla' was also read. The inscription on the opposite Darbar cave is larger but

contains the name of the same king and same date. Bhau Daji tells that this king Kokalla belongs to the Kalachuri race.

This article lists down all inscriptions noted by various scholars in the past. These inscriptions were mentioned in the following accounts:

- 1847, Bird, Historical Researches
- 1853, Stevenson, Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society vol V
- 1861, West, Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society vol VI
- 1883, Buhler, Archaeological Survey of Western India vol V
- 1911, Luders, A List of Brahmi Inscriptions, Epigraphia Indica vol X
- 1975, Gokhale, Shobhana, Kanheri Inscriptions. Deccan College, Poona





## ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES AT KANHERI

### General Classification of Caves

We will now discuss the types of caves excavated at Kanheri in detail. Buddhist architecture can be broadly classified into two types—*chaityas* and *viharas*. Apart from this primary classification made for the convenience of study, we can subdivide them as follows on the basis of their plans:

#### *Chaityas*

1. Apsidal
2. Circular
3. Rectangular
4. With stone stupa
5. With wooden stupa

#### *Viharas*

- a. Halls
- b. Cell halls
- c. Simple cell halls
- d. Hall with more than one cell

- e. Hall with 'L'-shaped hall and a cell
- f. Cell hall with cell-hall complex in courtyard
- g. A pair of cell halls

This is a general classification of the caves on the site. We will now discuss each group in detail now.

(1) *Chaitya*: A *chaitya* is a prayer hall that usually comprises a hall and a stupa, its two basic architectural elements.

- Apsidal: Apsidal *chaityas* have a rectangular hall with a semi-circular end at the back. The stupa is placed in the apse. The entire interior (apse and hall in front) is divided into a nave comprising the prayer hall and aisles. A row of pillars is placed parallel to the wall that is surmounted by a vaulted roof. Most of the early *chaityas* are apsidal but they changed their plan over time.
- Circular: These *chaityas* have a circular plan with the stupa in the centre with an ambulatory around it. Nevertheless, the *chaitya* has pillars around the central stupa; this feature is absent at Kanheri. Such *chaityas* do

not have any hall for the devotee to perform rituals or for sermons.

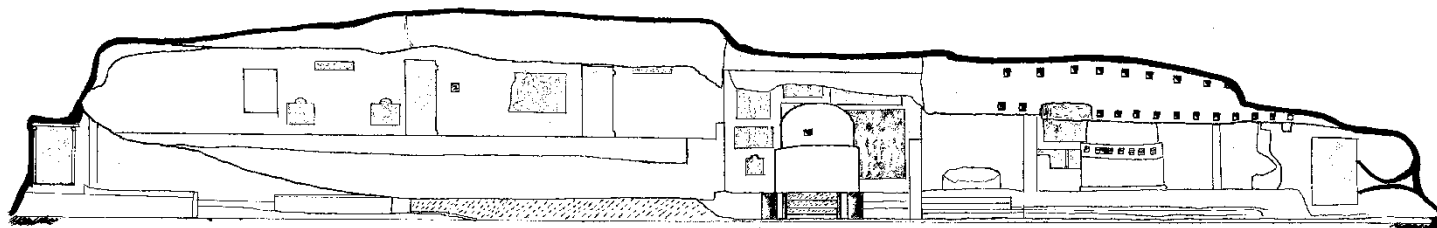
- Rectangular: In this case, the hall is usually plain and without pillars, and the roof is flat. We can subdivide such *chaityas* into two on the basis of the material used for the stupa, stone or wood.

(2) *Vihara*: A *vihara* is a residential cell typically containing a bench. Numerous such simple cells can be seen in the early phase of rock-cut architecture.

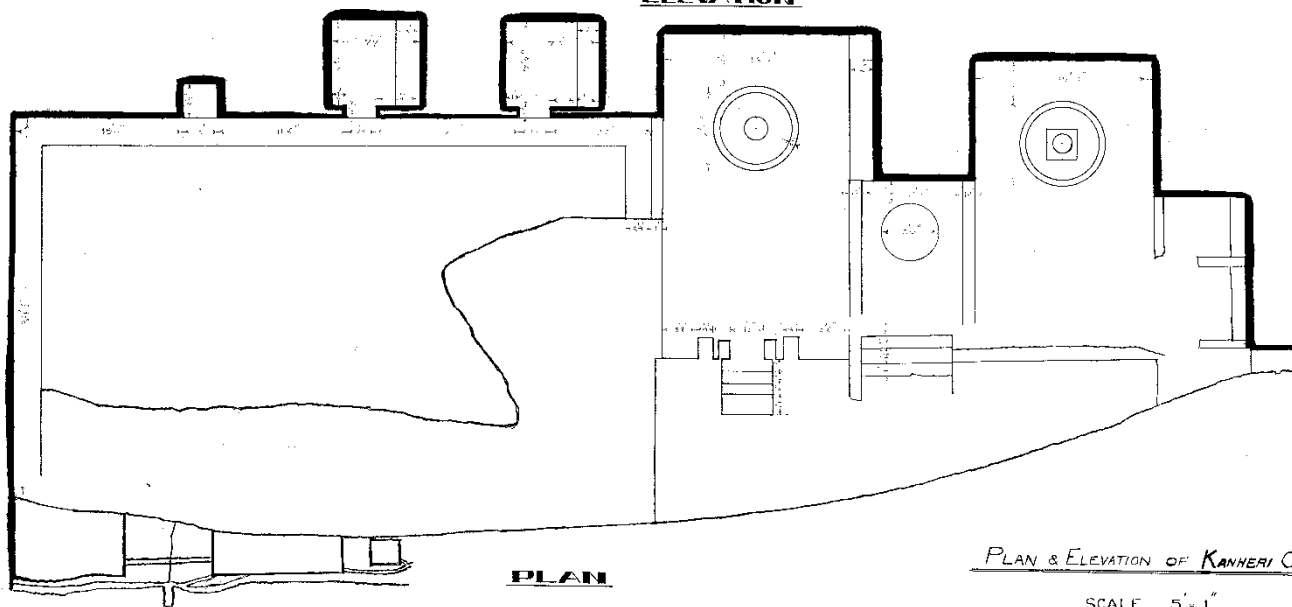
- Halls: A rectangular room with a bench running along two or three walls. It usually has a verandah with a

small entrance and grated windows on either side of the main doorway.

- Cell halls: Simple cell halls: The cell is usually placed either in the back wall or in the sidewalls. The hall is a square or oblong hall with a narrow verandah in the front. Typically,



**ELEVATION**



**PLAN**

*PLAN & ELEVATION OF KANHERI CAVE No 2*

SCALE 5'-1"

04/07

Cave 2  
Courtesy ASI

- Hall with more than one cell: A bench runs along either two or three walls and cells are placed randomly.
- Hall with an 'L'-shaped hall and a cell: Adjacent to the rectangular hall, we have an 'L'-shaped hall with an 'L'-shaped bench running along the walls. There is also a cell in the larger portion of the 'L'-shaped hall.
- Cell hall with another cell-hall complex in the courtyard: These types of cell halls have a second similar cell-hall complex in the courtyard, which is smaller than the main complex.
- A pair of cell halls: Two cell halls with a shared verandah.

At Kanheri, a cell with a verandah is rare and the cell-hall type is the most common feature.

Wooden architecture is also a very important architectural feature and it will be discussed along with the architectural descriptions of the caves. Most of the caves have water cisterns in the courtyard either in a niche or in an open

place. A bench with a low platform and a rock-cut receptacle excavated in the courtyard is a common feature of the later period.

## **Description of Kanheri Caves**

The description given here is based on the numbers given by ASI. In the wooden reconstruction, only the special features are discussed. Further, the common features mentioned previously are assumed. At Kanheri, caves are spread in three layers on the southern hill. For the convenience of study, we have divided the caves into groups on the basis of their location as follows:

### **Cave No. 1**

Cave No. 1 at Kanheri is unfinished and not a single sculpture can be seen here. This cave is located at the entrance of the site that is reached after climbing the flight of steps. It appears to follow the plan of the *chaitya* Cave No. 3. The location and the size of the cave suggest that this is the largest excavation planned at the site. To understand the proposed plan, it is necessary to visualize the finished cave. In fact, after its completion, this would have been the largest Buddhist *chaitya* cave in India.

The only finished element in the cave is a pillar in the courtyard. We can also see two façades with *chaitya* windows. Between the two façades, there is a rectangular verandah which is unfinished. There is a flight of steps (modern) leading to the inner excavation which is believed to be a prayer hall. The hall is totally incomplete and we can see a blocks left there for the pillars of the *chaitya* hall.

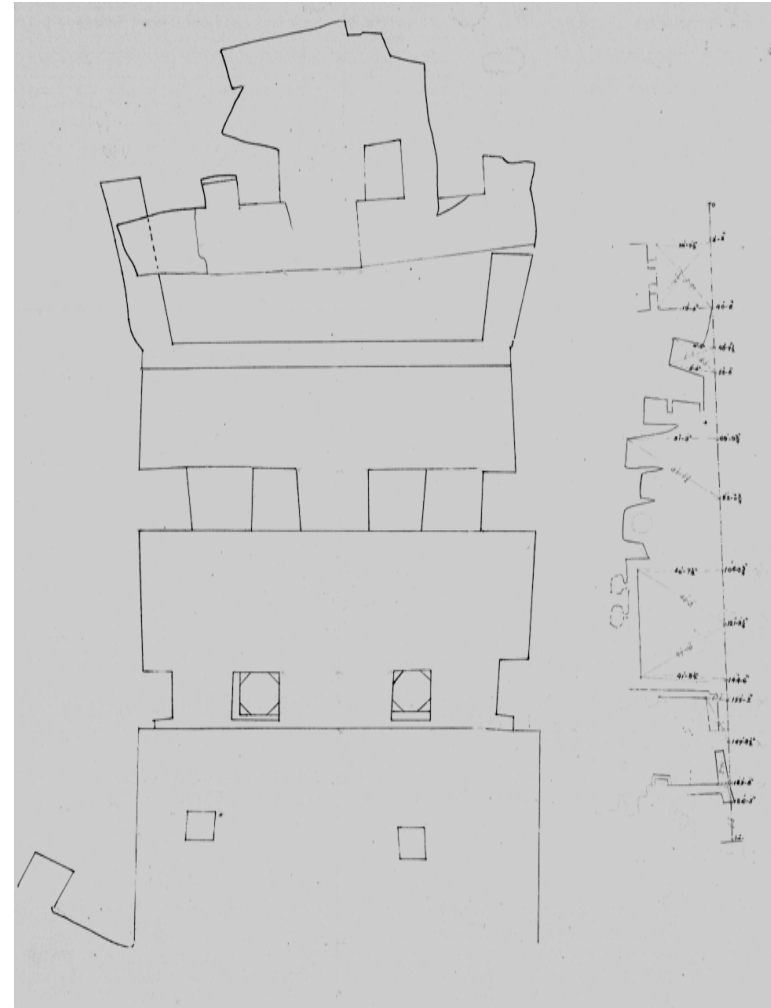
The pillar, which is the only finished architectural component in the cave, is very interesting. It is similar to the pillars in the Shaiva cave at Jogeshvari (main cave). Moreover, this pillar is a link between the pillars in the cave at Magathane, the pilasters at Lonad in the doorframe, and the pillars in the Jogeshvari cave. However, there is a slight difference between the pillars at Jogeshvari cave and those in this particular cave, even though the first visual impact of both is similar. Although smaller in size, the pillars in Cave Nos. 12 and 41 at Kanheri also have similar features.

This pillar has a fluted circular cushion capital with a fluted base. One-third of the pillar from the base is square. Above the square base of the pillar, there is a 16-sided band

bounded by octagonal bands from both below and from above; another 16-sided shaft leads to the cushion capital with an inverted curve curving outward at the top end.

The first façade here has three vertical rectangular windows while the second façade gives us a perfect outline of the *chaitya* window. There are supposed to be two freestanding pillars in the open court of the cave. All these elements help us to fix the date of the cave.

Courtesy ASI



## Cave No. 2

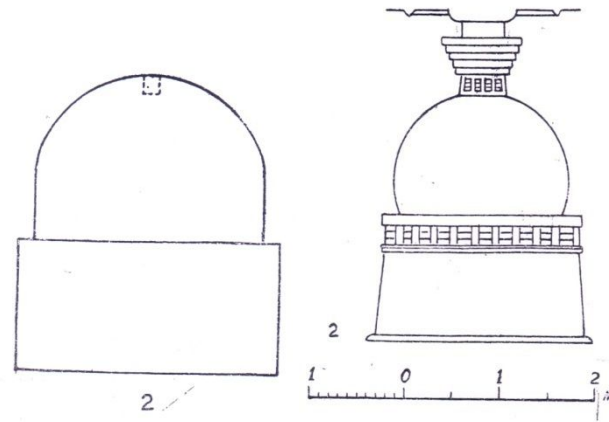
This cave is a *chaitya-vihara* type cave. This cave has very peculiar features. For the convenience of the study, we have divided it into 5 parts from east to west as 2a, 2b, 2c, 2d, and 2e. Cell No. 2a is a small rectangular hall with a bench along its three sides, two cells, and a recess in the back wall. Adjacent to this, there are three small rooms with stupas. These three chambers with stupas are numbered as Cell Nos. 2b, 2c, and 2d. Cell Nos. 2b and 2c are rectangular flat-roofed chambers. Only the base of the stupa in Cell No. 2c can be seen today. The stupa in both Cell Nos. 2b and 2c appear to be contemporary. The stupa in Cell No. 2b is very simple and has provision for a wooden *harmikā* above it. This cell comprises numerous later figures that are stylistically dated to 6<sup>th</sup> century C.E. A small verandah with a half-vaulted roof has been provided for Cell Nos. 2b and 2c. All these features lead to the conclusion that these cells belong to the early phase. Cell No. 2d is also a chamber with a stupa but with a much lower ceiling than that in the case of Cell Nos. 2b and 2c. An attempt has been made to convert the cell into an apsidal *chaitya* by giving a curve to the back wall. An extension has been given to the verandahs of Cell Nos. 2b and 2c in order to provide

an entrance to the Cell Nos. 2d and 2e. The stupa in Cell No. 2d is more stylistically developed than that in Cell No. 2b. The stupa in Cell No. 2d has a decoration of a *vedikā* pattern on its drum. Its *anda* is also more circular than the *anda* of the stupa in Cell No. 2b. All the chambers containing the stupas have a flat roof. In the case of Cell No. 2d, an umbrella (*cchatra*) has been carved on the ceiling, but this is not seen in the case of the other two stupas. Cell No. 2e comprises two small cells with benches. The entrance of the main cell, the outer cell, is from the verandah while that of the inner cell is from the outer cell. With the exception of benches and postholes for the doorframes, no other architectural features can be seen in detail here. The façade of this portion of the cave gives us evidences of wooden decorations as well as a wooden wall.

Today, this cave is highly eroded; nevertheless, a few modifications to the ceiling can be seen. The cave seems to have been excavated in at least two phases. The first stupa adjacent to the hall has a small verandah with a half-vaulted roof and it might be contemporaneous to the adjacent hall. The other two stupas might be of a later date than this but not later than Cave No. 3.

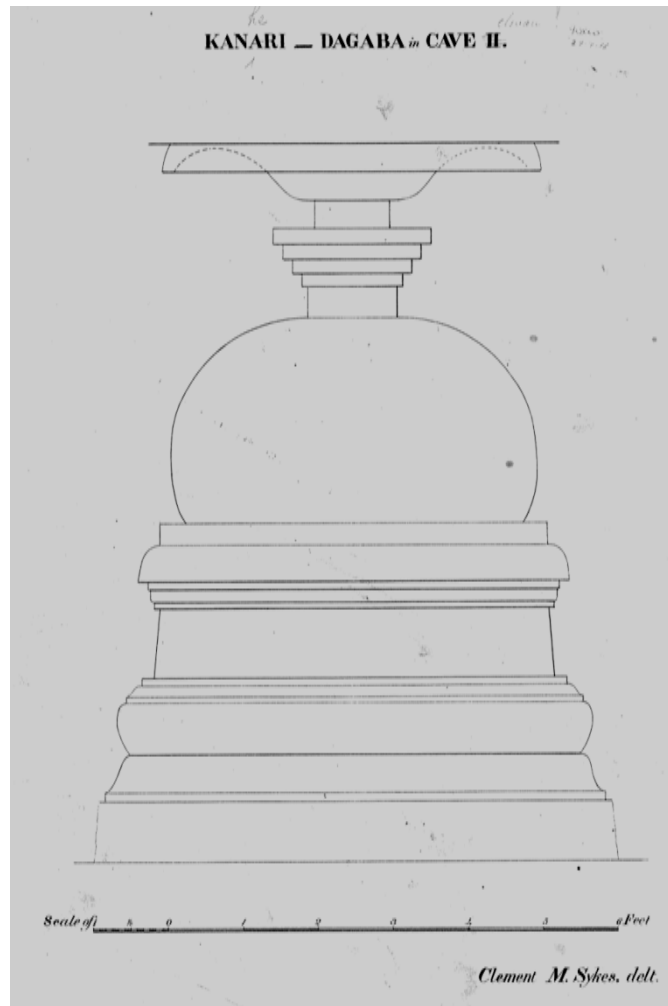
The entrance to the cave is from an open court shared by Cave Nos. 2, 3, and 4. A flight of steps leading towards the cave opens into the verandah of the first room which contains the stupa, Cell No. 2b. Extensive woodwork can be inferred from the postholes. Many water cisterns can be seen, and a small tank has been excavated near the entrance with dedicatory inscriptions. There is a water tank on top of this cave, which is difficult to access.

The open court shared by Cave Nos. 2, 3, and 4 has a long bench in between Cave Nos. 2 and 3.



**Courtesy ASI**





Courtesy ASI: Though ASI says this is from Cave 2 it seems to be from cave 31.

## **Inscriptions in Cave 2**

- **No 1 of Bird/No 3 of Brett/No 2(4) of Stevenson/No 2 of West/No 2 of Buhler/No 985 of Luders/No 2 of Gokhale**

**Location** – on the back wall of cave no 2 above a long bench set against the wall,

**characters** – Brahmi of 2nd century CE,

**Language** – Prakrit

**Stevenson** – “Peace. The religious assignation of a refectory by Kanaka, a brazier of Nasik.”

**Luders** – “A seat (?), the gift of Nakanaka (Naga), the Naikaka (inhabitant of Nasika).”

**Gokhale** – records the gift of a refectory ‘Sata’ by Nakanaka, inhabitant of Nasik.

- **No 2 of Bird/No 1 of West/No 1 of Buhler/No 984 of Luders/ No 1 of Gokhale –**

**Location** – right corner of cave no 2, behind the large stupa, partly on the left and partly beneath the standing figure of the Buddha bowed by nine persons near his feet in ‘L’ shape,

**Characters** – Brahmi of 6th century CE,

**Language** – Prakrit

**Luders** – “The physician (vaidya) Nanna. Rana (?) Bhaskara. Bharavi. Chelladeva. Boppai (Vopadeva). Bhatta Khasu.”

**Gokhale** – the inscription records five names in Sanskrit nominatives and ends with four Prakrit names. “Nanha physician (vaidya), Bhanu, Bhaskara, Bharavi, Chelladeva, Boppai, Bhatta Vesu

- **No 3 of Bird/No 1 of Brett/ No 1(3) of Stevenson/ No 3 of West/No 3 of Buhler/No 986 of Luders/No 3 of Gokhale.**

**Location** – in cave no 2 near a small tank,.

**Characters** – Brahmi of 2nd century CE,

**Language** – Prakrit

**Stevenson** – “The religious assignation of a cistern fitted to last a thousand seasons, by Samidabha, a goldsmith of Kalyan.”

**Luders** – “A cistern (paniyaka), the gift of the goldsmith(suvanako(ka)ra) Samidata (Svamidatta) of Kaliyana (Kalyana) together with the Order (Sagha).”

( INSCRIPTIONS IN DEVANAGARI FONT)

**Right Corner behind Stupa**

नण्णवैदय

भानू

भास्करः

भारविः

चेल्लदेव

बोप्पइ

भट्टवेसुसुवइपो

होइ

**Back side of Cave above Bench**

नासिककसनाक

णकससतदेयधम

Small water cistern

कलियणणसुवणकोरससामिद

तससहसघघेनपनियकदेयधम

**Above the water cistern outside the cave**

कलिअणसनेगमसचित

कियसपुनवसुयनसपोढिदेयधम

• No 4 of Gokhale

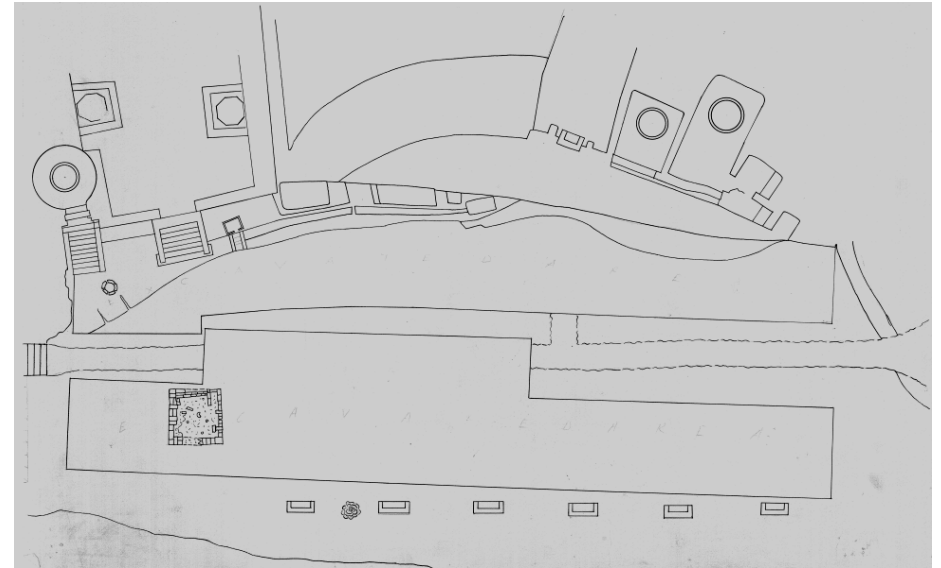
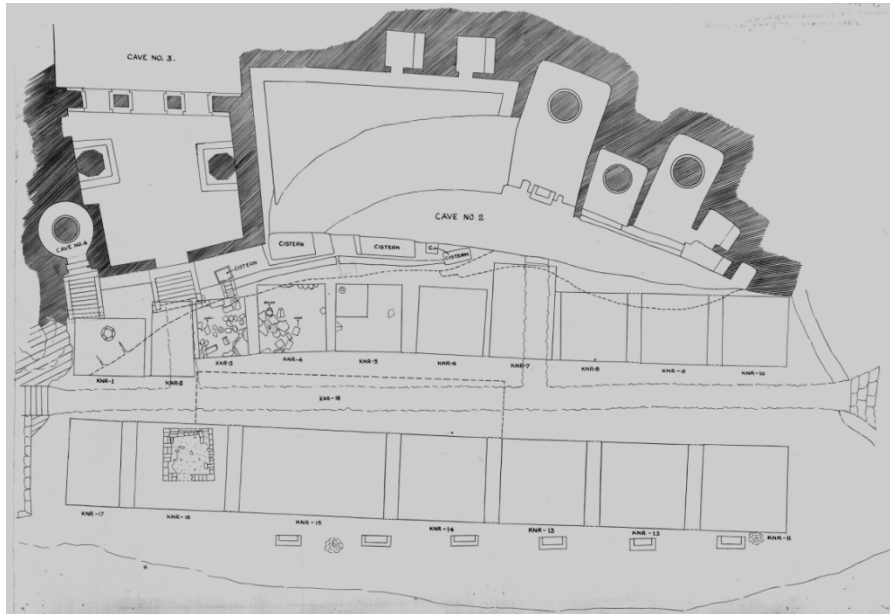
**Location** – in front of the cave no 2 just above the cistern,

**Characters** – Brahmi of 2nd century CE,

**Language** – Prakrit

**Gokhale** – provided the text, a donation of a cistern from Chitakiyasa, a merchant from Kalyana

Courtesy ASI



### Cave No. 3

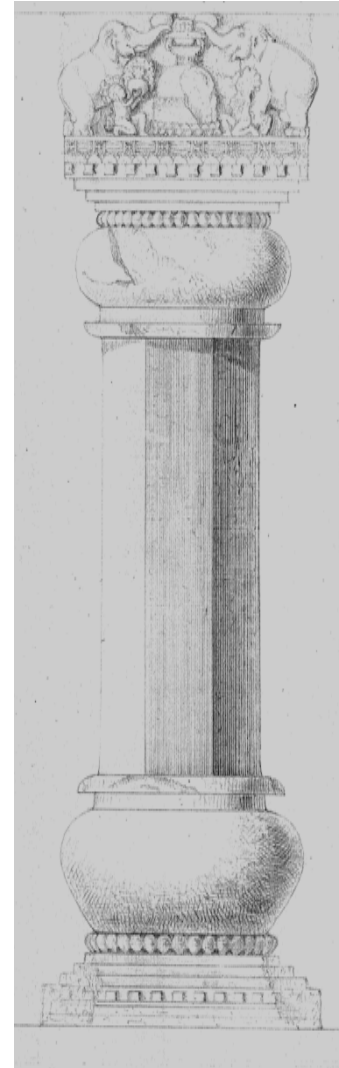
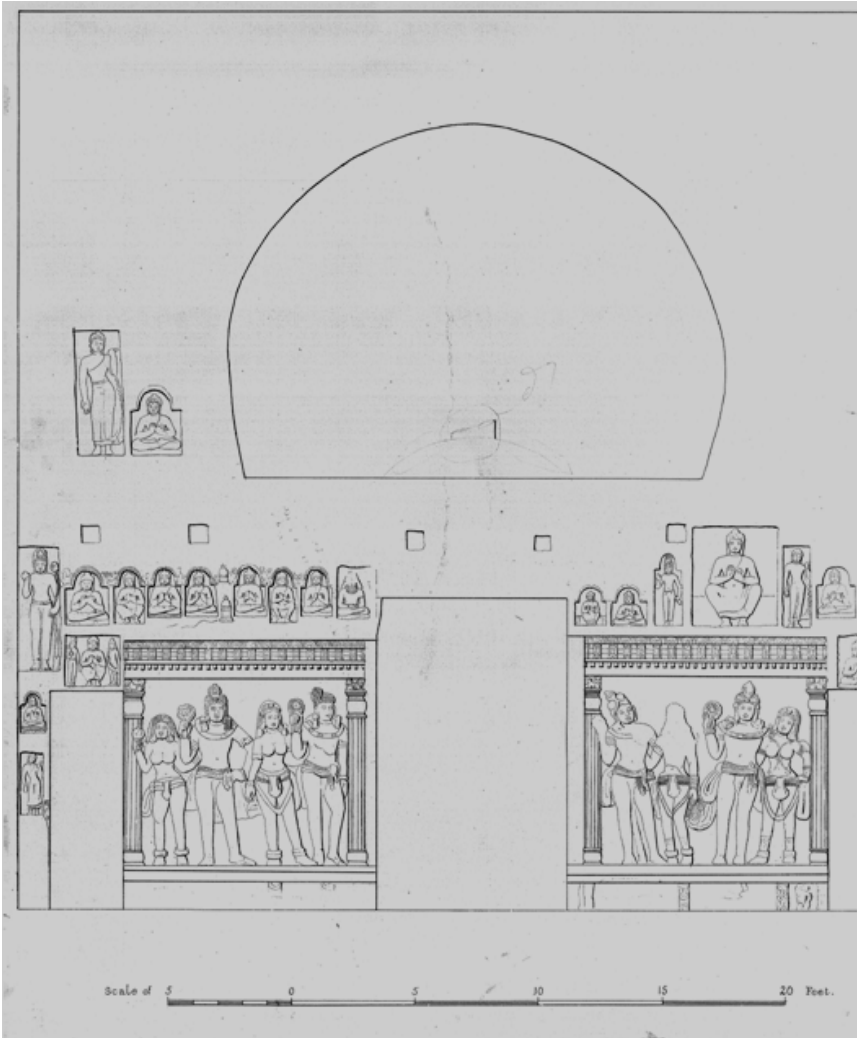
This *chaitya* cave is near the entrance of the site and is the most important one in the entire complex. It is approachable by a flight of nine steps out of which the lowermost one has a rectangular extension, a feature that can be noticed in 2<sup>nd</sup> century C.E. caves.

The entrance to the courtyard has a replica of wooden fencing. This railing has three human-like figures; two are *dvārapāla*-s, one each on either side of the entrance, and the third figure is a *Naga* figure standing at the extreme right, adjacent to Cave No. 2.

The *dvārapāla*-s stand somewhat erect and gracefully. They are shown holding some object in the right hand, maybe a flower (?). Since the face and shoulder portion is

destroyed, it is not possible to identify them as humans or *yaksha*-s. However, similar figures on the base portion of the pillars in the courtyard suggest that they are human attendants. In the upper portion of their body, their only ornamentation is necklaces of bold beads. The left hand rest on their waist where a knot of the lower garment is prominent. The lower garment is like a modern dhoti. There appears to be a loop below the right elbow, which could be of the border of the waistband or a bead garland or a pouch (?). These sculptures show some affiliation with Shaka–Kushana art.

The *naga* figure on the right is in a specially designed shallow niche which is decorated by three *chaitya* windows above the lintel (upper beam); the middle window shows a human bust that is quite eroded. Similar figures



Courtesy ASI

were also probably present in the other two adjacent windows but they are not tangible any more. The niche has two pilasters with cushion capitals having a beaded crown and semi-cylindrical shafts with a lattice design and square bases. The *naga* figure has five hoods; its headdress is probably a crown because of which he can be identified as a *naga* king (*Nagarāja*). Its ears have long and heavy ornaments and a bead or metal necklace can be seen around the neck. The right hand is shown holding a full-blown flower, while the left hand is on the waist, holding the knot of the lower garment in a similar manner to the *dvārapāla* figures. The waistband seems to be heavy, probably due to studded beads, pearls, or precious stones (?). The lower garment is similar to a dhoti. The railing imitates the wooden prototype with vertical posts intersected by horizontal planks, similar to that at Sanchi. The upper-most horizontal beam has vertical posts with full-blown flowers as their crowns. The intersecting places are covered with human faces that are in an extremely eroded state and are reminiscent of a similar depiction at Nasik caves. The middle beam has medallions probably with human and *vyāla* figures, which are in a bad state of preservation. The other two rows have flowers as medallions. The lower layer of the fence

shows rows of pairs of animals—elephants, bulls, horses, double-humped (Bactrian) camels and two unclear ones, maybe antelopes or wild boars—on either side coming out of the mouth of *makaras*. The base has a row of dwarfs at the extreme ends, standing with their hands raised as though to support the whole railing. On the western side below the railing, there is a bench having a raised headrest on the extreme side, while a water cistern approachable by a short flight of steps can be seen below the east railing. A *kalasha* motif has been carved on the side of the railing; it has full-blown flowers and buds and reminds us of the art of Amaravati.

This entrance leads to the open courtyard which contains two square ditches in the centre and a pair of postholes behind the main railing wall probably for erecting a *torana* like the one at Sanchi. Two pillars, one on either side, are attached to sloping walls. A projected stone block has been placed along with the left wall in order to avoid cutting into Cave No. 4. Not far from this is a pillar with a square base, and a similar one is present on the opposite side. The inner end of the left pillar was destroyed in a later period while providing an entrance to the cell. Above the base, there is another square base of the pillar, which

is divided into four parts. Although the base of the western pillar is damaged, we can detect it by comparing the base with the one corresponding to it on the right side. This division follows a similar pattern of design on the external railings. The lowermost layer of the base is again of pairs of animals coming from the mouth of a *makara*. The second layer is of a row of human figures intervened by a vertical rail pattern. There are two *naga* figures with an anthropomorphic form and five hoods. These *naga*-s are attended by two figures, one on either side, similar to the *dvārapāla*-s at the entrance of the cave. The third layer has a closed-beam design. The uppermost layer has a railing with the mat-net design.

The shaft of the left pillar is eight-sided with a cushion capital. The square abacus also has decorations in four layers crowned with dwarf figures. These dwarfs are shown supporting the capital and probably provided with a wheel. These figures are forceful with impressive facial expressions. They exhibit a masterly touch, which is also indicative of the fact that this pillar is an important part of the courtyard in particular and the scheme of the total cave in general. Above the hands of the

dwarfs, there is a circular top with a depression in the centre, which probably provides firm support to the wheel.

The pillar on the opposite side does not have a similar shaft decoration. Scholars have opined that a different set of artists worked on it, or the donor chose a different decoration, or a fault in the rock forced the differences. However, close observations suggest that the shaft is intersected by a cushion projection in the middle, and a Buddha figure is carved on top it. Even at the cost of breaking the symmetry, the artist designed the pillar in this manner, which suggests the importance of the Buddha figure. On the lower portion of the shaft and just above the base of the pillar, there is a figure of a standing Buddha in *abhayamudrā*. However, the figure is eroded and other iconographic details, if any, are not clear. Stylistically, this is similar to the depiction of Buddha figures in the Mathura art. This figure is flanked by two attendants, one on either side, holding flowers in their right hands. A second Buddha figure is on the upper level and just above the abovementioned intersection; this is a figure seated in *dhyānāsana* on a raised seat. Standing attendants similar to the lower one are also present. This intersection has a cushion capital and a row of beads on the neck;



on the neck rests an abacus having a decoration in four layers and crowned by four seated lions. These lion figures are heavily eroded, but, probably they were once holding the wheel on their back. There is a fragment of an inscription on the lower section of the shaft. More work is needed to understand the asymmetry of the pillars.

When we proceed further to the left side, there is a cell which is quite high and approachable with a step. This cell is a later addition and although the date is controversial, it almost definitely belongs to the 1<sup>st</sup> phase. As mentioned earlier, the base of the left pillar was destroyed in order to obtain an entrance to this cell. This cell has various intrusive sculptures of the Buddha and the Trinity in the verandah, obviously of a later date (2<sup>nd</sup> phase). The cell was modified by ASI and converted into a storeroom, and hence, it is difficult to trace any architectural features that can assist in precise dating.

On the opposite side, there are two votive stupas engraved on the right sidewall between the pillar and 1<sup>st</sup> façade of the *chaitya*. One of the stupas has an inscription, and paleographically, this inscription comprising box-headed characters can be dated to 5<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> century C.E. This inscribed

stupa is flanked by two dwarfs and also attended by two devotees at the lower level. The garland flowing from the *cchatrāvali* is depicted like wings, which is a special feature of these stupas.

The façade on the exterior of this cave is divided into three parts and gives evidence of extensive woodwork. The base of the façade also gives us the same railing pattern. At the intersection of the beams and posts, we have flower motifs with human busts in the intervals of the uppermost layer. The right-side railing is missing because of the weathering of the rock, but the portion on the extreme corner has survived and we can determine similarities with the left one.

There are four pillars above the base. The shafts of these pillars are divided into three parts because of a flowing depression for a beam to join the walls. The pillars are square and the side pillars are along the sidewalls giving impression of a pilaster. The middle pillar has a pair of postholes, one pair on each side, on the exterior. The side pillars have three vertically stacked postholes and the lower two postholes are at the same level as the pair of postholes on the middle pillars. The entire placement of the postholes suggests that a *chatushki*-like structure in wood existed in the centre along the façade; the

sidewalls also suggest this. A wooden storey probably existed here but this hypothesis can be challenged because of the presence of the two huge later Buddha figures (ca. 6<sup>th</sup> century C.E.) on either end in the verandah. The uppermost part of the façade is divided into five vertical windows, and again, there is evidence of heavy woodwork along the middle pillars and the side pilaster walls. These five apertures are made to provide enough light through the *chaitya* window to the interior of the cave.

The verandah is approachable by two steps between the middle pillars. The verandah floor and interior have been leveled with concrete by ASI. There are two small benches, one on either side, with a low backrest between the middle pillars and pilasters. There are various intrusive sculptures of a later date (2<sup>nd</sup> phase) in the verandah. Original sculptures can also be seen on the 2<sup>nd</sup> façade which has a *chaitya* window. This façade also gives us clues to extensive woodwork. There are a few wood remains above the *chaitya* window, which suggests that it was decorated by a wooden arch. The sides of the window also suggest a network of wooden beams and rafters. In the inner left corner of the verandah, there is a stone projection followed by a

row of six postholes along the façade. A row of postholes and an attempt to make a stone base or support for the wooden floor suggests that heavy woodwork was definitely a part of the *chaitya* window construction. Most probably, these wooden components were destroyed by 5<sup>th</sup> century C.E., as suggested by the figures of a later period (2<sup>nd</sup> phase) on the side work above the projection level.

There are two panels comprising four human figures on either side of the main entrance. Among these eight human figures, four are male and four are female. The base of these panels was decorated by dwarfs in various postures with hands raised as through to support the panels. Although the remains are very fragmented, we can discern their lively movements and their significance to the panels. The side ends of the base panels were decorated with railing posts having floral decorations. The placement of these panels and the general body features of the human figures remind us of Karla *chaitya* which has similar figures that are considered to be masterpieces of Satavahana art. These figures are identified as donor couples (?), possibly referred to in an inscription in the same verandah. Above the base and below the feet of these figures, there is

provision made for some wooden supplements similar to a bench or a table. These human figures are in various postures; all the male figures have raised right hands holding a bunch of flowers near their shoulders. Their costume and ornaments are quite varied.

In the left panel, we can see two couples standing beside each other. These figures are bulky and seem to be middle-aged. Both the females are depicted resting their left hands on the waists of their counterparts. The right hand of the 1<sup>st</sup> woman in the panel is raised and holds a bunch of flowers near the shoulder. The heaviness of the body is depicted by the bulky features and the liveliness is shown with different movements. Her headdress is full of beads made of precious and semiprecious stones, and she has flowing hair. Her earrings are heavy and unique in both the panels; heavy bracelets, armbands, and anklets can also be discerned. It is difficult to describe her ornaments in further detail because the rock has weathered. Her lower garment has a waistband (*katibandha*) and two garment loops can be seen coming out from it similar to the *dvārapāla*-s but with one loop coming out from above the *katibandha* in the centre. Her male counterpart is also wearing a similar lower garment with some

pouch-like extension (?) on his right thigh. His necklace on his broad chest is made of precious and semiprecious beads. His ear ornaments are significant and has the depiction of a prancing lion with an extension of chains of beads. We have found similar ear ornaments in the excavations at Ter in the Satavahana layers. His different headdress suggests affiliation with Shaka-Kushana art. Other figures are more or less similar with minor differences. These niches containing human figures are framed with pilasters similar to the pillars in the courtyard on either side. These pot-based pilasters have a four-sided shaft, which suggests eight-sided pillars with a pot-like abacus having a beaded neck. Above this, we can see lion capitals with the stepped square base. The entire panel is crowned with closed-beam railing decoration above which regular railing decorations can be seen. These panels must have had a plaster coat with lime wash, which is evident from the remains on the body of one of the male figures in the left panel.

The interior of the cave is approachable through a main entrance below the *chaitya* window, which opens into an inner hall, and two side doors opening into the ambulatory (*pradakshināpatha*). The entrance of the inner hall has a flat roof

above which the *chaitya* window can be seen. Two pairs of two plain pillars—without any base or capital—support this roof. These pillars give us inscriptions in white paint of a later date than the *chaitya*. In the hall, 32 pillars are arranged to follow the apsidal plan.

The first six pillars on the right side are complete and have a pot base and capitals with a beaded neck. Above this, an upside down pyramidal square with four steps can be seen. The band with the decoration of lotus petals is placed next, and above it, a band with horizontal and vertical mat designs can be seen. The main capital of every pillar is unique. Most of the pillars have reconstructed bases and eight-sided shafts. On the first pillar capital, animal riders are depicted with lions on the front, while double-humped camel can be seen on the backside. The capitals of the second set of pillars on either side have the same scheme. The depiction of stupa worship is shown here. Elephants and *naga*-s are depicted following the ritual of pouring scented water (*abhisheka*) on the stupa. This scene is very lively and reminds us of similar depictions at Sanchi. On other pillars, we can see elephants with riders. The elephant rider on the sixth pillar has a conical cap that reminds us of the *shakas* depicted in

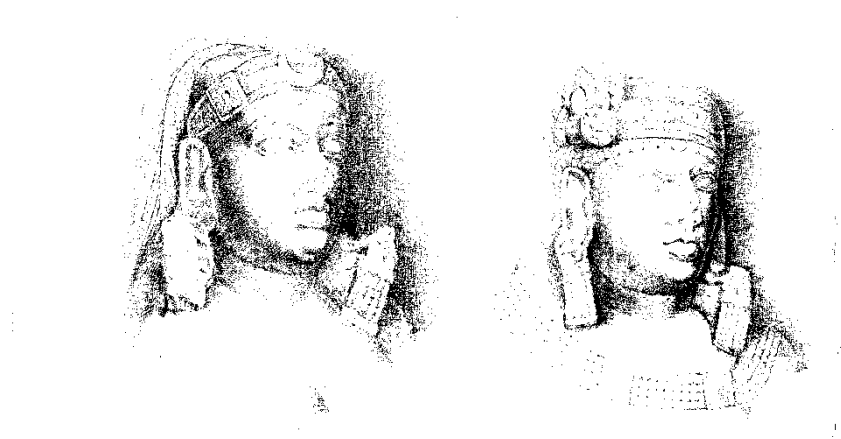
Indian art. Other features of the sculptures are similar to those of the sculptures of the so-called donor couples discussed above.

On the other side, six pillars are complete while five more only have capitals and no base. The base of the pillars is similar to those on the opposite side and comprises a pyramid with four steps. Above this, there is a pot base with a rib above. These pillars also have eight-sided shafts. The pillar capitals of Pillar Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, and 11 have animal riders with elephants in different postures and gestures similar to the opposite pillars. As discussed above, Pillar No. 2 has the scene of stupa worship by elephants and *naga*-s. Pillar No. 8 has depictions of Buddha worship in the form of footprints with sacred symbols under the Bodhi tree shading the *vajrāsana*. Elephants are depicted similar to the depiction on the capital of Pillar No. 2. In addition, a few human figures also can be seen. There is a square pit between Pillar Nos. 5 and 6, and similar pits can be seen near the base of the stupa as well.

The stupa is in the center of the apse and without a *harmikā* or *cchatrāvāli* today. However, they were present earlier and a *harmikā* made in stone can be deduced from an extension from the stupa. The *cchatra* was probably an extension of the

*harmikā*, as suggested by the depression in the ceiling exactly above the stupa. A row of 12 postholes on the drum, which is plain with two plain bands, forms a circle along the rim.

The roof of the inner hall is vaulted similar to most of the early caves. A few wood remains and other features in the cave suggest extensive woodwork in the form of ribs and rafters. In addition, various plaster remains can also be seen here.



Courtesy ASI

Cave, Kanheri - 1839

This is plate 14 from James Fergusson's 'Illustrations of the Rock Cut Temples of India'.



### **Inscriptions in Cave 3 (Chaitya Cave)**

- **No 4 of Bird/No 4 of Stevenson/No 8 of West/No 8 of Buhler/No 991 of Luders/No 10 of Gokhale**

**Location** – on a small bas-relief stupa on the right side wall outside the verandah of the Chaitya cave no 3,

**Characters** – Brahmi of 5th century CE,

**Language** – Sanskrit

**Luders** – “Beginning of the Buddhist creed.”

**Gokhale** – provided the text = “Ye dharma hetuprabhava tema [....]”

- **No 5 of Bird/No 4 of Brett/No 4(6) of Stevenson/No 9 of West/No 9 of Buhler/No 992 of Luders/No 9 of Gokhale**

**Location** – on a pilaster on the right side of the standing Buddha which is sculptured inside a small chamber to the left side of the entrance of the Chaitya cave no 3,

**Characters** – Brahmi of 5th century CE,

**Language** – Sanskrit

**Stevenson** – “(The image) of those who, by religion, have become guiltless and pure”

**Luders** – “Gift of the teacher (acharyya) Buddharakshita with the wish that all living beings may become Buddha.”

- **No 6 of Bird/No 2 of Brett/No 1 of Stevenson/No 6 of West/No 6 of Buhler/No 989 of Luders**

**Location** – Under the standing figure of Buddha, on the inside of the outer wall of the verandah of the Chaitya cave no 3,

**Characters** – Brahmi of 5th century CE,

**Language** – Sanskrit

**Stevenson** – “A religious assignation of an image of the lord (bhagwan) by the compassionate teacher and venerable monument of religion’s disciple, the Sakya mendicant Buddhaghosha, a sojourner on earth, and a prisoner in the body; same who composed the institutes of the lord Buddha.”

**Luders** – “An image of Bhagavat, the gift of the Sakya monk (Sakyabhikshu) Buddhaghosha, the guardian (?) of great gandhakuti (mahagandhakutivihara), the pupil (sishya) of bhadanta Dharmmvatsa, a teacher of the Tripitika (traipitakopaddhyaya), who follows the religion of Buddha Bhagvat.”

- **No 10 of Bird/No 13(15) of Stevenson/No 5 of West/No 5 of Buhler/No 988 of Luders/No 6 of Gokhale**

**Location** – on the left hand gate post of the Chaitya cave no 3,

**Characters** – Brahmi of 2nd century CE,

**Language** – Prakrit

**Stevenson** – “The following religious assignation (belong to this locality). Adorned with a radiance vieing with that of the solar rays in the — preserving sanctuary constructed for Buddhist sages, by —, the glory of religion, is deposited an inexhaustible treasure, all-protecting, and delivering from rapine. In the prosperity-ensuring monastery of Bali there is, connected with the temple, the hall for travelers. On the site belonging to the divine Karni there is a heaven-bestowing cave temple of glen. There is, near the pleasant road close to the site of the divine Kantera, where the people worship the veritable treasure relic, Dhuli Karni’s granary and store-house. Above all, there are the famed veritable treasure images which sustain worship and virtue, and are beloved by the priesthood, with the hand in the attitude of bestowing blessings. Below there is food, above there are jewels.”

**Luders** – “Records various gifts: an endowment was given to monks (pavayita); some three objects were made in the Soparakahara (district of Surpara); a chaitya house (cheti....), a

hall of reception (upathanasala) and cells (overaka) were built in the Abalikavihara (Ambalikavihara) at Kaliaana (Kalyana); a chaitya building (chetiyaghara) and thirteen cells (ovaraka) were built and endowed in some vihara at Patithana (Pratishthana); a temple (kuti) and a hall (kodhi) were excavated in Rajatalaka Paithanapatha (Prathishthana-patha); a monastery (sagharama) with endowment was built at the vihara of Sadasevaju (?).”

- **No 11 of Bird/No 4 of Brett/No 12(14) of Stevenson/No 4 of West/No 4 of Buhler/No 987 of Luders/No 5 of Gokhale**

**Location** – on the right hand gate post of the Chaitya cave no 3,

**Characters** – Brahmi of 2nd century CE,

**Language** – Prakrit

**Stevenson** – “King Gota[miputra’s imperial descendant Sri Yadnya] Sat Karni had [a nephew named Nagakunda, who in forest] frequented by the feathered tribe [reclaimed land for a field and a garden] to obtain groceries and agricultural pro[duce]; and also bestowed the neighboring vill[age] of An[anga] for the benefit of his kindred; and in union with his broth[er Ananda, and along] with Gajasena and also Gajami[tra dedicated as a religious assignation two] images of Buddha. [Here was established also a



refectory] fenced in and adorned with figures of lion, for the company of religious teachers, for the purpose of putting a stop to my parent's transmigration. On account of all the children [descended from] the lady Ajeya's and my brother's sons and family, come ye from every quarter of this mountain house, and enjoy a happy home. Here nine death-subduing priests of established virtue, (Theros), the venerable Achala, the venerable Gopal, the venerable Vijayamitra, the venerable Bo, the venerable devotee Dharmapala, Aparenu son of Nagakanda, and Samapita the religious guide, the venerable Sehalo (Sinhala?) along with a body of other eight venerable priests, filled with great compassion towards the world, reside in the sacred Kanha hill, on whose circumference grows the mountain pepper, which is enclosed with a circle of prickly pear, and filled inside with turmeric, the delight of sages."

**Luders** – "Building of a chaitya (chetiya) by the merchants (vanijaka) ..... born of ..... nu, the ..... khatiya brothers, Gajasena, Gajami[ta] (Gajamitra), .... The property of the school (nika[ya]) of the [Bhadaya]niya (Bhadrayaniya) teachers (achariya), in honor of their relatives. The overseers (nava[kami]ka) were the monks (pavajita), the elders (thera)

bhadata (bhadanta) Achala, bhadamta Gahala (Grihala), bhadamta Vijayamita (Vijayamitra), bhadata (bhadanta) Bo[dhika], bhadata (bhadanta) Dhamapala (Dharmapala), and the lay worshipper (upasaka), the merchant (negama) Aparenuka, the son of A...., was he samapita (?). The work was executed by bhadata (bhadanta) Bodhika, the pupil (sisā) of the teacher (achariya), the elder (thera) bhadata (bhadanta) Seumla, who acted as overseer (? Uparakhita), through the stone-masons (selavadhakin), the nayakamisas, the kadhichakas, the mahakatakas, and the polisher (mithika) Khadaraki (Skandaraki ?)"

- **No 3 of Stevenson/No 7 of West/No 7 of Buhler/No 990 of Luders/No 8 of Gokhale**

**Location** – under a seated Buddha figure in the verandah of the Chaitya cave no 3,

**Characters** – Brahmi of 5th century CE,

**Language** – Sanskrit

**Stevenson** –

**Luders** – Gift of the Sakya monk (Sakyabhikshu) Dharmmagupta.

**( INSCRIPTIONS IN DEVANAGARI FONT)**

**On the entrance- right pillar in front of Chaityagriha**

रजोगोतम(पुतससामि – सिरियजस)

सोतकंणिस्स(संवछरे-- गि)

म्हपखेपंचमे(५दिवसे--)

वाणिजकेहिउत्तु(--)

णुयउपंनेहिगा(---)

खातियेहिभात्तुहि

गजसेनसगजमि(तेन)

कपठायिचेति(य---)

आचरियानंनिका(यस---भादाय)

नीयानंपरिगहेप(तिठापितं--- मा)

तपित्तुनंअभतीत(नं---)

पूजायकुटुंबिनि(नबाल)कानंबालि(कानं)

सवतसभागिनेयाननिक() यसनाति)

वगसचअगपटियसियसव्वस(तानं)

चहितसुखायहेत्तु(एथचनवे---)

कापवजितोथेराभदनअचलभदं(त)

गहलभदंत- विजयमितभदतबो(धिको)

मदत/ भदतधर्मपालाउपसकोचनेगमोआ(लाद)

पुतोअपरेणुकोसमापिताअचरि(य) नथेरानं

भदतसेउलानंसिसेणउपरखितनम(भ)

दतबोधिकेनकतसेलवढकीहि(नाय) कमि

सेहिकढिचकेहिमहाकटकेहिखदर

किनचमिठिकेना

On the entrance- left pillar in front of Chaityagriha

--- खभालकरेसुअध

---अ(क---) चतिअसभ

()--- लकारस--- (प) वयिताणय

--- अखयनिवि(द) तासोपारकाविहारेह

(लानि) नि३कलिय(ने) अबालिकाविहारेचेति

उपठानसालओवरकानिपतिठानेविहा

निगुपसदरि(य) चेतियघरओवरकातेरस

सअरवयनिविकाराजतलाकपइठणपथे

सणचुलिक- यकुटिकोढिचखनितसद

सेवाजुय(विहा) रेसगहारमोस –अरवयनिविकोका

रापितोपु(अ) देयधमानिचअज्जानिपि(कारि) तानि

Chaityagriha- below Buddha image in Veranda

बुद्धस्यभगवतस्शासनानुकारित्रैपिटकोपाध्याय

भदन्तधर्ममवत्सशिस्स/ शिष्यस्स(शाक्य) भिक्षोर्बुद्धघोस्य

महागंधकुटिवारिकस्यभगवत –प्रतिमेयम्देयधर्ममः

Chaityagriha- below image of a seated Buddha in Veranda

देयधम्मोयम्शाक्यभिक्षोधम्मगुप्तस्य

Chaityagriha- On a pillar inside a small room on the left side  
of the entrance door

देयध

म्मोयम्अ

चार्य

बुद्धर

क्षितस्य

अनेन

सर्वस

त्वाबुद्धा

भवन्तु

Chaityagriha- On small Stupa in Verandha

येधर्माहेतुप्रभवातेषाम्(तथागतो

हयवदत्तेषाम्चयेनिरोधएवंवादिमहाश्रम) णः



- **No 48 of West/No 1028 of Luders/No 12 of Gokhale**

**Location** – West mentions that it was found lying on the outside terrace under a tree in front of the Chaitya cave no 3. It was in possession of Dr Wilson for some time. As per the Bombay Gazetteer it is the seventh inscription near cave no 3. The the inscription is not traceable at present.

**Characters** – Brahmi of the 5th-6th century CE,  
**Language** – Prakrit

**Luders – not read**

**Gokhale – provided the text, seems to be about the building of a house, the name of the donor is doubtful**

- **No 49 of West/No 1029 of Luders/No 13 of Gokhale**

**Location** – West mentions that it is on a small square stone found near cave no 3, the whereabouts of the inscription is not known,

**Characters** – Brahmi of 6th century CE,  
**Language** – Prakrit

**Luders – not read Cave No. 4**

**Cave No. 4**

This cave lies towards the north of the open court of Cave No. 3, and it is a small flat-roofed circular *chaitya*. This cave is on a slightly higher level than the adjacent caves and can be approached by a flight of eight steps from the open space in front. The stupa is approximately 2 meters in diameter and reaches the roof of the cell; it has the typical cylindrical drum with a thin belt at the bottom. Railing decoration is also visible. The *harmikā* is square with the typical railing motif. A four-stepped inverted pyramid, which supports the *yashti*, has been placed above this. A circular umbrella is carved in the roof.

- **No 7 of Bird/No 17 of Brett/No 17(19) of Stevenson/No 10 of West/No 10 of Buhler/No 993 of Luders/No 15 of Gokhale**

**Location** – in cave no 4,

**Characters** – Brahmi of 2nd century CE,  
**Language** – Prakrit

**Stevenson** – “To the Perfect One. The religious assignation by the goldsmith Dharmanaka of a fear-destroying religious grotto, with a dagoba, for the teachers of established principles, full of holy deeds, preserved from fear and disease.”

**Luders** – “The stupa (thuba) of the elder (thera) bhayata (bhadanta) Dhammapala (Dharmapala), the gift of Sivapalitanika (Sivapalita), wife of the treasurer (heranika) Dhamanaka (Dharma).”

( INSCRIPTIONS IN DEVANAGARI FONT)

**On the upper side of step like shaped part of the Stupa**

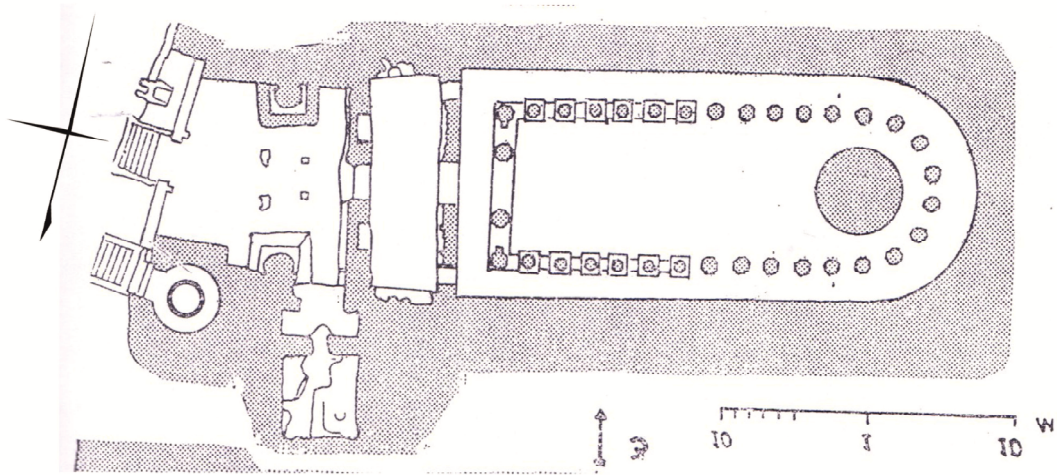
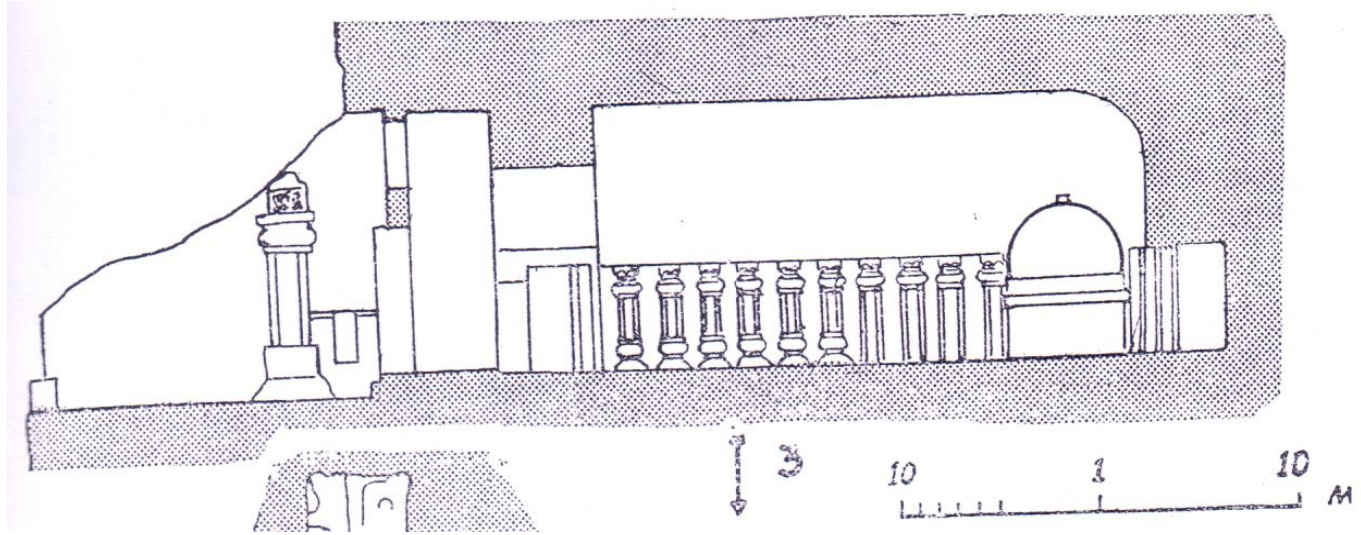
सिद्धंहेरणिकसधमणकसभया

सिवपालितनिकायदेयधमं

थेरानभयतधमपालानं

थूब

Coutacy ASI



## Cave No. 5

This is a water cistern with two square openings cut under a rectangular recess.

- *No 8 of Bird/No 6 of Brett/No 2 of Stevenson/No 11 of West/No 11 of West/No 994 of Luders/No 16 of Gokhale*

**Location** – Cave no 5 & 6 (over two water tanks on the path up the hill)

**Characters** – Brahmi of 2nd century CE,  
**Language** – Sanskrit

**Stevenson** – “The charitable establishment of a place for the distribution of water, by S’ateraka, the minister in the Bassein province of Satrap.....”

**Luders** – “A water-cistern (paniyabhajana), the gift of the minister (amatya) Sateraka. Mentions besides the queen (devi) of [Va]sisthiputra Sri-Sata[karni], descended from the race of the Karddamaka kings (rajan), daughter of the mahakshatrapa Ru....”

**On the way towards hill above Water Cistern no. 5**

(व) सिष्ठपुत्रस्यश्रीसात(कर्णिस्य) देव्या() कार्दमकराजवंशप्र(भ)वय

महात्रप/ महाक्षत्रपरु(पु) त्रा()

--- स्य--- वशास्यस्यअमात्यस्यशातेरकस्य

पानियभाजनम्देयधर्महि



## Cave No. 6

This cave is located on the southern hill and faces the north. This cave can be divided into two parts.

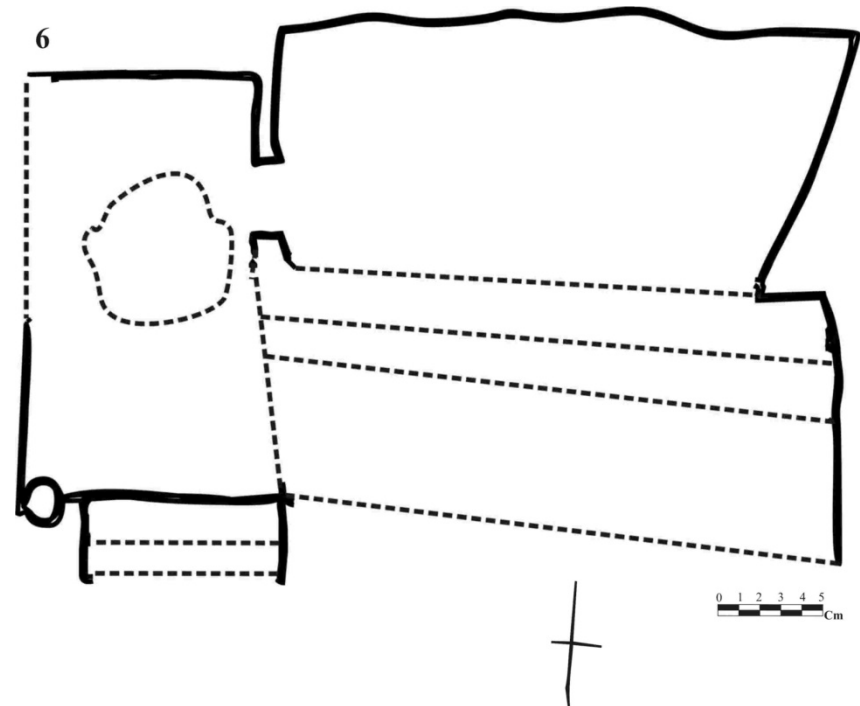
**Chaityas:** The *chaitya* is on the eastern side of the rectangular hall. It has a weathered staircase which is the only approach to the cave. Although the doorframe is not extant any more, a provision has been made for the same by providing postholes for doorjambs.

A big circular pit can be seen in a small rectangular hall. Even though this pit is not on the backside of the hall, it does suggest the location of a wooden stupa. In the eastern wall of the hall, there is a small recessed bench with a break in the back wall through Cave No. 7. The rectangular hall attached to this small *chaitya* has an entrance from the western wall of the *chaitya*. To provide for this entrance, they must have shifted the stupa to the front. There is a slight change in the ceiling level at the break in the *chaitya* near the back wall.

**Rectangular hall:** There is a rectangular hall on the western side of the *chaitya* and it has the same height. It has a

niche in the back wall at the western end. It also has a narrow verandah which was separated by wooden railings. We have only one entrance to this hall, as suggested by postholes for the doorframe, which is through the *chaitya*.

In addition, postholes suggest two railings, one each for the rectangular hall and its verandah.



### **Cave No. 7**

Cave No. 7 is located on the eastern side of Cave No. 6. This cave is highly disturbed. It consists of a rectangular hall with a cell each along the sidewalls. There is a low bench running along all the three walls. The exterior of the cave is not preserved because of the bad rock. This hall has a row of postholes forming an apse shape. This cave gives the evidence of two entrances, one from the eastern side and the other from the center. Both are suggested by the postholes made for the doorframe. The row of postholes in an apsidal plan also suggests its entrance from the center. The center of this apsidal shape has a squarish pit, most probably for some object of worship (wooden (?) stupa (?)).

We have three water cisterns at the entrance, one on the western side and two on the eastern side.

- **No 12 of Bird(right part)/No 7(9) of Stevenson/No 12 of West/No 12 of Buhler/No 995 of Luders/No 17 of Gokhale**

**Location** – above the tank to the left hand end of cave no 7,

**Characters** – Brahmi of early 2nd century CE,

**Language** – Prakrit

**Stevenson** – “The tank of Samyakupasaka, skilled in scared learning, of the town of Sopara. A religious assignation”

**Luders** – “A cistern (podhi), the gift of the lay-worshipper (upasaka), the merchant (negama) Samika (Svamika) from Soparaga (Surparaka).”

- **No 12 of Bird(left part)/No 6 of Stevenson/No 13 of West/No 13 of Buhler/No 996 of Luders/No 18 of Gokhale**

**Location** – above the water tank in cave no 7,

**Characters** – Brahmi of 2nd century CE,

**Language** – Prakrit,

**Stevenson** – “A religious assignment of a cistern by S’ulasa-dat, son of Rohinimitra, a goldsmith of Khamalaka.”

**Luders** – A cistern (podhi), yje gift of Sulasadata (Sulasadatta), son of the treasurer (heranika) Rohanimita (Rohinimitra), the Chemulaka (inhabitant of Chemula).

**Above the water cistern located on left side of the cave**

**सोपरगनेगम**

**ससामिकउपासक**

**सपोढीदेयधम**

Near Water Cistern – carved above the above  
inscription

चेमुलकसहेरणिकस

रोहिणिमितसपुतस

सुलसदतसपोढी

देयधमं

Carved on the bench

--- भयतसम

--- नपति(देय) धम

Cave no. 7- Carved on the backside bench in front of  
the cave

चेमुलिकसहेरणिकसरोहिणी

मितसपुतसधमणकसपथो

देयधम

•

- No 50 of West/No 1030 of Luders/No 19 of Gokhale

**Location** – on the back of a bench on the north side of the rivulet  
opposite cave no 7,

**Characters** – Brahmi of 2nd century CE,

**Language** – Prakrit

**Luders** – not read

**Gokhale** – provided the text, seems to be a donative record

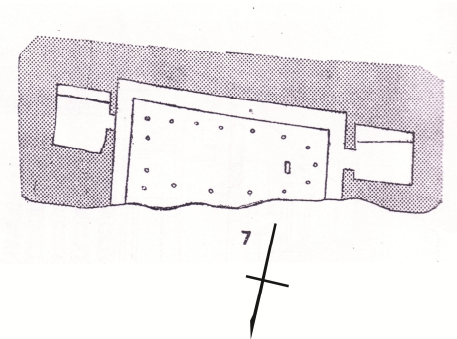
- No 57 of West/No 1033 of Luders/No 20 Gokhale

**Location** – on the back of a low bench along the flight of steps  
opposite of the cave no 7,

**Characters** – Brahmi of 2nd century CE,

**Language** – Prakrit

**Luders** – A patha (patha), the gift of Dhamanaka (Dharma), son  
of the treasurer (heranaka) Rohanimita (Rohinimitra), the  
Chemulaka (inhabitant of Chemua).



After Nagraju, 1981

**Cave No. 8**

There are four water cisterns in the recesses.

**Cave No. 9**

This cave is unfinished and is located below Cave No. 11. Along with Cave No. 11, it gives the impression of a double-storeyed cave. The small court was enclosed by a staircase leading to Cave No. 11. Along the sidewall of the staircase, we can see three small rooms just below the small channel from where water flows down. The cave is located above one of the largest water tanks at the site.

It is quite possible that the work of the cave was left unfinished because of leakages in the cave. Besides the verandah, only square blocks for pillars in the verandah have been carved.

**Cave No. 10**

This cave is highly weathered and difficult to describe. Because of bad rock, only a few remains of doorframes and the back wall of cell(s) are remaining. The cave seems to belong to the early phase.

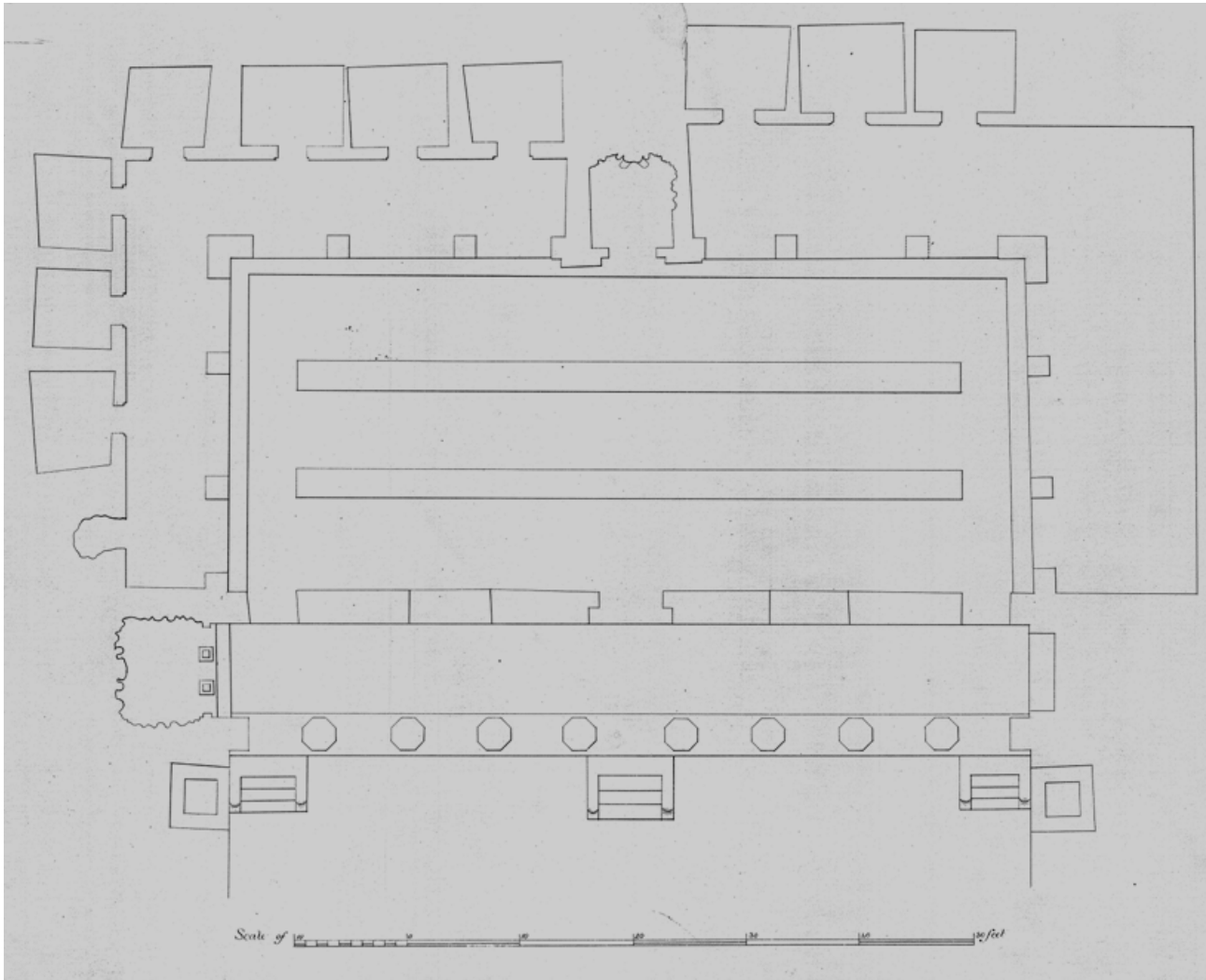
## Cave No. 11

This cave is the largest cave at the site. It has a very peculiar plan and is similar to Cave No. 5 at Ellora. It has an open court with a water cistern in the recess along the right wall of the court. There are three sets of three steps leading to the verandah of the cave. All these staircases are more or less similar with the exception of the execution of a *chandrashilā* at the bottom of the central one. This makes the central one more elaborate. All of them belong to the Traikutaka period, in the transitional phase from the Vakataka-s to 6<sup>th</sup> century Brahmanical caves.

ASI has reconstructed the major part of the exterior as well as the interior of the cave. Nevertheless, we can identify eight octagonal pillars that are in the verandah in a row. A central flight of steps leading to the verandah divides them into two equal groups. There is a bench in the recess along the left wall of the verandah while the other end has a small open cell with pillars in front and three panels. Two of these panels have the Shravasti miracle as their subject, while the one in the centre along the back wall has the Trinity. The pillars of the cell,

although reconstructed, follow a similar order to the pilasters that are original and not disturbed by the reconstruction work. As a result, we can determine the original shape of the pillars. These pillars have base mouldings of the Traikutaka period with Ajanta influence, and their shafts are square, similar to the pillars in Cave Nos. 12 and 1, but of smaller size. The upper part of the shaft turns into an octagonal band followed by a 16-sided band and then a 32-sided one in ascending order towards the top. Above this, we can see a fluted cushion capital with 32 flutings.

The square top with the supplement of *tarangapotikās* on either side crowns this. These pillars are stylistically more developed than those in Cave Nos. 12 and 1, but show that the development definitely took place before Elephanta. This brings the entire intrusive cell to a later period than the original cave excavation. The exterior of the cave is also decorated; below the pillars, there are base mouldings while, above them, there is a railing pattern bounded by a *padmapatta* at the top and bottom. Although the base of the cave is reconstructed, traces of ancient designs and mouldings following the pattern of the Traikutaka period can be seen in the case of the

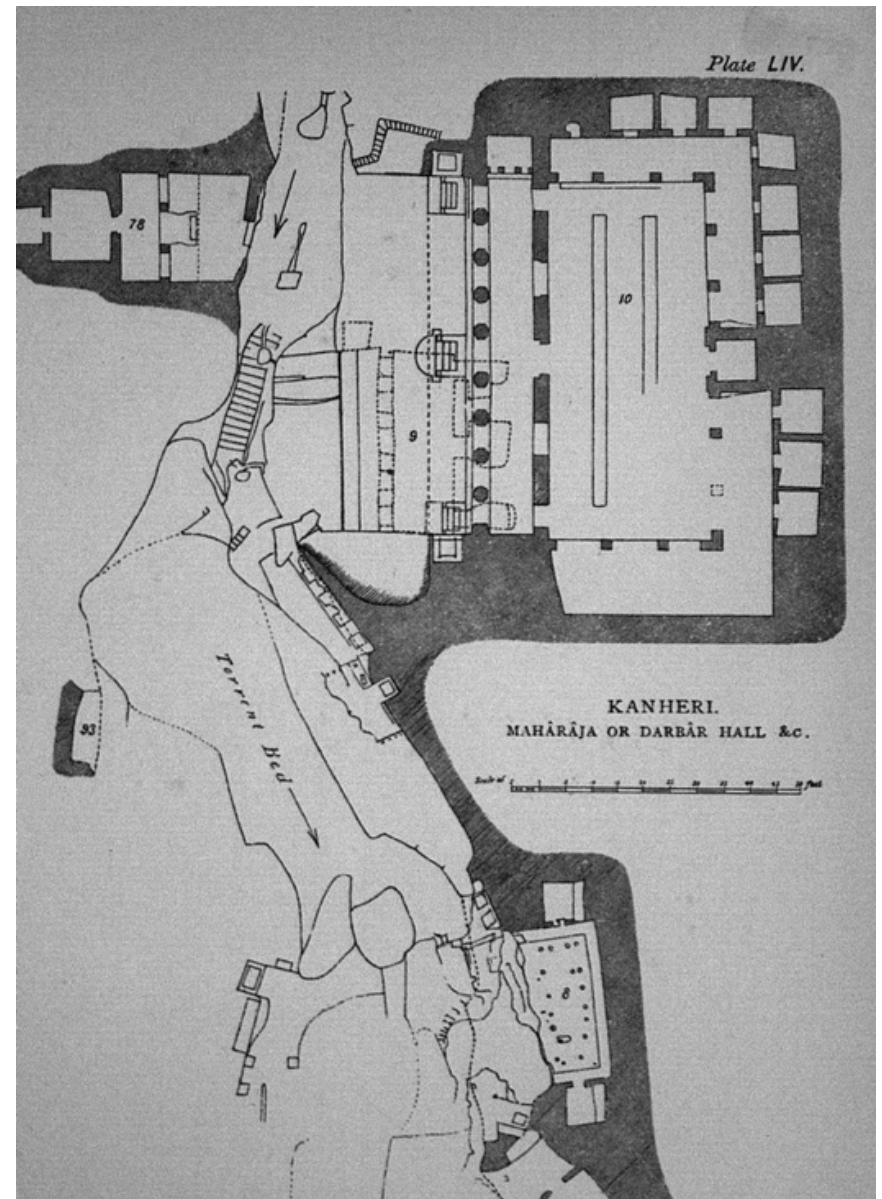


Courtesy ASI

cell in the verandah, which helps us to place the cave into a particular time bracket.

Three doorways lead into the main wall. The central one leads into the main entrance and is larger than the other two. The place between these doorways is occupied by two huge rectangular windows, one on either side of the main entrance. We can see a small low bench along the three walls of the inner hall. There are two benches in centre of the cave, running parallel to each other. The major part of these benches is also reconstructed.

The central shrine comprises a low bench and 2 panels. This part of the cave must be original along with the verandah. We can also see square pillars with a 16-sided neck with lotus decorations and supplements of *tarangapotikās* between the hall and a small passage with cells from back walls. This is supposed to be the third phase in the cave excavation.



Above Verandha on the Shirshapatti

सिद्धम्(1)

स्वस्तिशकनृपकालातीतसम्बत्सरशतेषुसप्तसुपंचसप्ततिष्वंकतः(अपिसम्ब)

त्सरशः७७५तदन्तर्गतप्रजापतिसम्बत्सरान्तःपातिअश्विनव(ब)हुमद्वितीया(यांबुध-)दिनेअस्यांसम्ब(त्सर)

नासपक्षदिवसपूर्वायांतिथौपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमे

श्वरश्रीमज्जगत्तुंगदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजप

रमेश्वरश्रीमदमोघवर्षदेवप्रवर्धमा-

नविजयराज्येतत्प्रसाकृतःअशेषकोकणवल्लभःश्रीपुल्लकितः

समधिगतपंचमहाशब्द(ब्द) महासामन्तशेखरःतत्पादानुध्यात-

समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्द(ब्द) महासा(म)न्तशेखरःश्रीकपर्दि- रा(जःप्रवर्ध)

मानविजयराज्येइहैवगौडविषयादागतःपरमसै(सौ)गतःगौमिनःअविघ्नाकरेण

अस्मींश्रीकृष्णगिरीमहाराजमहाविहारेउपशमकालिक(वेशिमकाःसची- वरिकासमेता

अक्षैनीतिःद्रम्मशतैकेनकारापिता(ः) इयंचाक्षयनीतीर्यावदहंजीवामितावन्ममोपभोगः(1)

ममोपरतौक्ष(कु)शलै(ः) कारीनिरुप्यान(व) श्यंदा-

तव्यानपरिपन्थनाकार्या(1) यःप्रलेपिष्यतिस(तापकुम्भी)



पाकादिषुनरकेषूपत्स्यतेश्वानोद्गीर्णगोमांसंसभक्षयिष्यत्येवंव्यवस्थाचार्यसंघस्य

पुरतोआरोच्यप्रतिष्ठाप्यलिखापिता(1) साक्षिणश्चात्रपात्तियाणकयोगनामा

चिख्यल्लपल्लिकाचार्यश्चात्रसाक्षी। पुण्यंम(न्त्री)- साक्षि(णां) भो भोदि... ववीकदाचीदपात्रंस(त्वापा) चारिणोसाध्वाचरस्यप्रतिपादयिष्येस

पात्रेणापतिष्ठेत्तस्यपा(पाद-) शनादेवावश्यंदातव्यं(व्यम्) अत्र

य(क्षिं)चिदूनाक्षरमधिका(क्षरं) तत्सर्व्वप्रमाणमि(ति) (1)

n the shirshpatti of Cave no. 11

सिद्धम्(1) स्वस्ति(1) शकनपकालातीतसम्बत्सरशतेषुसप्तसु

नवनवत्यतिष्वंकतः७९९महाराजादहिराज(परमेश्वर-

श्री-(मदमोघहवर्षप्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्येतत्प्रसाकतकौकणवल्लभमहासा-

मन्तशेखरश्रीकपर्द्धिप्रवर्द्धमानाधिपत्येश्रीमत्कष्णगिरि(महावि-)

हारेभद्रश्रीवैव(ः) भिक्षूणांतत्रस्थार्य(संघस्य) द्रम्माणांशतमेकंदत्वो

(त्त्व)पशमनसदशांचीवरिकादिलाभसमन्वितांकालिवेशिमकांकत्वा

(न्यवीविश)त्सेयमार्यभि(क्षो)रे

वानुकम्पामुपादाययावच्चन्द्रक्कदियःप्रतपन्तिःतावत्प्रतिपाल्या(१) यस्तुन

प्रतिपालयिष्यतिसपंचानन्तर्यकर्मककार्यवीच्यादिषुमहददुःखमनुभविष्यति

(1) व्यवस्थेयं

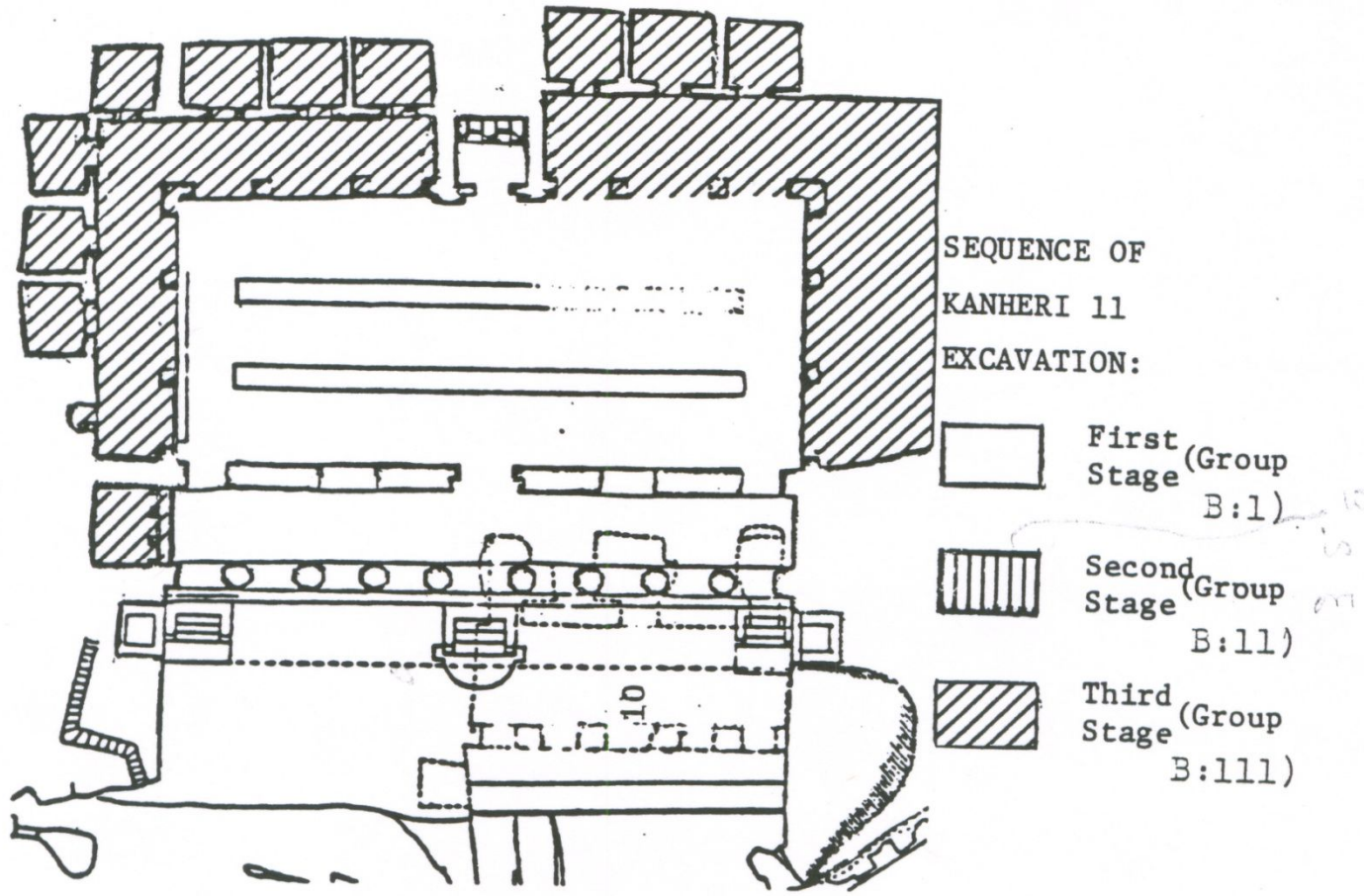
(आ)चार्यसंघस्यपुरतआरोच्यप्रतिष्ठाप्यलिखापिता।

साक्षिणश्चात्राचार्यधर्माकरमित्रःगोम्यविघनाक(रः) पत्तियानयोगःपुण्येनचि(रमेति) श्री

(ः) (क-) त्वापियत्नतः (1)

KANHERI; SECOND PHASE - GROUP B:1

Phases in the develement of Cave. After M. Leese



## Cave No. 12

This cell-hall type cave with a pillared verandah is highly restored. The doorframe has four *dvārashākhās* which are plain and probably painted originally. In the back wall of the hall, there is a central shrine with a low bench above which we can see an intrusive Buddha figure.

This cave has a small court in which there is a place for inscription, which has been left blank. This shows that the cave was not dedicated after its completion. One pillar and a part of the other pillar along with the verandah floor and staircase are ASI reconstructions. Two original pilasters are preserved comparatively well and follow the same pattern of the pillars.

The plinth or base of the cave has mouldings that are similar to those of the cave at Lonad. The most important element, which connects it to the caves at Lonad and Magathane, is the pillar type. We can see pillars with a circular cushion capital similar to the one at Magathane, but on a smaller scale.

### Above the Shirshapatti of Veranda

सिद्धम्(1) (श्री)महाराजादहिराजपरमेश्वरपथ्वीवल्लभ-

श्रीमदमोघहवर्षश्रीमहारा(ज्ञ)प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्येतत्प्रसा(दावाप्त)-

महा(सा)मन्तको-

(डक) णवल्लभ(श्रीकपर्दिपादानुध्यात) श्रीपुल्लशक्तिम(हाधिपे)

पुरीप्रभकोक(डक)ण-

विषयं(समग्र) प्रशासतितत्पादोपजीवीपुराणामात्यो(भद्र-)

श्रीविष्णू(गुप्तः) (सर्वाध्यक्ष) श्रीपूर्णहरिसुतःश्रीकण्णगिरीश्रीमदार्यसघं

प्रणम्यातिकपयाश्रीभगवतःपू(जार्थ) विंशतिं(द्रम्माणां)

(इहास्मिन्नेवविहारेव्यस्तव्याकरीर्णपरिष्करणार्थद्रम्माणां)

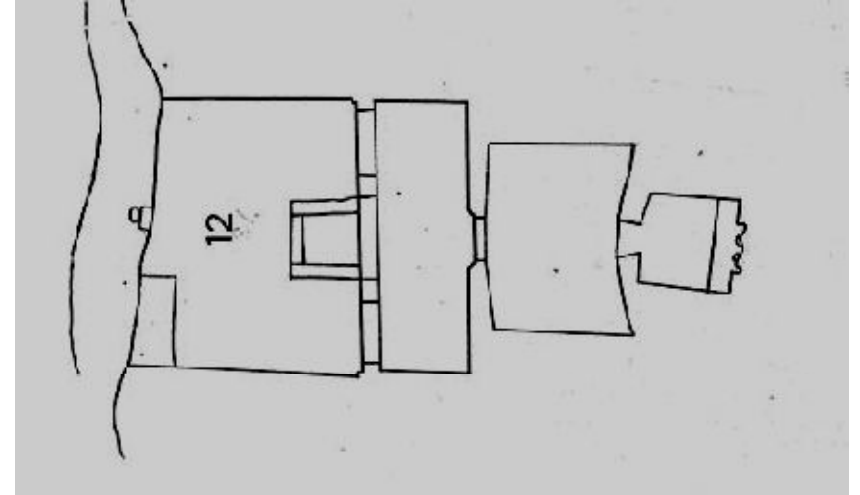
त्रयंचीवरीयो

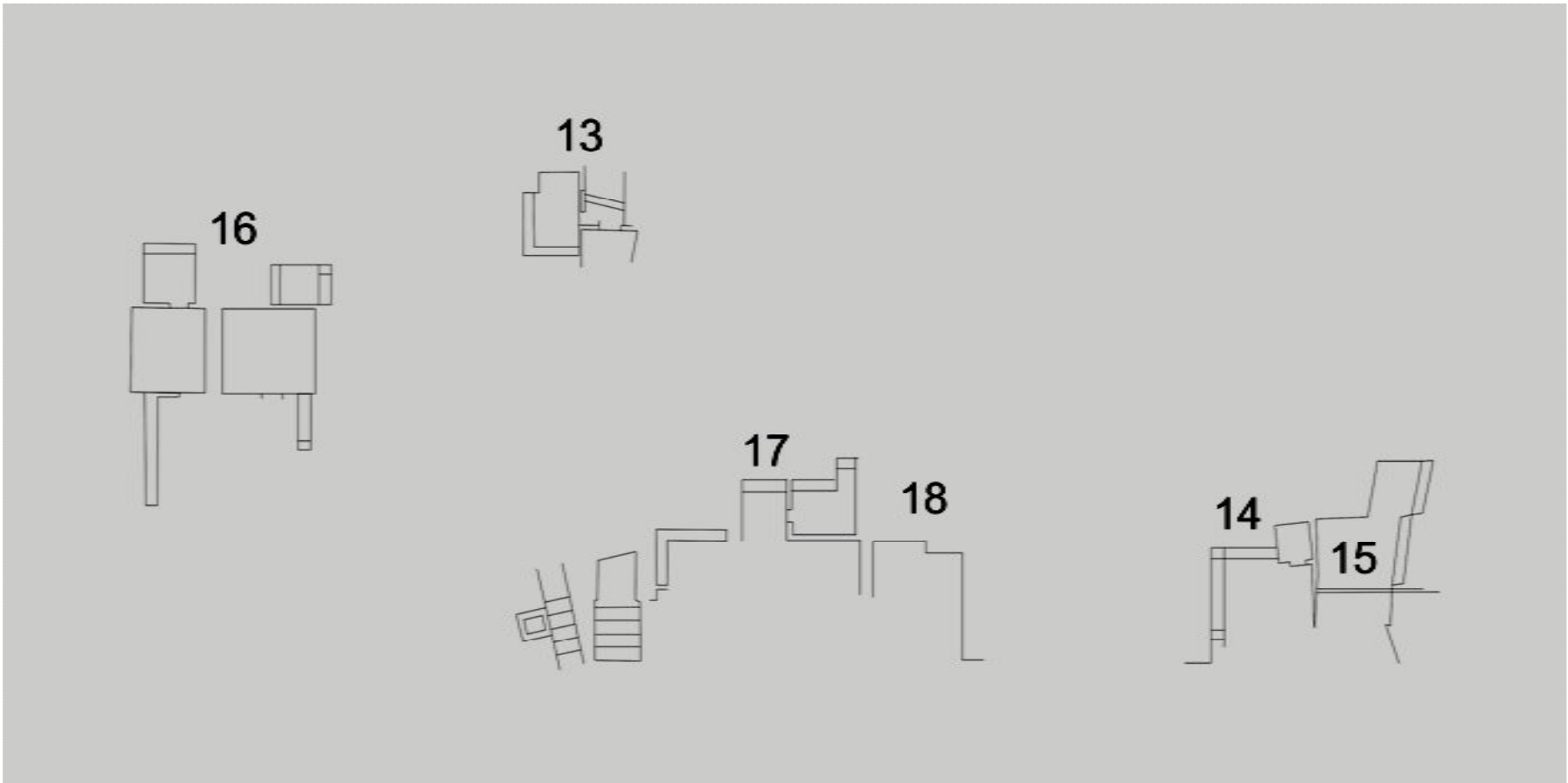
(आर्यसंघस्यद्रम्माणांपञ्चदापनोयाःपुस्तकार्थमेकोद्रम्मः)

(अक्षैनीविर्द्रम्मा) श्चत्वारिंशच्चत्वारिंशदिह। एकंद्रम्मशतंविंशत्युत्तरं।

एतेषां

द्रम्माणांकलत्र(पुत्रव) त्प्रतिपालनीयासम्बत्(७६५)



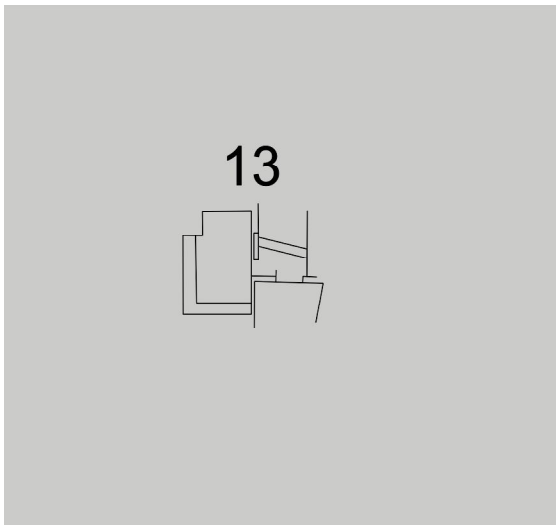


After ASI

### Cave No. 13

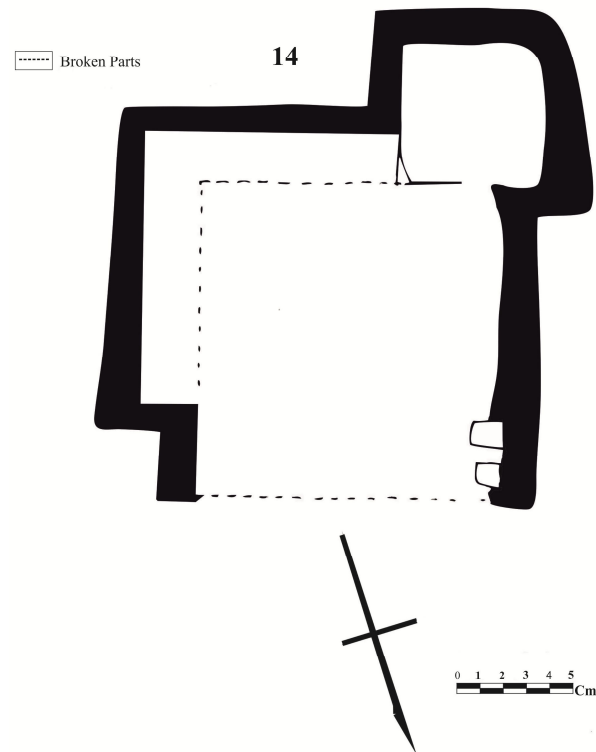
This is a small cell-hall-type cave with a small verandah. The cell has a stone bed running along the two adjacent sides. The outer room has a bench at the back. There is a grated window for the inner room.

After ASI



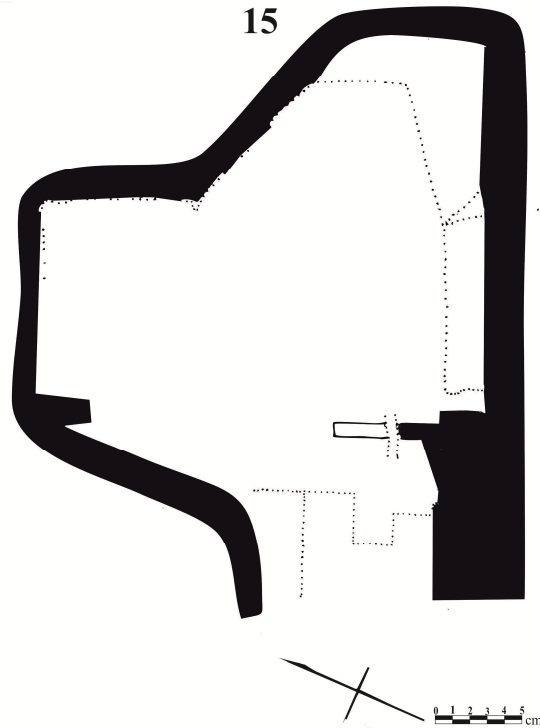
### Cave No. 14

This is a small hall but highly weathered. It has stone benches on two adjacent sides. The bench is cut in a recess. The front wall is broken and provision has been made by supplying wooden elements.



### Cave No. 15

This cave also suggests a lot of wooden work. The window on the screen in the verandah is plain and suggests wooden latticework. The rock is very bad in quality. We can see provisions for draining leakage water from the eastern corner of the hall.



### Cave No. 16

This cave comprises two cell-hall complexes sharing one verandah. In the verandah, we have two benches, one at either end. The presence of postholes in the verandah suggests the provision of wooden railings.

This cave was excavated after the excavation of the water cisterns adjacent to it between Cave Nos. 16 and 17.

- **No 47 of West/No 1027 of Luders/No 24 of Gokhale**

**Location** – above a recess over a bench in cave no 16,

**Characters** – Brahmi of 2nd century CE,

**Language** – Prakrit

**Luders** – not read

**Gokhale** – provided the text, seems to be a dedication from a merchant Vishumita (Vishnumitra), an inhabitant of Kalyan

**On the corner above a bench**

सिद्धंउपासकसविण्हमितनेगमसमुण्डपालसपुतस

सोपारकससहकुटुंबिनिहिसहबालकेहिदेयधमछेतदानंअखयनिवि

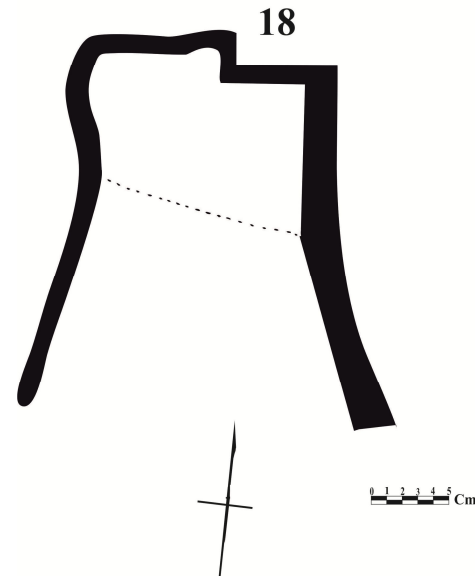
### Cave No. 17

Cave No. 17 is highly weathered. This cave consists of an 'L'-shaped hall with two small cells at the back of the attached square hall. A similar plan can be seen in the caves of the later period. It is interesting to see that new experiments were taking place. This is a sort of transitional phase from the early caves of 2<sup>nd</sup> century C.E. to the later caves in early 3<sup>rd</sup> century C.E. This is the base for the later development of the cave architecture. This cave must have been a centre of worship in the early period in this group. There is a circular vaulted depression in the ceiling of the cave with some wooden supplements.

The small 'L'-shaped room has an open window in the front wall as well as a recess in the back wall and a small bench in the recess at the end of the smaller side of the 'L' shape. The outer hall has an 'L'-shaped bench at the other end, which seems to be a cell because of the remains of the provision made for the wooden doorframe.

### Cave No. 18

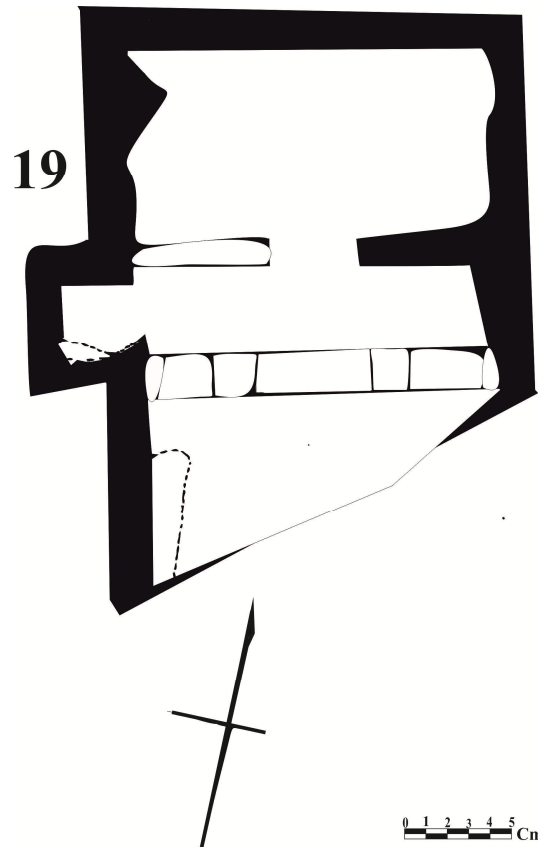
This is a simple square-like excavation. As Nagaraju suggests, this seems to be a preliminary plan for a cistern; it has no peculiar features.





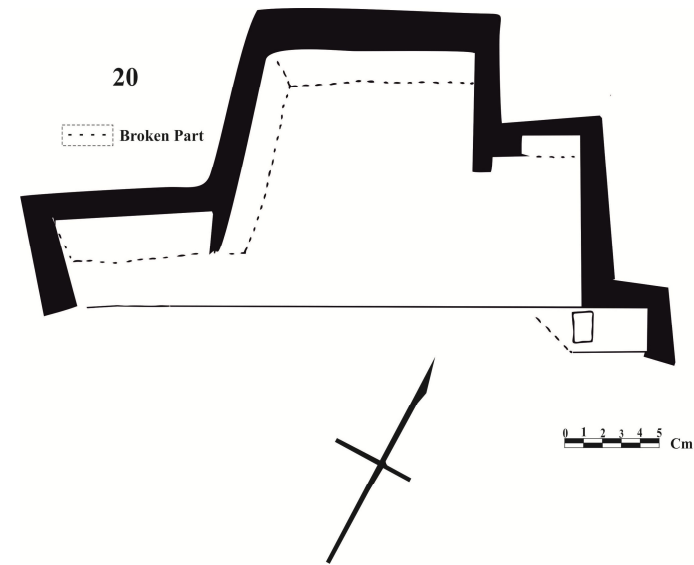
### Cave No. 19

The cave is opposite to Cave Nos. 32 and 33. There is an open space, though not exactly an open court, on top of the slope of the northern hill. It has a small verandah with an attempted cell excavation. The inner hall is rectangular and without any cell. The back wall of the hall has a niche with a few sculptures.



### Cave No. 20

This is a cell-hall type of cave. There is a small cell along the left wall of the rectangular hall of the cave. The verandah has a bench in a recess. A small open space can be seen here instead of an open court.



**Cave No. 21**

This is a cell-hall type of astylar cave with a small verandah. The hall has a bench running along the right and back walls. There is a doorway leading to the cell with a bench in a recess along its back wall, which is placed from the left wall of the hall.

The front wall of the hall has a central doorway with a lattice window on either side at the head level. The hall can be approached through a small verandah with a bench in a recess along the left wall.

There is an open court in front of this cave in which a cistern with square opening in recess can be noticed. There is a recessed bench in the court just below the inscription. We can see the holes on the back wall of the inner hall similar to those in Cave No. 32, but in the right corner.

- **No 14 of Bird/No 11(13) of Stevenson/No 44 of West/No 15 of Buhler/No 1024 of Luders/No 25 of Gokhale**

**Location** – on the left hand side-wall, outside the verandah of cave no 21

**Characters** – Brahmi of 2nd century CE,

**Language** – Prakrit

**Stevenson** – “To the Perfect One. King Gotamiputra’s imperial (descendant) Sri Yadnya Satkarni had a nephew named [Nagakanda] and surnamed Ana who had abandoned the world, and was skilled in sacred learning. By his son Aparenū, (surnamed) Anaja, a devotee, along with his attendants, and also by the most excellent Ananda, son of the lady his mother, along with Dhulakarni, Ananda’s guardian, and four daughters, Hajarana, ....., ....., ....., along with Dharmadravya and also ....., this cave and screen, destined for worship, were formed and bestowed as a gift in the Kanha hill to cover the deficiencies of the (donors’) parents; and to be a place for the benefit of monks from the four quarters (of the world). Therefore come hither all ye multitudes. Peace. Here is the true inexhaustible treasure, here is an establishment for the distribution of money and the supply of provisions. To the spiritual directors during their session in the rainy season is given to each daily a hundred goats. Here also is instruction in medicine, and at the beautiful spot Field Town a supply of vegetables. Here is the delight of assembled priests, the

matted-hair ascetic's cooling-herb, useful to monks at particular seasons.”

**Luders** – “A cave (lena) and a hall (kodhi) on mount Kanhasela (Krishnashaila), the gift of the lay-worshipper (upasaka) Aparenu, the son of Anada (Ananda), a merchant (negama) residing at Kalyana, together with his family, with his wife (kudbini) Juvarinika, the mother of Anada, with his son Anada (Ananda), with his daughters-in-law, (the wives of) Ana....., .....Dhamadevi (Dharmadevi), and others, to the congregation of monks (bhikhusagha) of the four quarters. Also endowment with money and the field of a half-pana-owner (adhapanakhetiya) in the village (gama) of Magalathana (Magalasthana).”

**On the left wall of the Veranda**

**सिद्धं**

रजोगोतमिपुतससामिसिरियजसातकरणिससत(व) छरे१६गि-

म्हणपखरदिवसे५कालियाणवातहवसनेगमसअण

दपुतसउसा(पा)सकसअपुरेणसस(प)रिवारसनेगमसअण

कुडुबिनियआनदमातुजुवारिणिकायसहबालकेनअणदेण

सहच—वेणअहवि(?) अपणआमापितरोउदिस

पव(ते) कणहसेलेलेणम्कोढीचदेयधामंचातुदिसे

मिखुसघे – पडिथापितसवसताणंहितसघुथ

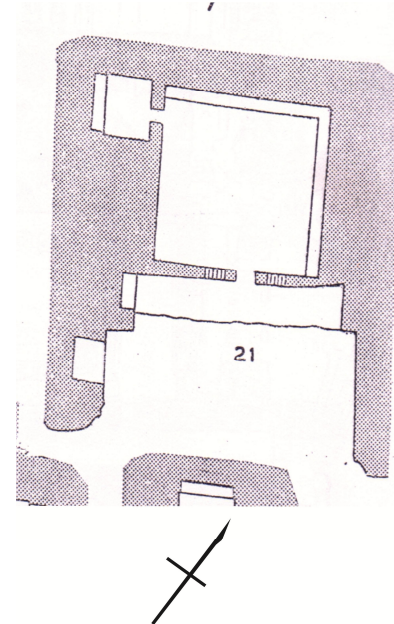
एतसचअखयनिविदताकाहापणानसतातिबे२००

सघसयेवहथेपलिकेसतेएथचआधपन

खेतियसखेतगामेमगलठणेभोजकपतिएतो

संघेनदानवचिवरिकसोलसकपलिकोच

मासेउतुकाले



After Nagraju, 1981

## Cave No. 22

This is a copy of Cave No. 21, but it is smaller in size. There are grated windows. In this cave, the bench at the back wall has been shortened slightly, and in the rock mass retained in that corner, a doorway parallel to the front wall has been cut in the projected side. This proves that the cave is a later excavation than Cave No. 21 since the excavator has tried to copy the cave pattern. There is a small bench in the verandah as well as a seat in the recess.

- **No 45 of West/No 1025 of Luders/No 26 of Gokhale**

**Location** – on the right hand side-wall outside the verandah of cave no 22,

**Characters** – Brahmi of 2nd century CE,  
**Language** – Prakrit

**Luders** – not read

**Gokhale** – provided the text, seems to be a dedication of a cave and a water-cistern

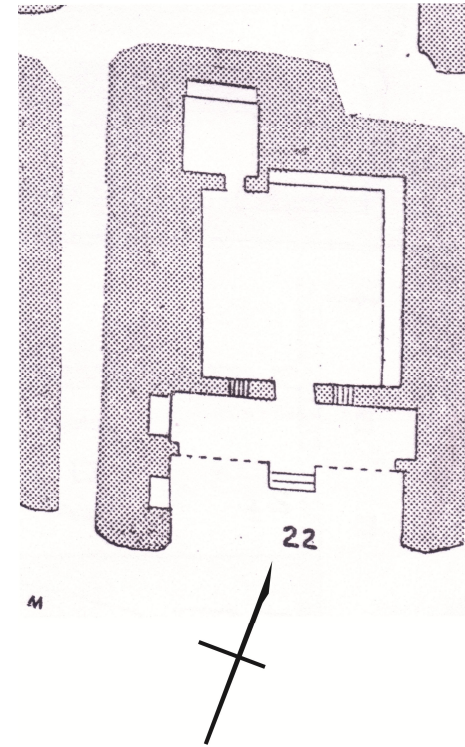
**On the outer right wall of the Veranda**

सिद्धंथेराणंसघ

--- अन्तेवासिनियापवैजितिकाया

देयधम--- सघंपानिय(पोढी)

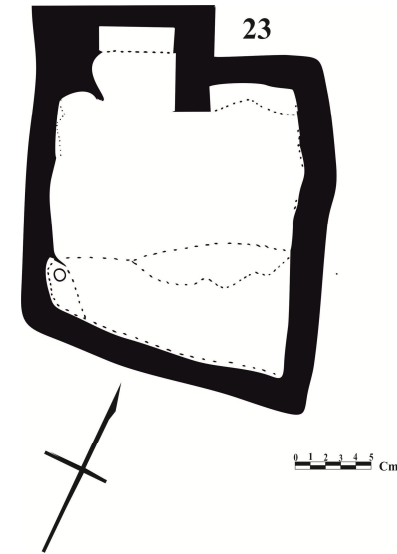
लयन



After Nagraju, 1981

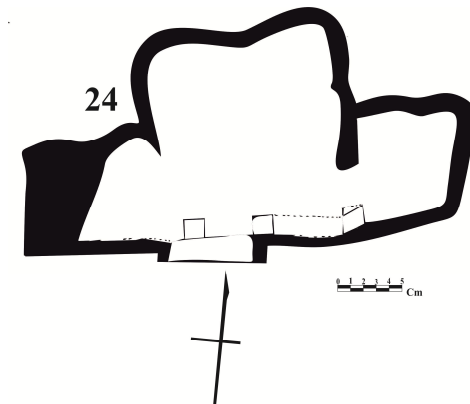
### Cave No. 23

This cave is highly weathered and its walls are damaged. It is difficult to discern the original shape but it appears to be a cell-hall type of cave. Traces of a bench can be noticed in the damaged cell.



### Cave No. 24

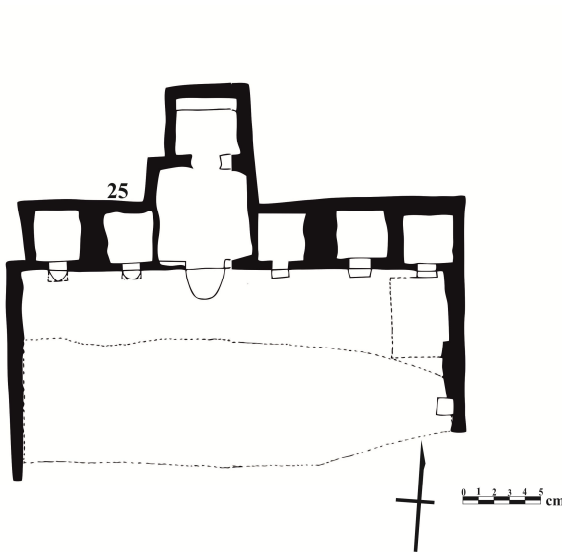
Because of the weathering of the sidewalls, the walls separating this cave from Cave No. 23 and Cave No. 25 are not there now. The cave is also highly damaged. No architectural features other than a bench can be discerned in this cave. Provisions for wooden doorframes similar to the one in Cave No. 23 can be seen here.



### Cave No. 25

Following the same path from Cave No. 24, one reaches a natural cavern on the northern hillock. Cave No. 25 is a semicircular *vihara* excavated in this natural cavern. The cave is highly weathered. Today, we can make out a main cell in the back wall, which is flanked by cells on either side. The earthen floor of the cave is made by the soil above the natural floor of the cavern. A few postholes can be seen where the stone is intact.

There are three cells on the left and two cells on the right of the main cell. The doorway of the shrine antechamber is distinguished by a 'T'-shaped recessed frame.



### Cave No. 26

This simple *vihara* belongs to the second phase. It comprises a courtyard, a two-pillared verandah, and a square hall with a cell. The staircase of the cave has highly arched balustrades. This seems to be the developed form of the staircase that can be seen in early caves like Cave No. 67.

Further, on the base of the façade, we can see base mouldings. One of them has a design of an overlapping lotus petal. Stylistically, this suggests a pre-Ajanta time bracket for the cave. Pilasters also give the same impression. We can see the decorative motif of an unfinished medallion on the pilasters. This is a further development of the so-called 'hour glass' motif in the early period on the pilaster. The doorway is described by M. Leese in a very interesting manner as follows:

'The main doorway's treatment is also not seen elsewhere. The lintel is notched at the corners, creating the appearance of the upper half of an "H"; jambs directly below the notches are recessed, but the recess ends mid-way down the jambs'.

This again suggests the transitional phase from the early period to Ajanta. The last clue that links this cave with early

caves is a bench along the back wall of the hall. The cell in the right wall also has a bench.

- **No 46 of West/No 1026 of Luders/No 27 of Gokhale**

**Location** –on the right hand side-wall outside the verandah of cave no 26 above a recess over a tank,

**Characters** – Brahmi of 2nd century CE,

**Language** – Prakrit

**Luders** – not read

**Gokhale** – provides the text, few words like Chemula, Kanhagiri are readable

**On the outer right wall of the Veranda above the Water Cistern**

सिद्धंश्रीमुपुत(स)

चेमुलिकिय

इसलेणंकारितं

सिवपुते(न)

--- कण्हगिरी

KANHERI: SECOND PHASE - GROUP A

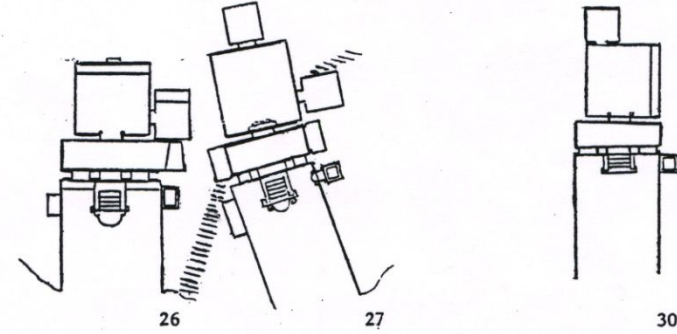


Figure 388. Kanheri, Second Phase, Group A ground plans: Caves 26, 27 and 30.

After M. Leese

### Cave No. 27

This cave is again a *vihara* comprising a courtyard, two-pillared verandah, and a square hall with two cells. One cell is on the right wall of the hall, as can be seen in Cave No. 26, while the other is in the back wall of the hall. None of the doorways in the cave have elaborate doorframes and neither can the benches be seen in the cave.

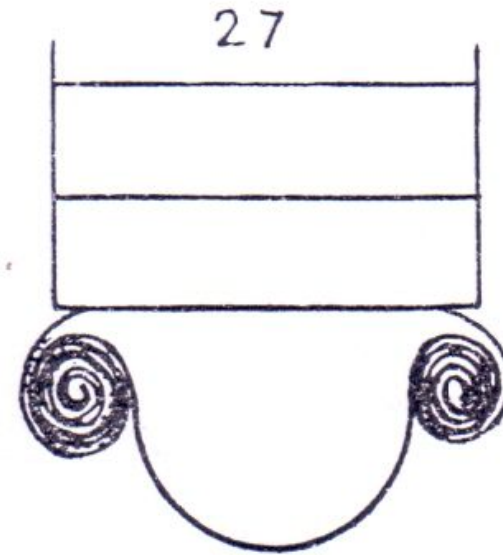
The important element in this cave is an elaborate niche for the water cistern. It is carved with multi-faced pilasters on either side. The shaft is banded at the top and bottom by two rows of scallops suggesting petals. We can also see a stylized animal head on the pilasters, one on either side.

The staircase is very significant and at the centre of the open court. It is one of the highest staircases of any of the caves of the second phase. It comprises six steps with prominently high balustrades. The lowest step is open and not bounded by sidewalls. However, we cannot identify any decorative ends for the balustrades, as is the case elsewhere. The outer walls have a strange curve going towards the centre of the last step. The staircase follows a similar pattern as in Cave No. 26, but the finishing is not notable. Two *chandrashilās* can be observed in the courtyard, one with the staircase and the other near the water cistern. The *chandrashilā* attached to the staircase is not in proportion to the steps and does not follow the semi-circular pattern of the *chandrashilā* in Cave No. 90. Nevertheless, the scroll ends of these two *chandrashilās* can be noticed. A bench can be observed in a recess in the open court; this follows

the tradition of Cave No. 26. The base of this cave is around three feet high with very elaborate base mouldings giving a nice combination of the base mouldings existing in Cave Nos. 26 and 90. The pillars in the cave are highly weathered and it is difficult to discern anything except their octagonal shape. Pilasters are square with a 16-sided neck and lotus petal design; the shaft is eight-sided with a lotus petal on its ends, stupas at the top and bottom of the shaft.

This cave has a rectangular verandah with two benches, one on either end.

After Nagraju





### **Cave No. 28**

Firstly, it is notable that this is an unfinished attempt to excavate a cave. Today, there is an open cover, a stone block kept aside to carve out a staircase, and a simple two-pillared open rectangular verandah. Another interesting feature is the location of this cave. This cave is placed in a position higher than that of the other caves in the group, and there is no staircase or path provided to reach this cave. This suggests the practice of making a path for the cave after its completion.

Next to the open court, another attempt to excavate the cave on some lower level can be seen. After giving up this attempt, the architects must have shifted their activity to excavate the present cave, i.e. Cave No. 28.

The pillars and pilasters in this cave are in a very primitive stage of excavation but one can deduce that supplementary stone was placed near the top of the pillar for *tarangapotikās*. Hence, we can compare these pillars with the pillars in Cave No. 34 or the pillars in the hall of Cave No. 11. Here, the work was abandoned because of extremely bad rock. We can see the outlet given for leaking water in the cave.

The most interesting thing about this cave is that before abandoning the work on this cave, the artists have converted it into a small water tank by giving some additional depth to the verandah. Between pillars and pilasters, one can easily see the attempts to carve low-backed benches.

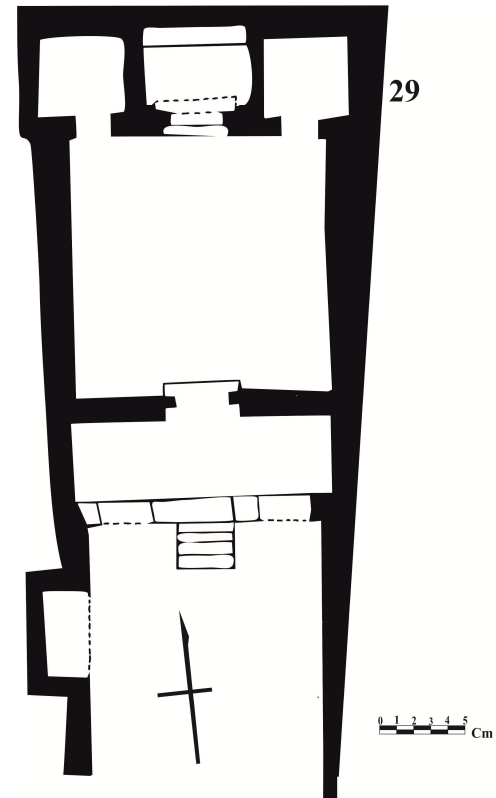
### Cave No. 29

The cave follows a pattern similar to the other caves in this group. It is more developed than Cave No. 27. This cave is a simple *vihara*. It comprises a courtyard, two-pillared verandah, and simple hall. The staircase has four enclosed high steps with a very prominent *chandrashilā*. Although the balustrades can no longer be seen, the staircase appears to follow the pattern of the one in Cave No. 27. Similar to Cave No. 27, the *chandrashilā* is not in proportion to the staircase here as well.

Interestingly, a water cistern in the courtyard, which is a common feature of all the caves in this group, is missing here. The cistern can be seen near the cave. Further, a bench in a recess can be seen in the open court of the cave. Pillars are highly weathered but from the remains, it can be reconstructed that they follow the order of the pilasters next to them. The square pilasters have an octagonal neck with lotus petals and the decorative motif of an unfinished medallion.

The main doorway and the shrine doorway are framed by a wide recess. The shrine doorway is one of the three doorways in the rear wall of the hall. The other two lead to simple cells, whereas the shrine doorway opens into a chamber with a low bench across the rear wall. Holes against the rear wall of the shrine indicate that an image was probably mounted here once.

The base mouldings of the cave follow the pattern given in Cave No. 27, although the base is not so high.



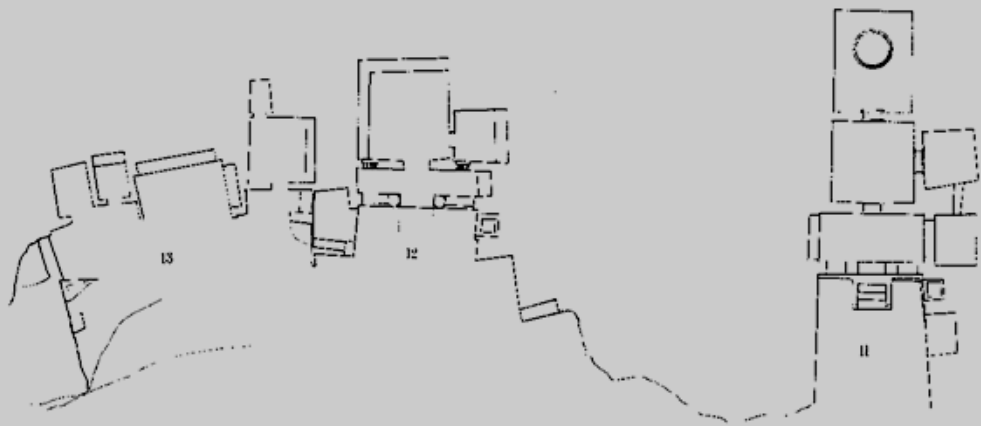
### **Cave No. 30**

This cave follows a pattern similar to that of the earlier caves adjacent to it. The cave comprises a courtyard, two-pillared verandah, and square hall with a cell at the back on the left side. A bench runs along the right wall of the hall. The staircase has balustrades, which fall short of fully enclosing the bottom step. Pillars and pilasters have the regular decorative motif of an unfinished medallion.

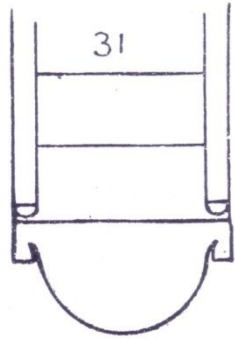
In short, this cave shares all the features of the group comprising Cave Nos. 26–30, but there is no bench in recess in the court.

n. 208

Courtacy ASI, Caves 33, 32 and 31



Scale of 1" = 10' Feet



**Cave 31 Courtacy Nagraju**

### **Cave No. 31**

Cave No. 31 is not far from Cave No. 32 and is placed in the beginning of the group of Cave Nos. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 32, and 33. This is a *chaitya* cave of a later date (5<sup>th</sup> century C.E.) and is very elaborately carved.

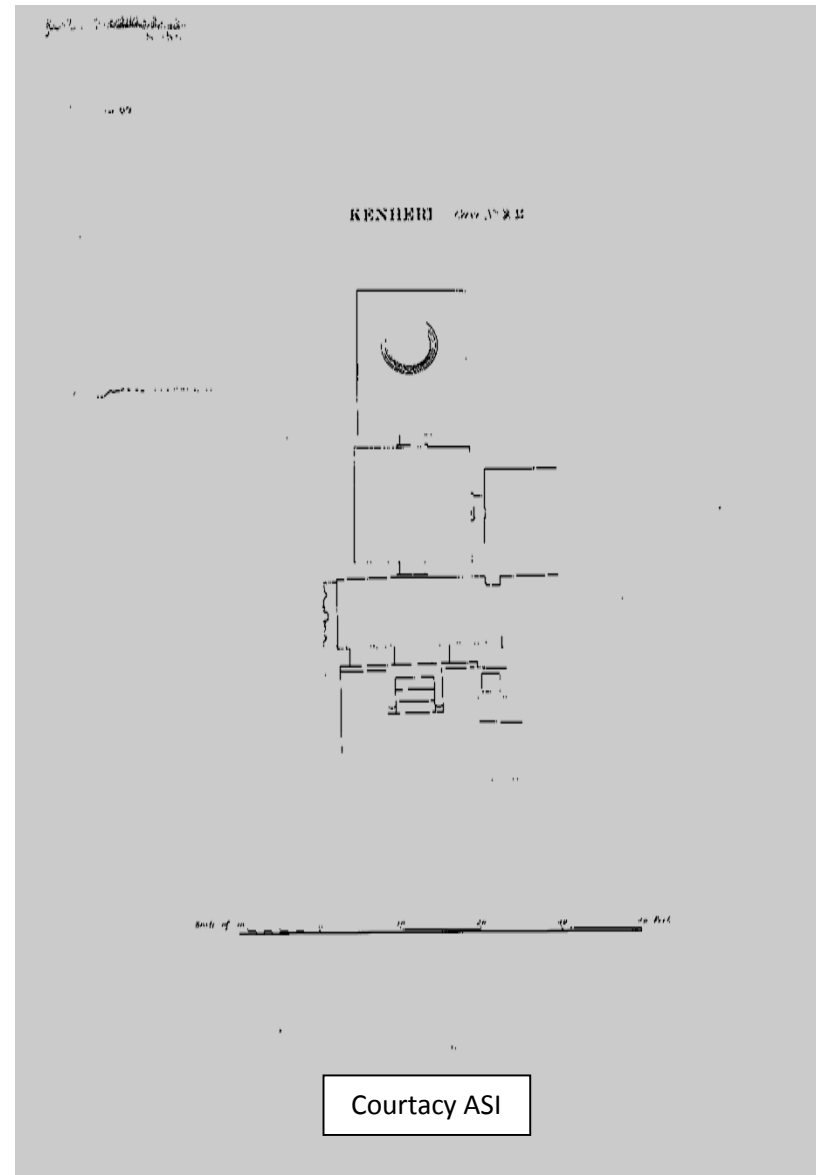
It has a huge open courtyard with the provision of a large wooden structure at the entrance. In the courtyard, we can see a small recess next to a water cistern in a niche. The base of the cave gives us various mouldings similar to the one painted in Cave No. 10, Ajanta. The open verandah does not have any bench. The pillars are very typical. The square pillars have an eight-sided band on the neck. This type probably developed from

the so-called hourglass motif. This development can be seen in the pilasters of Cave No. 23 as well. No other decoration can be seen in the verandah.

There is a hall with a shrine comprising a stupa. The wall of the hall has a hole near the base to provide light inside the hall. The square hall has three intrusive Buddha figures on a small bench along the left wall. The doorframes of the cave have *chaitya* windows on the lintel. Although the *dvārashākhās* are not carved like those at Ajanta, small plain bands are kept on the frames for paintings. The cave walls still preserve many plaster remains.

The stupa in the shrine is very peculiar. An almost identical stupa can be seen in one of the paintings of 5<sup>th</sup> century C.E. in Cave No. 9 at Ajanta. The shape of the dome of the stupa is reminiscent of the stupa in Cave No. 36 at Kanheri (one of the early stupas at the site). Although the plan of the cave belongs to the early-tradition stupa, the pillars evince a later date of mid-5<sup>th</sup> century C.E. These pillars are supposed to be the earliest of this type. All these reasons as well as the cave location enable us to date this cave to 5<sup>th</sup> century C.E. This cave is like a bridge

between the early and later caves. However, as observed, we cannot compare this cave with the caves at Ajanta since the Ajanta caves had the most powerful and unique patron of the age. Hence, the growth of Ajanta cannot be compared with that of any other site. The development of the various forms of art and architecture at Ajanta is very rapid in comparison with that at the other sites. Hence, the glory of Ajanta cannot be experienced in the 5<sup>th</sup>-century caves even though these caves are contemporary.



### Cave No. 32

This is a cell-hall cave with a verandah. The hall has a low bench running along the left and back walls. In the right wall, in the outer corner, a doorway has been cut to lead into the cell. There is a bench in a recess along the back wall of the cell. A doorway leads into the front verandah. There are two grated windows, one on each side of the door, at head level with just three rows of four square holes. The left window has a depressed frame. Two pillars in the verandah have a square base and an octagonal shaft, and they are placed on either side of the entrance to stand on low benches that extend to the sidewalls. At the other end of the benches, there are octagonal pilasters. Benches have a low backrest with the rail-pattern design on the outer side. A flight of four steps leads to the front court from the verandah. A semicircular *chandrashilā* is cut in front of the first step.

There is a small cell in the open court of the same cave; it is a square room with a bench running along the back wall. Opposite to this, there is a cistern-in-recess.

In the open court, there are numerous remains of early excavations.

- **Plate 24 & 13 of Bird/No 9(11) & 10(12) of Stevenson/No 16 of West/No 16 of Buhler/No 998 of Luders/No 28 of Gokhale**  
**Location** – on the left hand side wall outside the verandah of cave no 32 over a large water tank,

**Characters** – Brahmi of 2nd century CE,  
**Language** – Prakrit

**Stevenson/9(11)** – “To the Perfect One. The religious assignation of a cave, a water cistern, a cupboard, and a row of couches for the sick. These have been [bestowed] for the sancti [fication] of religious [devotees] and wise men, along with their attendants, by Dharm [anaka] skilled in sacred learning, son of Sayana Sarvamata of Vas [ai] (Bassein), near Kaly [an]. Come hither all ye monks from the four quarters (of heaven) to the house established from regard to (donor’s) father and mother. Come hither from every quarter, for here, too, is deposited an imperishable treasure.”

**Stevenson/10(12)** – “Here, in the lofty day and night lodging-place for monks, is the Buddhist mendicant alms-house, in which

the use of cooking-vessels is given, also money and mats for the multitudes that attend for the confessional service, during the time of the annual session connected with this cave, also on both sides of the monastery is ground filled with champaca trees, and swallow-wort, and also a refectory in the outer court; all religious assignation. Here, too, is the beloved inexhaustible treasure, the procurer of final liberation, in a most excellent apartment. Here are two charitable establishments; the square refectory connected with the outer courts of the monastery and the painted square lodging-place endowed by Dasakarni and Chivari Karni.”

**Luders** – “A cave (lena), a water-cistern (paniyapodhi), benches for sitting on (asanapedhika), a chair (? Pidha) and a walk (chakama), the gift of the merchant (negama) Dhama....., son of Sivamita (Shivamitra), the Kaliya[naka] (inhabitant of Kalyana), together with Budhaka (Buddhaka) and his whole family to the congregation of monks (Bhikshusagha) of the four quarters. Also endowment. Also gift of a house with two apartments (bagabha or bighaba) and of a quadrangular dining hall (bojanachatusala) in the vihara at Kaliyana (Kalyana) in the Gamdharikabhumi. Endowment for these, vis. A house (nivesana) in the Mukudasivayiva.”

- **No 53 of West/No 30 of Buhler/No 1032 of Luders/No 29 of Gokhale**

**Location** – on a detached rock on the side of steps near cave no 32,

**Characters** – Brahmi of 2nd century CE,

**Language** – Prakrit

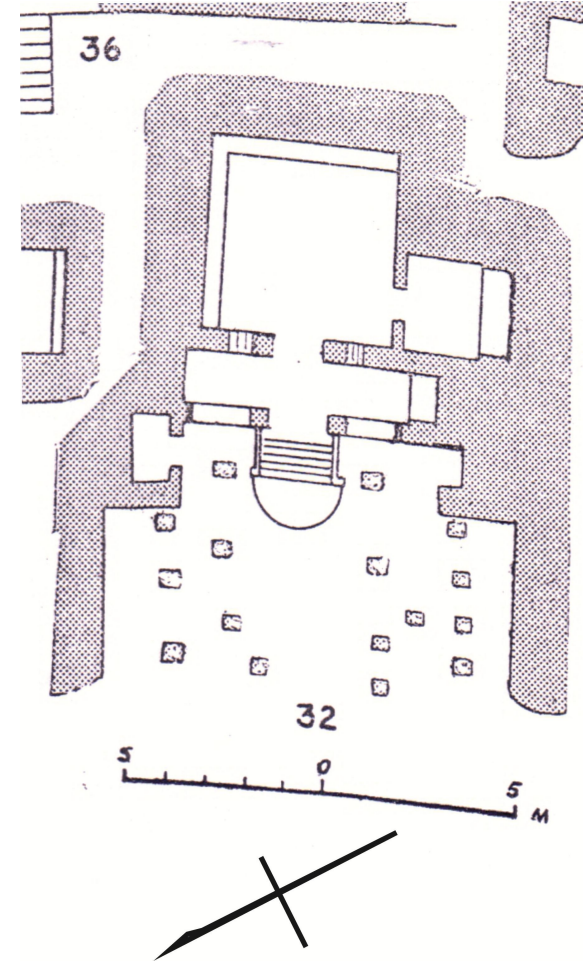
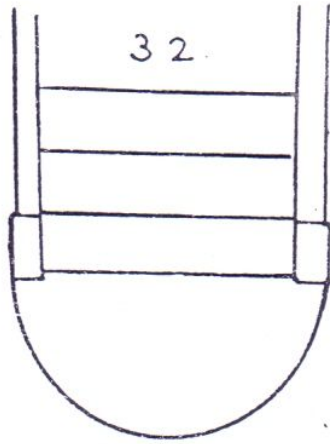
**Luders** – A path (patha), the gift of the blacksmith (kamara) Nada (Nanda), from Kaliyana (Kalyana).

**On the outer left wall of the Veranda above the Water Cistern**

सिद्धंकालिय---स---ण(सि) वमितसपुतसनेग---  
मसधम---बुधकेनसहचसवेणपरिवा  
रेणबवा---ल(य)नंपाणियपोढिआसनपेढिका  
योपीढोअ---चकमोचदेयधमचातुदिसेभिखुसगघेप---  
तिथापितमा(ता)पितरोउदिससवसतुहितसुघथ  
एथचअखयनिवीचदता  
एतोचवासारतेवसतसभिखुणोचिवरिककाहापणासोलसपतेल  
सउपाहणाणचकाहापणोउतुकाले(च) पडिकोमासेवसतसदा---  
तवोसेसेणलेणंपडिअगितव  
कलियणेचविहारेगंधारिकाभमि---  
यंबगभंभोजनचातुसालचदेयधंमं



एतेसिपिअखनिविदतामुकुडसिव---  
यि(व) यंनिवेसणंएतोबेभाकाबिगभसभाका  
चातुसालसविहारदसकानिचिवरि  
कानिचातुसालचा(भाका)  
Carved near this cave on a free standing rock  
कलियणतो  
नदसकमा  
रसपथोदे  
यधम

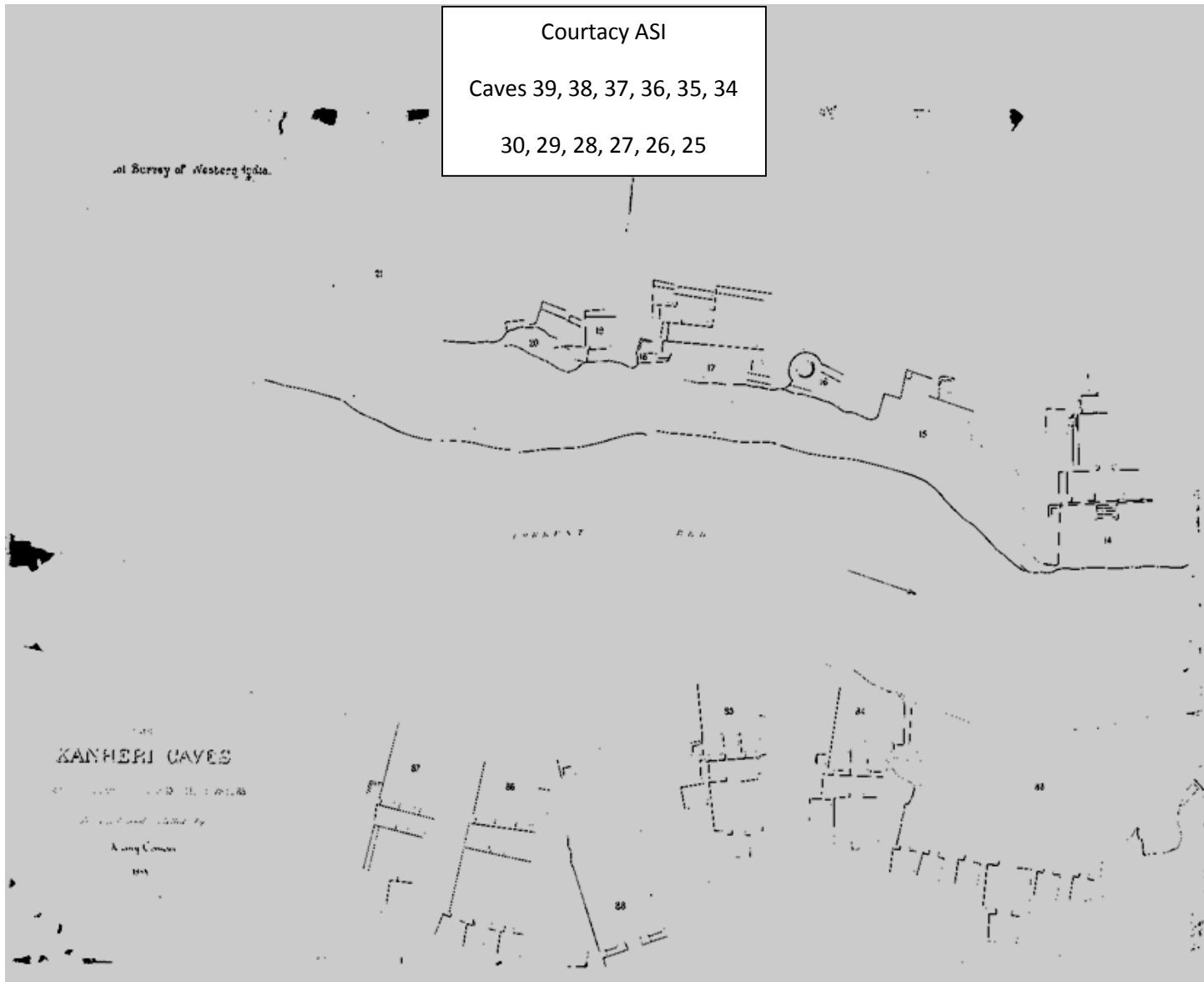


After Nagraju, 1981

### **Cave No. 33**

This cave is situated to the left of Cave No. 32 and is at a slightly higher level. The exterior of this cave is destroyed to a large degree. The hall that can be seen now is open and has a cell along the back wall. The hall and cell have a bench along the back wall. We can see grated windows, one on either side of the entrance.

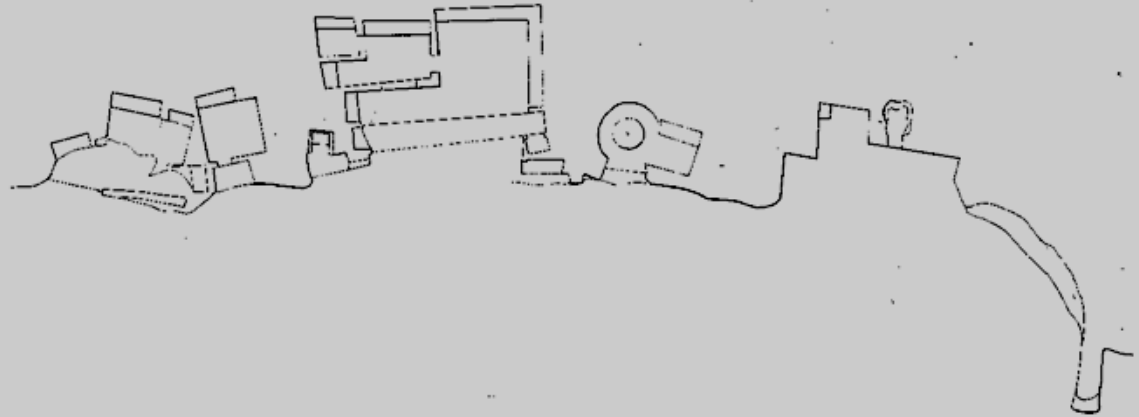
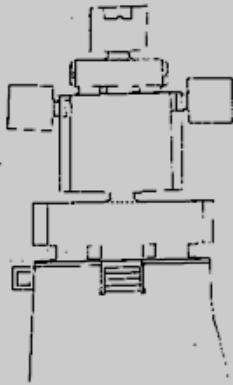
The verandah of the cave is roughly cut, but had a bench on the left end; we can see its remains at the lower level. This bench has a hand rest at one end while the other side is destroyed. The hand rest of this bench is decorated and similar to the one we can see in Cave Nos. 101 and 69. It is interesting that there is an open place next to this cave, which is shared by Cave Nos. 32 and 31 along with this cave



Courtesy ASI  
Caves 39, 38, 37, 36, 35, 34  
30, 29, 28, 27, 26, 25

Caves 4, 39, 38, 37, 36, 36

Courtesy ASI



### Cave No. 34

This cave is one of the developed caves at the site. It has an open court with a water cistern along its left wall. The centrally placed flight of steps is highly decorated. It is more developed than that in Cave No. 26. This seems to be the last phase in the architectural development at the site. The base mouldings here are reminiscent of those in the caves at Ajanta. The rectangular verandah has benches along the sidewalls. The centrally placed doorframe has three *shākhās* similar to those of the doorway inside.

The inner hall has a bench running along the sidewalls above which there are entrances for the cells. There is a cell without a bench in either sidewall. The ceiling of the cave gives us evidence of plaster and extensive painting. As Burgess has recorded,

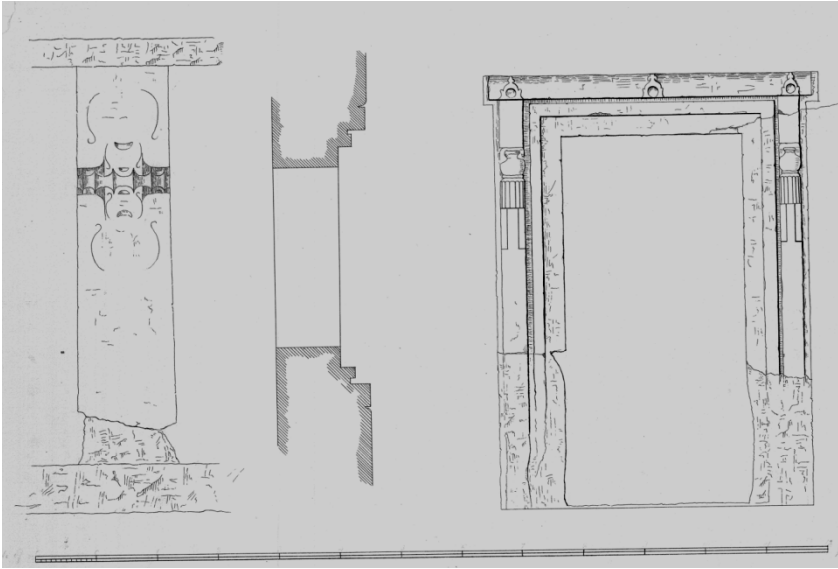
‘No. 14 still retains some fragments of painting on the roof, but from the style it is evidently not of very early date. The roof of the small hall appears to have been divided into nine panels, of which fragments can be traced, in the centre of one a painted figure with six arms, resembling Shiva in *tāndava* dance.

The roof of the antechamber has been divided into five compartments, each painted with a Buddha seated on a throne with a high back-rail surmounted by *makaras*, over which are figures with high caps, somewhat of the style of those on the Elephanta *dvārapāla*-s, saluting Buddha. The central one, which is the most entire, represents the fair skinned Buddha, with *kāshāya* or brick coloured robe, seated in the *Bhumishparsha mudrā*, i.e., the right hand lying over the knee and pointing to the earth- the position in which he attained the Buddha-hood. The pillars, both of the verandah and antechamber, in this cave, are of the same type as in the *Darabār* cave, but more slender. The door of the shrine is moulded one’.

Today, the remains of only four Buddha figures can be seen in the antechamber while the paintings in the hall are not traceable at all. There is no Buddha figure in the main shrine. A plain bench can be seen here with a provision for installing a wooden or stone figure of the deity.

M. Leese has dated these painting remains of the seated Buddha-s to the 9<sup>th</sup> century C.E., but this is not true. They appear to belong to 6<sup>th</sup> century C.E. itself.

Courtesy ASI



### Cave No. 34 A

After passing Cave No. 34, there is a flight of steps leading to the upper series of caves, where there is a bench in recess. This is a simple bench that gives us a nice view of the caves in Group E on the opposite hill.

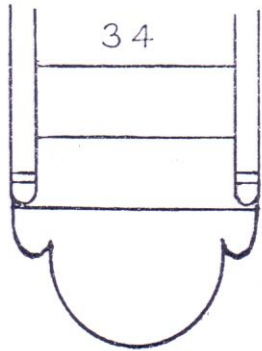
### Cave No. 35

Cave No. 35 is in ruins but is similar to Cave No. 17. A hypothetical reconstruction of the wooden work suggests that it is an open 'L'-shaped hall with a cell. The following description is based on the hypothetical reconstruction.

This cave has an 'L'-shaped hall with two small cells at the back in the attached square hall. The small 'L'-shaped room has a recess in the back wall and also a small bench in a recess at the end of the smaller side of the 'L' shape.

### Cave No. 36

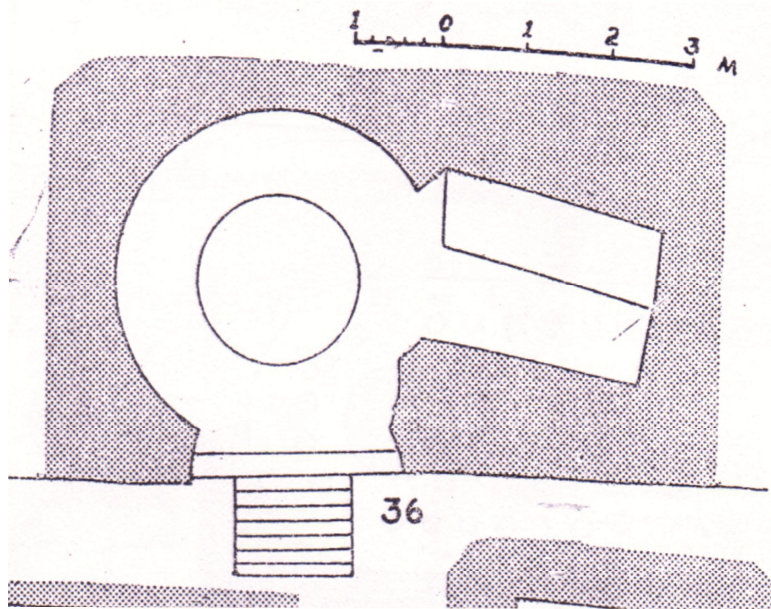
This is a small circular flat-roofed *chaitya*. The small circular cell is about 3 m in diameter and about 2 m in height. The stupa cut in the centre of this cell is about 1.45 m in



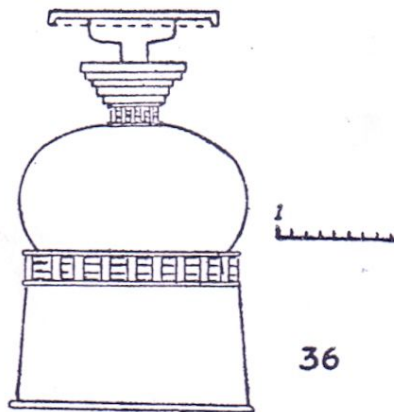
Courtesy Nagraju

diameter at the base. The drum of the stupa has slightly tapering sides, and there is also a rail pattern that can be seen near the dome on the base. Over the *anda*, the square *harmikā* is ornamented with rail designs.

To the right, inside the circular hall, there is a rectangular cell. Its roof is at a lower level than that of the circular shrine. The bench is cut in the left wall of the cell. The position and shape of the bench suggests that the cutting of the cell is a later activity.



After  
1981



Nagraju,

**Cave No. 37**

This cave is in ruins; it has an open hall with a wooden screen and cells in the back wall along the niche in the hall.

**Cave No. 38**

This is a cistern with a square mouth under a recess.

**Cave No. 39**

This cave is a simple cell with a bench at the back. There is a grated window, at the head level, to the left of the doorway.

- **No 23 of Bird/No 17 of West/No 17 of Buhler/No 999 of Luders/No 30 of Gokhale**

**Location** – on the left hand side-wall of the porch of cave no 39,

**Characters** – Brahmi of the beginning of the 3rd century CE,

**Language** – Prakrit

**Luders** – “A cave (lena), gift of the monk (pavajita) Anada (Ananda), brother of the teacher (acharya) bhayata (bhadanta) Atara (Antara ?), to the Order (sagha). Also endowment.”

**Incised on the left wall of the Veranda**

सिद्धंआचरिआ(न) भयतविराणंभतुणोपवैजितसआणदस

लेणदेयधमंसघेअखयनिविदिनाएतोचिवरकंदान

वर०का(हापणानि) शसवेहीनातिही।

**Cave No. 40**

The cave is in a highly ruined condition. Only the remains of a verandah with a bench to the left, a hall with a bench in the back, and a cell with a bench in the back wall can be seen. Nothing further can be discerned from the ruins.



## Cave No. 41

This is one of the most important caves at the site. In the open court of the cave, there is a water cistern in the recess along the left wall while an open cell can be seen excavated in the right wall. The open cell has a few interesting sculptures. On the front wall, we can see the Trinity (seated Buddha attended by Bodhisattva-s) with an eleven-headed Avalokiteshvara as one of the attendant Bodhisattva-s of Bhaishajyaguru who is the central figure. On the right wall, there is a highly damaged litany panel (*Ashtamahābhayatrāna Avalokiteshvara* panel).

On the left wall, we can see a panel of Manushi Buddha-s with the eighth Buddha Maitreya. A few miscellaneous sculptures of the Buddha-s and an unfinished figure of Tara can also be observed on the same wall. This cell is approachable by a modern flight of steps. We cannot obtain any clue about its ancient entrance and the steps.

The main entrance to the cave is centrally placed in the open court. The staircase is a compact unit with an arched balustrade ending in scrolls above the lowest step. The base mouldings of the cave remind us of Ajanta caves. There is a

small portico (*chatushki*) for the entrance leading towards the plain verandah. The pillars at the entrance are very significant. The front pillars remind us of the general appearance of the pillars in Cave No. 12.

They have square shafts for half its length, and above it, the pillar becomes circular with curved decorative flutings that lead to a circular fluted cushion capital. Although this gives a general feel of the pillars in Cave No. 12, the pillars in Cave No. 41 are not well developed. The pillars in the verandah are square with a cushion capital, and the pilasters also follow the same pattern.

The doorframe of the main entrance has three *shākhās*. The lintel of the door has five arches. The outer *shākhā* has a pilaster motif with a decoration of a *purmaghata*. The door of the main shrine in the inner hall follows a similar pattern. The doorframes of the cells in the hall have a single *shākhā*. There are two cells in the hall, one along either wall towards the inner side. The main shrine comprises various sculptures, including the Trinity in the centre, as well as others along the sidewalls.

In this cave, there are many plaster remains comprising fragments of paintings of the seated Buddha. At least eight Buddha figures can be identified from the fragments. All these figures are in the meditation posture and seated on lotuses.

- **No 42 of West/No 1023 of Luders/No 31 of Gokhale**  
**Location – on the front of a pedestal before a sitting figure of the Buddha in cave no 41,**

**Characters – Brahmi of 2nd century CE,**

**Language – Prakrit**

**Luders – not read**

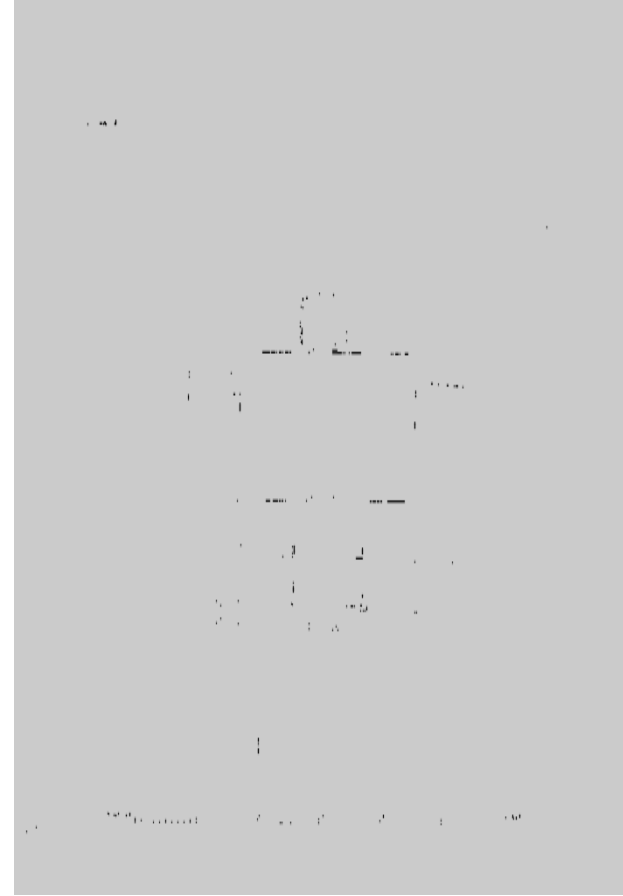
**Gokhale – provided the text of one line, which conveys no meaning**

**Incised on a free standing rock in front of this cave**

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पतिसेठीसपु---

णकसतलाकदेयधम

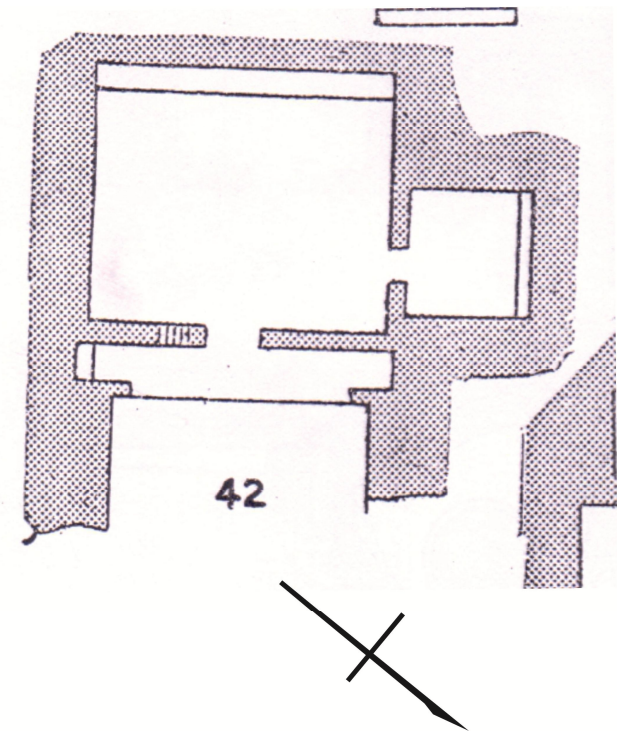


Courtesy ASI



## Cave No. 42

This is also a simple cell-hall type cave which consists of an open court and verandah. The front portion is broken and the existence of pillars cannot be made out. The verandah has a bench along the left wall. A centrally placed doorway leads into the inner hall. There is a grated window with 3 lines and 4 square holes at the head level to the left of the doorway. The hall has a bench at the back. A cell has been cut in the right wall of the hall near the front wall. This also has a bench at the back.

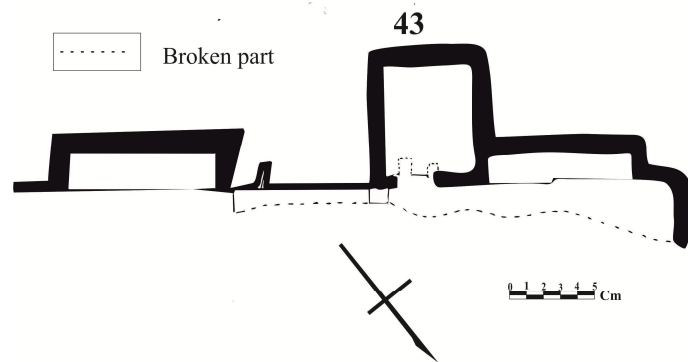


After Nagraju, 1981

### Cave No. 43

This is a ruined cave. Only the back portion with a recess and a part of a small cell still remains, and it is difficult to describe it in more detail.

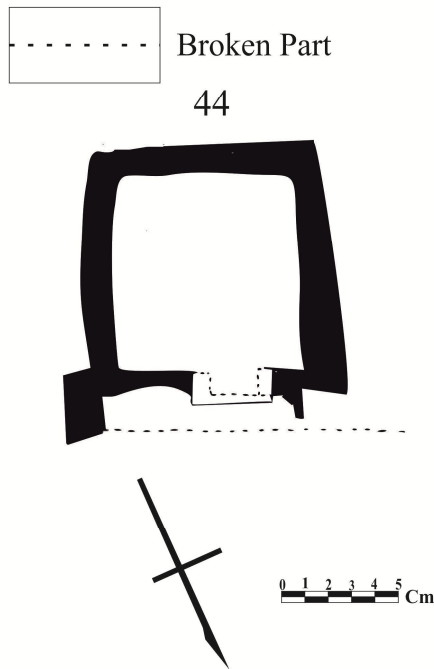
- **No 22 of Bird/No 52 of West/No 1031 of Luders/No 32 of Gokhale Location** – engraved on a detached rock opposite cave no 42,  
**Characters** – Brahmi of 2nd century CE,  
**Language** – Prakrit  
**Luders** – not read  
**Gokhale** – provided the text, seems to be some donation



Cave No.43

### Cave No. 44

This is also a highly ruined cave and appears to have been only a small cell with a bench to the right. There is a simple grated window with 4 square holes, similar to one in Cave No. 42, to the left of the doorway at the head level.



### Cave No. 45

Nothing can be observed from the excavations. The cave appears to be merely the beginning and no features can be seen. Nevertheless, the excavation seems to be of an early date.

**Cave No. 46:** The exterior of the cave is broken. It is a ruined cave with a small cell and a bench at the back.

**Cave No. 47:** This cave is also in an extremely ruined state. The front part is completely destroyed. There is a cell at the back with a bench along the back wall; this had a rectangular doorway. There is a small open square window above the head level.

### Cave No. 48

This cave is unfinished and appears to be of a later date (late 5<sup>th</sup> or early 6<sup>th</sup> century C.E.). It has a small open court without a bench or cistern. The verandah has two pillars but no bench. The square hall is half-cut and unfinished, and it is the



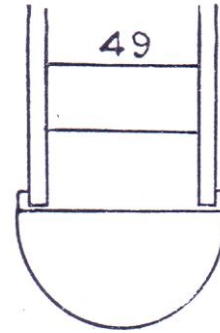
largest cave in this group. To some extent, it follows the plan of Cave No. 67.

#### Cave No. 49

This cave is a hall with a bench running along the right and back walls, a cell cut in the left wall and having a bench along its back wall, and a verandah in front with a bench along the left wall. There is a central doorway in the front wall of the hall, but no windows can be seen. In front of the verandah, there are two simple octagonal pillars standing opposite each other, and further, there are low benches with a screen wall connecting the set of pilasters and pillars on either side. An hourglass decoration can be seen on one of the pilasters. There is a flight of three steps with sloping side stones leading down from the verandah to the open court in front. In front of the steps is a semi-circular *chandrashilā*. On the left wall of the open court, there is a much-effaced inscription.

The rock being fragile, the ornamentation on the back of the low screen wall in front of the bench is not preserved. The steps, the bench, as well as the pillars are also damaged. The

*chandrashilā* is similar to that of Cave No. 32. This cave may be a little earlier than Cave No. 32.



## Cave No. 50

This cave appears unimpressive from the front, but it is an interesting monument in many ways. It is similar to Cave No. 49 in its essential components, but somewhat larger. As usual, it consists of a hall with a bench along the back wall and right sidewall. Two cells are cut in the left wall and both have a bench at their back. The central doorway leads to a verandah. There is a grated window, at the head level, to the left of the doorway. There is a bench along the left wall in the verandah as well. The front floor of the verandah is broken, and there is no indication of any pillars. But the pilasters on either end are rectangular, and the left one still retains the hourglass decoration. The steps are broken. The roof projects to about a meter in front of the architrave over the pilasters. There is no indication of any decoration on the front. The *chandrashilā* in front of the steps is well preserved. There is a cistern in a recess to the right and it is cut in the wall of the open court, below the projecting *chajjā*. There is also a later excavation in the left wall.

The above are typical features of a cave of type A iii, but there are also two noteworthy additional elements.

Unusually, the doorframe of the hall has a sunken ledge giving the impression of a *shākhā* decoration. Moreover, directly opposite to this on the back wall of the hall, there is a rectangular niche with an arched top. All these features indicate a stylistic advancement and possibly a later date for this cave as compared to its neighbouring cave (Cave No. 49). However, the plans as well as the existence of the hourglass decoration on the pilaster suggest their common genetic connection. But the *chandrashilā* is only a simple circle here; it looks like a segment of a circle placed with vertical projections at either end, a development that appears to lead towards the *chandrashilā*-s of later ages.

It is also noteworthy that Buddha figures have been carved on the sidewalls of the verandah. These are of a later date (6<sup>th</sup> century C.E.). The presence of an empty arched niche in the centre of the back wall of the hall is a significant feature, particularly when viewed from the historical context and with the background of the advanced stylistic features described above.

- **No 25 of Bird/No 37 of West/No 27 of Buhler/No 1018 of Luders/No 33 of Gokhale**



**Location** – on the left hand side-wall outside the verandah of cave no 50,

**Characters** – mix of Brahmi of 3rd century CE and earlier forms,

**Language** – Prakrit

**Luders** – “Dedication of a cave (lena) and a water-cistern (paniyyapodhi) ..... as the property of the Bhadrajaniijas (Bhadrayanias), for the merit of the donor’s mother Namdinika (Nandinika). One cell (ovaraka) is the gift of the donor’s wife, the housewife (gharini), Dami[la]. The merit is assigned to the donor’s sons Je....., his nephew Aryyaghosha, his daughter Samghadevanika, and other relatives.”

**Incised on the left wall of the Veranda**

---  
---लेणंपानिय्य(पोढिच)---  
---

---णभद्रजणिज्जाणंप्रतिग्रहेत्तपूणं

---मातुअचनंदिनिनिकायघरिणियदामि

(लाय)---यएक्कओवरकोदेयधम्मएत्तोचपुणभागोपुत्तानंजे

---स्यभातुपुत्रस्यचआर्यघोषस्यदुहुतअचसंघदेवनिकाय

---णतुकाणंनतिणंपनतुकाणंपनतिणंशुण्हाणंसव्वसेवचकुलस्य

तितानंङ्गितानंअणगताणंच

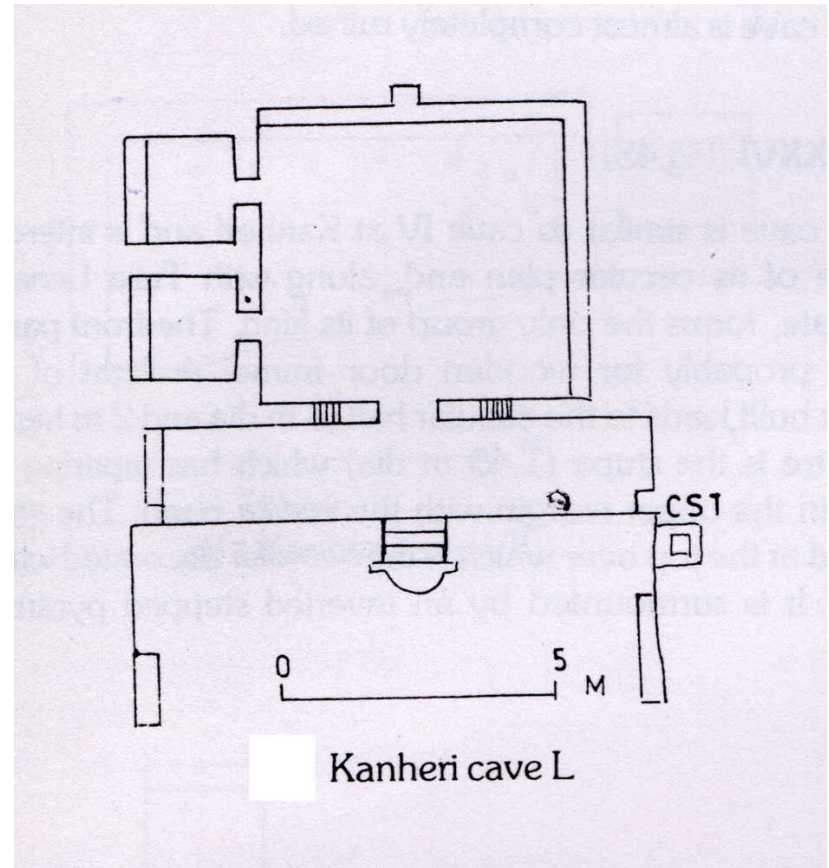
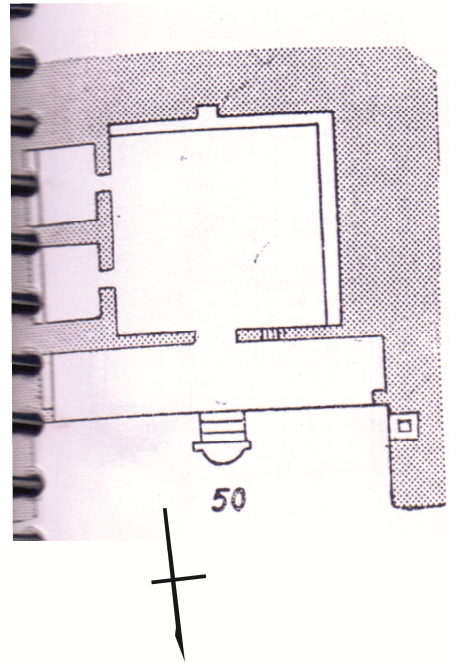
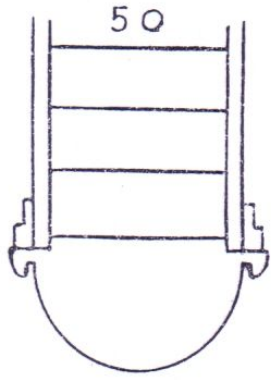
सार्वसत्त्वाणंचंहितसुखार्थायभवतुत्ति---

काहापणानिदतानि१६००कल्लिवनंककलकरधं

विसितोठपनंवाढिपतिकेसतं१००मात्रएकचंदति

वाढपणिकोम्हादियमसुलभतिविसियनिगमा

नात्तिआसंदिखटव्वाएत्तलेणेवसत्तानंबेनोभिखुणा



After Dhavalikar

### **Cave No. 51**

This cave is very small, highly ruined, and somewhat altered as well. The extant remains of the main cave are merely cells cut in the right wall of the forecourt, which may be of a later date (?). The *chandrashilā* preserved here is identical in shape to that of Cave No. 50. The two caves may be contemporaneous.

### **Cave No. 52**

This cave has the most developed plan at the site. There is an open court and an unfinished cell. Opposite to the court and along the left wall, there is a cistern in a recess. The staircase leading to the rectangular verandah is simple, and there is a sloping balustrade with scroll-like ends and semicircular *chandrashilā*. The pillars in the verandah are square with an eight-sided neck, and they are decorated with an unfinished medallion. There are two cells without a bench in the verandah along the sidewalls. The main doorframe of the hall has three *shākhās*, and the outer one has a pilaster motif consisting of *purnaghatas*. The inner hall is rectangular and has a cell along the left wall near the entrance. This cell is also without a bench.

The entrance to the main shrine also has three *shākhās*. The shrine contains a few sculptures along the main Buddha seated in *Pralambapādāsana*. A few fragments of paintings can be seen in this main shrine.

### **Cave No. 53**

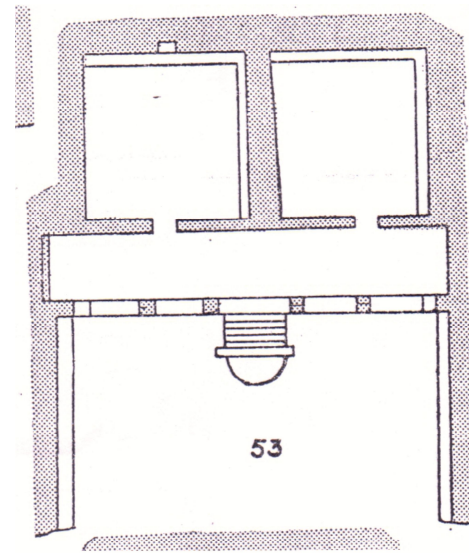
This is a two-hall complex with a common verandah and an open courtyard in the front. This cave is an important cave at the site since we can see a few early (second half of 3<sup>rd</sup> century C.E.) figures here on the capital of the pillars in the verandah. The verandah is approachable by a flight of five steps that has a *chandrashilā*. This follows the pattern of 2<sup>nd</sup> century C.E. caves with a few modifications. This type of *chandrashilā* is a step in development ahead of the *chandrashilā* in Cave No. 50 and probably a developmental phase between the *chandrashilās* in Cave Nos. 50 and 31.

In the courtyard, we can see two benches along the sidewalls. A water cistern also can be seen here. The verandah has a bench along the left wall. We can see intrusive panels at the end walls of the verandah. The entrances to the hall are very simple and similar to those in Cave No. 67. They are next to each

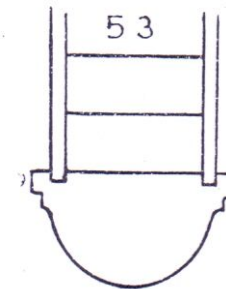
other in the verandah. In both the halls, we can see benches running along the walls. We can also see a niche in the back wall of the wall on the right side.

The exterior of the cave is reconstructed. Decorative patterns on the base are developed from the one in Cave No. 32. An hourglass motif in this cave is highly decorated and of a later date than the other first-phase caves. We can see the development of the decorative medallion taking place here; the medallion is not fully developed and its beginning at the site can be discerned in this cave.

Although the pillars are reconstructed, their capitals are original and depict animals such as elephants, lions, and bulls. These are not the masterpieces of the art in 3<sup>rd</sup> century C.E., but they are the only examples of third-century sculptures at the site.



After Dhavalikar



## Cave No. 54

This is a cell-hall type cave, and it has been considerably altered by modern restoration work. In the open court (?), there is a cistern in recess. The staircase is very typical of the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century C.E. A staircase leads into the verandah and comprises five steps with sloping balustrades. The lowermost step is not bounded by balustrades. The *chandrashilā* is semicircular and similar to the one in Cave No. 49. The projected cave is flat and plain.

There is no bench in the rectangular verandah. There are rectangular pilasters and octagonal pillars, which rise from a low-backed bench between them. The doorjambs are straight, and the door to the hall is again typical of 3<sup>rd</sup> century C.E. There is a small grated window with circular holes bored in sunken squares. These perforations are not properly carved here. The window has a square frame.

The hall has a bench each along the back and left wall while the right wall of the hall has a cell entrance. This cell also has a bench along the left wall of the cell.

- **No 24 of West/No 21 of Buhler/No 1006 of Luders/No 34 of Gokhale**

**Location** – over a cistern on the right hand of entrance of the cave no 54,

**Characters** – Brahmi of 2nd century,  
**Language** – Prakrit

**Luders** – “A cave (lena) and a water-cistern (paniyapodhi), the gift of the nun (pavaitika), the elder (their) Ponakiasana, pupil (atevasini) of the elder (thera) bhayamta (bhadanta) Ghosa (Ghosha), with her sister and the samanapapaakas (?) to the congregation of the monks (bhikshusagha) of the four quarters. Also endowment.”

Cave no. 54- On the entrance of the right side of the cave  
above the water cistern

सिद्धथेराणभयंतघोसणअतेवासिनिये

पवैतिकाअपोणकियस्सणाथेरीयलेण

---पानियपोठीचदेयधमसहभगि---

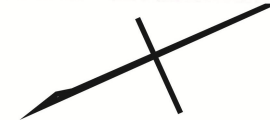
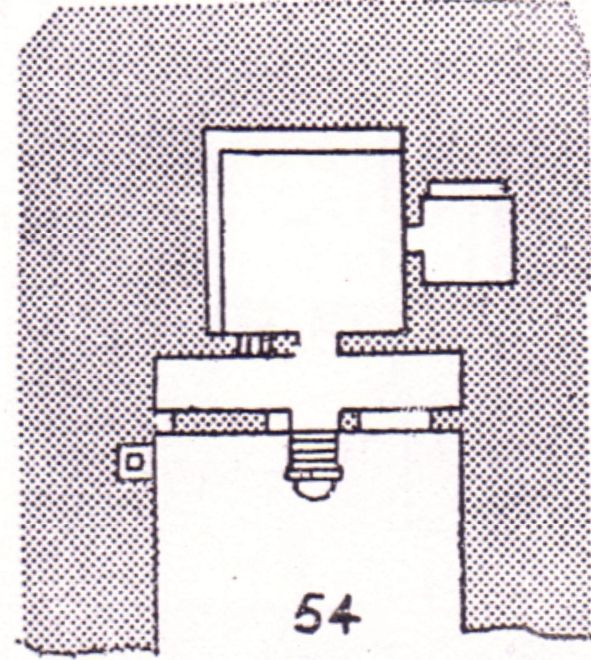
नियसहच---(भातुहि) (समण) पापाकेहिचातु

दिसेभिखुसघेपतिठापिता(तापितरोउदि)

सअखयनिविचसघसदिनाकाहापणसतानि(बे)

एतोचिअरिकसोलसकपदिकोमासेचउतुकालेसव---

लोकसहितसुहाथ



After Nagraju, 1981

### Cave No. 55

This cave is highly weathered and unfinished as well. There were two pillars in the verandah, most probably octagonal. Today, there is an open courtyard in which an attempt had been made to provide a water cistern in the recess. There are two cells in the verandah, one at either end. The inner hall of the cave is also unfinished and we can see that the back wall is divided into three parts, the main shrine, and two side cells. Similar attempts can be seen on the sidewalls of the hall.

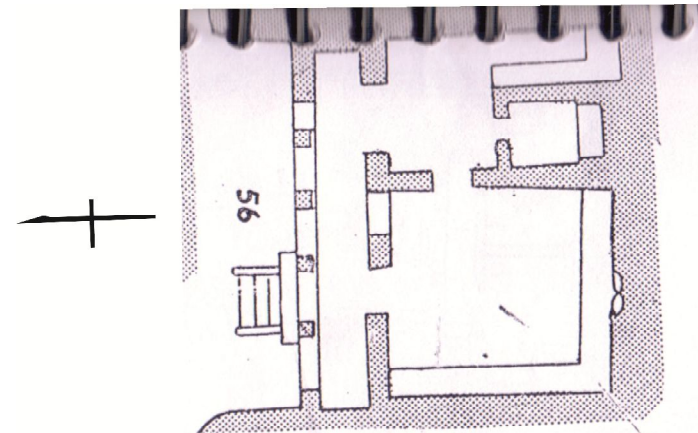
### Cave No. 56

The four pillars in the verandah are different in style and similar to the reconstructed pillars in the verandah of Cave No. 22 at Bhaja and also the pillars in the verandah of Cave No. 19 at Nasik. These pillars are thicker than those at Bhaja. This cave is more or less similar in plan to Cave No. 17.

The cave has a rectangular verandah with a bench along the eastern wall. Because of the additional 'L'-shaped hall, the entrance to the square hall is not centrally placed and is very typical with one open window on either side of the doorframe.

The square hall has an 'L'-shaped bench along the back and right walls with decorative ends, which is similar to a hand-rest.

Through the eastern wall of the hall, we have an entrance to an 'L'-shaped hall which has a similar open window and main screen. At the smaller end of the 'L'-shaped hall, which is at the back, there is an 'L'-shaped bench similar to the one in the main hall with the ornate hand-rest. There is a cell in the larger part of the same hall, which shares a wall with the main square hall and has a high bench at the back. This cave has numerous plaster remains as well.

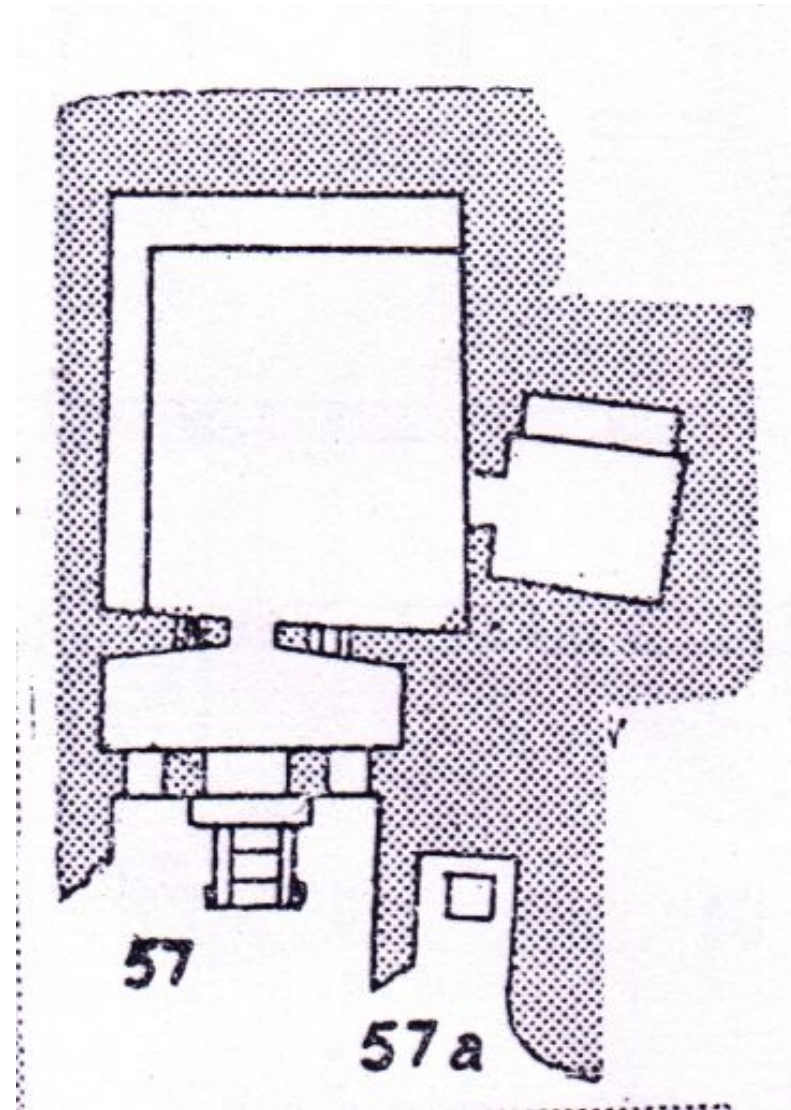




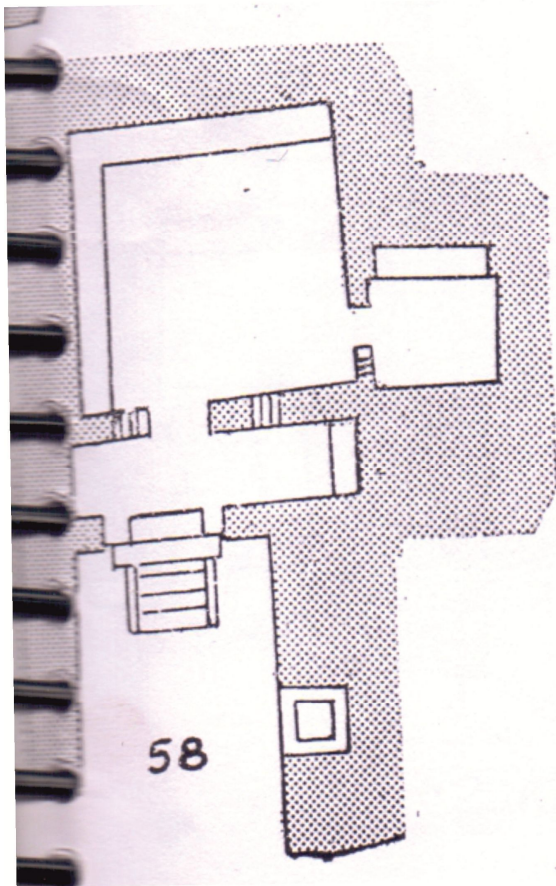
### Cave No. 57

This cell-hall type cave does not have any courtyard, but has a verandah. It has a tall flight of steps with a prominent *chandrashilā* at the base. A small rectangular verandah does not have any bench but there are pillars and square pilasters with no decorations. Two open windows, one on either side of the doorframe, are similar to those in Cave No. 56. Its inner hall has an 'L'-shaped bench along the back and eastern walls. A cell from the western wall does not have any bench but we can see a break through its western wall in the adjacent cave, Cave No. 58. This cave also has numerous amounts of plaster remains.

After Nagraju, 1981







### Cave No. 58

A small open place can be seen in the front, but it is too small to merit the label of an open court; nevertheless, there is a cistern in a recess. It has a centrally placed tall flight of steps leading to a rectangular verandah, which has a bench in the western end. Its eastern wall has a break from Cave No. 57. This cave has octagonal pillars with a high square base and also square pilasters with no decorations. A low projected wall between the pillars and pilasters can be seen here. The entrance to the hall has one grated window on either side of the typical doorframe which is not centrally placed in the verandah.

The square hall has an 'L'-shaped bench along the back and left walls. A cell from the right wall of the hall does not contain any bench. A wall shared by the hall and cell has a neatly carved grated window with four perforations. We can see a break through its right wall in the adjacent cave, Cave No. 59.

This cave has numerous plaster remains.

### Cave No. 59

This is also a cell-hall type cave although the first impression is very different and the arrangement of architectural elements is also slightly different. This cave is shifted towards the south because of the adjacent cave, Cave No. 58. In the open court, we have a cistern in a recess along with the western wall. The staircase is not centrally placed and opens into a rectangular verandah which has a bench at its left end as well as pilasters (square in section) with the hourglass motif. There is a grated window on the right of the doorframe, which is similar to the one in Cave No.57.

The fluency of the left wall of the hall is broken because of a stone block. We have a bench along the back wall in the hall. There is an entrance to the cell, which has a bench along the back wall, from the left wall of the hall. There is a also a bench adjacent to the open court.

#### On the left wall of the Veranda

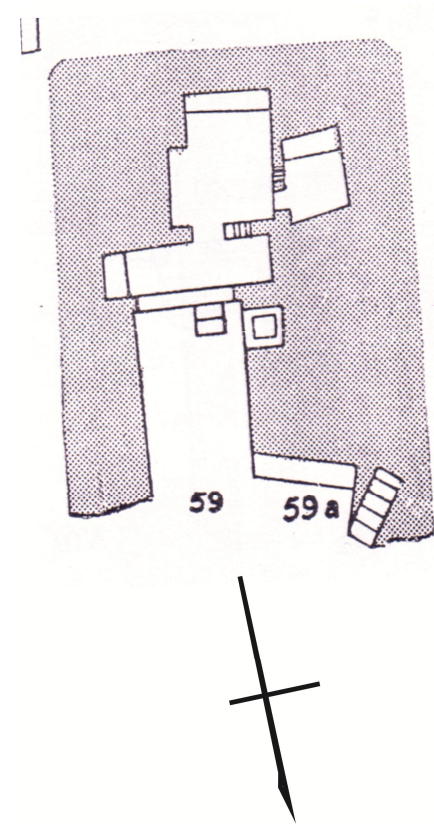
---थोणका(न) (थेरा)ण(भ)यतहा(ल)काणम---

---तिसकण्हसदेयधमंलेणंपोढिकोढिच

---(प) तिठापिताअखयनिविचदिनाकाहापणाण---

---सताम(घे) एतोचभिखुसघेचेवरिकदातववारस---

(क---) ससवलोकहितसुखायति



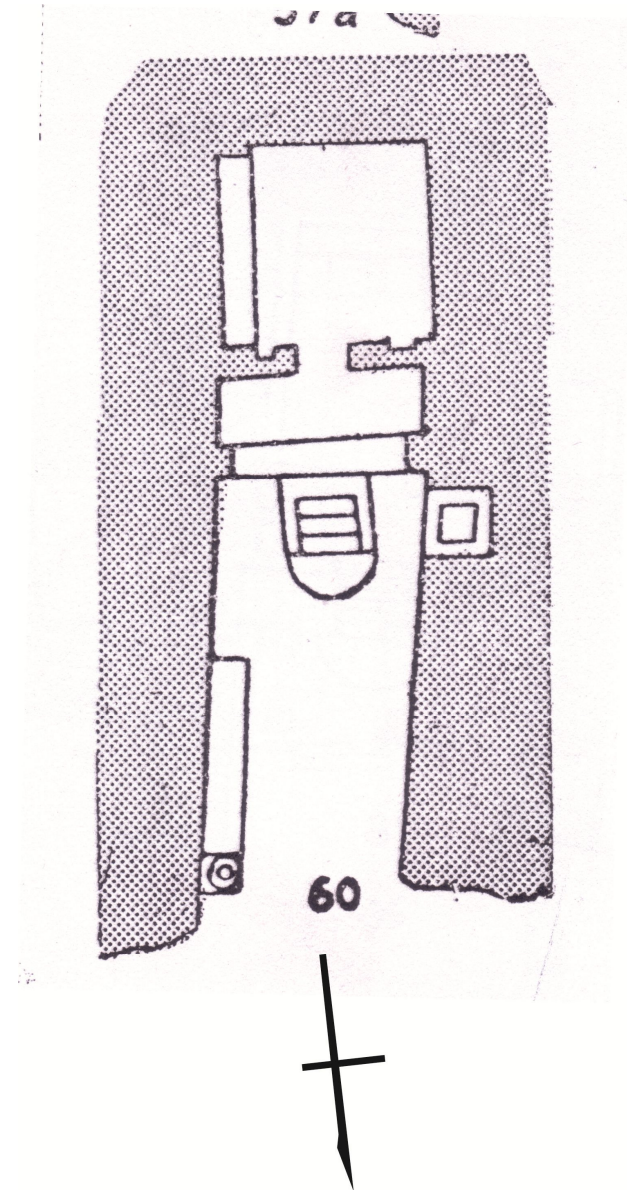
After Nagraju, 1981

### Cave No. 60

This is a small and simple hall-type cave that comprises an open court, rectangular verandah, and a hall. The open court has a vessel base-like excavation in the outer end along the eastern wall. There is a cistern near the staircase in the western wall. There is a bench along the eastern wall in the hall, but the verandah does not have any bench.

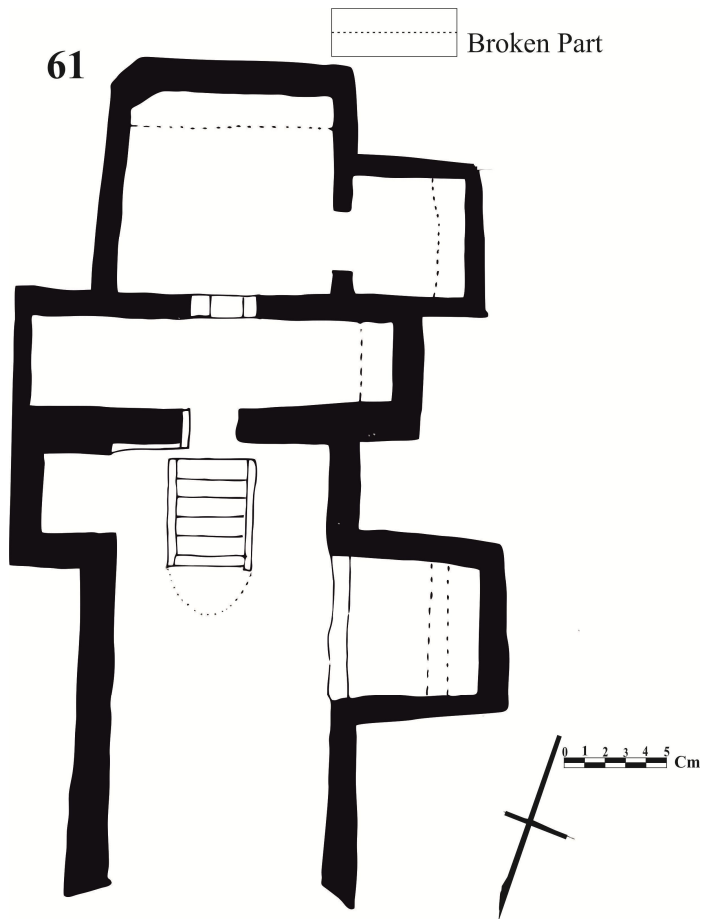
(Cave no. 60- वाचतायेतनाही)

After Nagraju, 1981



### Cave No. 61

This cave is in an extremely ruined state; it was a cell-hall type cave with a rectangular verandah.

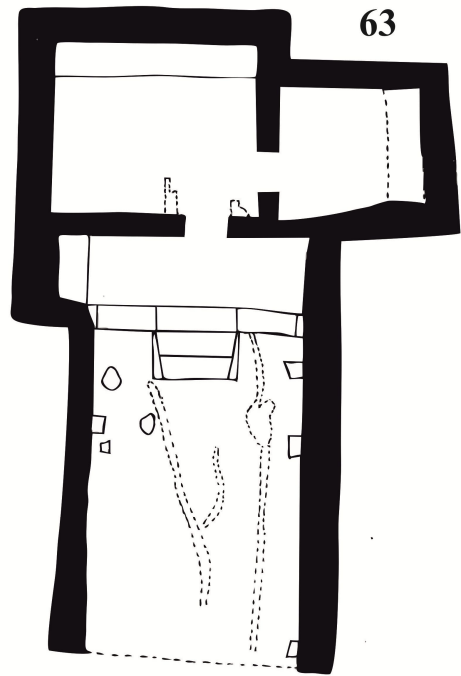


### Cave No. 62

This cave is also a cell-hall type cave which is in an extremely ruined state. It has an open court with two benches in recesses; the bench on the right is deeply carved. There is a flight of five steps and a semi-circular *chandrashilā*.

There is a small rectangular verandah with two octagonal pillars and two square pilasters along with what is probably the hourglass motif. Although the pillars do not exist in full, their existence and octagonal shape can be discerned with their fragments present on the ceiling. A recessed bench can be seen in the western end of the verandah.

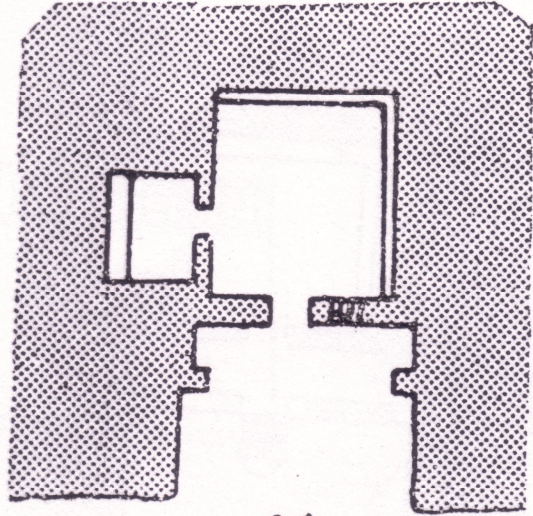
The doorframe of the main hall is not centrally placed in the verandah. The inner hall has an 'L'-shaped bench along the right and back walls. From the left wall, there is an entrance for a cell with a bench along the back wall.



### Cave No. 63

This is also a cell-hall type cave. In the open court, there is a cistern and a bench in a recess, both along the left wall. The steps are centrally placed. An oblong verandah has a bench at the left end. The hall has a bench along the back wall and a cell with a bench along the back wall from the right wall of the hall.





64



Nagraju, 1981

### Cave No. 64

This is a cell-hall type cave but of bigger size. There are two recessed benches in the open court, one of which is in the open cell. In the left wall of the open court, there is a water cistern. The staircase is similar to the one in Cave No. 62.

The verandah has octagonal pillars with a square base and square pilasters with the hourglass motif. A low bench

After

with a backrest can be seen between the pillars and pilasters. A recessed bench can be seen in the verandah in the left end. The plinth decoration is of the *vedikā* type. The centrally placed doorframe of the inner hall has two grated windows, one on either side. The left window opens into the hall while the right one opens into the cell.

The inner hall has an 'L'-shaped bench along the left and back walls. The cell in the right wall also has a bench along the back wall. There is a small break from the right wall of the cell to Cave No. 65.

- No 38 of West/No 1019 of Luders/No 37 of Gokhale

**Location** – on the right wall, outside the verandah of cave no 64,

**Characters** – Brahmi of 2nd century CE,

**Language** – Prakrit

**Luders** – not read

**Gokhale** – provided the text, seems to be a dedication of a cistern

**Incised on the outer right wall of the Veranda**

ससमकसधुतु(स)

---कवसतस

लेणदेयधम---पानिय

### **Cave No. 65**

This is also a cell-hall type cave with an additional cell-hall complex in the courtyard. There are two water cisterns in recesses in the open courtyard, both along the right wall. Along the left wall in the open courtyard, we have a simple bench adjacent to the entrance of the cell-hall complex. The staircase is similar to that in Cave No. 62.

In the rectangular verandah, on either end of the opening, we have two octagonal pillars and two square pilasters with the hourglass motif. The verandah has a bench at the left end. A centrally placed doorframe opens in a square hall with an 'L'-shaped bench along the left and back walls. There is a small platform along the western wall, adjacent to the entrance of a cell, containing a bench along its back wall.

The cell-hall complex in the courtyard also has a square verandah with a recessed bench at one end and a decoration above it. The door of the hall is centrally placed. A cell can be seen through the back wall of this hall. Both the hall and cell have a bench, each along the left wall.

There are two breaks in the cell-hall complex in the verandah from Cave No. 64. **Cave no.**

- **No 18 of Bird/No 10 of Brett/No 8(10) of Stevenson/No 39 of West/No 28 of Buhler/No 1020 of Luders/No 38 of Gokhale**

**Location** – on the right hand side-wall outside the verandah of the cave no 65,

**Characters** – Brahmi of 2nd century CE,

**Language** – Prakrit

**Stevenson** – “[To the Perfect One.] The religious assignation of a cave and water cistern, by Dhenukakati, the architect, for the disciples of the stable, holy, perfect, reverend Buddhist teachers, along with the companies of those entirely freed from fear, and also for all who follow the self-denying (Jati) religion. O! ye monks in the four quarters (of the world), now a shelter has been provided for monks (to cancel) the debt of my parents. Come then hither, ye mendicant priests, here an inexhaustible treasure is

deposited for the priestly assemblies; here is a hall established for Buddhist priests; here the Buddha-tooth-cave.” Luders – “A cave (lena) and a water-cistern (paniyapodhi), the gift of the nun (pavaitika) Sapa (Sarpa), the daughter of the lay-worshipper (upasaka) Kulapiya (Kulapriya) Dhamanaka (Dharma), the Dhenukakatiya (inhabitant of dhenukataka), the female pupil (atevasini) of the elder (thera) bhadata (bhadanta) Bodhika, together with her sister Ratinika and other relatives, to the congregation of monks (bhikshusagha) of the four quarters. Also endowment.”

**Incised on the outer right wall of the Veranda**

सिधंउपासकसधेनुकाकटयसकुल(पियस)

(ध)मणकसदुहुतुयपवैतिकायसापा(यधे)

रणभदतबोधिकाणपोनकाणोआतेवासिनि(य)

लेणदेयधमपाणियपोढीचसहभगि(निय)

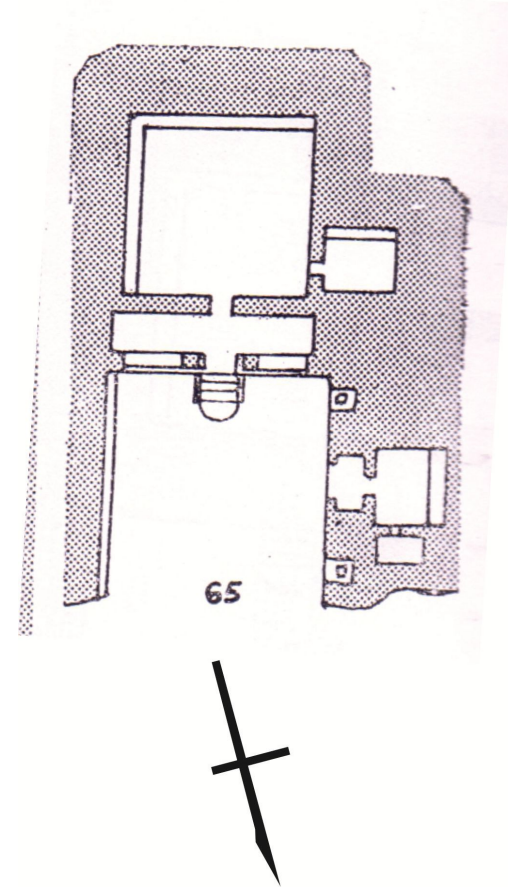
रतिनिकायसहचसवेननातिसबधि(वगे)

नचातुदिसेभिखुसगघेअथअपरिसे

लेसुपतिठापितामातापितरोउदिससण(सताण)

हितसुहाथभिखुसगहसअखयनिविचदिनाएतोचभिखु

संघाणचिवरिकदातवसोलसकउतुकालेच---



After Nagraju, 1981



### Cave No. 66

This cave is identical to Cave No. 65 in terms of its architectural features which are in reversed position here.

Only the grated window in the verandah does not have any decoration. The water cistern in the open court is shifted to under the courtyard because of the cistern in Cave No. 65. Although this suggests a date later than that of Cave No. 65, it is of the same period as that of Cave No. 65. These can be referred to as twin caves similar to another set of two caves, i.e. Cave Nos. 21 and 22.

- **No 26 of Bird/No 40 of West/No 29 of Buhler/No 1021 of Luders/No 39 of Gokhale**

**Location** – on the right hand side-wall outside the verandah of cave no 66,

**Characters** – Brahmi of 2nd century CE,  
**Language** – Prakrit

**Luders** – probably of the time of [Haritiputa Vinhukada-Chutukulananda Satakarni, A cave (lena), the gift of Nagamulanika (Nagamula), daughter of a maharaja and a mahabhoji, a maharathini (wife of a maharathi), mother of

Khamdanagasataka (Skandanagasataka) and sister of the mahabhoja Ahija (?) Dhenusena (?), to the congregation of monks (bhikshusagha)

- **No 41 of West/No 1022 of Luders/No 36 of Gokhale**

**Location** – on the back of recess over the tank on the left hand of the entrance of cave no 66,

**Characters** – Brahmi of 2nd century CE,

**Language** – Prakrit

**Luders** – not read

**Gokhale** – provided the text, but it's very fragmental

**Incised on the outer right wall of the Veranda**

---स---इ---पुल---म

---सदसमियएता(य) पुवायमहारा(ज) बालिकाय

बा---(लिका)---य---महारठिनिय---खंदनागशतक-मातुय

महा(भो)जस(अहि)

(जस) (?) चधेणसेणस(?) भगिनियनागमूलानि(का)

यलेणदेयधम

---भिखुसघेपतिठापितंमा(तुप) (त)रउदिसकाएणअ---

### **Cave No. 67**

This is a large cave with a rectangular hall and a low bench running along three sides. Two cells each can be seen in the sidewalls. The cell doors are rectangular and have cut lintels; they are placed at a slightly higher level than the bench in the hall. All the four cells have a bench for sleeping along their back walls.

The frame of the main door of the hall is large, plain, and with two small entrances, one on either side. The rectangular pillared verandah has a bench at either end. Four octagonal pillars with prominent square bases and two side pilasters with the so-called hourglass motifs support the verandah roof. These pillars and pilasters rise from the low-backed benches. The exterior of the benches is decorated with a railing pattern. The flight of steps with seven steps has a slopping baluster with a semi-circular *chandrashilā*.

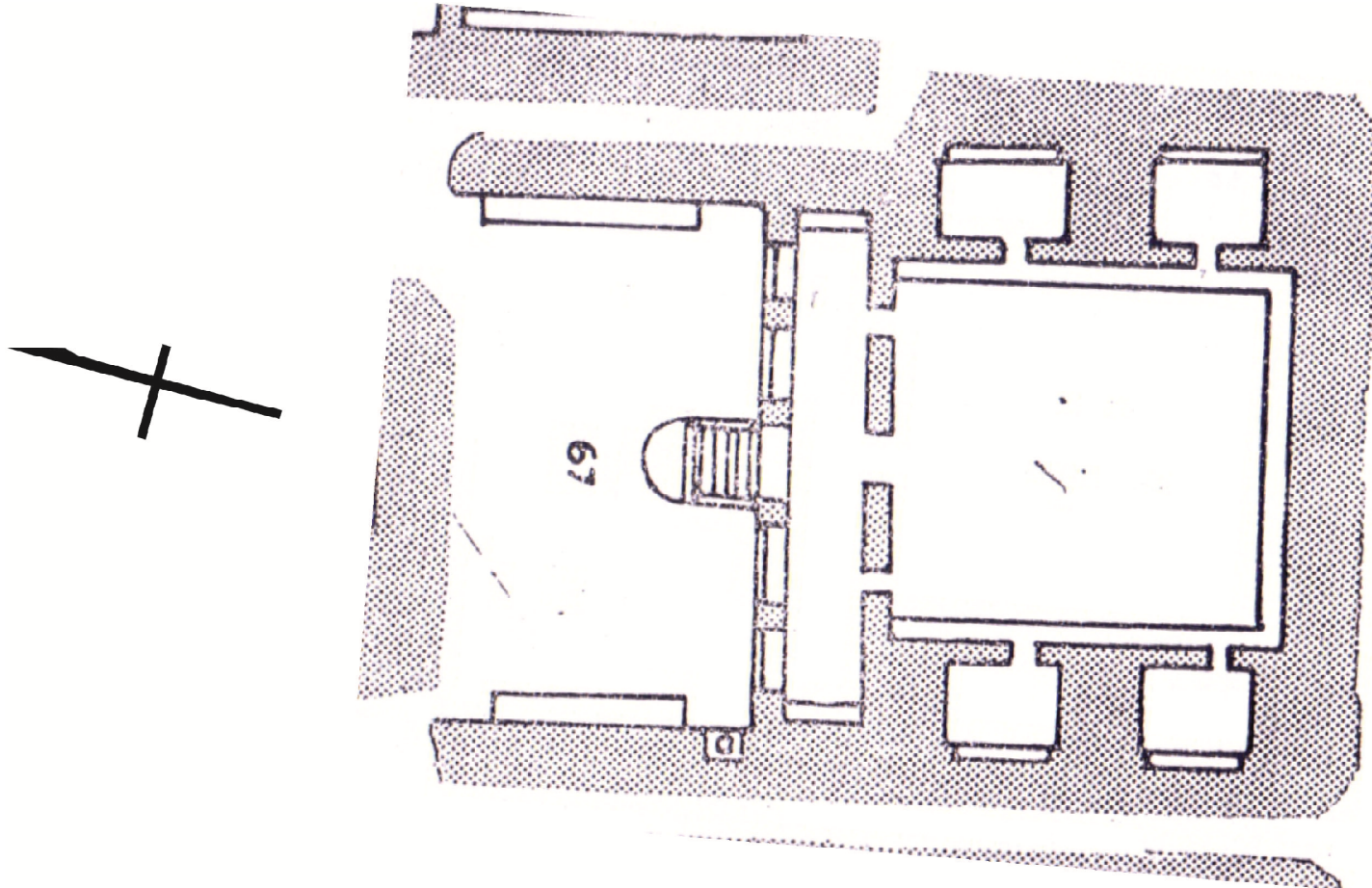
The cave has a simple rectangular open court which is very prominent and a bench each along the sidewalls.

The bench along the left wall ends near a cistern in recess. The bench along the right wall is half damaged; this damage was caused most probably by stonemasons in 6<sup>th</sup> century C.E. There is a small open cell at the inner end of this bench in the wall with a few intrusive sculptures.

The decorative pattern on the cave exterior is similar to that observed in Cave No. 94, but these are more developed. These decorative patterns can be discerned from the remains in the left corner of the courtyard. A major portion was reconstructed during conservation work by ASI. The rectangular verandah has benches along the sidewalls. The verandah and inner hall of the cave are profuse with sculptures which are of a later date (second phase) than the actual excavation.

This cave is very significant and chronologically belongs to early 4<sup>th</sup> century C.E. There is no inscription found in the cave.

After Nagraju, 1981



### Cave No. 68

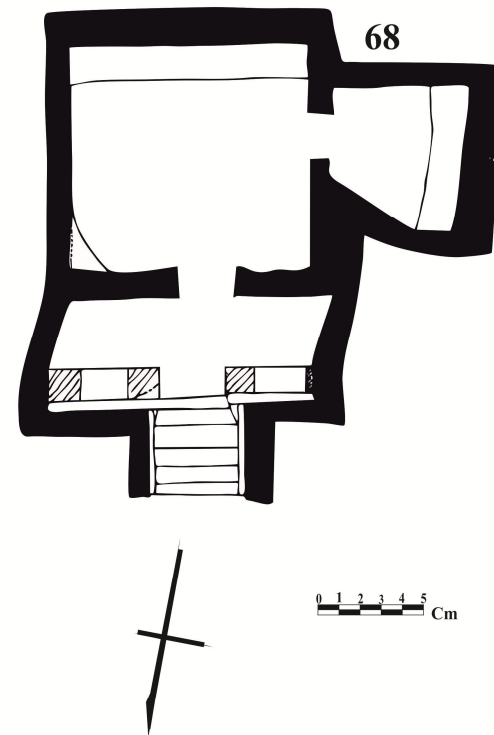
This is a simple cell-hall type cave. This cave is on a slightly higher level than the adjacent caves, Cave Nos. 67 and 69. This cave has a small open court and follows all the decorative patterns in Cave No. 67. The open court is very simple without any recess. There is a bench for this cave on the way to Cave No. 69; it is very simple and faces the opposite hillock.

The staircase of the main cave comprises five steps with balustrades. The uppermost step is not bounded by a side balustrade. This staircase is reminiscent of the staircase in Cave Nos. 94 and 67. The pillars in the verandah have octagonal shafts with a square base resting on the seats and backrests between pillars and pilasters. The rectangular pillars are very simple and without any decorative motif. The verandah has a bench along the right wall. The entrance to the hall is through the main wall and has a grated window at the head level on the left side of the door. All the twenty perforations of the window are neatly carved and square-shaped.

The rectangular hall has a bench along the back wall and the entrance to the cell is through the right wall of the

hall. The cell is very simple and has a bench along its back wall opposite to its entrance.

All the features of this cave are of late 3<sup>rd</sup> century C.E. and suggest a link between Cave Nos. 94 and 67.



### **Cave No. 69**

This cave comprises a hall with an additional 'L'-shaped small hall with a cell. It is a unique cave in this group and stylistically belongs to 3<sup>rd</sup> century C.E. It has an open rectangular courtyard with two benches along the sidewalls and a cistern in the recess of the left wall. Both the benches are very significant since they have a circular pot-base pit excavated in the stone along the outer end.

### **Cave No. 70**

This cave has a very peculiar plan; it is a cave with a rectangular hall and an additional 'L'-shaped hall with a cell attached to it.

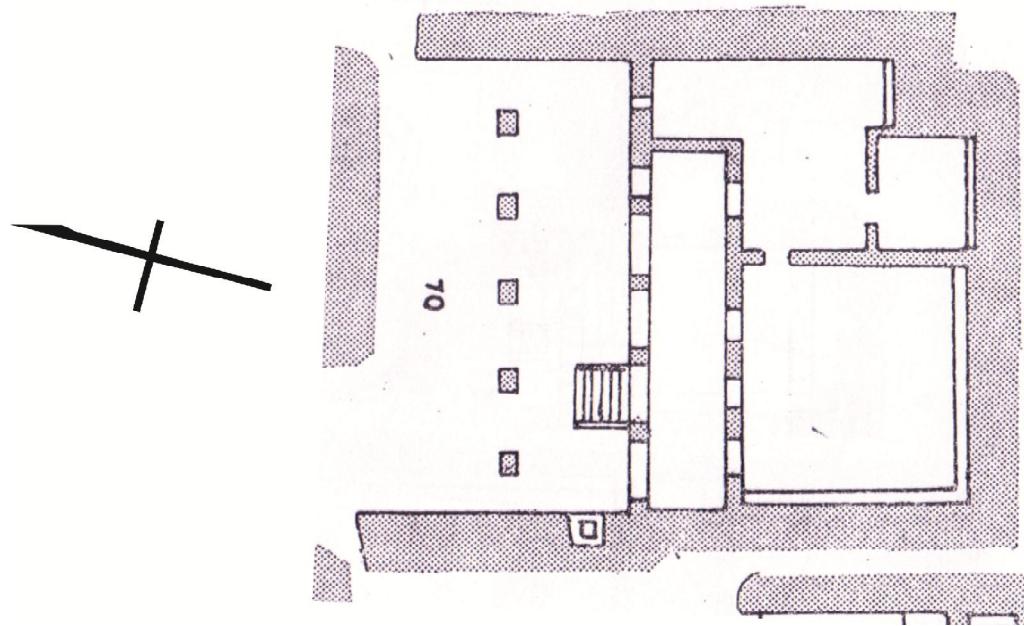
The main rectangular hall has a bench running along the two walls of the hall, viz. the back wall and right wall, while the left wall of the hall leads to the 'L'-shaped hall. Just next to this entrance, there is an entrance to the cell from the 'L'-shaped hall which has a bench along its back wall opposite to the entrance. Next to this cell, there is a small bench in the recess along the back wall of the 'L'-shaped hall. The smaller end of the

'L'-shaped hall is in the open court near a small open window at the roof level.

The verandah of the cave is rectangular and without any bench. There are four pillars and two pilasters. The pillars here are octagonal and the pilasters are square in section and have the ornamentation of a deeply carved hourglass motif. The huge open doorframe is not centrally placed in the verandah. There are two large open windows at the waist level, one on either side of the entrance of the main hall. In the extreme left of the verandah, next to the window in the rectangular hall, there is another similar window in the 'L'-shaped hall opposite to the cell. These two windows allow light into the hall and cell, respectively.

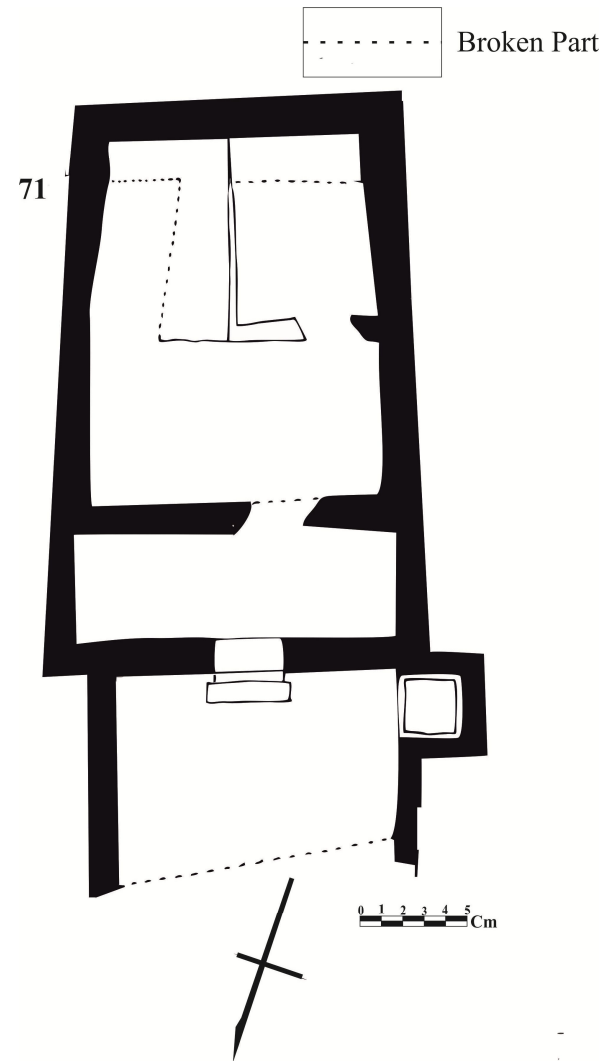
There is a flight of six steps leading towards the open court, and it is not centrally placed in the courtyard. The uppermost step is not bounded by balustrades. This is closer to the staircases in caves such as Cave Nos. 67, 68, and 69. There is a cistern in the recess in the inner corner along the right wall of the open court.

After Nagraju, 1981



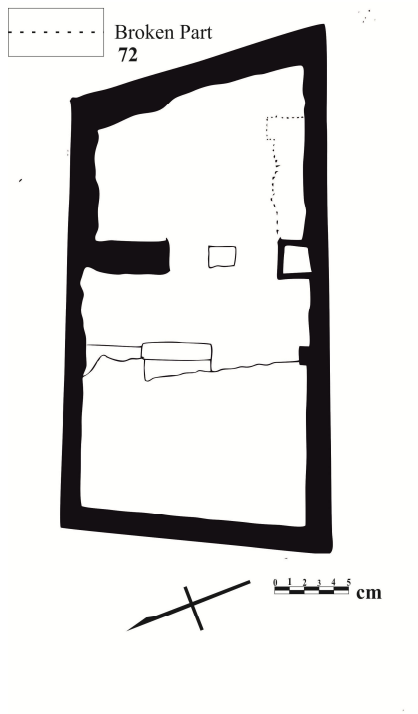
## Cave No. 71

This is a small cave with a verandah, a rectangular hall with a bench on two sides, and a cell to the right. There is a large open window for the hall and a small grated window for the cell. The hourglass decoration can be seen on the pilaster. The *chandrashilā* is not well preserved. The pillars and low screen behind the backed bench are lost but evidences of their recent reconstructions are visible.



### Cave No. 72

The cave is very small and simple, but it lacks clear architectural elements of comparable value. The recent reconstruction does not appear to be faithful to the original.



### Cave No. 73

This cave can be seen from the path leading to the Kanheri hill; it is a cell-hall type cave with a very small court. A flight of four steps with sloping balustrades can be seen here in the open court. There is a cistern in a recess along the left wall of the open court. The rectangular verandah has a bench in the recess along its left wall. There are two pillars and pilasters in the verandah. Octagonal pillars have square bases placed on the low benches. The backrest of the benches is not present any more, but we can still understand their nature from their remains on the exterior of the pillar base. The pilasters here are square in section and have the typical hourglass motif. We can also see that large open windows are cut in the front wall of the hall instead of small grated windows. The window to the right meant for the cell is a grated window. Today, there are sufficient evidences on the inner side of this window to indicate the existence of grating originally and its subsequent breaking, probably to admit more sunlight.

The inner hall is rectangular in shape with an 'L'-shaped bench along the back and left walls. The entrance to the cell is from the right wall of the hall. This comparatively specious cave contains a bench along its left wall.



- **No 15 of Bird/No 5(7) of Stevenson/No 18 of West/No 18 of Buhler/No 1000 of Luders/No 40 of Gokhale**

**Location** – on the inner wall of the verandah of cave no 73 between two grated windows,

**Characters** – Brahmi of 2nd century CE,  
**Language** – Prakrit

**Stevenson** – “To the Prefect One. The religious assignation of a cave and a cistern by Rishi-hala, skilled in sacred learning, son of Gaulinaka, of the city of Kalyan, skilled in sacred learning, along with his attendants, to atone for their parents’ sins. An inexhaustible treasure is here deposited, and the tooth of the venerable personage skilled in sacred science displays its influence in the holy field under the pole-resembling monument. What then, O! ye monks, who keep the appointed session is there distinguished in workmanship even of Kubera, or in the most splendid apparel? Happy is the man of subdued passions, whether a religious student, or one who has a perfect knowledge of the times.”

**Luders** – “A cave (lena) and a cistern (podhi), the gift of the merchant (negama) Isipala (Rishipala), son of the merchant (negama) Golanaka, the Kaliyanaka (inhabitant of Kalyana), together with his family in honor of his parents. Also endowment of a field in the village (gama) of Saphau, for the support of the monk and repairs of the porch (matapa) and the pavada (?).”

**Incised between two windows of the Veranda**

**सिधंकलिअणकसनगमसगोलणकपुतसनगमसइसिपालस**

**सपरिवारसमातापितुनां**

**पुयथलेणंपोढीचदेयधं**

**म।।अखयनिविचदिनागामे**

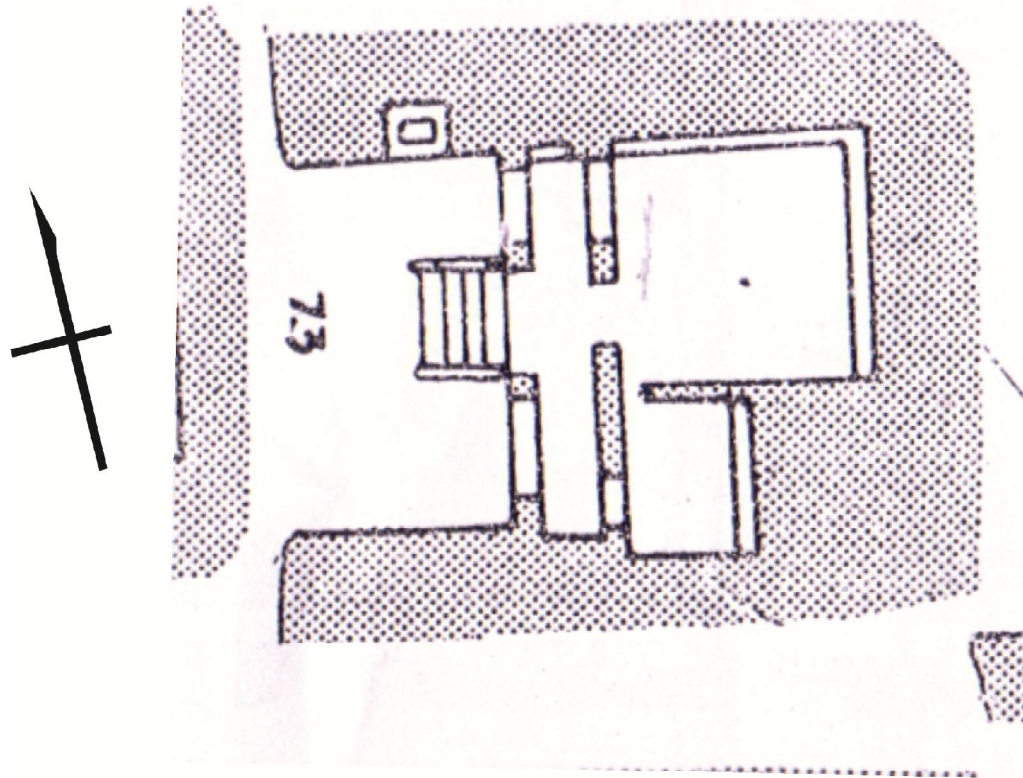
**सफउसुखेतथपतिएतो**

**चवस- उथसचिवरिकबारसक**

**गिम्हासुपडिकोमामेसेसेण**

**मटपेपवाडेचपडिअगितव**

After Nagraju, 1981



## Cave No. 74

This cave is very significant and has different architectural features from the other caves in the group. This cave reminds us of Cave Nos. 16 and 53; it has two cell-hall complexes with a shared verandah.

The rectangular open court is very prominent and was given to achieve the proper height. The sidewalls of the open court have benches. A flight of four low steps leads to the rectangular verandah. It has balustrades and a *chandrashilā*. The *chandrashilā* follows the pattern of the *chandrashilā* in Cave No. 53.

There are two pillars in the verandah, which are octagonal in shape. The pilasters are rectangular and have the hourglass motif. Once there were low benches with a backrest between the pillars and pilasters. There are two benches in the recess along the sidewalls of the verandah. There are two cell-hall complexes with an approach from the verandah. Although the halls are plain, they have cells with benches, one in each hall. There are two inscriptions inscribed on the sidewalls of the open court.

**Incised on the outer right wall of the Veranda**

सिधंरत्रोमढरिपुतसस्वामिसकसेनस---

सवछरेऽगिम्हपखेदिव१०एतायपुवायक---

लियणकसनेकमसवेणहुनंदिसपुतसनेग---

मसगहपतिस--- तिसलेणप(ति) ठापि---

तसहाआर्यकेण---सेनसहापितु(णा) वेणहुण---

दिनासहामातुथेबोधिसमायसहाभा

(तुना---) हथिनासहा(स) वेन(नि) क(येनेति)

**Incised on the right wall of the Veranda**

सइर---(ढरिपुतसस्वामिसकसे---)

(नस)--- (दि)वा१०एतायि

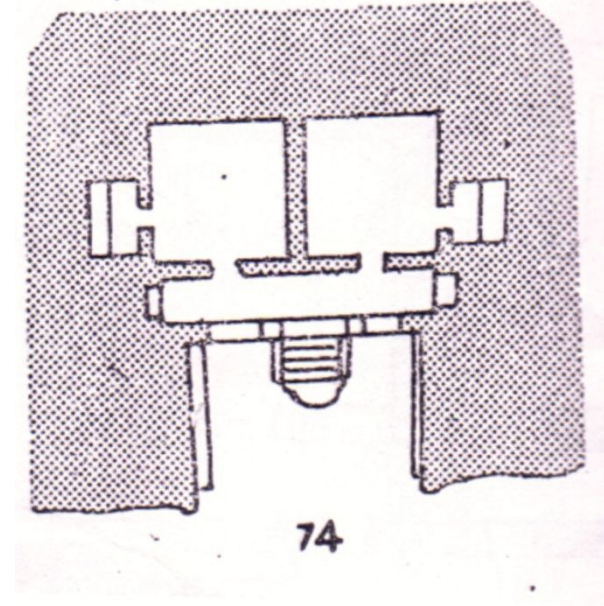
---वथवेयवेण्डुनंदिपुत्र

(स)---स(भजाय) हालणिकाले---

(णपतिठपितस) हाआय्यकेनल--- स---

---वसतेनधामयेसह

---बुधकयेनसहवि



After Nagraju, 1981

### **Cave No. 74A**

This is a simple cistern on the path leading towards Cave No. 75.

- **No 19 of West/No 14 of Buhler/No 1001 of Luders/No 41 of Gokhale**

**Location** – on right-hand side wall outside the verandah of cave no 74,

**Characters** – Brahmi of 3rd century CE,

**Language** – Prakrit

**Bhagvanlal Indrajī** – “Siddham! In the 8th year of king Madariputta, the lord of Sirisena, in the 6th fortnight of Grishma, the 10th day. On the above (day) a merchant householder the son of Venhunandi, merchant, a resident of Kalyana, constructed a cave of Satta (?) with the respectable \_\_\_\_\_ with his father Venhunandi, with his mother Bodhisama, with his brother \_\_\_\_\_ hathi, with an assembly of all (nikaya) co-religionist.”

**Luders** – ‘-rano Madhariputasa svami-Sakasenasa savachhare 8 gi pa 5 diva 10 etaya puvaya’, Establishment of a cave (lena) by the merchant (negama) and householder (gahapati) .....ti, son of the merchant (negama) Venhunamdi (Vishnunandin), the Kaliyanaka (inhabitant of Kalyana), together with the venerable (ayyaka) ....., with his father Venhunadi (Vishnunandin), his mother Bodhisama, his brother .....hathi (..... hastin), and all his relatives.

- **No 20 of West/No 19 of Buhler/No 1002 of Luders/No 42 of Gokhale**

**Location** – on left-hand side wall outside the verandah of cave no 74,

**Characters** – Brahmi of 3rd century CE,

**Language** – Prakrit

**Luders** – “-rano Ma[dhariputasa] svami-Saka[senasa]..... diva 10 etaya...’, Records the gift of a cave (lena). The following names can be made out: the son of Venhunadi (Vishnunandin); Halanika; the venerable (ayyaka) La.....; Dhama; Buddhakaya (?)”

## Cave No. 75

This isolated cave is highly reconstructed. We can see the outlet for water leaking from the cave. This is a simple cell-hall type cave. It has an open court with a cistern in a recess along the right wall. The staircase has a *chandrashilā* which is ruined. The rectangular verandah has a bench in a recess along the right wall. There are two octagonal pillars in the verandah, one on either side of the entrance. Pilasters are simple and rectangular in shape with the hourglass motif.

- No 21 of West/No 1003 of Luders/No 43 of Gokhale

**Location** – on the left wall of the cave no 75,

**Characters** – Brahmi of 3rd century CE,

**Language** – Prakrit

**Luders** – Not read

**Gokhale** – provided the text of the inscription, refers to a donation of a cave, water-cistern from a devotee hailing from Kalyana

**On the left side of the cave above the water cistern**

सिधंउपासकसकलिअणसनदणपुतस

गहपतिससेठिसअचलसघरिणी

लवनिकायासपरिवारायदेयधमलेणी

पानिपपोढीन्हाणपोढीकलिवाणअबालिकस

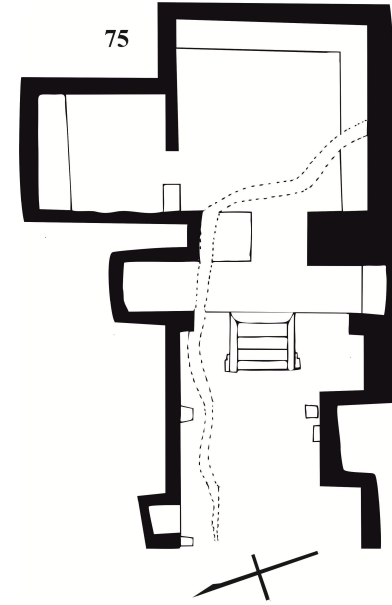
निवासणलेणसअखयनिविभिखुसघम्देय-धमं

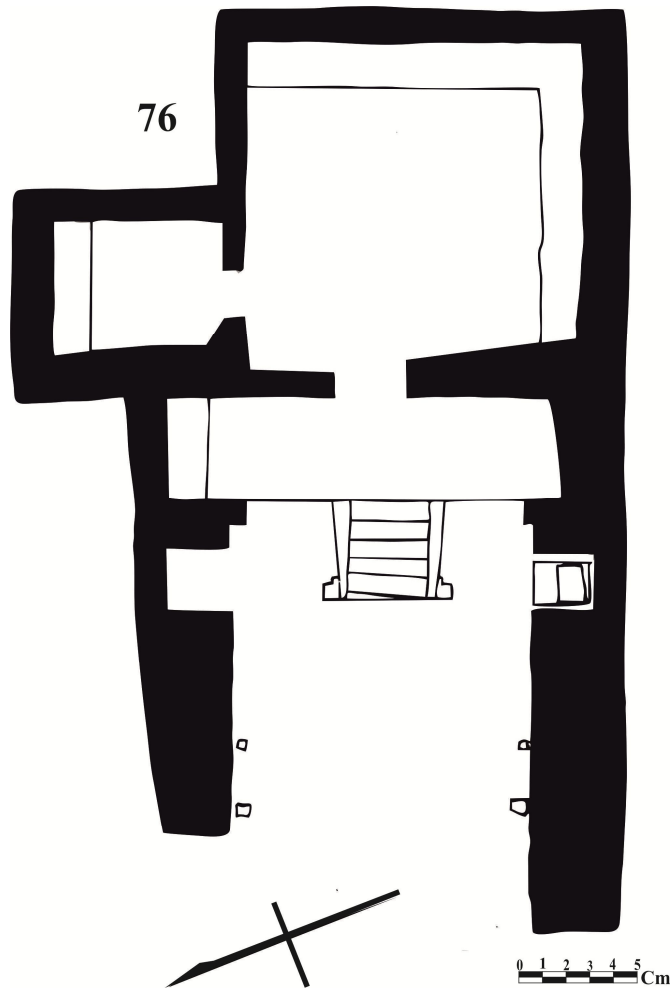
सवासतिणि- ढि- मिय- ग- पाचि

वरिकहिपोढी--- देयधमचि

वरिकचातुदिसभिखुसघमातापितुना

पुत्रथसवसतहितसुघथ



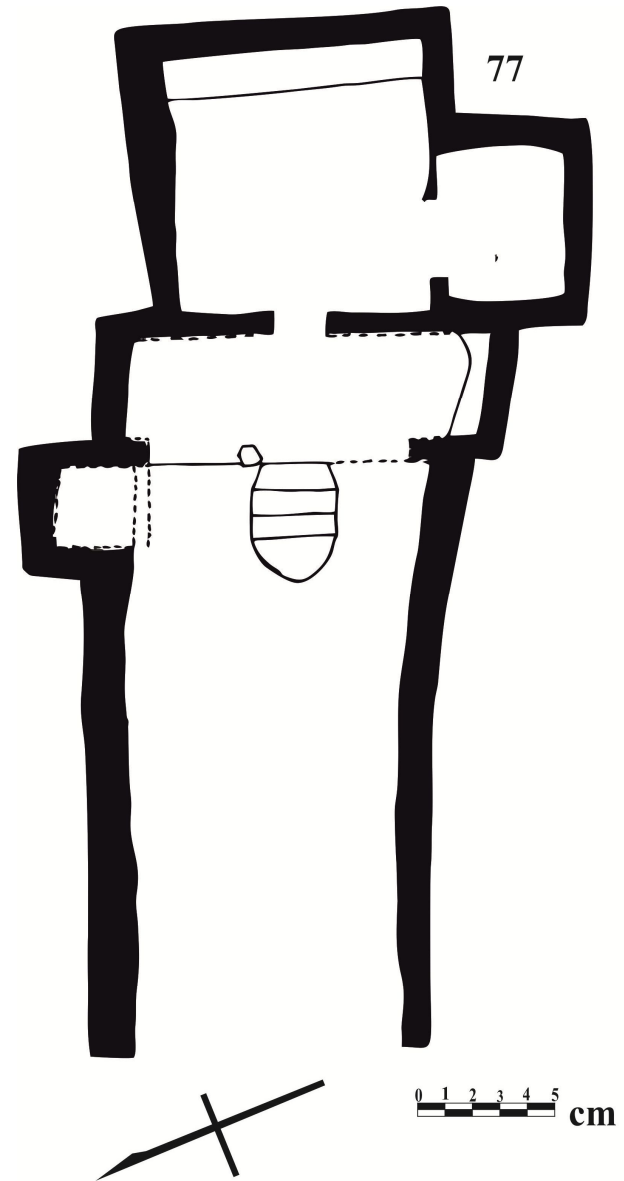


### Cave No. 76

This cave is in an extremely ruined condition. The pillars are lost. One of the pilasters retains the hourglass decoration. This and the *chandrashilā* in front are of the type seen in Cave No. 75. There is a cistern in a recess in the left wall. There is a bench along the right wall of the open court of this cave.

**Cave No. 77**

This cave also has a hall with benches along the sidewalls, cell with bench, and a verandah, but in an extremely ruined state, including pilasters and pillars. There is a cistern in the recess in the left wall. The steps, leading from the verandah down to the open court, do not have balustrades but the *chandrashilā* has the usual semi-circular profile of the type seen in Cave Nos. 75 and 76.



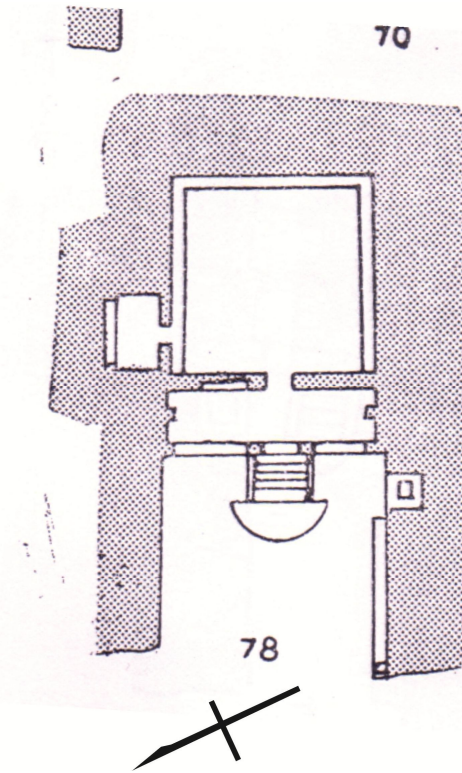


### Cave No. 78

This cave is also a cell-hall type cave. It has a very prominent open court, and there is a bench along the right wall of the open court. This bench has a circular rock-cut basin at the outer end of the bench, which is similar to the one in Cave No. 101. The low staircase has wide steps. The balustrades here are different from the simple sloping side stone that is usually seen at the site in all the early caves. They are flat slabs projecting horizontally to a certain distance and having a profile of the trunk of an elephant. The outer sides are actually carved in such a manner in very low relief to give the impression of a head and proboscis of an elephant. The *chandrashilā* in front is flat and perfectly semi-circular.

The verandah has a recessed bench along its back wall to the left. Immediately in the middle of the sidewalls of the verandah is a pilaster (square in section) on each side decorated with an hourglass design; it also has a plain architrave. The front portion of the verandah has two pilasters along the sides and two pillars in the centre, all rising from the backed benches. The pillars have an octagonal shaft and a square base rising from the

benches. The outer side of the backed bench has the typical railing decoration below which there is a sunken cornice with a double row of beam ends, and further below this, there is a line of vertical studs. The hall has a bench along the three inner walls. To the left, there is a cell with a bench along the back wall.



After Nagraju, 1981

### Cave No. 79

This cave comprises a hall with two cells and a verandah. There is a prominent open court which comprises a cistern in a recess along its right wall. The doorway in the left wall opens into a verandah next to a small hall. This hall is too small and more or less the size of a cell. Nagaraju suggests that this could be a later addition, but this could also be an original work. We can see similar additional provisions in some caves such as Cave Nos. 65 and 66. Another feature of the cave is that there are two cells in the inner hall. This can also be seen in Cave No. 50 at the site. All these caves are more or less contemporaneous. A flight of steps with balustrades and a simple *chandrashilā* leads to the verandah of the main cave.

The roof of the verandah projects to the front. An interesting feature is the decorations in the front of the low screen wall, the exterior of the low backed benches, and the base of the cave. The basement has studs as usual. The front face of the backed benches has a railing pattern, and there is a sunken horizontal panel between the two having a series of imitation beam ends. The railing and studs have lotus and half-lotus

medallions on its vertical members. The spaces dividing this have three sunken holes, and the entire carving gives an impression of a decorated hourglass design. With the presence of the lotus medallion, this cave resembles Cave No. 67.

There are two pillars with octagonal shafts and square bases rising from the backed benches. The pilasters are square in section with a deeply carved hourglass motif. The inner hall has an 'L'-shaped bench along its right and back walls. The doorframe has a single *shākhā*. There are two cells from the left wall of the inner hall, one of which has a bench along the back wall opposite to the entrance.

## Cave No. 80

This cave is a cell-hall type cave with a prominent open court. There is a cistern in a recess along its left wall. A bench runs along the right wall of the court. A flight of steps with sloping balustrades as well as a *chandrashilā* can be seen.

The verandah has the usual octagonal pillars with a square base, and the pilasters (square in section) have the hourglass motif, all rising from low backed benches. The exterior of the backed benches have the usual railing pattern decoration. Most of the caves in this group have similar decorations.

The inner hall has an 'L'-shaped bench along the back and right walls, and the cell gives the evidence of a bench along its back wall. The doorway is in the centre of the front wall of the hall. On either side of the door, there are grated windows at the head level, one admitting light into the hall and another into the cell. These are simple windows with square perforations.

- No 17 of Bird/No 27 of West/No 1009 of Luders/No 44 of Gokhale

**Location** – on the right hand side-wall, outside the verandah of cave no 80,

**Characters** – Brahmi of 3rd century,

**Language** – Prakrit

**Luders** – Not read

**Gokhale** – provided the text of the inscription

### On the outer right wall of the cave

स---

पालनाविनकेणवस

नेनान्तणाचवि--- सु---मह---

अटनससघार्थचनेगमनविनकेण---सह

चमातुथपवचातिकायदामायाययेवअख

निविचलेणंदतानिसवसताणंहितसु

घर्थअखयनिविचतिना/दिना

### Cave No. 81

This is an exact replica of Cave No. 80, including the size, decorative patterns, and architectural details.

#### On the right wall of the cave

---ससेठिस

मि--- पुसमितस

---नेकमसग

हपति---लेणंपो(ढि)

---देयधम

---(माता) पितरोउदिसो/ उदिस

---त---सस

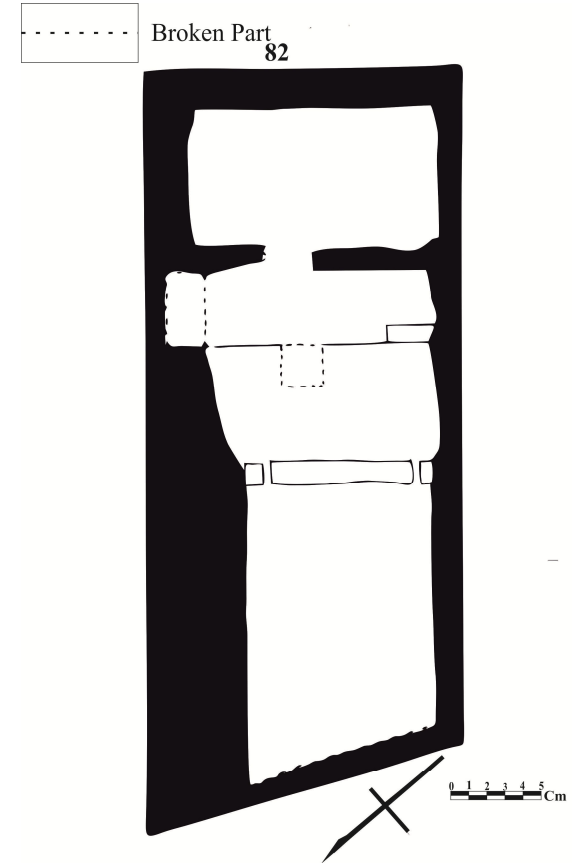
---रत---पो(ढि) चदिना

### Cave No. 82

This is a highly ruined cave. In the open court, an attempt to excavate a cistern in a recess can be seen. The verandah including the pillars and pilasters is practically ruined. The remains suggest that the pillars were octagonal while the pilasters were square in section. The inner hall has benches on two sides and a cell at the back. The main entrance to the hall is broken, but a grated window with two rows of simple 4 square

holes in each row exists at the head level to the left of the doorway.

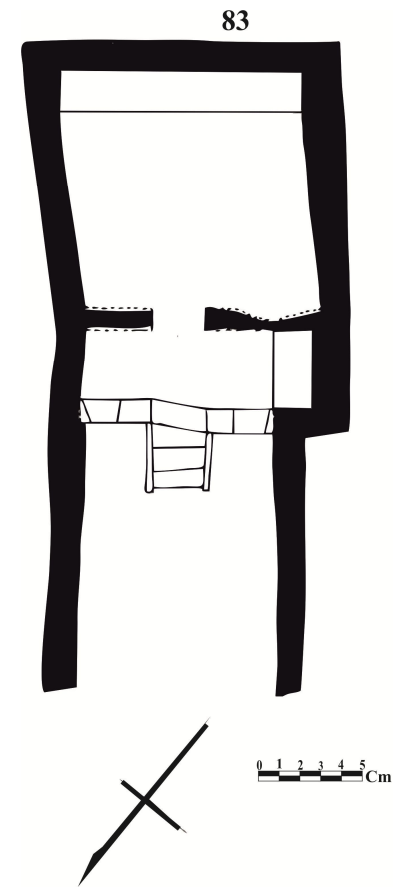
This cave cannot be discussed further because of its present condition.



**Cave no. 83.**

This cave is a hall with a verandah and an open court that gives evidences of a recess without a cistern. The staircase was very simple and no traces of a *chandrashilā* can be seen here. The verandah had two pillars which are broken today, while the pilasters have very simple rectangular shapes without any decoration. The floor of the verandah is also broken.

The inner hall is very simple and rectangular in shape. There is evidence of a bench along its back wall, but there is no evidence of a cell.



### **Cave No. 84**

This is a natural cavern modified by artisans. The approach to this cave is difficult. It is not far from Excavation No. 84a which is again a natural cavern that was modified for residence. There is a small bench in 84a.

### **Cave No. 85**

This is also a modified natural cavern like Cave No. 84. Here, we can see a small seat and place to move around, which was created by modifying the natural cavern.

### **Cave No. 86**

The cave is adjacent to Cave No. 87 and is a natural cavern modified by the architect. A small bench can be seen here in the back wall of this natural cavern. A ruined cell can also be noticed here.

- **No 16 of Bird/No 23 of West/No 20 of Buhler/No 1005 of Luders/No 46 of Gokhale**

**Location** – on the back wall of the open gallery just by the side

of cemetery near cave no 86,

**Characters** – Brahmi of 2nd century CE,

**Language** – Prakrit

**Luders** – “A cave (lena), the gift of jeweler (manikara) Nagapalita, the [Sop]arayaka (inhabitant of Surparaka), with his family.”

(मोकळ्या आवारातील मागच्या भिंतीवर कोरला आहे)

(सिधंसोपा) रयकस, माणिकारसनागपालितससपरिवारसलेणंदेयधंम

### Cave No. 87

If we cross the south hill in the westward direction and descend the west slope of the hill, we reach the broad natural cavern that houses Cave No. 87. There are many stupa bases in moulded bricks along the floor of the cavern. One of the stupas is much larger than the others; it stands upon a square platform constructed with retaining walls in stone. Directly above the platform, the stone of the natural cavern's ceiling has been cut to make space for the stupa's *cchatra*. The cut stone base of the stupa is sixteen-sided, and a round drum with mouldings can be seen above it. The sixteen sides of the stupa base have different sculptures and panels, some of which display an attended Buddha.

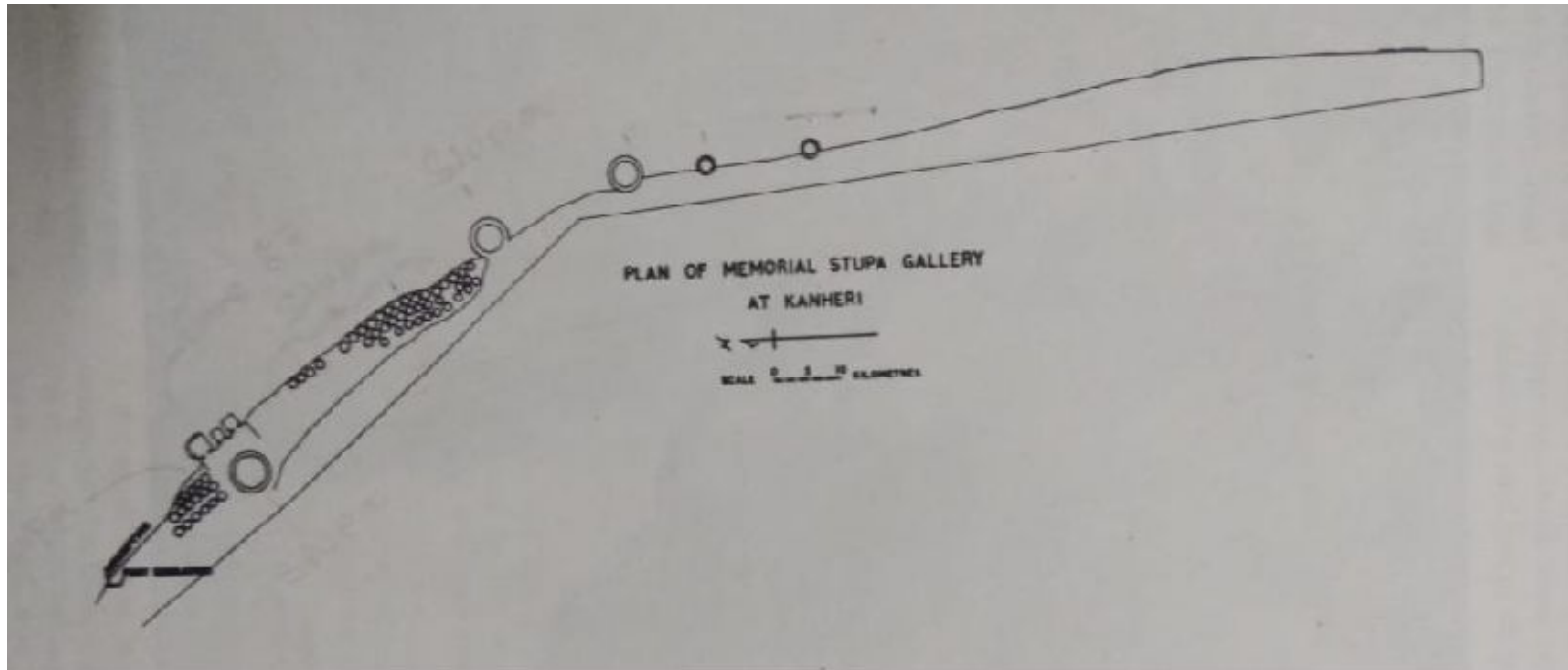
On the backside of this stupa, three doorways can be seen leading towards cells. For the sake of convenience, we have numbered these cells as 'A', 'B' and 'C' from right to left. 'A' has a doorway with traces of a recessed background as well as indications of sculpted feet. These are probably guardian figures near the entrance, similar to those in the *vihara* caves at

Ajanta in sculpture as well as in the paintings at the entrances. There are also traces of feet by the side of the doorway of cell 'B'. The doorway of cell 'C' is highly weathered and observation is not possible.

Cell 'A' has three Trinity panels, one on each wall in the interior. Cell 'B' has a panel on the rear wall, which resembles a panel in Cave No. 67. We can see Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara attended by two female deities, one each on his either side. We can see numerous Buddha figures in the cell, which are intrusive. Cell 'C' also gives evidence of a few sculptures.

At the time of documentation, several loose carved stones were found in this cave. The sculpted stones often depicted floral motifs and garlands. One of the panels here depicts the story of *Shronakotikarna-avadāna* from *Divyāvadāna*. There are a few bricks and stone slabs that have inscriptions, which were collected from the site by Shri Vani. These were deciphered and published by Dr. Shobhana Gokhale.

After Shobhana Gokhale





- No 22 of West/No 1004 of Luders/No 47 of Gokhale

**Location**– in cave no 87,

**Characters** – Brahmi of 2nd century CE,

**Language** – Prakrit

**Luders** – only the word Parigahita

**Kanheri Inscriptions from Nirvanvithi**

1) Inscription 1

- १) थेराणं आय्य विजय
- २) सेणाणं तेविजाणं
- ३) अरहन्ताणं थूभं

2) Inscription 2

- १) थेराणं भदन्त वि
- २) यमित्ताणं अरह
- ३) न्ताण थूभं

3) Inscription 3

- १) थेराणं आय्य

२) खेमकाणं थूभं

4) Inscription 4

- १) ---राणं---
- २) रहन्ताणं ज्ञायिणं थूभ

5) Inscription 5

- १) ---बी---
- २) लाणं अरह (त्ता)णं
- ३) ---थूभं ओळ २ णं अणागामिणं थूबो
- ४) --- थू (भं)

6) Inscription 6

- १) राणं
- २) णं अणागामिणं थूबो

7) Inscription 7

- १) थेराणं आय्य महाणं अर्
- २) हन्ताणं छलभिजाणं पटि
- ३) संमिधपात्ताणं थूभं

8) Inscription 8

- १) थेराणं आय्य इ---
- २) न्दसेणपयुत्ताणं
- ३) भिणाणां अरहन्ताणं
- ४) सताणं थूभं

9) Inscription 9

- १) आय्य संघनंदा
- २) णं अरहन्ताणं वसीणं थूभं
- ३) --- थूभो

10) Inscription 10

- १) थेराणं आय्य सा
- २) मिणं अंधकविरा

11) Inscription 11

- १) थेराणं आय्य वहिणणा
- २) ग्राणं अरहन्ताणं तिल
- ३) पालकाणं थूभं

12) Inscription 12

- १) थेराणं (आय्य) णायिणं

२) अरहन्ताणं थूभं

13) Inscription 13

- १) थेराणं---
- २) अरहन्ताणं थूभं

14) Inscription 14

- १) थेराणं आय्य खेम
- २) काणं अरहन्ताणं (थूभं)

15) Inscription 15

- १) थेराणं आय्य---
- २) अरहन्ताणं---

16) Inscription 16

- १) थेराणं आय्य
- २) अरहन्ताणं
- ३) --- थू(भं)

17) Inscription 17

- १) (थे) राणं आय्य---
- २) -----

३) हन्ता

18) Inscription 18

१) था---

२) -----

३) हन्ता

19) Inscription 19

१) थेराणं आय्य-----

२) --- हन्ता ---

३) थूभो

20) Inscription 20- संपूर्णतया अस्पष्ट

21) Epitaph 2- Cave no. 87

(थे)राणं ---

(अर) हन्ताणं ज्ञायिणं थुभं

22) Epitaph 3

थेराणं आय्य महाणं अर  
हन्ताणं छलभिज्जणं पटि  
संभिदपाट्टाणं थुभं

23) Epitaph 4

थेराणं भदन्त दामा  
णं अणागामिणं थुभं

24) Epitaph 5

थेराणं आय्य इ-  
न्दसेन- पयुताणं प  
भिणाणं अरहन्ताणं  
सताणं थुभं

25) Epitaph 6

थेराणं आय्य वहिण्णा  
ग्राणमं अरहन्ताणं तिल  
पालकाणं थुभं

26) Epitaph 7

----- धि  
लानं अरहन्ताणं  
---- थुभं

27) Epitaph 8

थेराणं --- णाये (णं)  
अरहन्ताणं

28) Epitaph no. 11

थेराणं भदन्त विज  
यमित्ताणं अर  
हन्ताणं थुभं

29) Epitaph no. 13

थेराणं आय्य  
अरहन्ताणं (थुभं)

30) Epitaph no. 14

थेराणं अ(य्य)  
णम अर ---  
हन्ताणं थु (भं)

31) Epitaph no. 15

(थे)राणं आय्य  
अरहन्ताणं  
सताणं

32) Epitaph no. 17

थेराणं आय्य  
-----  
-----

33) Epitaph no. 18

थेराणं आय्य पुत(आ)  
णं अरहन्ताणं छल  
(भि) नाणं थुभं

34) Epitaph 19

थेराणं आय्य सा  
मिणं अन्धकवीरा

35) Epitaph 20

थेर  
---  
हन्ताणं थुभं

36) Epitaph 21

थेराणं भ (दन्त) ---  
जायिणं तिन्ह (अ) रह (न्त)  
णं सताणं थुभं

37) Epitaph 22

थेराणं अ

38) Epitaph 23

थेराणं आय्य सिवना  
गाणं अरहन्ताणं  
(छ) लभिज्जणं (थुभं)

39) Epitaph 24

थेराणं आर्य धम्मसे  
णाणं अरहन्ताणं ग  
णाचरियाणं थुभं

40) Epitaph 25

पचेण्ह अरहन्त(आ)  
ग्रताणं अयं थुभो

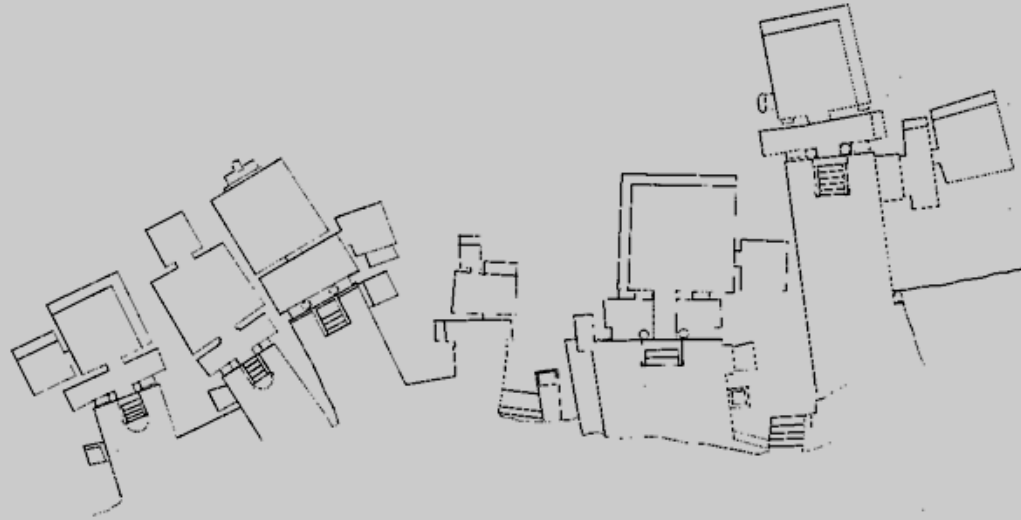
41) Epitaph 26

थेराणं आर्य ला  
वि- णं अरहं  
----- थु (भो)

42) Epitaph 27

थेराणं आर्य बाडि  
लाणं अरहन्ताणं ---  
--- थुभं

Caves 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93 Courtacy ASI





### Cave No. 88

This cave is a simple cell-hall type cave of an early period but has its own peculiar features. This is one of the early caves in the group (caves from Cave No. 88 to 94).

To approach this cave, one has to climb a flight of 8 steps from the court of Cave No. 89. This is the only cave in this group which is excavated on a slightly higher level. There can be two reasons for this: (a) to avoid the layer of bad rock, which we can see in Cave Nos. 89 and 91 and (b) the presence of a water cistern with a perennial supply of water.

The open court of this cave has one water cistern. The flight comprises four steps bounded by balustrades. The lowermost step is fully bounded by balustrades that give an 'L'-shaped extension, which is a typical feature of the staircases in phase one. There is a prominent *chandrashilā* next to the last step.

The base of the cave is highly weathered. There are visible decorations on the backrests of the benches between the pillars and pilasters of the verandah. There is an extension to

the roof in the courtyard, which is approximately four feet long; it has the decoration of the rail pattern. Above this, there is a very clear *kuta* motif in the centre. This decoration, excluding the *kuta* motif, resembles the decoration on the backrests of the benches in the verandah. We can see a very typical railing design with floral decorations on either ends of the beams.

Two pillars in the verandah have square bases resting on top of the seats. Their octagonal shafts can be seen straight till the top. The pilasters are square in section with the so-called hourglass motif, which is very crudely carved here. The rectangular verandah has a small bench at the right end. The wall gives evidences of three grated windows, two of which have nine holes opening into the hall, while the other has six holes on the extreme left, opening into the cell attached to the hall. All the three windows have carved outlines. The window holes are not neatly carved and are more circular than square. They serve the purpose of ventilators rather than allowing light in the hall.

A wooden door was provided to the cave, which can be discerned from the provision made for the door. The door of the cell follows the same pattern as the main doorway. There is



an 'L'-shaped bench in the hall along with back and right walls. The cell also has a small bench along its back wall.

There is one inscription in the cave, which was paleographically dated to 2<sup>nd</sup> century C.E. by Shobhana Gokhale. Although letters like 'Na' (na), 'Sa' (sa) and 'Kha' (K) follow the pattern of late 2<sup>nd</sup> century C.E., letters like 'ta' (t), 'ra' (r), 'ya' (ya), and 'Va' (va) in the inscription follow the pattern of 3<sup>rd</sup> century C.E.

On the basis of the *chandrashilā*, the stylistic development of the staircase, hourglass motif, and other decorative patterns, and architectural features, this cave can be considered to belong to 3<sup>rd</sup> century C.E.

- **No 20 of Bird/No 18(20) of Stevenson/No 35 of West/No 26 of Buhler/No 1016 of Luders/No 51 of Gokhale**

**Location** – on the left hand side-wall, outside the verandah of cave no 88,

**Characters** – Brahmi of 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE,  
**Language** – Prakrit

**Stevenson** – “The religious assignation of a religious cave and water-cistern by———— when he was purified and initiated. A house for monks from four quarters (of the earth) is here established. Come all ye of his race from regard to (the donor’s) father and mother, even to the seats for the assembly who seek spiritual emancipation. Here is truly an inexhaustible treasure.”

**Luders** – “Gift of a cave (lena) and a water-cistern (paniyapodhi) by the monk (pavajita) ..... mitanaka (.....mitra), pupil (amtevasin) of .....pala, to the congregation of the monks (bhikhusagha) of the four quarters. Also endowment.”

**On the left wall of the cave**

---पाल(णं) (अंतेवा)सिस

---णयस(मि)तनकसपवजितस

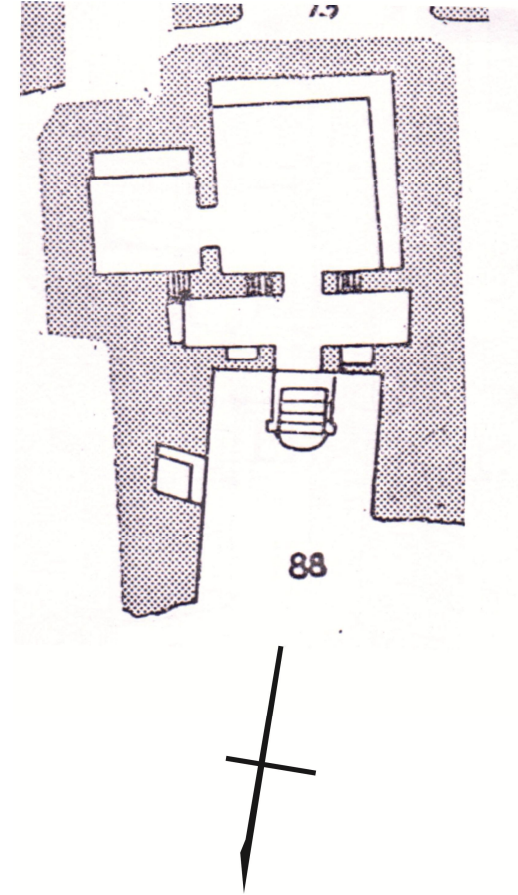
---लेण---पानियपोढीच

(दे) यधमं(चा) तुदिसेभिखुसघेपति-

ठपितंमातापितरोउदिससवसताण

हितसुखायअपणोचनिवाणासभर

थएतसचअखयनिविदिनना/ दिना



After Nagraju, 1981

### Cave No. 89

This cave follows the pattern of the *chaitya-vihara* as in Cave No. 90, but the architecture of this cave has completely different features. The cave comprises a small open court, two-pillared verandah, and a hall with a main shrine cell. The staircase is more or less similar to Cave No. 90. Balustrades follow the pattern of Cave No. 26. These two caves work as a link from the early phase to the later phase at Kanheri. This cave shares architectural features with Cave Nos. 90 and 31 and a group comprising Cave Nos. 26–30. The *chandrashilā* of the staircase in this cave is not perfectly semi-circular but circular decorative ends can be observed. The steps are high similar to Cave No. 90.

While the pillar order here is similar to that observed in Cave No. 31, the base mouldings form the pattern observed in Cave No. 90. One can clearly notice the fully developed so-called hourglass motif or unfinished medallions with curved ends. This can be observed in Cave No. 27 on pillars as well. Pilasters also have an octagonal neckband with lotus decorations similar to those in adjacent pillars.

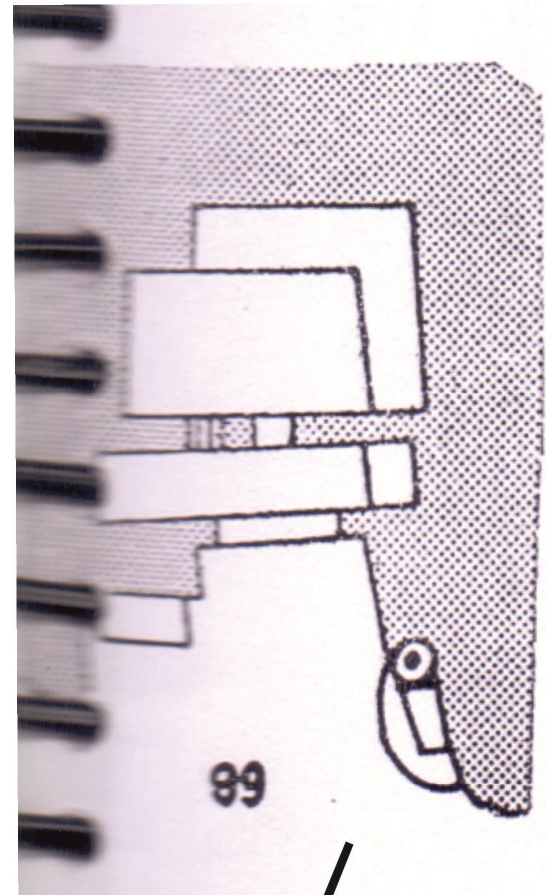
We can see various intrusive sculptures in the simple plain verandah. The doorframe of the main door is very simple. A single *shākhā* with a raised doorstep can be seen here. A provision for the wooden doorframe has been made, which is different from that in Cave No. 90. The finishing of the cave is very poor and can be justified by the bad rock. We can see a few plaster and paint remains in the cave.

The hall is square with a shrine cell at the back. Both (hall and shrine) are profuse with intrusive sculptures. All the sculptures in the cave are dated from mid-6<sup>th</sup> to the beginning of 7<sup>th</sup> century C.E. The main panel in the shrine is also technically intrusive and belongs to 6<sup>th</sup> century C.E. This cave used to be painted along with intrusive sculptures, as can be guessed from the plaster and paint remains (colours like blue and green or red wash) on the walls and sculpture.

The door of the shrine does not give any evidence of a wooden door or doorframe. The lower portion of the left doorjamb is broken and some attempts to repair it can be seen. It is interesting to note that this has created a problem for an intrusive panel (most probably of Trinity), which might have

been completed after a wooden block was placed to repair it with plaster.

This cave is constructed of three different tilted layers of rock. The deteriorated exterior and main shrine in the back wall of the hall is a part of two poor layers that resulted in low-quality art suffering due to the weathering of rock.



### Cave No. 90

The middle layer is good rock and Cave No. 90 was excavated from it; hence, the quality of sculptures is better here. This cave is also a *chaitya-vihara* type comprising a hall, a two-pillared verandah with a cell, and an open court. The staircase of the cave is very significant and follows the early tradition with a few new features. The lowest step of this series, comprising three more steps, is thicker than the other one. Except the lowest step, the other three are bounded by balustrades having rounded (scroll-like and elephant-trunk-like) decorative motifs above the lowest step. The *chandrashilā* here is very significant since it has a perfect semi-circular shape with circular ends.

A cistern can be seen in a recess in the open courtyard. The recess also contains a Pehlavi inscription of 11<sup>th</sup> century C.E. The base mouldings of this cave again suggest the transitional phase that can be identified from the few remains. The pillars of this cave are very simple and octagonal in shape while the pilasters are square in section. One can see extensive woodwork supplementary to the pillars. Both the pilasters have Pehlavi inscriptions, one on each side facing the pillars. The

verandah and cave interior are highly decorated with various sculptures. None of these sculptures appear to be contemporary to the construction of the cave. Although these sculptures are intrusive, they stylistically belong to 6<sup>th</sup> century C.E. The verandah of the cave also contains a Japanese inscription of a very recent date.

The entrance to the cell and the main hall is from the verandah. Both their doorframes are very interesting. Although the cell entrance follows the early pattern, it has a small raised doorstep. The most interesting aspect of this cave is that there is no bench either in the cell or hall. The cell gives evidence of a recess at the knee level in the right wall. The main entrance of the hall is bounded by a plain *shākhā* which is not deeply carved but neatly plain, most probably for paintings.

The main hall can be accessed only after crossing the (very high) raised doorstep. The hall is square, and amazingly, no contemporary shrine can be seen in the original plan of the cave. The central figure in the main panel on the back wall is missing but the provision made for installing a movable figure (stone or wooden) can be clearly discerned. Today, we can

clearly see two attendant Bodhisattva-s. There are no other visible special architectural features in the hall.

- **No 52 of Gokhale**

**Location** – near the Pahlavi inscription near the cistern in cave no 90,

**Characters** – Brahmi of 2nd century CE,

**Language** – Prakrit

**Gokhale** – provided the text, nothing much can be taken out of it

Text: Dānena

pujito

translation: honoured by gifts

**Cave No. 91**

This cave is a small cell-hall type cave and highly weathered because of bad rock. The entire layer has large ash content. The open court cannot be seen here. There is a small pit in the left on the path leading to Cave No. 90. On the right of the cave along the path, there is a small bench beyond which a small

cistern in recess, which is numbered by ASI as Cave No. 92, can be seen. The rectangular verandah of the cave has a small bench along the left end. A cell and a bench share the back wall of the hall.

The cell is very small with a small bench along the back wall. It is difficult to discern any more architectural details because of the weathering of the rock. This cave is chronologically contemporary to Cave No. 88.

**Pahlavi Inscriptions –**

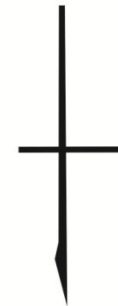
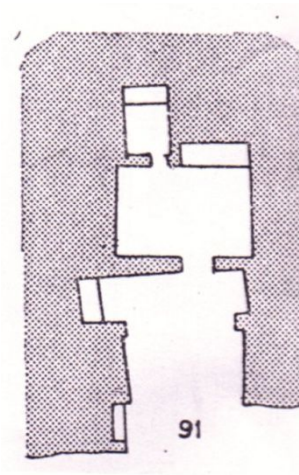
Cave no 66 has three Pahlavi inscriptions which were noticed by Dr. West as well. One short Pahlavi inscription is also found at stupa by Dr. West. J Burgess provided the translation of these three inscriptions.

***Inscription 1 (Burgess)*** – “Through strong omens and the good Judge this year 378 of Yazdakard, on the day Auharmazd of the month Mitro (10th October 1009), there have come to this place the co-religionists Yazdan-panak and Mah-aiyyar sons of Mitra-aiyyar, &c. Beh-zad son of Mah....”

**Inscription 2 (Burgess)** – “In the year 378 of Yazdakard, the month Avan and day Mitro (24th November, 1009), there have come to this place the co-religionists Yazdan-panak and Mah-aiyyar, sons of Mitra-aiyyar, Panj-bukht and Padar-bukht sons of Mah-aiyyar, Mardan-shad son of Hiram-Bahram and Hiram-Bharam son of Mardan-shad, Mitra-aiyyar son of Bahram-panah and Bahram-panah son of Mitra-aiyyar, Falan-zad and Zad-sparham sons of Atur-mahan, Nuk-mahan, Din-Bahram, Bajurg-atur, Hiram-mard, and beh-zad sons of Mah-bazae, and Bahram-panah son of Mitra-bandad. In the month of Atur Auharmazd son of Avan-bandad died.”

**Inscription 3 (Burgess)** – “In the month Mitro and day Dino of the year 390 of Yazdakard (30th October, 1021), there have come from Iran to this place Mah-Frobag and Mah-aiyyar sons of Mitra-aiyyar, Panj-bukht son of Mah-aiyyar, Mardan-shad son of Hiram-Bahram, Beh-zad son of Mitra-vindad, Javidan-bud son of Bahram-Gushnasp, Bajurg-atur son of Mah-bazae, Mah-aiyyar and bandesh sons of Hiram-Farukho, and Mah-bandad son of Gehan-khash, the listener to instruction.”

**Inscription 4 (Burgess)** – stupa inscription – “The year 390 of Yazdakard, Shatra-iyar. Mah-Frobag.”



After Nagraju, 1981

### **Cave No. 92**

This is an attempt to make a cistern in a recess, probably for Cave No. 91. Besides a square shallow pit full of debris, nothing can be seen here.

### **Cave No. 93**

This cave is the largest cave in this group. It is again a simple cell-hall type cave. This cave is at the beginning of the group and has two benches in the open court. The larger one is on the left side, while the smaller one on the right faces the opposite hill. There is a water cistern in a recess along the right wall of the open court. An empty open cell can be seen next to the cistern. Most probably, an attempt was made to excavate another cistern in the left corner of the open court. The steps are very simple and without a *chandrashilā*, and they follow the same pattern as the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century C.E. caves. Here, the 'L'-shaped extension to the lowermost of three steps is elongated.

There is a provision made for a wooden supplement as the roof, most probably for the rainy season. The ceiling of the cave also has an extension similar to the extensions

in Cave Nos. 88 and 92 and is around 3 feet. Stylistically, both the caves—Cave Nos. 91 and 93—are parallel to each other. This cave also has benches with backrests, without any decorations on the exterior. The pillars have square bases resting on those benches. The shaft of the pillar is octagonal without any capital. The hourglass motif on the pilasters is neatly carved and reminds us of a similar motif in Cave No. 32. The raised rectangular verandah does not carry any bench or a bench in any recess at either end. There are two open windows at more than head level, one on either side of a very typical doorframe leading towards the main hall, which can be stylistically dated to late 2<sup>nd</sup> century C.E.

The inner hall is fairly large with an 'L'-shaped bench running along the left and back walls. From the right wall of the hall, there is an entrance to a cell which does not have a bench, and next to it, there is an open window. There is a small grated window with nine neatly carved perforations. This window has an outline similar to that in Cave No. 88. The perforations of the window are square and properly carved throughout the wall.



The most important aspect of this cave is the debris, which might be habitational deposit, since some of the remains suggest some structural additions made to the cave.

Stylistically, this cave falls belongs to the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century C.E. However, all the sculptures in the verandah are intrusive and belong to phase II (6<sup>th</sup> century C.E.).

**No 34 of West/No 1015 of Luders/No 53 of Gokhale**

**Location** – on the back wall of the recess over a tank on the right side of the entrance of cave no 93,

**Characters** – Brahmi of 2nd century CE,

**Language** – Prakrit

**Luders** – not read

**Gokhale** – provided the text

**Above the right Water cistern to the cave's entrance**

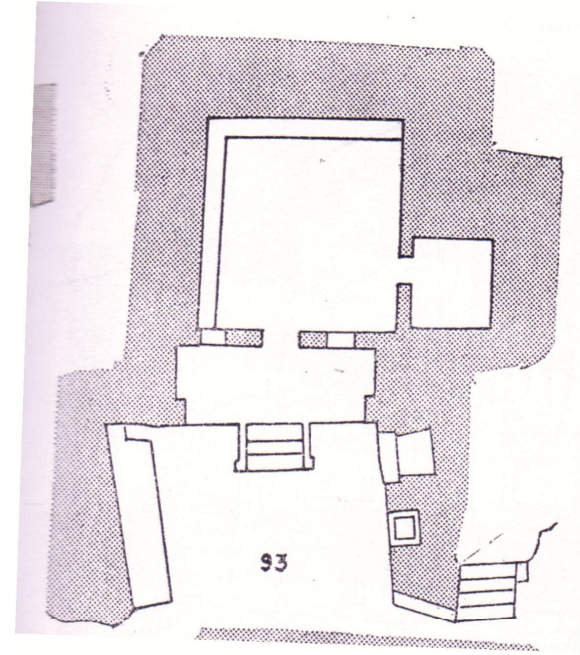
सुवणकससिवतनसहबालिकाजमदेविकास

पवैतिकाजमनस--- पानियपोढी(देयधम)

सहपर(रि) उम

यसमपवनौ

सुवर्णाकार



After Nahraju , 1981

#### Cave No. 94

This cave is isolated and located higher than the other caves in the group; it also has a comparatively larger courtyard than the other caves. The first impression of this cave is that it resembles Cave Nos. 65 and 66. This cave does not have a cistern either in the courtyard or around the cave like the one in the case of Cave No. 91 in the same group. The most important feature of the rectangular courtyard is that there is a small hall with a verandah along the right-side wall of the courtyard. Further development of this can be seen in Cave Nos. 65 and 66.

There are a flight of six high steps that comprises a perfect semi-circular *chandrashilā*. The balustrades of the steps are straight and without any decorations and begin from the fifth step towards the first. The small 'L'-shaped extension to the side slab along the lowest step is neatly carved and resembles the extension in Cave No. 53. The uppermost step is not bounded by balustrades and is different from other steps. This step develops individually from the base to the top in a rectangular shape; this is a unique feature of this cave.

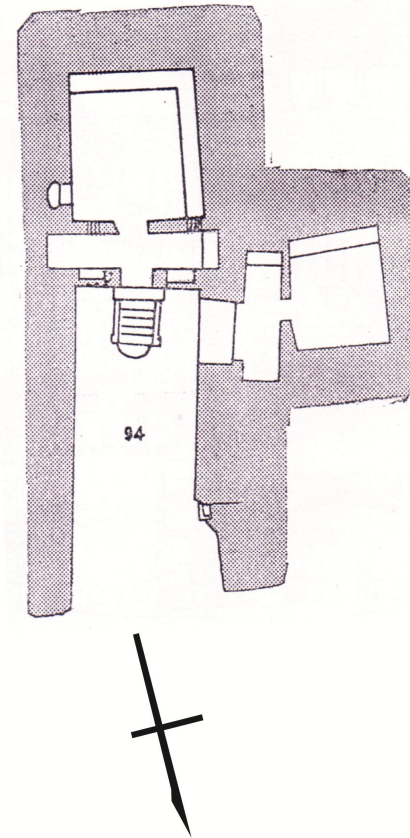
The extension to the ceiling in the courtyard is about four and half feet wide and follows the same pattern as in Cave No. 91 with a vaulted design above. This cave also has the evidence of the presence of a wooden supplement as a roof for the rainy season in order to protect the interior of the cave from rainwater. The decoration on the backrests of the seats between the pillars and pilaster in the verandah is again of the *vedikā* pattern. The entire decoration of the exterior is reminiscent of Cave No. 32.

The hall complex in the courtyard comprises two benches along the left walls, a smaller one in the verandah, and a larger one in the hall itself.

The rectangular verandah of the cave has a small bench at the right end. The hourglass motif on the square pilasters are neatly carved and definitely of mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century C.E. Two octagonal pillars with a typical square base on the seats can be seen here. Two grated windows with 16 perforations can be seen on either side of the central door leading to the main hall. The perforations of the window are neatly carved and are more circular in shape. Windows have a shallow frame cut in rock. The

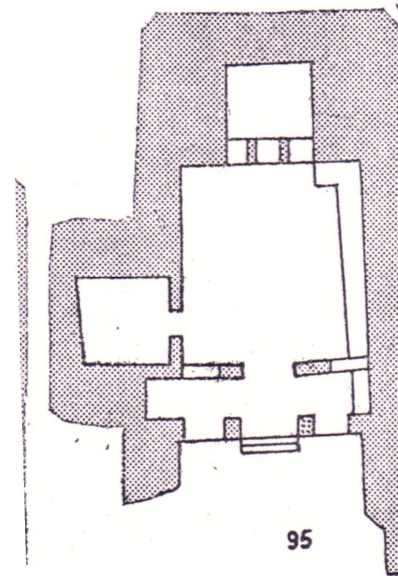
doorframe follows the pattern of Cave No. 67. The rectangular hall has an 'L'-shaped bench along the back and right walls. The left wall indicates that an attempt was made to excavate a cell.

After Nahraju , 1981



### Cave No. 95

This is a cell-hall type cave but modified later by Mahayanists (and in the modern period by ASI during the reconstruction work). There is no open place next to this cave. No water cistern can be seen here. There are a few steps leading to the verandah of the cave. No decoration is present on the front surface. Two octagonal pillars with square bases and square pilasters with the hourglass motif can be seen. They emerge from the backed benches placed between the pillars and pilasters. All these benches and pillar bases are reconstructed by ASI. A small bench can be seen along the right wall of the verandah. The main wall shared by the verandah and hall has a doorframe and two open square windows, one on either side of the main entrance. The square hall beyond the verandah has a bench along the two walls, i.e., the back and right walls. There are entrances for two cells from this hall. The cell along the left wall was a part of the original plan of the cave while the cell along the back wall seems to be a later addition. The cell at the back was given an entrance by destroying the bench along the back wall. This might have been used as the main shrine in the later period.



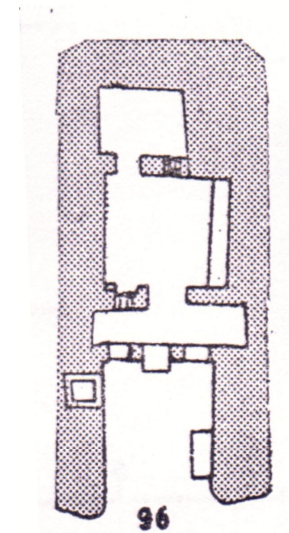
After Nahraju , 1981

### Cave No. 96

This is also a cell-hall type cave. This cave has a small open space next to it. There is a small bench along the right wall of the open space next to the main cave. In the inner end of the open place, along the right wall, there is a small cistern in recess. One can see a small flight of steps leading towards the verandah. No specific feature can be discerned because of its weathering. Octagonal pillars with square bases can be seen in the verandah rising from the backed benches. Pilasters are square in section and have the hourglass motif. The exterior of the benches with the backrest has the railing-pattern design, which can also be seen on the projecting cave. Similar decorations can be seen in Cave No. 88.

The entrance to the inner hall has a simple doorframe. There is a small grated window at the head level on the left side of the doorframe. A similar window can also be seen in the back wall of the hall for providing light and ventilation in the cell. The perforations are circular and not neatly carved in the case of both windows. A cell is on the backside of the hall and

without a bench, but there is a small bench along the right wall of the hall.

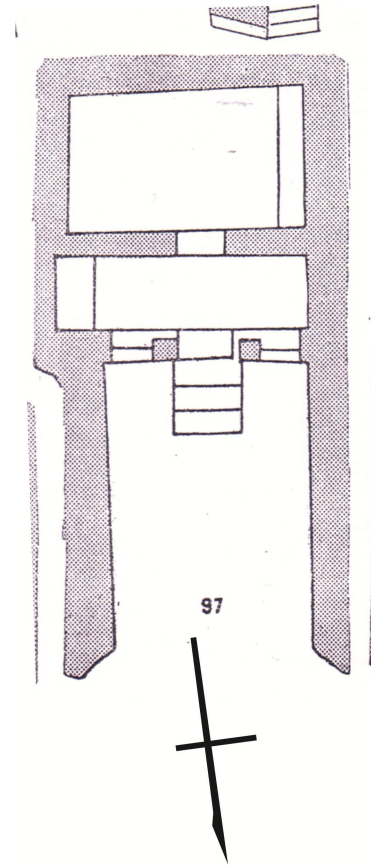


After Nahraju , 1981

### Cave No. 97

This cave is a simple hall with a verandah. The approach to the cave is from a small open court which is very simple and without any bench or water cistern. A small flight with three steps, but without balustrades and *chandrashilā*, leads to the rectangular verandah. There is a small bench at the left end of the verandah. Two octagonal pillars with square bases can be seen rising from the backed benches. These benches with backrests have the railing decoration on the exterior. Two rectangular pilasters have depictions of the hourglass motif.

The rectangular inner hall is simple and without any cell. Only a bench can be seen in the hall along the right wall.



After Nahraju , 1981

### Cave No. 98

This is a cell-hall type cave with a verandah. This cave is one of the most developed caves in this group. The harmony of the left wall is broken because of a bench cut in the wall. There is a stone-cut pit near the bench similar to that in Cave No. 101. However, this is not placed in front of the bench but excavated near the outer end of the bench. There is a cistern in a recess next to the bench.

The centrally placed staircase comprising two steps leads to the verandah. These steps without a *chandrashilā* are bounded by balustrades. The verandah is rectangular and turns slightly towards the back from the right side. There is a bench in a recess along its left wall. Pillars and benches with backrests were probably avoided here. The pilasters are square in section with the hourglass motif decoration. The entrance to the inner hall is a simple door placed in the centre of the verandah but not in the centre of the inner hall.

On either side of the door, we can see a grated window at the head level. The window on the left opens into a hall while the other window opens into a cell. The perforations

are more circular than square. The window that opens into the cell is on the extreme right to the verandah. The hall is rectangular and has a bench along its back wall with a rectangular pillow. There is an entrance to the cell from the right wall of the hall near the outer wall. The cell is simple and has a bench along its back wall opposite to the entrance.

- **No 21 of Bird/No 15 of Brett/No 15(17) of Stevenson/No 32 of West/No 24 of Buhler/No 1013 of Luders/No 54 of Gokhale**

**Location** – on the back wall of the recess over the tank near cave no 98,

**Characters** – Brahmi of 2nd century CE,  
**Language** – Prakrit

**Stevenson** – “To the Perfect One. To Damila, the mendicant ascetic of Kalyan, famed throughout the world, and purified, the

religious assignation of a cave and cistern in the Kanha hill.  
Peace.”

**Luders** – “A cave (lena) and a cistern (podhi) on Kanhasela (Krishnashaila), the gift of the lady (bhoigi) Damila, the A[pa]ramtika (?) (native of Aparanta), the [Kali]anima (inhabitant of Kalyana).”

- **No 27 of Bird/No 14 of Brett/No 14(16) of Stevenson/No 33 of West/No 25 of Buhler/No 1014 of Luders/No 55 of Gokhale**

**Location** – on the wall of the verandah above a grated window of the cave no 98,

**Characters** – Brahmi of 2nd century CE,  
**Language** – Prakrit

**Stevenson** – “To the Perfect One. To Damila, the mendicant ascetic of Kalyan, the religious assignation of a cave.”

**Luders** – “A cave (lena) and a cistern (podhi), the gift of the nun (bhikhuni) Damila, the Kailiyinika (inhabitant of Kalyana)”

**Above the water cistern in a niche**

(सिधंकलि) अणिकायभोइगियाअ

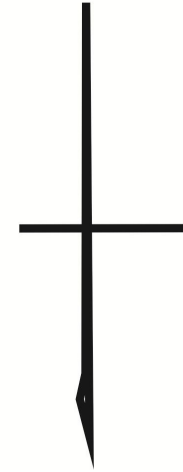
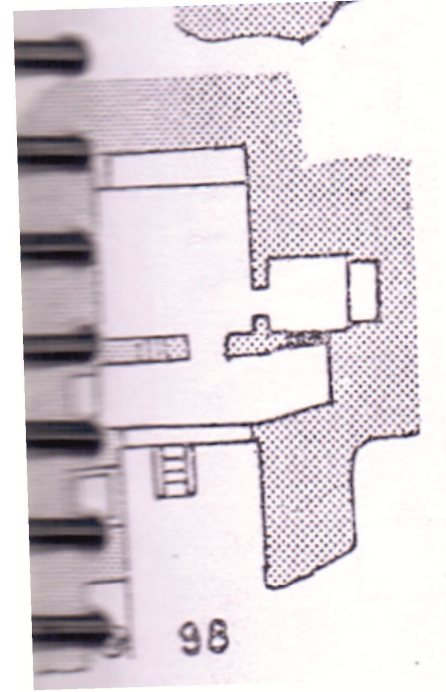
(प)रांतिकायदामिलायलेणं

(पो)ढीचकणहसेलेदेयधंमं

**Above the Jali window in Veranda**

सिधंकालियणिकियाभिखुणियादामिलायलेणदेयधंमं

पोढिच





### **Cave No. 99**

This is a simple cave with a hall and a verandah. The hall is so small that it can be called a cell. The cell has a bench in a recess cut in the right wall, and it runs further along the greater part of the back wall. The doorway is small and there is a small grated window at the shoulder level on the left of the doorway. The verandah has a bench in a recess along the right wall. There are no pillars since the width of the entrance is too small, but pilasters, which are square in section, can be seen here along with the regular hourglass motif.

There are small benches in an open place next to the cave. The bench on the left side is parallel to the cave, faces the opposite hill, and is approachable by a flight of three steps. The other bench on the right side is plain and is provided with a circular tub-like pit on the outer edge.

**No 16 of Stevenson/No 31 of West/No 23 of  
Buhler/No 1012 of Luders/No 56 of Gokhale**

**Location – on the inner wall of the verandah of  
cave no 99 and on the left side of a grated window,  
Characters – Brahmi of 2nd century CE,**

**Language – Prakrit**

**Luders – The cave (lena) of the elder (thera)  
bhayata (bhadanta) Mitabhuti (Mitrabhuti), the  
gift of Sagarapalloganas (?).**

**Above the window on the left wall of the Veranda**

**सिधंथेराणंभयन- मितभूतिनं**

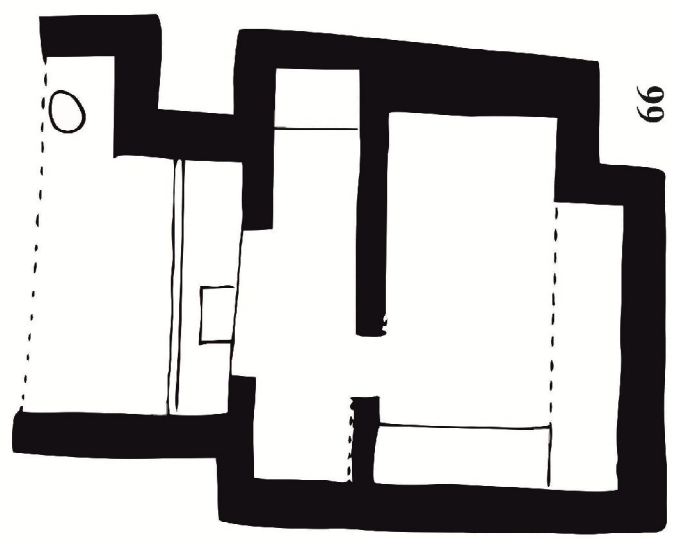
**लेणंसागरपलोगनंदेयधंमं**

CaveNo.99



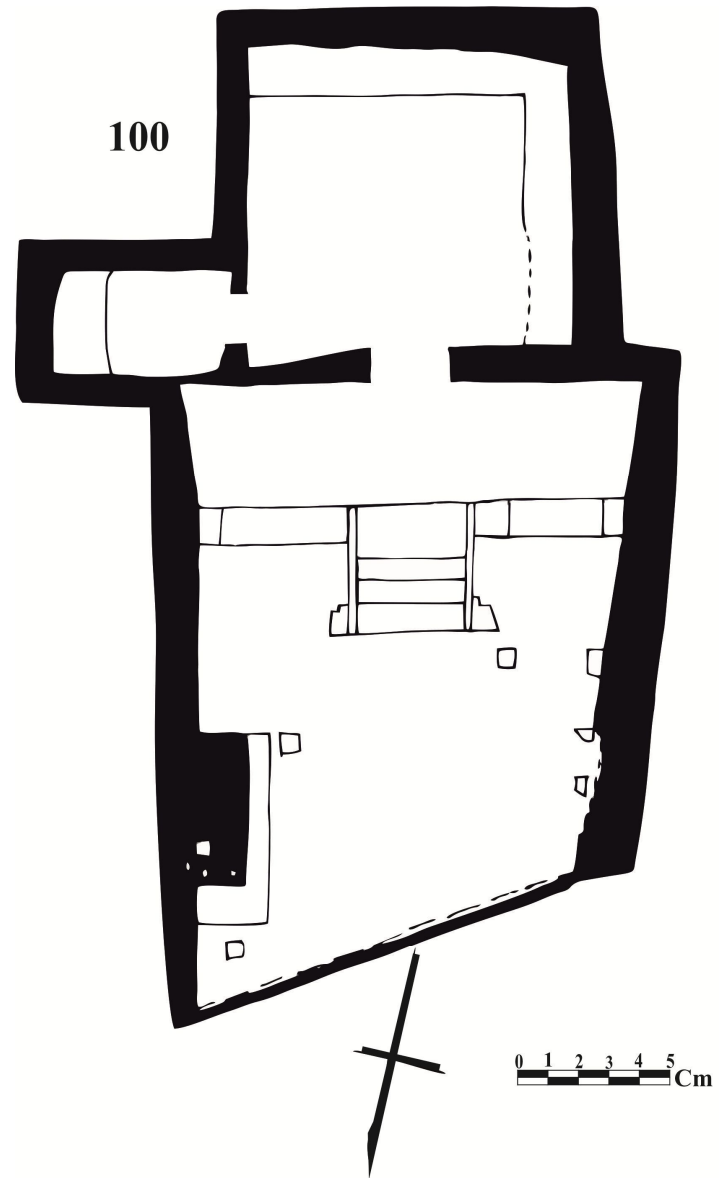
Broken Part

99



### Cave No. 100

This cave is highly ruined. The original plan of the cave was cell-hall type. This cave has an open space, which can be called an open court, and is accessible by a path provided from the open court of Cave No. 101. The flight of steps is simple. There was probably a bench along the back wall of the inner hall. It is difficult to give other details of the cave.



### Cave No. 101

This is the last of the caves numbered by ASI at the site. It has an open court in front, which is quite prominent. It comprises two benches, a water cistern, and steps leading towards the rectangular verandah.

The benches in the open court are very interestingly placed along the opposite sidewalls of the open court. These benches must be approached by crossing a step. There is a small circular pot base-like excavation in stone next to these benches, which is centrally placed on the step. The sides of the benches are bounded by decorated hand rests. The left bench is broken. The open court has a centrally placed flight of steps which comprises four steps bounded by balustrades without any *chandrashilā*.

This cave is a simple hall with a verandah. There is a low bench running along the right and back walls of the main hall. There is a niche in the back wall of the main hall. The hall has a doorway in the centre of the front wall and an open window at the waist level in the wall to the left.

The front verandah has four octagonal pillars and two pilasters (square in section) with the hourglass motifs. Today, the raised back of the benches is broken, but sufficient debris remains to show their existence in the past.

- **No 19 of Bird/No 29 of West/No 1011 of Luders/No 57 of Gokhale**

**Location** – on the left hand side-wall outside the verandah of cave no 101 over a tank,

**Characters** – Brahmi of 2nd century CE,

**Language** – Prakrit

**Luders** – not read

**Gokhale** – provided the text of the inscription, seems to record a gift of a cave on the Kanha hills from an upasaka named Sivadatta, an inhabitant of Kalyana,

#### On the left wall of the Veranda

कलिअ(णक)--- उपासकसिवदतेनपवते  
कणह(से)ले(चातुदिस) भिखुसंघंडदिसलेणसअखयनिवि  
ति---ति---भागचदतानि  
---नहितसुखायएथचअख

य--- भिखुसंघायसनानि१००  
र्थ---कलिअणयेव  
निय---सिखयअधपणनिक  
व्हगि--- सघाणंसतानि---क  
लेअ--- सेठीचिवरिकानिदतानियेवकण्ह  
गिरी---(कुसल) मुलचिवरिकानि  
तिनि---निकहापण१००अबालिकाविहारे

**Other inscriptions**

**No 14 of West/No 997 of Luders**

**Location –**

**Language – Sanskrit**

**Luders – not read**

**No 36 of West/No 1017 of Luders**

**Location –**

**Language – Prakrit**

**Luders – not read**

**No 58 of West/No 1034 of Luders**

**Location –**

**Language – Prakrit**

**Luders – not read**

**No 58 of Gokhale**

**Location –** on a step on top of the Kanheri hill,

**Characters –** Brahmi of 2nd century CE,

**Language –** Prakrit

**Gokhale –** provided the text, seems to be donation from a resident of Chemula

**COPPER PLATE CHARTER** – These plates were found by Dr. James Bird in 1839 during excavations. The original copper plates were never recovered from Dr Bird after his death. Scholars tried out the translations based upon a lithograph published by him in Historical Researches. Later he wrote an article in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal which was accompanied with an eye-copy of the record.

**CHARACTERS**-Western variety of the Southern Alphabets  
**LANGUAGE** –Sanskrit

**Date** – Year 245 of an unknown era, mostly accepted as that of Kalchuri Era which corresponds to **493-94 CE**

**STEVENSON** –

“Adoration to the Ever Blessed. During the reign of the fortunate Kripa Karna, on the completion of the year two hundred and forty-five, there was in the great monastery at the Kanha hill (a son), favored by Buddha, and named Pushyavarman, of a daughter of a kinsman of the exalted Srami Karna, of the victorious Andhrabhrita family. He in a heap of spicery, in a manner due to a noble layman of the religion of the all-blessed

powerful hero, the professor of the ten-fold might, the lord, the Sakya sage, the true and perfect Buddha, and also in the midst of a multitude of attendants, while forming at the same time a receptacle for the prospering delightful tooth of Buddha, established a sacred monument for the sage’s chief lay disciple, the son of the lady Saradvati, in the midst of polished stones, a very crystal sea of light and radiance, at a time indicating love, stability, and conciliation. While Deva, Yaksha, Siddha, Gandharva, Ahi, Bhadra Purna, Bhadra Padmi, Kavya, Vajrapani, Vach, Kanina and other venerated by this kinsman, enjoy themselves in paradise, during the thousand revolutions in heaven of the Celestial Dolphins, so long shall this sea of milk, this cow that yields whatever is desired, Buddha, the joyous, the wonderful, the chief of sages, the pole (round which the world revolves), endure. And as long as the liquid streams give birth to the pure water cascades, so long may fame carry down the renown of the benevolent, holy benefactor, born for the benefit of others, and rightly named Pushva (the protector).”

**BHAGVANLAL INDRAJI** –

“Salutation to the omniscient (Buddha)! In the year two hundred and forty-five of the increasing rule of the Traikutakas, in the great vihara of Krishnagiri, Buddharuchi – an inhabitant of Kanaka (Kabhoka or Katoka?) a village in the Sindhu country, the son of the glorious Buddhasri and Pushyavarman, intent on religious duties, of the religion of Sakya Muni (who was) strong in possessions of the ten powers, revered, possessed of perfect knowledge, an Aryagana of his Sravaks, – erected this Chaitya of dressed stone and brick, to last while moon, sun and ocean endure, to the great Sravaka of the Paramamuni (Buddha) – the noble Saradvatiputra. Therefore let the Devas, Yakshas, Siddhas, Vidyadharas, Ganas and Manibhadra, Purnabhadra, Panchika, Arya-Vajrapani, Vananaka, be propitious. Moreover as long as the milky ocean, the waters of the whirlpools which are whirled around the sea monsters which are driven about its thousand waves, is an ocean of milk, and as long as the rugged Meru is piled with great rocks, and as long as the rivers of clear water flow with water into the ocean – so long this enduring and auspicious fame attach itself to the excellent son of him named Pushya(varman).”

#### **V V MIRASHI –**

V V Mirashi’s translation is very similar of that of Bhagvanlal Indraji. Mirashi did not provide any identification for Kanaka, he identified Sindh with the district of same name in North India. He also mentions that at the end of the plate, word ‘dadha’ is very clear which stands for a canine tooth. Hence it is most probable that the stupa was erected over the tooth relic of Saradvatiputra to whom this place is dedicated.

#### **UNNUMBERED CAVES FROM THE SITE**

Apart from this, there are a few unnumbered caves in the entire complex. Most of these caves are natural caverns with some modifications. Such caves can be seen on the two hills at the site. Hill I is the main hill (southern hill) on which the majority of the caves at the site have been excavated. Hill II is at the backside of the site, and it has some miscellaneous caves. These caves are unrecorded and a few of them were noticed, recorded, and investigated for the first time by the author.

## Hill I

There are more than six natural caverns and they were modified over the course of time. These caves are on the path that starts from Cave No. 41 at the site and leads to the lake via the boundary of a Shaiva *āshrama*. These caves are not far from Cave Nos. 42–48. They are on the lower contours and at the beginning of the scarp on the backside of the hill. From the other side, these caves can also be reached from Cave No. 87. These are very simple excavations and mostly modified natural caverns. No feature other than benches or seats can be seen in these caves. These caves remind us of Cave Nos. 84 and 85.

There is a cave on top of the same hill, which has also remained unnumbered by ASI. West has assigned a number to this cave, Cave No. 28. This cave is on the opposite scarp to the place where the caves in the third layer have been excavated. There is a flight of steps next to Cave No. 101, leading to the top of the hill. To its exact south, after crossing the small plateau of the same hill, this cave can be located below the ground level. It is not visible until one reaches the entrance of the cave. This is a simple square hall. This hall is very small and contains a bench

along its northern wall. There is an outlet given for water from the southern wall. This is a very unique cave in the entire complex.

## Hill II

There are a few scattered caves on the back of the site on a hill (eastern hill). All these caves are unrecorded as well as unnumbered. From the open space next to Cave No. 88, one can see two caves on the eastern hill facing west. These caves are unrecorded and not approachable. Since I have not encountered any description of these caves and I was not able to personally visit them, I am unable to give any descriptions of the same.

The eastern hill is divided into two parts by a stream, which, for convenience, is henceforth referred to as northern and southern. The stream flows towards Bassein creek. Most of the caves are along this stream. The caves here are also in three layers. These caves are neither described nor recorded by any scholar but they are known to local people or *ādivāsi*-s. With their help, I visited the caves and I also realized that Late Mr. V.M. Vani, Retired Conservation Assistant of Kanheri caves, had known about a few (at least three) of these caves. Nevertheless,



no description or passing references could be found about these caves. These caves were used by ascetics (*Samyāsi-s*), most probably of the *Shaiva* or *Shākta* sect till the 1990s. When the forest department demolished the Shaiva *āshrama* near the dam at the site, these ascetics left the place and the caves were abandoned. These caves were used either for residence or for preserving and storing fodder for cattle in the *āshrama*. There was another temple constructed as late as mid-20<sup>th</sup> century C.E. There is a stream which opens into a tank, possibly ancient. This place is popularly known as ‘*Gāymukha*’ or ‘*Gomukha*’. Most of the caves are located around this water source.

#### **Cave No. I**

On the northern side of the ‘*Gomukha*’ and on the same hill, there are two caves and both are modified natural caverns. Both the caves were used for storing fodder. The larger one was modified further in the modern period. This cave is approachable from the plateau of this hill through a flight of steps carved in stone. This cave is very simple and comprises a simple cell with a verandah. This verandah is like an open space next to the cave. There is a long bench along its back wall. Initially, the

cave had only this bench in a natural cavern. A cell was then excavated on the western side by breaking the bench. This cell is too small and only one person can be accommodated; it has a bench along its right wall. Just above the bench, there is an open window at the head level in the outer wall.

#### **Cave No. II**

This cave is on the northern side of Cave No. I. To reach here, it is necessary to climb the plateau and then approach the extreme northern flight of steps. The path approaching this cave is not easily noticeable. This is a proper natural cavern which is spread horizontally along the scarp. This has two benches and a seat. The traces of the benches and the seat clearly indicate human activity in this natural cavern. It is difficult to give an exact date for the cave because of the lack of any distinctive and datable architectural feature.

There are two caves facing the main site along the western scarp of the hill. These caves are too small in size and not easily visible from below. There is a stone pillar which is popularly known as ‘*Chimni*’ among the local people. It is a simple monolithic square stone block with a height of around five

or five and half feet and placed in a square pit that was made especially for it. This stone pillar is on the highest point of the western scarp and visible from any places on the site as well as from the surrounding regions. There are two simple caves below this. It is very difficult to access these caves.

### **Cave No. III**

This is a very simple cave having a bench in a recess. This is a modification of a natural cavern. Access to this cave is difficult and it can only be approached by a path between two boulders.

### **Cave No. IV**

This cave is next to Cave No. III and to its north, and it comprises a small bench along with a water cistern. A place prepared for making an inscription is still noticeable.

Apart from these caves, there is a row of caves on the scarp opposite Cave Nos. I and II. At least four caves can be discerned from a distance. According to the information given by local people, the scarp in which the caves are carved is not accessible because of landslides and weathering of the rock. As a

result, a detailed description of these caves is not possible. These caves are neither recorded nor well known to the local people. From a distance, it is possible to spot the remains of doorframes and walls along with the ceiling of a natural cavern. These caves are also basically natural caverns that have been modified into caves. The first cave of this group, on the western side, is a natural cavern with a long bench along the back wall. The walls of these caves are neatly carved and smoothed. No other details could be obtained. Close observations give a general outline of these caves. These caves were mostly lying in the darkness of the deep forest. Since I managed to see the caves in summer, I could get some information regarding them.

On the southern scarp of the hill, there is another natural cavern that was turned into a cave after modifications. This is approachable after a long walk in the dense forest for at least half an hour. This way leads to the *Vihara* Lake from one side, while, on the other side, it takes us to the caves on the main hill at the site, near Cave No. 41.

### **Cave No. V**

This is a large natural cavern running parallel to the hill scarp. This cave is not exactly below Cave Nos. III and IV, but on a lower contour and close to them. There is a long bench along the back wall of the cave with stupas at either end of the bench. There are two stupas in this cave with a *vedikā* pattern on the *pitha*. These stupas are carved in deep relief. The stupas are half projected from this niche. These half-projected stupas have a base, *pitha* with *vedikā* pattern, *anda*, *harmikā*, *yashti*, and *cchatrāvali*. These stupas stylistically can be dated latest to the beginning of 2<sup>nd</sup> century C.E. It is difficult to approach this cave since a small steep slope, lined with honeybee-combs, must be climbed. This place is known to the local people only because of these honeybee-combs.

In addition, there are two more caves on the northern scarp of the same hill; both are isolated and have developed some architectural features. These caves were modified by the ascetics living there in the recent past. One of the caves, which is on a slightly higher contour, is set with modern tiles, and I came across an image (belonging to the modern period and made of 'Plaster Of Paris') of *Durgā* (locally known as *Mātā*) in this ruined cave. The forest department has destroyed

the modern structure. While demolishing the structures, which were part of the new *āshrama*, some features of the ancient cave were also mutilated. This has also destroyed the ancient structure of the cave to a certain extent, and today, it is difficult to identify any ancient features from this cave, except its plan.

#### **Cave No. VI**

This cave in the group is located on the lowest of the contours. This is a simple hall type cave, and most of it is highly weathered. The entrance to the cave is from a small cell-like verandah; the provision for it can be discerned. There was a wooden outer wall for the hall. The hall has an 'L'-shaped bench in a recess along the back and right walls. No other feature is clear. People use this cave for storing fodder even today.

#### **Cave No. VII**

This cave, also a modified natural cavern, is a proper cell-hall type structure. The entire cave is covered with tiles, and hence, a detailed architectural description is not possible. A small open verandah and the remains of a bench can be seen. A small hall without any bench can also be seen after

this. There is a centrally placed cell along the back wall with a bench along the left wall. A square recess-like niche can be seen in the hall along its left wall.

In addition, there are numerous benches and rock-cut steps scattered in the forest. We can see benches or seats in most of the natural caverns around Cave No. VII. Interestingly, three rock-cut benches in a row have been carved on the outer wall of Cave No. VII. More explorations of the region are needed for detailed studies. These caves have made us reconsider the beginnings of rock-cut activity here. Although the main site begins in 2<sup>nd</sup> century C.E., a few of these caves can be dated to an early period (1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. to 1<sup>st</sup> century C.E.). There is further scope for new discoveries, which can help us to reconsider the chronology of the rock-cut architecture at Kanheri. Moreover, there may be a few more caves in the deep forest, which are lost in the darkness of the woods.

## IMPORTANT SCULPTURES AT KANHERI

### **Introduction**

We have many intrusive sculptures in the early caves at the site, e.g., Cave Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 56, 67, and 74. We can date these sculptures stylistically from 5<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> centuries C.E. These intrusive sculptures covered the plain walls of the early caves.

In this period, idol worship was popular and it was believed that one could get spiritual benefit by donating *Jina* figures. This was a golden opportunity for the poor who were unable to donate entire caves. Various types of images—Buddha, Bodhisattva and Tara—were installed. Panels like *Ashtamahābhayatrāna* Avalokiteshvara panel, panel of Bodhisattva-s and Tara-s, Shravasti miracle panels, Trinity Panels, panels of mortal (Manushi) Buddha-s, panels based on Jataka-s and scenes from the Buddha's life can be seen. We have already discussed a few of these panels in Chapter III ('Religious Background'). We have also seen the cult of Avalokiteshvara (panels like *Ashtamahābhayatrāna* panel in Cave Nos. 2 and 41), Bodhisattva-s, and Tara-s (Cave No. 67), Buddha-s, and

'Manushi Buddha-s' (Caves Nos. 2, 3, and 67), developed at the site.

There are a few late paintings in early caves, such as Cave No. 36, as well. Today, a few fragments are visible on the ceiling and on the *harmikā* of the stupa. Although ceiling paintings are not clearly visible, rows of standing Buddha-s, which is most probably a panel of 'Manushi Buddha-s', can be identified. However, barring this, it is impossible to trace paintings in this cave.

Let us now discuss the later panels in the early caves in detail.

Most of the later caves have Trinity panels in the main shrine or *garbhagriha*. However, a few early caves, such as Cave Nos. 3, 50, 56, 67, and 92, also give evidences of such panels in the verandah. In this panel, we have a seated Buddha in the center with two Bodhisattva attendants, one on either side, as *chauri* bearers. We can see this tradition in art till at least 7<sup>th</sup> century C.E. at the site. In a cell in the courtyard of Cave No. 67, there is a Trinity panel with a small difference: two female deities are the attendants here. We can stylistically date this panel to the

late 6<sup>th</sup> century C.E. The female figures can be identified as ‘Tara-s’, but it is difficult to place these deities in the Buddhist pantheon with proper identification. We can identify one of the male attendants as Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara, while either Vajrapani, Maitreya or Mañjushrī is placed on the other side. These Bodhisattva-s can be identified on the basis of their attributes. Apart from this exceptional panel, all the other Trinity panels are similar as to the abovementioned one.

Another famous theme is that of the so-called ‘panel of Shravasti Miracle’. In later caves, this theme became extremely popular and was repeated in numerous places. At Kanheri, there are many such panels, mostly from 6<sup>th</sup> century onwards. We can broadly divide these panels into two categories. A few panels of this type have female attendants to the attendant Bodhisattvas on either side of the Buddha. In the earlier caves at Ajanta and the 1<sup>st</sup> phase caves at Aurangabad, only the Bodhisattva-s Padmapani and Vajrapani were attendants. Female attendants are a new factor introduced at Kanheri. As discussed in the section ‘Cult of Tara’ in another chapter, these attendants developed into individual deities as Tara-s in the later period. A panel in Cave No. 90 gives a beautiful depiction of a tree with

mangoes, which is mentioned in a story. This tree is depicted with monkeys and birds. This theme probably gained popularity when Mahayana first began to gain momentum and the focus of attention became the figure of the Buddha. In the beginning, his place was only inside the sanctum, but subsequently, Buddha sculptures started getting carved in every nook and corner.

Another interesting panel is that of a Jataka story in Cave No. 67. In the verandah of this cave, we have a depiction of Dīpankara Jataka. This story of Dīpankara is very interestingly depicted in art through the ages, and there have been a few deviations across time and location.

The stylistic features of these sculptures are very peculiar and of late 5<sup>th</sup> century C.E. and 6<sup>th</sup> century C.E. As we have discussed earlier, during the Traikutaka period (i.e., late 5<sup>th</sup> century C.E.), the region developed a local flavour of regional art. This art style links the art at two major sites, Ajanta and Jogeshvari, and has left a very significant impact on the art of Kanheri; a few sculptures and panels can be identified as belonging to this period. This is very interesting since they reveal some influence of Ajanta sculpture in style and theme. The

religious significance of these panels and sculptures have already been discussed.

### **Miscellaneous Sculptures**

#### **Muchalinda Naga**

A panel in Cave No. 93 can be identified as the panel of Muchalinda Naga. The panel in the verandah gives us a depiction of the Buddha in meditation and seated on the coils of a serpent. This serpent has five hoods and creates a canopy of his hoods above the Buddha's head. A similar depiction can be seen at Ajanta. The description of the story occurs in the *Buddhacharita*. This *naga* known as Muchalinda creates this canopy of hoods when Mara brings rain to disturb the meditation of the Buddha. Very few depictions of this panel have been found till today.

#### **Panel of Five Buddha-s**

In Cave No. 90, we can see a few panels comprising figures of five Buddha-s. The central figure of the Buddha is seated in *dharmachakrapravartanamudrā*. Four other Buddha-s are depicted in the standing posture with *abhayamudrā*

and raised right hands; they are also holding the ends of their robes. In another panel in the same cave, the central figure is in the standing posture and there are four seated Buddha figures, one in each corner.

The exact identification of this panel is difficult, but similar panels can be seen in the caves at Dunhuang in China.

#### **Dīpankara Jātaka**

This is the story of Sumedha and Dīpankara Buddha. This story occurs in *Nidānakathā* for the first time. This is related to one of the earliest births of Gautama Buddha or Shakyamuni. He becomes Bodhisattva in the story, and Dipankara Buddha declares that in future, he will be born as a Buddha who will preach to the masses and live for the welfare of the people.

#### **Ashta / Dasha - Mahābhayaatrāna Panels**

One of the major sculptures here is that of Avalokiteshvara. We have three such panels at the site in Cave Nos. 2, 41, and 90. The panels in Cave Nos. 2 and 41 are also known as Ashtamahābhayaatrāna panels since they depict the

Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara helping his devotees and saving them from eight great dangers (ashtamahābhaya-s) with his full grace and compassion (karunā). The panel in Cave No. 90 is known as ‘dashamahābhayatrāna’ panel, the panel where Avalokiteshvara is depicted as a savior of his followers from ten great dangers. Avalokiteshvara is depicted with a lotus and rosary along with the jatāmukuta and the seated Buddha above his head. The description of Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara with all his grace and compassion in the savior aspect can be seen in the 24<sup>th</sup> chapter known as ‘Sāmantamukhaparivarta-adhyāya’ of the ‘Saddharmapundarīkasūtra’. He is described here as a savior and also as a ‘mahākārunika’. According to the text, he helps people in the following crises:

• Fire place ( <i>agniskanda</i> )	• Royal punishments
• Drowning in water (river)	• Bandits (for <i>Sārthavāha-s</i> )
• Demons	• Anger
• Sea storms during sea journeys	• Blessings required for son or daughter
• Murderers	10. Not clear, as weathered



Most of these crises can be seen in the litany panel of Avalokiteshvara.

The panel in Cave No. 90 is known as *Dashamahābhayatrāna* Avalokiteshvara panel. In this panel, there are some differences in the ornamentation and hand gestures of Vajrapani and those of the female counterpart of the Avalokiteshvara. The female attendants wear a long necklace which goes with the *katibandha*. This panel is a mixture or combination of two panels: one is from the verandah of Cave No. 67 and the other is known as *Ashtamahābhayatrāna* or the litany of Avalokiteshvara. Such a depiction occurs twice: firstly in Cave No. 2 and secondly in a cell in the courtyard of Cave No. 41. These two panels have Avalokiteshvara in the center, and he is shown extending his loving care to devotees in danger. This panel of *Dashamahābhayatrāna* seems to be an assimilation of these two concepts. Tara takes the place of Avalokiteshvara in the last phase of the development of this concept, which is well known as *Ashtamahābhayatrāna* Tara panel in eastern India. We can see such depictions mainly at Ellora, Badami in Karnataka, and Ratnagiri in Orissa, where Tara is a savior who is well

accepted as the personification of Avalokiteshvara's savior aspect or his *shakti*.

As mentioned earlier, in two panels in Cave Nos. 67 and 90, two more female deities are depicted with Avalokiteshvara in the center flanked by two females and two other Bodhisattva-s seated above on the lotuses. S. Gokhale has identified these two females as Tara and Bhrukuti. One of the seated Bodhisattvas is definitely Vajrapani. One female holds a lotus, and hence, she is identified as Tara, while the other is probably a counterpart of the family head (*kulesha*) of Avalokiteshvara and hence, probably Bhrukuti. Both the female deities have similar in ornaments and headdress as those of the Bodhisattva seated above. As a result, they can be identified more clearly as Tara-s and *shakti*-s or counterparts of these Bodhisattva-s.

#### **Bodhisattva attended by Tara-s**

There are three panels which can be referred to as panels of Bodhisattva-s and Tara-s, one each in Caves Nos. 67, 87, and 90. Among them, the panel in Cave No. 87 is too weathered to give a detailed description. In the porch of Cave No.

67, a Bodhisattva is shown flanked by two female divinities standing on lotuses. Above the female figures, two more Bodhisattva-s are shown seated on lotuses.

The central figure of the Bodhisattva flanked by two female figures is definitely that of Avalokiteshvara since he holds a lotus in his left hand. His right hand, which was in *abhaymudra*, is broken and might have held a rosary. This identification is further confirmed by the presence of the Buddha in *pādmāsana* above his head, while one of the seated Bodhisattva-s above the female figure is Vajrapani, whose attribute, viz. *vajra* can be seen clearly. The next panel, which is in Cave No. 90, pertains to Avalokiteshvara whose *dashamahabhayatrana* form is depicted.

As mentioned earlier, there are two panels in Cave Nos. 67 and 90 where two female deities are depicted with Avalokiteshvara in the center and two other Bodhisattva-s seated above on lotuses. These two females have been identified by S. Gokhale as Tara, since she holds a lotus, and Bhrukuti, since she is probably a counterpart of the *kulesha* of Avalokiteshvara. However, this identification appears to be incorrect; there are no

such depictions of Bhrukuti or other counterparts of the *Dhyāni* Buddha-s in the Buddhist art of India in this period. Both the female deities have similar in ornaments and headdresses as those of the Bodhisattva seated above. Hence, the correct identification is that the female deities are Tara-s and *shakti*-s, or counterparts, of the respective Bodhisattva-s.

Two more panel-s must be discussed here (one in each cave among Cave Nos. 67 and 89). In these panels, we can see a Bodhisattva figure which is attended by two female figures carrying either flower garlands or a lotus in their hands. These figures can be identified as attendant Tara-s. The central figure holds a lotus in his left hand, while his right hand is in *abhayamudrā*. This panel can thus be called as the panel of Bodhisattva attended by Tara-s.



(After Gokhale, 1991)

### Votive Stūpa-s

There are numerous votive stupas at the site, which can be classified into two main categories as follows:

- Monolithic stupas located in the caves at the site;
- Stupas engraved in relief on the walls of the cave.

Out of the four categories of stupas, these stupas can be classified as the *kāmya* stupas. The monolithic stupas were placed on top of a few caves, as can be seen from the provision made to place a stupa above Cave No. 90. Apart from this, one stupa was found from the top of the northern hill. These stupas have played a very significant role in the so-called Vajrayana Buddhism. Although they are not cylindrical like the one noticed at Mahakali caves or at Panhale Kaji, they serve the same purpose. A few stupas have the diamond (*vajra*) sign on their drum. Today, all these stupas are placed near the entrance of the site. Apart from this, we can see very small stupas lying around at the entrance of the site. They were also monolithic. All of them can be stylistically dated as not later than 9<sup>th</sup> century C.E.

The second type of stupa here is engraved in relief on the walls of the caves. It is difficult to date these stupas but

they are probably from 6<sup>th</sup> century C.E. to 9<sup>th</sup> century C.E. The earliest depictions of type-II stupa is in Cave No. 3, and it can be dated to 6<sup>th</sup> century C.E. This stupa has an unfinished inscription referring to a verse. Similar stupas can be seen mainly in the verandah of caves such as Cave No. 90.

These stupas are evidences for the existence of the so-called Vajrayana sect at the site.

### **Bhaishajyaguru and Eleven-headed Avalokiteshvara.**

Detailed discussions on Bhaishajyaguru are given in the appendix of the chapter on religion at Kanheri. This figure is a landmark in the history of Indian Buddhism. It was wrongly identified as Amitabha by scholars earlier. I have suggested this new identification which explains its location, the development of its cult, and its travel to China.

The other figure, eleven-headed Avalokiteshvara, was identified years ago and was well known to scholars. This figure is of an attendant of the abovementioned figure of Bhaishajyaguru. These figures can be stylistically dated to the last years of 6<sup>th</sup> century C.E. or a few early years of 7<sup>th</sup> century

C.E. We have already discussed this figure in Chapter II on religion at Kanheri under the same title.

## **Appendix**

### **KANHERI CAVES.**

[https://gazetteers.maharashtra.gov.in/cultural.maharashtra.gov.in/english/gazetteer/Thana%20District/places\\_Kanheri.html](https://gazetteers.maharashtra.gov.in/cultural.maharashtra.gov.in/english/gazetteer/Thana%20District/places_Kanheri.html)

The **Kanheri Caves**, [The following is a list of modern notices and accounts of the Kanheri caves: Garcia d'Orta (1534), *Colloquios*, 2nd Ed. (1872) 211-212; Dom Joao de Castro (1539), *Primeiro Roteiro da Costa da India*, 75-81; Linschoten (1579), *Discourse of Voyages* (London, 1598), boke I. cap. xlv. 80; Diogo de Couto (1603), *Da Asia Decada VII. liv iii. cap. 10* (Ed. Lisboa); also translated in *Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society*, I. 34-40; Sir T. Herbert (1626) in *Harris*, I. 410; Fryer (1675), *New Account of East India and Persia*, 72-73; Gemelli Careri (1695) in *Churchill*, IV. 194-196; Capt. A. Hamilton (1720), *New Account of the East Indies*, 1. 181; Anquetil du Perron (1760), *Zend Avesta, Discours Preliminaire*,

cccxciv.-ccccxiii.; Forbes (1774), *Oriental Memoirs*, I. 424-428, III. 450-451; Lethieullier(1780), Macneil (1783), and Hunter (1784) in *Archaeologia*, VII. 299-302, 333-336, and VIII. 251-263; Valentia (1803), *Travels*, II. 196-198; Salt (1806) in *Transactions Bombay Literary Society*, I. 46-52; Moor (1810) *Hindu Pantheon*, 243; Erskine (1821) in *Transactions Bom. Lit. Soc.* (Reprint), III. 553; Hamilton's *Description of Hindustan*, II. 173; Heber's *Narrative*, II. 189-191; *Trans. Bom. Geog. Soc.* VII. 147; Wilson in *Journal B. B. R. A. S.* III. pt. II. 39-41; Stevenson in *Journal B. B. R. A. S.* IV. 131-134, V. 1-34; West in *Journal B. B. R. A. S.* VI. 1.14, 116-120, 157-160; Bhau Daji in *Journal B. B. R. A. S.* VIII. 230; Bird's *Historical Researches*, 10-11; *Journal A. S. Beng.* X. 94; *Journal R. A. S.* VIII. 63-69; Fergusson's *Architecture*, 129-130; and Fergusson and Burgess' *Cave Temples*, 348-360.]in north latitude 19. 13' and east longitude 72. 59', lie in a wild picturesque valley in the heart of the island of Salsette, about five miles west of Thana and twenty north of Bombay.

The caves, which are more than 100 in number, are easily reached from the Bhandup station of the Peninsula railway or the Borivli station of the Baroda railway. From Bhandup, fifteen miles north-east of Bombay, the Kanheri road runs north-west for about a mile, across rice fields and grass uplands, till, at the foot of the Salsette hills, it joins the old Bombay-Thana road. It then climbs a pass in the hill, and winds about a mile across the rugged upland of Vehar, the gathering ground of the Vehar lake, which, starting on the left, stretches about five miles to the south-west, its surface broken by wooded islets.

#### **Aspect.**

Beyond the Vehar gathering ground, the path passes, for about a mile, through a thick belt of forest, over the slightly raised watershed that separates the Tulsi and the Vehar valleys. Near Tulsi the road swerves to the left, keeping to the south-west of Tulsi lake, a beautiful sheet of water surrounded by wild forest-clad hills. For the two remaining miles, from Tulsi to Kanheri, the road is not fit for carts. The first mile lies along the Vehar-Borivli road,

with rough rises and falls, down the wooded Tulsi or Tasu valley, surrounded by high forest-clad hills, through glades of withered grass, thick copsewood, and bright green clumps of bamboos. The last mile is along a footpath that strikes from the Borivli road north to Kanheri.

From Borivli station, on the Baroda railway twenty-two miles north of Bombay, the way to Kanheri lies, for about half a mile, south along the Bombay road. Then, crossing the railway and passing south-east through about a mile of rice-land, it enters a great belt of brab-palms with patches of brushwood and grass land. After about a mile the valley of the Tasu narrows, and the brab grove and grass give place to forest. Carts pass through this forest for about a mile and a half, when, not far from where the Bhandup track leaves the Borivli road, a footpath strikes north about a mile to Kanheri.

In the bed of the Tasu or Tulsi, near where the Kanheri footpath leaves the Borivli road, is a small rock-cut cave whose mouth is under water except in the hot weather. The first signs of caves are to the north-east, in the high cliff of

Kaman, the main range that runs north-west from Tulsi. Further north the paths from Borivli and Bhandup join, and pass among thick trees losing sight of the Kaman range. Then suddenly on the right, from thickly wooded slopes, rises a rugged cliff, the end of the Kanheri spur, that runs about north-east and south-west, nearly at right angles to the Kaman range and several hundred feet below it. A bare black scarp that runs along the west face of the Kanheri spur is greatly worn by the storms of the south-west monsoon. There remains a black brow, as if roughly cut in a series of arches, overhanging a hollow gallery (West's 38-41) of light brown rock, the burying-ground of the old Kanheri monks. Above the overhanging crest, the rounded slope of the hill-top swells, without bushes or grass, to a flat plateau of black rock, crowned by patches of brushwood, prickly pear, and stunted trees. The rest of the Kanheri spur, like its south-west face, is one long dome-topped block of black trap, a paradise for cave-cutters.

Passing under the west cliff, up a deeply wooded ravine, a flight of worn steps leads, across a broad

brushwood-covered terrace, to the slightly overhanging scarp in whose west face is cut the Great or Cathedral Cave (No. 3). The Great Cave stands near the mouth of a narrow ravine, marked blue on the map, which runs nearly east and west in a deeply-worn channel. On both sides of this narrow ravine the face of the rock is carved into caves. Along the low north bank there is room for only one row of caves. But the lofty dome of the south bank is carved into three irregular tiers, joined by long roughly cut flights of shallow steps. Behind the lines of caves, on the north bank, approached by roughly cut flights of steps, are two knobs of rock, with remains of relic shrines or burial-mounds, and, on the top of the south bank, above the lines of caves, the sloping sides and long flat table of rock are carved into steps and cisterns, and were once crowned by burial-mounds and relic shrines or temples.

The view from the hill top is bounded to the north by the scarp of Kaman, which, rising from a thickly wooded slope, though hollowed and broken by the weather, bears traces of more than one cave front. To the south a high

wooded bank hides the distant view. But east and west Kanheri hill commands the whole breadth of Salsette from Bombay harbour to the mouth of the Bassein creek. To the east, across forest-clad slopes, lies Tulsi lake, with its small bare islets and its circle of high wooded hills. Beyond Tulsi is a belt of thick forest, then a gleam of Vihar lake, and, beyond Vihar, rice fields and salt wastes stretch dim and grey to Bombay harbour. To the west lies the beautiful Tulsi valley, a large deep cup-shaped hollow. Its gentle slopes are richly covered with forests, brightened by tufts of light green bamboo, with lines of black rock and glades of withered grass. Beyond the hills, the deep green' belts of brab-palms and mango groves are broken by yellow patches of rice and grass land. Then, through a flat of bare brown salt waste, wind the narrow sail-brightened waters of the Gorai creek, and, beyond the creek, stretches the long level line of Gorai island. Along the north-west winds the Bassein creek, and, over the ruins and palm groves of Bassein, the sea fades into the sky.

The site of the caves, lonely, picturesque, and not far from the rich trade centres of Sopara, Kalyan, and Chemula, combines the three leading characteristics of the sites of the chief groups of Western India rock temples. But Kanheri is the only rock-cut monastery in Western India that has the feeling of having been, and of being ready again to be, a pleasant and popular dwelling place. The rows of cells water cisterns dining halls lecture halls and temples joined by worn flights of rock-cut steps, and the crowded burial gallery show what a huge brotherhood must once have lived at Kanheri. In many of the better caves, the front court-yard with its smooth rockfloor broad benches and gracefully rising side walls, the shaded water cistern, the neat flight of easy steps leading to the cave door, the deep flat eave, the cool veranda, the well-lit hall with its windows of stone lattice, the slim graceful sculptures, and the broad easy benches hewn. at many of the best view points, have a pleasing air of comfort, refinement, and love of nature; while the long stretches of clean black rock, the steps and the court-yards free from earth, weeds, or brushwood, look as if lately swept and made ready for a

fresh settlement of religious recluses. It is, says Mr. Nairne, a town carved in the solid rock, which, if the monks and the worshippers returned, would, in a day or two, be as complete as when first inhabited. ' All things in their place remain as all were ordered ages since.' [Nairne's Konkan, 15.]

### **History.**

The centre of trade and population, on which the Kanheri monastery originally chiefly depended, was, probably, about three miles to the west, at the mouth of the Tutsi valley, somewhere near the site of the deserted village of Magathan, which appears in one of the cave inscriptions as Mangalthan. Pilgrims, no doubt, came from the east, by Vehar and Tulsi, but the main approach was from the west, perhaps by way of Padan hill, up the Tasu valley, which was probably cleared and tilled and provided with an easy road.

Kanhagiri, the old name of the hill, perhaps the Prakrit corruption of the Sanskrit Krishnagiri or Krishna's hill,



seems to show that the fame and holiness of Kanheri date from before the rise of Buddhism. [Though it seems probable that the early Brahman settlers, who were drawn to the Vaitarna and to Sopara, would also attach religious importance to the hill that crowns the island of Salsette, this derivation is not certain. Kanhagiri may simply mean the black hill. Again it seems possible that the name is older than the Brahmans, and that the original form of the word was Khanderi, the Dravidian Sea Hill, and that the Aryan settlers slightly changed the name, as Musalman settlers often did in later times, to a word that gave a meaning in their own tongue.

An apparent reference to the Kanheri caves in the Mahabharata (B.C. 1400) looks like a late Brahmanical interpolation. It occurs in the *Pandavtirthyatra* or Pilgrimage of the Pandavs, and runs as follows: After Yudhishtira had seen these and other holy places one after another, the Wish-Granted One saw the very holy Shurparaka. Then, crossing a narrow belt of sea (the Bassein creek), he came to a world-famed forest, where, in

times of yore, gods had done penance and kings sacrificed to gain religious merit. Here the Long and Sturdy Armed One saw the altar of the son of Richika, foremost among bowmen, surrounded by crowds of ascetics and worthy of worship by the virtuous. There the king saw charming and holy temples of the Vasus, of the Maruts, of the two Ashvins, of Vaivasvata, Aditya (?), Kubera, Indra, Vishnu, and the all-pervading Savita (?), of Bhava, the moon, the sun, of Varuna lord of the waters, of the Sadhyas, of Brahma, of the Pitris, of Rudra with his *ganas*, of Sarasvati, of the Siddhas and other holy gods. Presenting the wise men of the neighbourhood with clothes and rich jewels, and bathing in all the holy pools, he came back to Shurparaka. Mahabharata (Bom. Ed.) Vanaparva, cap. cxviii.] The Buddhist legends place the conversion of the Konkan to Buddhism as early as the lifetime of Gautama (B.C. 560-481).[Burnouf's Int. a l'Histoire du Buddhisme Indien, I. 255-275. The story is a legend. Gautama almost certainly never left northern India.] The story is that Purna, the chief of the Sopara merchants, was so affected by hearing Buddhist hymns sung by merchants from Shravasti

near Benares, that he determined to become a follower of Gautama. Leaving Sopara he set out for Shravasti where Gautama was living, and, on presenting himself as a disciple, was received with honour. He soon rose to a high place among Gautama's followers, and, anxious to show his zeal for the faith, asked leave of his master to preach the law in the country of Shronaparanta, apparently the Konkan. Gautama reminded him how fierce and cruel the people were. But Purna persisted, and, promising to overcome violence by patience, was allowed to make the attempt. His quiet fearlessness disarmed the wild men of Aparanta. Numbers became converts, and monasteries were built and flourished. [The details, hundreds of beds, seats, carpets, cushions adorned with figures, and carved pedestals, apply to a late period] Shortly after, Purna's brother and some merchants from Shravasti, on the point of shipwreck off the Malabar coast, called on Purna to help them, and he, appearing in their midst, calmed the storm. On reaching Sopara they built a Buddhist temple with their cargo of sandalwood, and its opening was honoured by the presence of Gautama, who converted the city to his

faith. [A passage in Fah Hian (A.D. 420, Beal 141), which seems to refer to Kanheri (see below, p. 126), states that the monastery was dedicated to Kashyapa the Buddha who came before Gautama. This Kashyapa is said to have been a Benares Brahman who lived about B.C. 1000 (Hardy's Eastern Monachism, 89). He was worshipped by Devadatta who seceded from Gautama (Rhys Davids, 76, 181). The sect was still in existence in A.D. 400 (Beal's Fah Hian, 82-83; Remusat's Foe Koue Ki, 175-179).] About B.C. 246, when Ashok determined to spread Buddhism over India, a certain Dharmarakshita, called Yona or the Yavan (that is, probably the Baktrian) was sent to Aparanta or the Konkan and made many converts. [Fergusson and Burgess' Cave Temples of India, 17. Aparanta, says Professor Bhandarkar, must be the western coast below the Sahyadris. In the fourth canto of the Raghuvamsh (Distichs 52, 53, and 58) Kalidas represents Raghu as crossing the Sahya to conquer Aparant, and as, by means of his immense army, making the sea to appear as if it touched the Sahya mountain. Trans. Sec Or. Cong. 313. So also Pandit Bhagvanlal writes (Ind. Ant. VII. 259): 'Aparanta

corresponds with the modern Konkana, from Gokarn in north Kanara to the Damanganga, the frontier river of Gujarat, or perhaps even further north to the Tapti.' In a passage in the Mahabharat, it is stated that Arjuna, after visiting the sanctuary of Pashupati at Gokarn, travelled to all the holy places in Aparanta, and, following the coast, finally arrived in Prabhas, that is Veraval in south Kathiawar. According to the Yadava Kosh, 'The Aparantas are the western lands; they are Shurparaka and others.' The commentator on Vatsyayanas Kamasutra (A.D. 200?) calls Aparanta the coast of the western ocean, and according to Varahamihira (A.D. 550) it is a western country.]

None of the Kanheri caves shows certain signs of being as old as the time of Ashok. But the simple style of Caves 5, 8, 9, 58, and 59, ranks them amongst the earliest class of caves which vary in date from B.C. 100 to A.D. 50. This early date is supported by an inscription (No. 26) in Nasik Cave III., which shows that, in the time of Gotamiputra II. (A.D. 177-196), Kanheri, though so small a hill, was famous enough to be ranked with the Sahya, Vindhya, and

Malaya mountains. [Foe Koue Ki, 316; Trans. Sec. Ori. Cong. 311.] An inscription in Kanheri Cave No. 5 shows that, as early as the reign of Vasisthiputra (A.D. 140), cisterns were made for older caves. Of about fifty inscriptions that have been deciphered ten, from the form of the letters, seem to date from before the Christian era. The rule of the Shatakarni kings (B.C. 200 -A.D. 350), especially the reign of Gotamiputra II. (A.D. 177-196), seems to have been a time of prosperity at Kanheri. To about this time belong twenty of the fifty inscriptions, recording grants by kings ministers and traders of caves, cisterns, lands, and money. Among the caves that belong to this period are the entire third tier, including the great Cathedral Cave No. 3.[The flourishing state of Kanheri in the second and third centuries, and the close trade connection between Egypt and the Konkan at that time make it probable that much of the European knowledge of Buddhism was gained from Kanheri monks. The Brahmans who wrote the account of their religion for the Roman governor of Egypt (470), and who had been employed in their own country in carrying food from the towns to

monks who lived on a great hill, were perhaps Kanheri acolytes. (Lassen's Ind. Alt, III. 378, IV. 907). The correct ideas of Buddhism held by Clemens of Alexandria (A.D. 200), who was the first European who knew the word Buddha and who speaks of the Shramans worshipping pyramids which they believed to hold the bones of some god, and of Porphyry (A.D. 300), who described the Shramans as a mixture of classes who shaved their heads and wore tunics, abandoned their families and lived in colleges spending their time in holy conversation and getting daily doles of rice (Talboys Wheeler, IV. 240), were perhaps taken from the same source. [Mr. Priaulx (J. R. A. S. XX. 298) notices with surprises, that, while Clemens Alexandrinus (A.D. 200) had a correct idea of Buddha, in the fifth and sixth centuries not even Kosmas (535) seems to have had any idea of the religion. Can the explanation be that, in the worship of that time, Buddha had lost the position which he held under the older people, and, that the ground work of the religion was hidden under a mass of spirits and *bodhisattvas*. Another man who, according to Christian writers of the third and fourth

centuries [Archelaus in his Archelai et Manetis Disputatio (A.D. 275-279); Cyril's Catacheses (A.D. 361); and the Heresies of Esiphanius (A.D. 375)] brought the influence of Buddhism to bear on Christianity may have gained his knowledge of Buddhism from Kanheri monks. This man was Skythaenus, the teacher of Terebinthus, and the originator of the peculiar doctrines of the Manichaeans. He lived during the time of the Apostles, and was said to be a native of Palestine, familiar with Greek, and a merchant who traded to India. He visited India several times and learned Indian philosophy. In his maturer years he married Hypsele, an Egyptian slave, and settled in Alexandria, where he mastered the learning of the Egyptians and wrote four books, the source of the Manichaen doctrine. He then went to Judaea with Terebinthus, disputed with the Apostles of Christ, and died there. At his death Terebinthus inherited his books and wealth, and, going to Babylon, proclaimed himself learned in the wisdom of the Egyptians and took the name of Buddha (Bouddas). J. R. A. S. XX. 271.]

It was probably in the fourth century that the sculptured stone tope in cave No. 38 was built; and it was followed in the fifth century by a tope near cave No. 3. Additions both of fresh caves and of new ornaments in old caves seem to have continued through the fifth and sixth centuries, ten of the fifty inscriptions dating from that period. These additions belong to the late or Mahayana school and are much more ornate than the older caves. To this period belong the Darbar Cave (No. 10) and others at the end of the first row, the two large statues of Gautama at the ends of the veranda of the Cathedral Cave (No. 3), and several chapels. In the beginning of the fifth century (420) Fah Hian described from hearsay a monastery in the Deccan, in a hilly barren land, whose people were heretics knowing neither the Buddhist nor the Brahman religion. Windows were pierced in many parts of the hill, and at the four corners flights of steps led up the hillside. The monastery was well supplied with water. A spring at the top flowed before the rooms encircling each tier, and on reaching the lowest chamber passed through the gate. [Beal, 141; Remusat's *Foe Koue Ki*, 314-317. Though this is curiously

like De Couto's account (see below, p. 149), the rest of Fah Hian's description makes the identification with Kanheri very doubtful. He says the monastery was formed of five stories or tiers, the lowest in the shape of an elephant, the second of a lion, the third of a horse, the fourth of an ox, and the fifth of a dove.] Hiwen Thsang (640), though he passed through the Deccan, seems not to have heard of Kanheri. [Cunningham (*Ane. Geog.* 556) considers that Kanheri is the convent which Hiwen Thsang (*Stan. Julien Mem. Sur. les Contrees Occ.* II. 156) describes as built in a dark valley in a range of hills in the east of Maharashtra, with walls covered with sculptures showing the events in Gautama's life. But this account, though confused, seems to apply much more closely to Ajanta (see *Khandesh Stat. Act. Bom. Gaz.* XII. 480, 481). Shortly after Hiwen Thsang's time, Kanheri perhaps gained an important addition in the person of Chandrakuti, the head of the Nalanda monastery near Benares, who, being defeated by Chandragomme, fled to the Konkan. Vassilief's *Boaddisme*, 207.] This was the time of the spread of the Rathods of Malkhet near Haidarabad, staunch followers of

Shiv and connected with the Elura and perhaps with the Elephanta caves, who, during the eighth and ninth centuries, seem to have wrested the north Deccan and Konkan from the Chalukyas. Before the end of the eighth century gifts were again made to Kanheri. Two of the Kanheri inscriptions dated 853 and 877, belong to the ninth century. These gifts are of little importance, none of them being more than grants of money. So far as the inscriptions have been read no further additions were made. Up to the middle of the thirteenth century Thana was under the rule of the Silharas, who though Shaivs seem not to have interfered with the practice of Buddhism. [The Kolhapur Silhara Gandaraditya (1110) built a temple to Buddha and endowed it with land. J. B. B. R. A. S. XIII. 10. None of the Thana Silhara grants which have yet been deciphered make any mention of Buddha.] From the Silharas it passed to the Devgiri Yadavs (1250-1318), who were staunch Shaivs. But neither the Yadavs nor their Musalman successors were firmly established in the Konkan. Only a few outposts were held, and it is not certain whether Salsette was under Gujarat or under the Deccan. In either

case Kanheri seems to have been undisturbed, and, as late as the middle of the fifteenth century (1440), Buddhist monks were building relic shrines. [See the stone pots with ashes and some coins of Ahmad Bahmani (1440) mentioned below (p. 175) as found in cave 13.] Nearly a century later (1534), when the Portuguese conquered Salsette, the Kanheri caves were still the home of a large colony of ascetics. The leaders were converted to Christianity and the life of the monastery was brought to an end. The Portuguese speak of the ascetics as Yogis and they may have been Brahmanic ascetics. But several details recorded by the first Portuguese writers (1538-1603) make it probable that they were Buddhist monks, and that the great Buddhist monastery of Kanheri remained in life until its leaders were made Christians by the Portuguese. [Dom Joao de Castro (1538) (Primeiro Roteiro da Costa da India, 75-81) notices that the object of worship was a great round ball (the relic shrine). This would seem to prove that the worshippers were Buddhists. But it is possible that the relic shrine was taken for a huge *ling*, as Forbes' (Or. Mem. I. 425) informant told him in 1774, and as seems to be the

case at the present day in the neighbouring Kondivte caves where the relic shrine is known as Mahakal, that is Shiv the Destroyer. According to Hove, as late as 1787, ' the Hindus at Kanheri paid adoration to the round pillar at the head of cave No. 3 resembling the crown of a hat about sixteen feet high and fourteen in diameter (Tours, 13). The view that the monks found by the Portuguese were Buddhists is confirmed by Couto's (1603) sketch of Saint Jehosaphat (below, p. 150), which shows that in 1534 the Kanheri monks had a correct knowledge of Gautama's life.

Buddhism lingered nearly as late in other parts of India. In Bengal the famous monastery of Nalanda was rebuilt early in the eleventh century (1015-1040), and at Buddha Gaya the celebrated temple of Bodhidruma was not finished till the end of the thirteenth century. In the Deccan, near Miraj, a Buddhist temple was built in the twelfth century (1110, J. B. B. R. A. S. XIII. 10). At Amravati, near the mouth of the Krishna, there was a Buddhist temple in the twelfth century, a tooth relic till perhaps the beginning of the fourteenth century, and a

remnant of Buddhists as late as 1503. Fergusson's Tree and Serpent Worship, 156; Fergnsson and Burgess' Cave Temples, 132, 398.]

The twelve hundred years of Buddhist ascendancy (B.C. 450-A.D. 750) may be roughly divided into four periods, each period marked by the development of a new theory, or gospel, of the way to enlightenment and rest. The gospel of the first period was conduct, of the second metaphysics, of the third mysticism, of the fourth magic. Conduct dates from Gautama (B.C. 500), metaphysics from about B.C. 200, mystery from about A.D. 100, and magic from about A.D. 500. Though the elder systems were to some extent eclipsed by the younger, they seem to have continued side by side till the fall of Buddhism.

### **Buddhism.**

Gautama's maxims have been so changed and so overlaid by later teachers, that it is hard to say how much of Buddhism comes from the founder of the faith. [Vassiliefs views of the comparatively modern date

of many of the doctrines and institutions that the Buddhist scriptures ascribe to Gautama are, as is noticed in detail below, borne out in several particulars by the evidence of the sculptures in the early Buddhist monuments at Katak (B.C. 300), Bharhut (B.C. 200), Sanchi (A.D. 50), and Amravati (A.D. 300-400).] In any case, whether it was started by Gautama or was a later development, the original Buddhist philosophy seems to have been taken from earlier Hindu thinkers. The Buddhists were originally a sect of Hindus, and the Brahmans seem to have in no way interfered with the efforts of the early Buddhists to spread their doctrines. [Rhys Davids, 84, 85.] The new philosophy seems to have taught that matter existed, but that there was neither soul nor self. Man was a collection of attributes, sensations, ideas, and tendencies; all is changing, nothing is steadfast. [Rhys Davids, 94, 95.] Though nothing is steadfast and there is no self or soul, the thing done or *karma* remains, and, according as it is good or bad, enters on a new existence more or less miserable. These new existences are an evil. They are the result of unrest or yearning. Yearning can be quenched by leaving the world

and leading a life of moderate asceticism, overcoming the passions, and preparing for the fading of self and desire in the stirless rest of *nirvana*. Laymen cannot reach this final goal of complete rest. But they can improve their future by their present conduct, by leading kindly and sober lives, and by free-handed gifts to ascetics. The four great truths seem to be as old as Gautama. That all men suffer, that the root of sorrow is desire or yearning, that sorrow dies when desire is quenched, and that a holy and thoughtful life quenches desire. That to lead a holy and thoughtful life the memory, beliefs, feelings, thoughts, words, and deeds must be right. And that these being right the changes of life and death lead by four stages, conversion, one more life, the last life, and perfection, to the state of rest or *nirvana*, where self ceases to trouble and desire is dead. [Rhys Davids, 106-111.]

Gautama's followers seem from the first to have been divided into lay and ascetic. For long the ascetics were hermits living by themselves under trees, in huts, or in natural caves, probably in no case living together or



forming organised bodies of monks. [Fergusson and Burgess' Caves, 68. The Katak caves in Orissa (B.C. 200 - A.D. 100, the age is doubtful, see Ditto 70) and the Bharhut sculptures in Central India (B.C. 200-100) have representations of hermits' huts. In neither are there traces of monasteries or of ascetics in the regular garb of Buddhist monks. Cunningham's Bharhut Stupa, 30.] Among the objects of early Buddhist worship were trees, [Each Buddha had his *bodhi* tree or Tree of Knowledge. Of the four last Buddhas Gautama's tree was the *pipal* *Ficus religiosa*, Kashyapa's the banyan *Ficus indica*, Kanaka's the *umbar* *Ficus glomerata*, and Krakuchchhanda's the *shirish* or *Acacia sirisa*. Cunningham's Bharhut Stupa, 108. Tree worship was probably part of an earlier religion. Curtius (VIII. 9, B.C. 325) says, the Shramans or Buddhists worship chiefly trees which it is death to injure. The trees were at first associated with the different Buddhas; they afterwards seem to have been considered a symbol of the congregation.] relic and memorial shrines, [The worship of relic shrines seems to have been older than Gautama's time and to have received

his approval. Details are given below, p. 175.] wheels representing the law, and a triple symbol that included the relic shrine, the wheel, and the tree. From early times marks of Gautama's feet, his head-dress, girdle, alms-bowl, bathing robe, drinking vessel, and seat or throne were also worshipped. [Cunningham's Bhilsa Topes, 107-112.] The only figure that occurs as an object of worship in the early sculptures is Shri or Lakshmi the goddess of wealth.[Shri's image is common at Katak, one occurs at Bharhut, ten at Sanchi, and many at the Junnar caves. Lakshmi remained a Buddhist goddess till in the seventh century she went over to the Vaishnavs. Fergusson and Burgess' Caves, 72, 151.] Buddhist temples are probably of late origin.[Vassilief's Bouddisme, 88. Fergusson (Cave Temples of India, 91) notices the absence of a temple in the Katak group. Rajendralal Mitra (Buddha Gaya, 128, 129) says temples were not thought of till the time of Ashok.]

Even in the time of Ashok (B.C. 250) there is a marked absence of many of the chief features of the later Buddhism. His edicts make almost no reference to

Gautama or Buddha, and their religion consists purely in conduct. The common people are to obey their parents, to be liberal to their relations and friends and to Brahman and Buddhist beggars, to be thrifty, to shun slander and the taking of life, and to confess their sins. The rulers are to found hospitals and to regulate the public morals. Though in the latter part of his reign Ashok is said to have granted them great endowments, his edicts make no mention of monasteries, and Brahman and Buddhist ascetics are spoken of as equally worthy of support. Trees and relic or memorial shrines were still the only objects of worship. [Duncker's History of Antiquity, IV. 532. Talboys Wheeler, III. 216-238. One monastery the Jarasandha-kabaitak at Rajgir or Rajagriha in Bihar seems to be older than Ashok. Fergusson and Burgess, 303.] But noble memorial mounds were raised at places famous in Gautama's life, and the practice of making pilgrimages was established.

The practical working of Gautama's teaching seems to have been very little at variance with the established social

system. Neither at first nor afterwards does Buddhism seem to have given offence to Brahmanism by interfering with caste. Gautama's law was a law of mercy for all. But this equality was religious not social. Men were equal because all were mortal and subject to suffering. Shudras were allowed to become ascetics. But the feeling of equality was not strong enough to embrace the impure classes or Chandals whom the Buddhists at first, and probably during the whole of their history, regarded with not less loathing than the Brahmans. Early-Buddhism had no room for the Chandal. [Vassilief's Bouddisme, 181.] The less practical mysticism and magic of the later schools was in theory more liberal. To win power over nature you must grasp its secret, to grasp its secret you must have perfect sympathy with nature, sympathy to be perfect must include a kindness for what is foulest and most revolting in nature, therefore you must pity, perhaps associate with the Chandal. [Vassilief's Bouddisme; 181.] This enthusiasm for the outcaste seems to have rested in words. As late as the fifth century after Christ, Fah Hian found that in Mathura, where Buddhism was in honour, the

Chandals or impure tribes were forced to live by themselves, and when they went into a town had to sound a bell or strike a piece of bamboo that people might know they were coming and hold aloof.[Beal's Fah Hian, 55; Remusat's Foe Koue Ki, 105.] So far from men of the lowest classes being admitted into the Buddhist community a monk might not even receive alms from a Chandal. [Remusat's Foe Koue Ki, 105. A monk might not take alms from five classes, singers and players, courtezans, tavern-keepers, kings in case they might be annoyed, and Chandals.] On the Other hand Brahman converts were treated with special respect. One of the marks of honour shown to the champion or chief scholar of a Buddhist monastery was that his attendants were Brahmans, not ordinary monks. [Stan. Julian's Mem. Sur. les Con. Occ. I. 79.] And some of the Brahman monks seem to have been so proud of their birth as to hold themselves defiled by the touch of any one who was not a Brahman. [Fah Hian mentions a famous Brahman teacher of Buddhism, who, if the king from affectionate esteem took him by the hand, washed himself from head to foot.

Beal, 105; Remusat's Foe Koue Ki, 254; T. Wheeler, III. 257. Gautama seems to have continued to consider himself a Kshatri. His images are represented as wearing the sacred cord. Rajendralal's Buddha Gaya, 131.]

As regards the laity neither Gautama nor his successors seem to have interfered with the social arrangements of caste. Gautama's equality, says M. St. Hilaire, [Buddhisme, 210.] is philosophic, the admission that all men are liable to suffer and may escape from suffering. He was not a social reformer. He did not try to alter Indian society. He wished to heal the human race. [Buddhisme, 210.] Obedience is one of the great duties of the laity, not license to break through marriage or other rules. So Ashok says, " When you are called to a feast, ask what is your host's caste, and when you are arranging a marriage find out to what caste the family belongs. But among ascetics you should think of their virtues not of their caste. Caste has nothing to do with the religious law; the religious law does not concern itself with caste." [Buddhisme, 163. The Buddhist rules about caste seem much the same as the rules now in force

amongst the flourishing Gujarat sect of the Svami Narayans. The Svami-Narayan theory is that all men are equal and a member of any caste may become a monk. The impure tribes are alone excepted. On the other hand special respect is shown to Brahmacharis or monks of Brahman birth. As regards the laity the sect has nothing to do with caste. No attempt is made to break caste rules. Considering how often in Buddhist times the conversion of a king, or the success of a preacher, changed a province from Brahmanism to Buddhism and from Buddhism to Brahmanism, it seems almost impossible that to adopt the worship of the new sect carried with it any practical change in the marriage laws.]

To meet the advance of Buddhism the Brahmans revised those parts of their system which the success of Buddhism showed to be unpopular. In place of the cold abstraction of the world soul [Duncker's History of Antiquity, IV. 126-136.] two local deities, Shiv the fierce god of the hills and Vishnu the kindly spirit of the plains, were raised to be the rulers of men. [Shiv and Vishnu are

mentioned as early as the sixth century B.C. (Duncker, IV. 325). According to Burnouf (Int. a l'Histoire du Bud. Ind. I. 554) Shiv was in power in Western India before Buddhism. On the other hand Fergusson (Tree and Serpent Worship, 216) is not satisfied that Shiv and Rudra are the same, and holds that Shiv is a late god.] To help this change in religion, in the third century before Christ, the old epic poems, the Mahabharat and Ramayana were remodelled and added to and the favourite heroes were made either worshippers or incarnations of Shiv and Vishnu. Shiv was a dread power but his favour could be won by due ceremonies and sacrifices. And, round Vishnu and his incarnations, stories clustered that showed him to be not less kindly or less ready than Buddha to sacrifice his ease for the good of men. 'When right falls to sleep and wrong wakes to power I create myself to free the good and to destroy the bad.' [Duncker, IV. 496.] This gentle kindly god called for no sacrifice of life. Offerings of flowers fruit and water were enough. [Duncker, 494. Vaishnavism probably rose in the same part of India as Buddhism. How closely the two faiths are connected is shown by the fact

that Jagannath in the east is a Buddhist emblem, Vithoba in the west a Buddhist or a Jain image, and Buddha the ninth incarnation of Vishnu. Fergusson and Burgess, 74; Cunningham's Bhilsa Topes, 158, 356, 361. Stevenson in J. R. A. S. VII. 5.] To counteract the fame of the places which Gautama's life had made holy, the sanctity of the shrines of the new gods and of other places of Brahman interest and the high merit of visiting them was proclaimed.[Duncker (IV. 508) thinks that it was the new passion for making pilgrimages that gave the Brahmans their name of Tirthyas and Tirthikas. This seems doubtful. Wheeler's (III. 126) opinion that the name means pure livers, in allusion to their practice of going about naked, seems to be that generally held.] To meet the Buddhist philosophy, about B.C. 300, a new version of the old system of *yog* or abstraction was brought forward by Yajnavalkya. According to the new system the proper purifying of the mind enables the soul to leave the body and lose itself in the world soul. This new doctrine was accompanied by the preaching that gentleness, kindness and temperance are higher than penance and sacrifice, and

by the opening of the way of salvation to Shudras as well as to the higher classes. [Duncker (IV. 516) writes as if Yajnavalkya had founded the system of *yog* or contemplation. But some of the doctrines were older than Buddhism. T. Wheeler, III. 100, 116.] A scheme for Brahman monasteries formed part of the system. [Duncker, IV. 520.]

This form of the doctrine of *yog* or contemplation had a great influence on the future of Buddhism. Not long after Yajnavalkya, a teacher named Nagarjuna, rose among the Buddhists preaching a new doctrine. [According to Buddhist accounts Nagarjuna lived from 400 to 600 years. He may represent a school of teachers. Vassiliefs Le Bouddisme, 28-31, 34, 37.] This new gospel, which he said he had found in writings left by Gautama under the charge of the Nagas or dragons till the minds of men should be ready to receive them, taught that meditation not conduct led to freedom from desire and to rest or extinction. Before the time of Nagarjuna the followers of the old system had been split into eighteen sects. These sects joined into two

schools, and finally united into one body, to oppose the new system which they said was borrowed from the heretics. [The heretics mentioned are the Lokhiatas and Nigrantas. Vassilief's *Le Bouddisme*, 71.] The rivalry lasted over several hundred years. At last, in the first century after Christ, a great teacher named Areiasanga defeated the champions of conduct and established thought as the path to perfection. [Vassiliefs *Le Bouddisme*, 28-31,34, 37, 77.] This new doctrine was accompanied by a metaphysical nihilism according to which everything is void or unreal. [Vassilief, 123; Burnouf's *Int. I.* 558.] A later branch of the same school seems to have held, that the soul in man and the soul of the universe can have communion. But that this communion must be reached by abstraction, not by thinking, for thought is ignorance and to keep the mind pure it must not be disturbed by thought. [Vassilief, 135.] These new metaphysical doctrines were accompanied by a change in the ideal of conduct from the personal striving to reach perfection by a virtuous life to a broad enthusiasm for self sacrifice. The new religion was a religion of love and pity. [Vaasilief's *Le*

*Bouddisme*, 124. This love was the Buddhist charity or alms-giving. It was without limits. Buddha came into the world only to save. His followers should shrink from no sacrifice that is likely to benefit a living being. So Buddha gives his body as a meal to a starving tigress and a young disciple throws himself overboard as a sacrifice to the storm. See St. Hilaire, 140.] There was also a change in the objects of worship. The image to Buddha as an ascetic took the chief place in front of the relic shrine. [The first image of Gautama is said to have been carved by a converted demon and the second by a heavenly sculptor. There is one image of Gautama as a man to the Sanchi sculptures (A.D. 50). But, according to Fergusson, his image as an ascetic did not come into ordinary use till about A.D. 300 (Fergusson and Burgess, 73). Cunningham puts the introduction of images as early as B.C. 100. In his opinion the first image came from the half-Greek Panjab (Bharhut Stupa, 107). About A.D. 300 the worship of relic shrines gave place to the worship of images, and the shrine became little more than an image frame or setting (Fergusson and Burgess, 179, 180).] And, by degrees, there were added the

images of past Buddhas, of Bodhisattvas or future Buddhas, and of several male and female divinities. [Vassilief's *Le Bouddisme*, 124-126; St. Hilaire, 92. A Bodhisattva is the present form of the thing done, or *karma*, which will produce future Buddhas. The first of Bodhisattvas is the next Buddha, the Maitreya or kindly Buddha (Rhys Davids, 200), and the most popular was Avalokiteshvar the manifest god or the god who looks from on high. (Rhys Davids, 203). These Bodhisattvas probably owe their origin to the belief that Gautama had passed through rest or *nirvana* into utter extinction, *parinirvana*, and that therefore help must be sought from some other source (Rhys Davids, 200). So Fah Hian (430), in fear of shipwreck, calls on Avalokiteshvar, to bring daylight (Beal, 169; Foe Koue Ki, 359; Burnouf's Introduction, 347). The covenant between Amitabha, or boundless light, and his son Avalokiteshvar, the manifest god, is traced by Mr. Beal to Christian influence. (Fah Hian, LXXII). In the tenth century northern Buddhism went a step further inventing a primordial or Adi Buddha (Rhys Davids, 206). Indra was the chief among the gods

and Tara among the goddesses. (Fergusson and Burgess' *Cave Temples*, 133). In different parts of the country some of the old Buddhist images are preserved and worshipped as Brahmanic deities. Thus at Buddha Gaya Vajrapani's image is now Vagishvari and Padmapani's image is now Savitri. Rajendralal's *Buddha Gaya*, 137 plate xxxii.]

While this new doctrine and worship were being introduced, the establishment of great monasteries led to many changes in the practice of Buddhist asceticism. The leaders of the religion held the convenient doctrine that no law of Buddhism can run contrary to good sense. [Vassiliefs *Le Bouddisme*, 68.] So when monasteries were formed and missionary work was undertaken in distant parts of India, the original rules about observing the rains as a specially holy season were altered, and, as monasteries became endowed with lands and revenues, the rules about living on alms and dressing in the poorest clothes were laid aside. [Vassiliefs *Le Bouddisme*, 86, 87.] Another result of the new doctrine, that perfection lay through thought and metaphysic and not through conduct,

was the development among the monks of a passion for dialectic, and the moulding of the doctrines of their faith into a more correct and polished form than that in which they originally appeared. Their warmer beliefs in the virtue of self-sacrifice and in the kindly interest which Higher Beings took in the affairs of men, led to the use of richer and freer decoration in their monasteries and temples.

As regards the ordinary life of the lay Buddhists there is little information. The sculptures at Sanchi and Amravati seem to show that in the first, and, to a less extent, in the fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian era, the people were more given to liquor drinking, dancing, and war making, than might have been expected in the followers of so mild and so ascetic a faith. But it is doubtful how far these scenes are meant to represent actual Buddhist life. [Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*, 223, 224. The war at Sanchi was a religious war connected with a relic (Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*, 215), and it seems possible that most of the love-making and drinking scenes represent

the pleasures of Gautama's life before he became a recluse.]

Some of the doctrines of the new system were little removed from mysticism. They passed into a form of spiritual physics, according to which the mind by concentration can be raised above itself and work wonders. [Vassilief, 135, 137.] One means of raising the mind to this state of mystic trance is to keep noting the number of outward and inward breathings till the sense of past, present and future fades, and the mind, free from the trammels of time, shares in the enlightenment and in the supernatural powers of higher and perfect beings. [Vassilief, 138, 140.] The teachers of this school set up two goals of thought. One goal, called *samadhi*, consisted in driving from the mind all impressions from without or from within; the other goal, called *vaipashyam*, consisted in mastering the root idea of all subjects of thought. [Vassilief, 141.] So Bodhidharma, one of the sixth century leaders of Buddhism, taught complete indifference as the way to perfection. Doing



nothing and mental abstraction led to self-absorption, lust was quenched, and happiness gained. To this school belonged the Indian exile whom the Chinese named the wall-gazing Brahman, because, for nine years, he sat with his face to a wall. [Beal's Fah Hian, XXX. The indifference of this school did away with all distinctions of right and wrong. To a recluse an enemy or himself, his wife or his daughter, his mother or a prostitute, all should be the same. Burnouf's Int. 558.]

From mysticism of this type the change to magic was slight. Early in the sixth century, Asanga, a Peshavar monk, started the doctrine of *dharani* or the expression of spells or mystic formulas. [Rhys Davids, 208; Vassilief, 141, 142; Fah Hian (420) has no mention of magic charms; Sun Yung (520) notices charms and magical powers (Beal, XXXI.); and iwen Thsang (640) speaks of them with favour. Jul. I. 144; Beal's Fah Hian, LXII. though not based on magical charms the possession of supernatural powers was claimed by Gautama who restored sight and whose relics brought rain (Beal, 78), and Moukian Gautama's

sixth disciple (Remusat's Foe Koue Ki, 32). Saints or *arhats* were also supposed to fly, enter other bodies, dive under water, and pass into the th (Foe Koue Ki, 218).] Every being has its formula; and by saying, or simply thinking, this formula the initiated can bring the being under his control. This relation between the name and the thing named led to *mudra*, the relation between the sign and the thing signified; and this to *tantra*, or magic spells, the last stage of Buddhist development.

Though these *tantras* were soon debased, the original object of gaining magical power was, at least, nominally, as a means of becoming a Buddha. The theory was that as man is made of mind, body and speech, if the devotee adds the new path of magic to the old paths of conduct and thought, the mind may think of Buddha, the body may frame the signs that represent Buddha, and the tongue may repeat the spell that gives power over Buddha, so that under the joint power of these influences, the devotee may shortly be transformed into a Buddha. [Vassilief, 142, 143, 144. Of the *tantra* school Davids writes, "Asanga managed

with great dexterity to reconcile Shaivism and Buddhism by placing Shaiv gods and devils in the lower Buddhist heavens, and by representing them as worshippers and supporters of Buddha and of Avalokiteshvar. He thus made it possible for the half-converted tribes to remain Buddhists while they brought offerings, even bloody offerings, to the more congenial shrines of the Shaivite gods. Their practical belief had no relation to the four truths or the noble eightfold path, but busied itself in obtaining magic powers by magic phrases and magic circles" (Buddhism, 208). As noticed in the text this form of Buddhism does not seem to have passed to Southern India.] The mixture of Shaivism and Buddhism, and the addition of the senseless and degrading rites and rules that were prevalent among the tantra-worshippers of Northern India do not seem to have spread as far south as the Bombay Presidency. [Burnout's Int. I. 354. Burnonf says, " Of the north Indian tantras (558) the pen refuses to write of doctrines as wretched in form as they are hateful and degrading in nature." In his opinion the nearest approach that the Buddhism and

Shaivism of Western India made was their common belief in meditation or *yog* (I. 354).]

This summary of the leading changes that passed over the doctrines, the worship, and the practice of the Buddhists brings to light one of the main causes of their final defeat by the Brahmans. Their system fell from the high morality of its youth and the glowing kindness and self-sacrifice of its prime, if not to the debased magic of the *tantras*, at least to a foolish unreal mysticism. [Bad as it is, says M. St. Hilaire (Buddhisme, 244), modern Brahmanism is better than Buddhism.] Again, while the hungry unwearied army of Brahman village and family priests, careless of doctrine or system, had wound themselves into the home life of the people, naming their children, managing their family rites, telling the fit times for fasting and for feasting, and advising when to sow and when to reap, the Buddhist monasteries had grown rich and sleek, and the monks, no longer forced to seek daily alms or yearly clothing, knew little of the people, and, leaving the old practice of preaching conduct and a kindly life,

gave their strength to the study of dialectic and oratory. [How far the Buddhist monks acted as family priests is doubtful. Duncker (History, IV. 485) seems to give them the place of family priests. And Vassilief (Bouddisme, 88) notices that the modern Lamas take part in birth and death ceremonies and are closely bound up with the life of the people by their knowledge of astrology and medicine. On the other hand Wheeler (III. 98) holds that the Buddhist monks never exercised priestly offices or shared in the family rites of the laity; and this view agrees with the present position of the *Gorjis* or Jain ascetics.] The importance attached to oratory was partly due to the Buddhist principle that they are always open to conviction, because nothing is good Buddhism which can be shown to be bad sense. [Vassilief, 68.] The Buddhists have from the first been famous for their love of debating. Megasthenes (B.C. 300) taunts them with their fondness for wrangling, [See Wheeler, III. 204.] and Gautama is said to have tried to stop their quarrels by warning them that an argumentative monk goes to hell and passes from one birth to another meeting affliction everywhere. [Rhys Davids,

156.] In spite of this, as monasteries grew and as the path to perfection was no longer conduct but thought and metaphysics, the importance of dialectic skill increased. The prosperity of a monastery depended on the argumentative power of its chief. [Beal, LI.] The champion talker of the monastery was treated with the highest honour. He was liable to be challenged by any stranger, and, as was the practice in the times of European chivalry, if the champion was beaten his whole party was at the conqueror's mercy. A monastery that had lasted for ages was sometimes deserted from the result of a single dialectic duel. [Vassilief, 67, 69.] This system undermined the strength of Buddhism in two ways. It loosened the monk's hold on the people and it divided the monasteries, changing them from practical teachers and helpers into isolated unsympathetic theorists who hated each other more than they hated the Brahmans. [Devil-taught was an epithet often used by one sect of Buddhist to another. Vassilief, 57.] The Brahmans were little behind the Buddhists in their zeal for oratory. Hiwen Thsang (640) speaks of Brahman colleges and places of learning being famous and held in

high honour, [Stan. Julien's Hiwen Tshang, I. 76.] and, in the eighth century, when the great Brahman champion Shankaracharya arose the Buddhists trembled. They knew they would be challenged, they knew his arguments, and knowing no answer they shrunk away leaving their monasteries empty. [Vassilief, 67-69. The Brahman champions were Shankaracharya, Kumaralila, and Kanararodu; the Buddhist champion, for whom his side claim several triumphs before his final defeat, was Dharmakirti. Vassilief, 207. What took place in the seventh and eighth centuries occurred again with little change in the sixteenth century. In 1534, after Antonio De Porto had silenced and converted the Buddhist(?) champion of Kanheri, at the sight of him and another, two poor sackcloth-wearing friars, the fifty Brahman monks of Mandapeshvar rose, and, without even a war of words, left their monastery and their lands to the master-talker of the conquering sect. Jour. B. B. R. A. S., I. 38.]

In another important point the Buddhists were inferior to the Brahmans. Paralysed by the quietism and

indifference of their faith, [Courage was one of the laity's six cardinal virtues. But the ideal courage of the Buddhist layman was oddly unlike real courage. It was purely moral, the energy shown in fostering the fruitful seeds of the practice of duty. St. Hilaire, 141.] they had to face a sect the name of whose god was a battle cry and the eloquence of whose champion was probably supported by bands of armed devotees. [The Maratha war cry is, ' Har Har Mahadev,' and the names of both Shiv and Vishnu are mixed with half the warrior heroes of the country. Armed bands of Shaiv and Vaishnav Jogis and Gosais were for long one of the terrors of India. Varthema (1503-1508) (Badger's Varthema, 111, 273) notices how Mahmud Begada (1459-1511) fought with a neighbour king of the Jogis. Every three or four years the king with about 3000 men, and, if not the king, then the Jogis in bands of 30 or 400 went on pilgrimage. They carried sticks with iron rings at the base and iron discs which cut all round like razors. When they arrived at any city every one tried to please them. For should they even kill the first nobleman they would not be punished because they were saints. At

Kalikat, in 1506, Varthema found the Jogi king with 3000 followers, 200 of whom were sent to attack and kill two Christians who were suspected of being in communication with the Portuguese. The two Christians were killed by the sharp iron discs thrown from the Jogis' slings. Barbosa, 1514, (Stanley's Edition, 99-100) describes the Jogis as Upper Indian Hindus well-made men with handsome faces, who, stopping few days in the same place, went in great bands like gypsies, naked barefoot and bareheaded dragging chains from shame that they had allowed the Musalmans to conquer their country. Their hair was made with plaits and wound round their head without ever being combed; their bodies and faces were smeared with ashes and they wore a small horn round their necks with which they called and begged for food chiefly at the houses of great lords and at temples. In 1530 Faria, in his history of the Konkan, calls them Jogis or Kalandars, and notices them as going about in bands of 2000 or more, laying the country under contribution. Kerr's Voyages, VI. 230. The Tabakat-i-Akbari notice a fight in 1547 between Jogis and Sanyasis. ' The Sanyasis were between two and three

hundred in number and the Jogis, who wore only rags, were over five hundred. At length the Jogis were defeated and the Sanyasis left victors (Elliot, V. 318). In 1758 Gosavis were found wandering near Broach, in such numbers that the Nawab drove them out of his territory. Under the Marathas they received a fixed payment (Col. Walker's Letter, 27th January 1805). In 1760 Du Perron notices a chief of Jogis near Surat stark-naked, a Shaivite in religion, who was influential enough to have correspondence over the whole of Asia. He had a great trade in precious stones and carried secret messages. (Zend Avesta, I. cccxvi). In 1764 Niebuhr found Jogis armed and going in troops of several thousands. The two orders of Vairagis and Gosais were sworn enemies, and whenever they met bloody combats ensued. (Pinkerton X. 215). In 1774 Forbes notices them as a class of Hindu mendicants who marched in large bodies through Hindustan, levying heavy contributions. (Oriental Memoirs, II. 9). In 1778 General Goddard, on his march through Bundelkhand, was attacked by a band of 2000 Sanyasis called Shaiv Nagas. (Pennant's Hindustan, II. 192). In 1789 Mahadaji Sindia,

among other changes in the constitution of his army, enlisted large bodies of Gosavis, and formed them into distinct regiments. (Grant Duff, III. 23). Tod (Annals of Rajasthan, I. 67) mentions that the Kanphata Jogis were often in many thousands sought as allies especially in defensive warfare. At the grand military festival at Udepur, the scymitar, symbolic of Mars and worshipped by the Ghelots, was entrusted to them. In Gujarat the Svami-Narayan Sadhus were originally armed, and there are records of great fights at Ahmadabad about 1830 between the and the Vaishnav Vairagis.] In the eighth century Shankaracharya and his patrons, the Rathods of Malkhet, marked the ruin of Buddhist by two of the finest memorials in Western India, the Kailas temple at Elura and, perhaps, the Elephanta caves near Bombay. Unlike Sarnath near Benares, where their monastery was burned to the ground, [Fergusson's Tree and Serpent Worship, 79.] or Madura in Madras where the monks were tortured to death, [The memory of the impaling of the Buddhists of Madura by the Brahmans is still fresh. Taylor's Cat. of Or. MS. III. 56, 144.] the Buddhists of Western India seem to

have been allowed to retire from their caves without violence. There was comparatively little to destroy. Still there seems to be no trace that the Brahmans destroyed images or ornaments.] From the general ruin the eighth and ninth centuries Kanheri escaped. So strong was the Buddhist feeling in the Konkan that the Brahmans seem to have supplanted rather than destroyed the older faith. In the Great Cave at Elephanta and in the Jogeshvari cave, one of the leading characters in which Shiv is shown is as the Great Ascetic, *Maha Yogi*, seated cross-legged, passive and unmoved, lost in thought like a Buddha or a Jain saint, his seat a Buddhist lotus-throne and his supporters Buddhist Nagas. Kanheri probably long remained a place of retirement for Buddhist refugees, perhaps the last resting place from which they took sail for Ceylon, Burmah, and China.

#### **Life at Kanheri, A.D. 100-600.**

Two difficulties stand in the way of an attempt to describe Buddhist life at Kanheri in its days of wealth and prosperity. The first difficulty is that, in the spirit of their

rule that no bad sense is good Buddhism, the Buddhists were always ready to change their practice to suit local circumstances. The second difficulty is, that it is doubtful how far the strict rules originally laid down for lonely hermits were practised when large bodies of monks came to live together in richly endowed monasteries. At an early date [The nominal date is about B.C. 350 (Rhys Davids, 216). But it is doubtful whether there were monasteries before the time of Ashok.] a strong party of monks demanded concessions, among which were such important changes as that a supply of salt might be kept, that solid food and whey might be taken after midday, and that fermented drinks might be used. [These concessions, known as the Ten Indulgences, were: 1, to keep salt; 2, to take solid food after midday; 3, to relax rules when the monks were not in monasteries; 4, to ordain and confess in private houses; 5, that consent might be obtained after an act; 6, that conformity to the example of others was a good excuse for relaxing rules; 7, that whey might be taken after midday; 8, that fermented drinks, if they looked like water might be drunk; 9, that seats might be covered with cloth;

and 10, that gold and silver might be used. Rhys Davids, 216.] This movement was at first defeated. But the party was strong and it is probable that concessions were afterwards made. According to Vassilief, [Le Bouddisme, 87.] when monasteries grew rich the monks sometimes dressed well, traded, and drank liquor as medicine. Still, in spite of changes and irregularities, Fah Hian's, Hiwen Thsang's, and the Ceylon pictures of Buddhist life are sufficiently alike to make it probable that the details give a fairly correct impression of life in the Kanheri monastery from the second to the seventh centuries of the Christian era. [Even during this time periods of prosperity were probably separated by periods of depression.]

#### *The Monastery.*

Kanheri, when rich and famous, differed greatly from its present state of wild liness. The relic mounds were bright with festoons of flags and streamers; the flights of clear-cut steps were furnished with hand-rails, and the neat well-kept cells were fitted with doors and window and shaded with canopies; [Fergusson and Burgess Cave

Temples, 359.] sellers of incense and fruit crowded the gates; groups of worshippers entered and left; and the bands of yellow-robed even-pacing monks and nuns moved over the hill top and across the hill side. On festive days the space in front of the great chapel was decked with flags and silken canopies; the chapels thronged with well-dressed worshippers and full of the scent of incense; the images smothered in flowers; [The lavish use of flowers seems to have been one of the chief features of Buddhist worship. King Bhatikabhayo (B.C. 19-9) is said to have hung the great tope of Ceylon from top to bottom with jasmine garlands and buried the whole building from the steps to the pinnacle with heaps of flowers. Turnour's *Mahavanso*, 211-215; *Bhilsa Topes*, 175.] and the relic shrines festooned more richly than usual with silken flags and variegated streamers. By night the whole hill-side cells, stairs, chapels, and relic shrines would be ablaze with lamps.[See the descriptions in *Beal's Fah Hia.*, 76 and 178. *Burnouf* (*Int. a l' Histoire du Buddhisme Indien*, I. 319) has an account of a monastery furnished with platforms and raised seats with balustrades, windows and trellis

work, with fitly clad monks moving in calm and seemly attitudes. So too, according to *Duncker* (*History*, IV. 468), the monasteries were not uncomfortable. They had central halls and separate cells, platforms, balustrades, lattice windows, and good sleeping places.] Though the monks were poor the monastery was rich. Villages and lands, oxen and servants had been left them, and what was once given was never taken back. [*Beal's Fah Hian*, 55.] Careful accounts were kept, and, at least in later times, a share of the rent was taken in grain and stored in the monastery for the use of the brotherhood. There was probably considerable state. Richly-decked elephants and palanquins took part in processions and gave dignity to the movements of the abbot, the leading elders, or the champion orator of the monastery. Under some learned and prudent head *Kanheri* may, at times, have risen to such a state of high discipline and usefulness as *Hiwen Thsang* (640) found in the *Nalanda* convent in *Behar*. This was the abode of several thousand monks, of pure blameless lives, so talented and learned that the five Indies took them as models. From morning till evening the young and the old



were busy, teaching and learning, and, from all sides, strangers flocked to find from the elders the solution of their doubts. The bulk of the monks belonged to the Great Vehicle, or later school, but all the eighteen sects were represented. A thousand of them could explain twenty books, 500 thirty books, ten fifty books, and one, the head of the convent, had mastered all the sacred writings. [Stanislas Julien's Mem. Sur. les Cont. Occid. II. 45-46; and Talboys Wheeler, III. 271-272.]

### *The Members.*

The members of the Kanheri community belonged to four classes, laymen *upasikas*, laywomen *upayis*, monks *bhikshus*, and nuns *bhikshunis*. [Authorities differ as to whether Buddhist ascetics should be called priests or monks. Hardy (Eastern Monachism, 14) and Duncker (History, IV. 377) call them priests; Talboys Wheeler (III. 128) and Rhys Davids (Buddhism, 152) call them monks. Their duties, and the present position of Buddhist ascetics in Burmah and Jain ascetics in India, seem to show that they were monks and

not priests.]The laity, the bulk of whom seem to have been traders and craftsmen, were received into the community on repeating the words, ' I take refuge in Buddha, I take refuge in the law, I take, refuge in the church.' They lived in their homes, keeping the rules against killing, stealing, adultery, lying and drinking, honouring their fathers and mothers, living by a just calling, avoiding the ten deadly sins, and making liberality, courtesy, kindness, and unselfishness their rule of life. [The ten deadly sins were: Three of the body killing, stealing, and whoring; four of the tongue lying, slander, abuse, and prattle; and three of the mind greed, spite, and unbelief. Rhys Davids, 142.] By the free gift of alms, [The laity's six cardinal virtues were alms, virtue, patience, courage, contemplation, knowledge. Several of these words have special and unusual meanings (St. Hilaire, 139). A favourite Buddhist couplet was, 'Cease from sin, practise virtue, govern the heart.' (Ditto 131).] by keeping the weekly changes of the moon and the rainy months as holy seasons, by attending at the chapel, and, at least in early times, by making confession once in every

five years, they laid up a store of merit and reduced the number and improved the character of their future births.

### *Nuns.*

Gautama was averse from allowing women to become ascetics, and agreed to admit them only under promise that they would keep certain special rules. [The rules were that a nun, even of 100 years old, must respect all monks; she must never insult or abuse them; must examine herself; confess her faults; learn from the monks, specially in the three summer months when she must rest neither by night nor by day in her efforts to learn the law; at all times she must watch the monks and profit by their example. Remusat's Foe Koue Ki, 112. One nun, the daughter of Sagara king of the Nagas, rose to be a Bodhisattva (St. Hilaire, 109). It is probably this lady who appears at Elura in the dress of Padmapani (Fergusson and Burgess' Caves, 374).] The nun's dress was the same as the monk's dress, the nuns ate together apart from the monks, and worshipped the relic shrine of Ananda, Gautama's cousin, who had pleaded with him for their admission. [Remusat's

Foe Koue Ki, 112; Beal's Fah Hian, 58.] In Upper India nuns were numerous enough to attract the notice of Megasthenes (B.C. 300). [Cunningham's Bhilsa Topes, XII.] They were most liberal in their gifts to Kanheri as they were to other monasteries. [Upwards of a third of the gifts to the Sanchi topes (B.C. 250-A.D. 19) were by women, many of whom were nuns (Cunningham's Bhilsa Topes, 268). One Kuda and several of the Kanheri gifts are from the children of nuns (Fergusson and Burgess' Caves, 206). Probably these nuns had entered the convent late in life after their husbands' death.] They play a leading part in some of the old dramas. [In Malati and Madhav (A. D. 800) one of the chief characters is the lady superior of a Buddhist convent. Manning's Ancient India, II. 208.] But they do not seem to have ever risen to be an important class. [Hardy (Eastern Monachism, 161) says the order of nuns seems to have soon been given up.]

Monks were called *bhikshus* or beggars, *shramans* or toilers, and *shravaks* or hearers. At first admission was most free. 'Come hither, enter into the spiritual life' was

Gautama's initiation. [Hardy's Eastern Monachism, 18.] Before long (B.C. 430) some knowledge, was required, and in later times most of the monks began as novices *shramaneras*. The novice must be over eight years old, have his parents' leave, be free from disease, and be neither a soldier nor a slave. [Hardy's Eastern Monachism, 18. According to Cunningham (Bhilsa Topes, 167), the unlucky, the soured, and the worn-out were the men who became monks. In the drama of the Toy Cart (A.D. 200) a broken gambler turns monk (Manning's Ancient India, II. 168, 169). But at least, in later times, most of the monks were boys taken out of Buddhist schools.] He might belong to any of the four higher classes, but apparently could not belong to one of the impure or depressed tribes. When he entered the monastery the novice became the pupil of one of the monks. His head and eyebrows were shaved; he was bathed and dressed in robes which he presented to his superior and again took from him. He was thrice made to repeat the words, 'I take refuge in Buddha, I take refuge in the truth, I take refuge in the order,' and to say the ten commandments against killing, stealing, marrying, lying,

drinking, eating after midday, attending dances music parties or plays, using perfumes or flowers, and coveting gold or precious articles. [Beal's Fah Hian, 59. Hardy's Eastern Monachism, 24. These are the eight laymen's rules with two extra rules, one against dancing music and plays, the other against gold and silver. Rhys Davids, 141.] At twenty the novice was admitted a member of the order in presence of the brotherhood. He took vows of poverty and chastity, and was presented with the three yellow robes and the beggar's bowl. He promised to have no intercourse with women, never to take alms from them, look at them, speak to them or dream of them, to take away nothing, to wear a dusty garment, to dwell at the roots of trees, to eat only what others had left, and to use cow's urine as a medicine. All family ties were severed and he promised never to work, not even to dig, as in turning the earth worms might be killed. [Duncker, IV. 466. Remusat (Foe Koue Ki, 62) gives the following twelve duties of a monk. 1, To live in a quiet place; 2, to live on alms; 3, to take his turn in carrying the alms-bowl; 4, to take only one meal; 5, to divide the food he is given into three parts, for the poor, for

animals, and for himself; 6, not to eat after midday; 7, to wear no new or bright clothes; 8, to wear three garments; 9, to live in tombs; 10, to sit under a tree; 11, to sit on the earth; and 12, to sit and not lie down. Compare Hardy's Eastern Monachism, 10. It is doubtful how far these rules were kept. As early as B.C. 450 a strong party was in favour of using carpets, liquor, and gold and silver (Duncker, IV. 378).] His promise did not bind him for life; he might leave the monastery when he chose.

### *Monks.*

At first all monks were equal. By degrees the order became subdivided and in some countries developed into a complete hierarchy. [Rhys Davids' Buddhism, 159.] In India from early times there was a division into two grades, the monk *bhikshu shraman* or *shravak*, and the superior or elder *acharya*, *arhat*, *sthavira* or *thero*.

[Cunningham's Bhilsa Topes, 56, 71, 72, 115, 117, 118, and 120.] Later three grades of superior monks were introduced, the head of a monastery or abbot, the head of a

group of monasteries or bishop, and the head of a province or primate. [Talboys Wheeler, III. 131, The Buddhist monk in the ' Toy Cart' is raised to be chief of the monasteries (Manning's Ancient India, II. 170). Cunningham's idea (Bhilsa Topes, 132) that the superior monks wore long hair, white mitres, and short tunics seems to be a mistake. (See the account of the Dasyus in Fergusson's Tree and Serpent Worship, 94).] Besides by the division into grades, the position of the monks varied considerably according to their name for piety and learning. A man who could explain one of the twelve sacred collections was freed from routine and raised to be a manager. If he mastered a second collection he became a superior; if he mastered a third, servants were given him; if a fourth, his servants were Brahmans; if a fifth, he travelled in a car drawn by elephants; if a sixth, he was accompanied by a large escort. Those who were at the head of the monastery called the monks together and held conferences, judged the talents of those under them, raised some and degraded others. If a monk showed marked power in debate, if his speech was easy, rich and ready and his wit keen, he was set on a richly

decked elephant, carried in triumph round the monastery, and proclaimed its champion. If, on the other hand, his words were clumsy and pointless, if his arguments were feeble, his style wordy, and his reasoning loose, the brothers daubed him with red and white, covered him with mud and dust, drove him into the desert, or ducked him in a well. [Stanislas Julien s Hiwen Thsang, I. 79. In spite of the respect shown to the leading men, the constitution of the monastery was democratic. It was the brotherhood who consecrated monks, heard confessions, imposed penances, and ordered degradation or expulsion.]

Special spiritual insight was not less honoured than unusual intellectual power. Those who had mastered the four truths, sorrow, the cause of sorrow, that sorrow can be destroyed, and how sorrow can be destroyed, gained the title of *Arya* or honourable. Further progress along the path to the extinction of desire was marked by four stages, that of the *shrotaapanna* who had only seven births to pass; that of the *sakridagamin* or once returning, who had only one more birth; that of the *anagamin* or not returning, who is

never born again; and that of the *arhat*, who desires nothing either on earth or in heaven. The Arhat had power to work miracles, to survey all worlds, to hear all sounds, to read all thoughts, and to remember all past existence. [Duncker, IV. 472.]

#### *Discipline.*

Neither monks nor nuns took a vow of obedience. [Rhys Davids' Buddhism, 168.] For the maintenance of discipline the monks met twice a month and the rules were read. Any brother who had broken a rule was called to confess. According to the graveness of the offence he was absolved or rebuked, or a penance was prescribed such as refraining from speech, sweeping the court, or strewing it with sand. [Rhys Davids, 169.] If the offence was more serious, indecent talk, immoral conduct, or stirring strife, he was degraded. [In one of the Bhojpur topes a bowl was found with the word *patito*, that is, *patitah*, degraded. The offender was not cut off from the brotherhood, his alms-bowl was turned upside down and left until his sin was forgiven. Cunningham's Bhilsa Topes,

336.] And if he was guilty of unchastity, theft, or murder, he was driven out of the monastery. [Hardy's Eastern Monachism, 145; Stan. Julien's Hiwen Thsang, I. 80; Duncker, IV. 469.] Each monk had food and drink, a cell, a bed or stone bench and coverlet, a change of robes, an alms-bowl and staff, a razor, a needle, and a water strainer. [Beal's Fah Hian, 56; Hardy's Eastern Monachism, 64; Rhys Davids' Buddhism, 167.] They spent their time in chanting the scriptures, in thought, in teaching, visiting the hospitals, or reading to the sick or demon-haunted laity. If a stranger monk came to the convent the senior brothers went to meet him, and led him in carrying his clothes and alms dish. They gave him water to wash his feet and food, and, after he had rested, asked him his age, and according to his age, gave him a chamber supplying him with all the articles required by a monk. [Beal's Fah Hian, 56; Remusat's Foe Koue Ki, 100, 101.]

### *Worship.*

As has been already noticed, the earliest objects of Buddhist worship were trees, relic or memorial mounds,

the triple symbol of Buddha the law and the congregation, Gautama's alms-bowl staff and other possessions, and the image of Shri or Lakshmi the goddess of wealth. Later generations added the images of Gautama, of the four older Buddhas, of future Buddhas, and of several Hindu gods and goddesses. The usual form of worship was to prostrate or bow before the shrine, relic, or image 'as if it were alive,' to offer it flowers and incense, to repeat the threefold confession of trust in Buddha in the law and in the church, and to leave a money offering. [Beal's Fah Hian, 43; Hardy's Eastern Monachism, 209. ]Another common observance was to walk round the shrine repeating hymns of praise and thanks to Gautama the discoverer of truth, and to offer a prayer that all creatures may be free from sickness and from sinful pleasure, and that in the next life every man may be a saint. [Duncker, IV. 482.] At midday the monastery's most famous relic was brought out and worshipped by priests and laymen, and again they worshipped it at evening or incense-burning time. [Beal's Fah Hian, 38. The most sacred relic at Kanheri seems to have been. one of Buddha's teeth. In a small tope in front of

cave No. 3 Dr. Bird found a copperplate, stating that one of Gautama's dog teeth had been buried there. Fergusson thinks that the tooth may have been brought from Amravati by Gotamiputra II. Tree and Serpent 'Worship, 159. This tooth of Buddha's seems a mistake. See Arch. Survey, X. 59.] Relics were kept with the greatest care, sometimes in relic mounds sometimes in shrines.

#### *Food.*

The rules about food were not extremely strict. Laymen were warned against gluttony, against the use of spirits, and on Sundays and in Lent against eating after noon. Even for ascetics the rules were fairly liberal. Except that they might not touch intoxicating drinks, [Hiwen Thsang noticed that the Buddhist monks drank the juice of the grape and of sugarcane. But it was altogether unlike distilled wine. Stanislas Julien I. 93. The use of animal food in the fifth century would seem to have been unusual as the Chandals are specially noticed as the only people who kill animals, or deal in flesh. Fah Hian in Foe Koue Ki, 105.]the members of the order might take what was

customary in the country where they lived, so long as they ate without indulgence. It was Gautama's lax views in the matter of food, that, according to a Buddhist legend, caused the first schism, Devadatta demanding and Gautama refusing to agree to stricter rules.[Rhys Davids, 76.] The monks were allowed to dine with pious laymen, and the practice was common especially on the days of full moon. [Beal's Fah Hian, 54. The laymen treated their guests with great deference seating them on a high dais and themselves sitting on the ground before them.] Still the rule was clear that nothing should be eaten more than was wanted to keep the body in health, and that, save when travelling or sick, solid food should be taken only at the midday meal. [Rhys Davids, 157,163; Beal's Fah Hian, 56; Hardy's Eastern Monachism, 92.] Even this midday meal was no time of enjoyment. The eater should sit down, place his bowl on his knees, and eat slowly and sadly, much in the spirit of George Herbert's rule, Take thy meat, think it dust, then eat a bit, and say earth to earth I commit.' [Rhys Davids, 164; Duncker, IV. 466.] At first all food was gathered from house to house and eaten by the monks in

their cells. In later times when the monastery had lands and workmen, the grain was cooked by laymen and the monks ate together in a dining hall. [The change took place before A.D. 300. Cunningham Bhilsa Topes, 133. The Kanheri dining hall (Cave No. 2) is so narrow as to leave no room for a row of plates. The monks must have steadied their bowls on their knees. Fah Hian tells of one monastery, where at the sound of a gong 3000 priests sat down. They were most orderly taking their seats one after another, keeping silence, making no noise with their rice bowl, not chattering when they wanted a second help simply signing with their fingers. Beal, 9.] Animal food was not forbidden. Flesh might be eaten so long as a Buddhist had not taken the animal's life. Anger caused uncleanness not the eating of flesh, [Rhys Davids, 131.] and abstinence from animal food was a mark of special asceticism. [Rhys Davids, 164. Duncker (IV. 466) says flesh was never eaten, and Cunningham (Bhilsa Topes, 33) states that animal food was forbidden; but compare Wheeler, III. 142, 220 and Hardy's Eastern Monachism, 92. The story that Gautama died from eating pork is not likely to be an invention (Rhys

Davids, 80). It is probably connected with the Kshatri feeling, that eating of the flesh of the wild boar is a privilege if not a duty of their class. In Buddhist Mathura, where no living creature was killed except by the Chandals, some classes must have used animal food as the Chandals dealt in flesh. Beal's Fah Hian, 55. The special position of the Muhammadan *mula* in the Deccan village system illustrates, perhaps is a survival of, an old Buddhist practice.] There was a strict rule against the use of intoxicating drinks. But at an early date efforts were made to avoid the force of the rule and in later times it seems to have been set aside. [One of the Ten Indulgences claimed by a large section of the monks, was to be allowed to drink any liquor that looked like water (see above, p. 137). According to Vassilief (Bouddisme, 87), when monasteries grew rich, the monks drank liquor as medicine. Drinking scenes are not unusual either in Buddhist sculptures or paintings (Fergusson Tree and Serpent Worship, 139). But most of these are perhaps meant to illustrate Gautama's life before he became a recluse.]



*Dress.*

On joining the order the monk's beard head and eyebrows were shaved and this was repeated once a fortnight, the monks shaving each other. They went bareheaded and barefoot. Both monks and nuns wore three lengths of yellow cloth, either castaway rags or cloth torn to patches and again sewed together. These garments were the *sanghati* a waistcloth or kilt wrapped round the thighs and legs, the *antara-vasak* a body cloth or shirt worn round the chest, and the *uttarasanga* a cloak or cape passed round the legs, drawn over the left shoulder, and girt with a girdle. [Beal (Fah Hian, 45) calls the *sanghati* the great garment or overcloak. Remusat (Foe Koue Ki, 93) seems to have held the same view. But see Rhys Davids, 166, 167; and Cunningham's Bhilsa Topes, 61, 62.] The waistcloth or kilt was worn in the cell; the body cloth or shirt at prayer, and on ceremonies and high days; and the cloak in public places. [According to Hiwen Thsang (Stanislas Julien, I. 70), each sect had a special way of folding the upper robe, and the colour varied from yellow to red. From sculptures

on the Bhilsa Topes, Cunningham (Bhilsa Topes, 27, 204, plate XI.) formed the opinion that the higher order of Buddhist monks wore the beard and were crowned with a mitre-like head-dress. This seems to be a mistake.] A spare set of garments was allowed and a new suit was supplied at the beginning of each cold season. [Hardy's Eastern Monachism, 121; Rhys Davids, 167.]

*Daily Life.*

The elder monks spent their days in reading and thought. [There were five subjects of thought, love, pity, joy, impurity, and calm. Rhys Davids, 170-171.] Even the younger monks were forbidden the simplest work. [Monks might not dig, cut grass, pour water, or fight. Hardy's Eastern Monachism, 149.] Their daily round was to rise with the dawn, and, after cleaning their teeth and putting on the outer robe, to sweep the courtyard and the paths in front of the cell or of the chapel, to fetch water and strain it through a cloth that no life might be lost. Then to retire for about an hour and think on the rules of life. Next, at the sound of the gong or bell for morning service, [Metal

cymbals or bells called the monks to service. Duncker, IV, 468.] to attend the chapel, listen to the scriptures, [Reading the sacred books was the highest exercise. Hardy's Eastern Monachism, 198.] and offer flowers to the relic shrine thinking of Gautama's nine virtues and regarding the shrine as if it were alive. In early times the young monk's next duty was to gird his outer robe round him and start for the villages near, carrying in his left hand a wooden staff breast-high tipped with a two-inch iron ferule and topped with an iron ring two or three inches wide, and holding in his right hand, close to his breast, a watermelon-shaped black or red alms-bowl of clay or iron. [Rhys Davids (Buddhism, 163) describes the alms-bowl as a brown earthenware vessel like an uncovered soup tureen; Arnold (Light of Asia, 196) as an earthen bowl shaped melon-wise. Cunningham (Bhilsa Topes, 70) holds that the old alms bowl had an upper part and a short neck.] So he moved with slow even steps and eyes fixed on the ground, passing close to every house except the dwelling of the courtesan [It seems doubtful how far this rule was kept. There are several stories about courtezans feeding ascetics.

See Cunningham's Bharhut Stupa, 22.] and the Mhar, asking for nothing, taking what was given with a thankful heart, and, if no one came, shaking the iron ring once or twice and passing on.[Duncker, IV. 483; Wheeler, III. 129; Hardy's Eastern Monachism, 71,81; Beal's Fah Hian, 44. It was usual for the elder monk to walk in front and be followed by a younger brother carrying the alms-bowl. Rhys Davids, 170.] As soon as the bowl was full to the brim, he took no more and divided the contents into three parts, one for the animals, one for the destitute, and the third for himself. Then going back he washed his superior's feet, gave him water to drink, and brought the alms-bowl. After their meal he cleansed the bowl, washed his face, and worshipped his superior. This was the practice in early times. In later days, when the monasteries were endowed with lands and had stores of grain, there was no call to go begging. The grain was cooked by laymen, and, at the sound of a bell, the monks trooped to the dining hall and ate their meal. [Rhys Davids, 164; Beal's Fah Hian, 9.] When the meal was over the gong sounded again for midday service. The scriptures were read and the relics

worshipped, and the elders taught the younger brethren. [Rhys Davids, 106-111.] They then withdrew to think, or went to teach in the school, [Talboys Wheeler, III. 152.] to minister in the hospital, [The second of Ashok's edicts (B.C. 250) established hospitals over the empire (Duncker, IV. 216). Fah Hian (Beal, 107) mentions homes for the sick destitute and diseased, where doctors attended free of charge.

Compare Turnour's Mahavanso, 245, 256.] or to read the scriptures in the homes of the sick or the demon-haunted. [Hardy's Eastern Monachism, 240.]

When the evening gong sounded, in turn with the other younger monks, the novice called the elder who was to read the evening service, washed his feet, and listened. Then he rested for a time watching the hills and the sun set in the sea. [Two things, said Gautama, we should never tire of looking at, high hills and the sea. Burnouf's Int. a l' Bud. Ind. I. 319.] As the light faded he waited on any sick or infirm brother who wanted help. Then seating himself on his bench he dropped to sleep musing on the cause of

sorrow. [Hardy's Eastern Monachism, 26. Duncker, IV. 469. The rule was never to lie down. The early monks seem, when sleep overcame them, to have bound their girdle round, their waist and round their knees and slept sitting. See the figure in Cunningham's Bhilsa Topes, plate XV. 1, probable date A.D. 19, and page 208). Later the shape of the stone benches and the mention of a bed in the list of a monk's outfit make it doubtful whether the practice of sleeping sitting was continued. (Hardy's Eastern Monachism, 107). In time beds seem to have come into general use as the later caves have no stone benches. Fergusson and Burgess' Caves, 209.]

#### *Special Days.*

The routine of life at Kanheri was broken by special fasts and special feasts. [It is doubtful how far the regular days were kept at Kanheri, as the Buddhists changed the days to suit local circumstances and practices Vassilief's Le Bouddisme, 87, 88.] The weekly changes of the moon were Sabbaths, or *uposathas*, when the layman rested from his work, ate no unseasonable food, wore no garlands and slept

on the ground, and, dressing in his best, came to the monastery to worship and hear the scriptures, [Hardy's Eastern Monachism, 236-240; Duncker's History, IV. 483.] The days of new moon and full moon were still more sacred. The monks bathed and shaved each other, [Hardy's Eastern Monachism, 149.] and were called to a special service where the duties of a monk were read. After each commandment the monks were asked if they had kept the law. If any one confessed that he had not kept the law, the facts of the case were examined, and, if the fault was not serious, forgiveness was granted. [Duncker's History, IV. 469. The practice of confession sprang from Gautama's saying, ' Hide your good deeds, show your faults.' St. Hilaire, 144.] Numbers of worshippers came from the neighbouring towns, and the space in front of the chief chapel was gay with the sellers of flowers and incense. On full moon days many of the monks dined at laymen's houses where they were treated with great respect. On full moon nights a platform was raised in the preaching hall, and, before a congregation of monks nuns [The Amravati sculptures show monks grouped on one side and nuns on

the other. Tree and Serpent Worship, 191.] and laity, the superior brothers chanted the law, the people greeting the name of Buddha with a ringing shout of *sadhu* or good. The rainy season, from the full moon in July to the November full moon, was specially holy. [Beal's Fah Hian, 155. Wheeler (History, III. 130) gives the October full moon'. But November seems to be right. See Duncker, IV. 378, and Cunningham's Bhilsa Topes, 361.] It marked the time during which the monks originally gathered after their eight months' wanderings and lived together reading the scriptures and teaching one another. The climate and the position of Kanheri would make it difficult to have the large gay open air meetings which marked this season in other Buddhist countries. [See for Ceylon, Hardy's Eastern Monachism, 232.] But preaching-booths, *bana mandaps*, were raised in front of the chapels and shelter provided, so that visitors could hear in comfort the favourite *jatakas* or stories of Buddha's lives. [Rhys Davids, 38. One of the Kanheri inscriptions (in cave 29) has a special reference to these preaching booths.] Besides this holy season, there were three yearly holidays, at the

beginning of spring, in the later spring, and at the end of the rainy season, old nature-worship days to which events in Gautama's life had been made to fit. Of these the chief was the autumn festival, the *divali*, when sermons were preached and the whole hillside cells, chapels, and stairs were ablaze with lights. [Duncker, IV. 484.] This was also the yearly confession of the whole congregation, and the time when the laymen brought the monks their yearly gift of clothes. [Duncker, IV. 469. The *divali* was more than a one day ceremony. The first fortnight of the month after the rains, which was called the Robe Month, was a time in which the keeping by laymen of the three extra precepts was attended with special merit. Rhys Davids, 141. It seems possible that as in Nasik the gifts of clothes were made before, not after, the rains. Fergusson and Burgess' Caves, 271.] There was also a special yearly festival on Gautama's birthday, [Cunningham's Bhilsa Topes, 155. This festival survives in the Jagannath car day.] when the relics and images were carried in procession and worshipped by crowds. For days before, news of the festival was spread abroad, and all who wished to lay up a

store of merit were called to level the roads and adorn the streets and highways. The roads were lined with beautifully painted figures of the forms through which Gautama's spirit had passed. Inside the monastery the paths and the stairs were watered and adorned with flags and silk hangings. Above the chief entrance a large cloth was stretched and the space richly adorned. [Dom Joao de Castro (1538) notices (Prim. Rot. de Costa da India) the bases of six large pillars apparently in the open space in front of cave No. 3. Temporary pillars set on these bases may have supported the canopy.] The roads and hillsides were full of people dressed in their best. The ruler of the land, or the local governor was present, the ladies of his court taking their place of raised seats at the entrance. The relics and images on richly harnessed elephants, or in palanquins glittering with gold silver and gems, were carried in procession. On their return, when the leading elephant was a hundred yards from the main entrance, the prince or governor took off his head-dress and putting on new garments advanced barefoot to meet the procession. On drawing near he bowed to the ground, scattered flowers, burned incense, and withdrew.

As the elephant passed the gateway, the ladies and attendants from their high dais covered the images with flowers. Then in the chapels the monks burned incense and lighted lamps, and outside the laity made merry with games, music, and dancing. [Adapted from Beal's Fah Hian, 10, 11, 107, 158. Hiwen Thsang describes these processions as carrying flying streamers and stately parasols, while the mists of perfumes and the showers of flowers darkened the sun and moon (Julien, II, 207). At similar processions in Burmah nowadays streamers from 100 to 200 feet in length are carried and afterwards hung from pillars or holy trees. Hundreds of gorgeous parasols of gold and silver brocade flash in the sun and thousands of candles burn day after day before the great *stupa* of Shwe-Dagon at Rangoon which is devoutly believed to contain eight hairs of Buddha. Before this sacred tower flowers and fruits are offered, by thousands of people, until large heaps are formed round it. Thousands of votaries throng with their offerings of candles and gold leaf and little flags, with plantains and rice and flowers of all kinds. Cunningham's Arch. Sur. Rep. I. 232.] Every fifth year a special

ceremony was held to mark the expiation ordered by Ashok (B.C. 250). [Mrs. Manning, 233.] Monks attended from every side and the laity flocked in crowds from great distances. The monastery was adorned with silken flags and canopies. In the great hall a richly ornamented dais on platform was raised for the abbot and the leading elders, and behind the dais were rows of seats for the younger monks. Then the governor and the nobles offered their possessions, afterwards redeeming them by a money payment. [Beal's Fah Hian, 15; Wheeler, III. 249. Hiwen Thsang describes a great fifth year festival held in the plain near the meeting of the Jamna and the Ganges. The giver of the festival was Shiladitya, king of Magadha. A space 4000 feet square was hedged with roses and divided into halls filled with gold, silver, and other valuables. Half a million of people, Buddhists, Brahmans, and others assembled and received gifts. The first and greatest day's ceremonies were in honour of Buddha, but the king, whose object seems to have been political rather than religious, added a second day's rejoicings in honour of Vishnu, and a third in honour of Shiv. Then followed the gathering and the distribution of

offerings and other ceremonies which lasted over seventy-five days. St. Hilaire, Buddha part II chap. I. in Wheeler, III. 275.]

### **Inscriptions.**

Of the fifty-four inscriptions which have been more or less completely deciphered, except the three Pahlavi inscriptions in cave 66, two in caves 10 and 78 in Sanskrit, and one in cave 70 in peculiar Prakrit, the language of all is the Prakrit ordinarily used in cave writings. The letters, except in an ornamental looking inscription in cave 84, are the ordinary cave characters. As regards their age, ten appear from the form of the letters to belong to the time of Vasishthipatra (A.D. 133-162), twenty to the Gotamiputra II. period (A.D.177-196), ten to the fifth and sixth centuries, one to the eighth, three to the ninth or tenth, one to the eleventh, and several coins to the fifteenth. Three of them in caves 10 and 78 bear dates and names of kings, and three in caves 3, 36, and 81 give the names of kings but no dates. The dates of the rest have been calculated from the form of the letters.

Though almost all are mutilated, enough is in most cases left to show the name of the giver, the place where he lived, and the character of the gift. Of the fifty-four twenty-eight give the names of donors, which especially in their endings differ from the names now in use; twenty-one of them give their professions mostly merchants, a few goldsmiths, some recluses, and one a minister. Except seven women, four of whom were nuns, all the givers were men.

The places mentioned in the neighbourhood of the caves are the cities of Kalyan, Sopara, and Chemula, and the villages of Mangalsthan or Magathan, Sakapadra probably Saki near Tulsi, and Saphad (?). Of more distant places there are Nasik, Pratishtan or Paithan, Dhanakat or Dharnikot, Gaud or Bengal, and Dattamitri in Sind. [Kalyan is mentioned in nine inscriptions (in caves 2, 3, 12, 36, 37, 56, 59, 89, and on a detached stone between 14 and 15), Sopara in two (3 and 7), Konkan in two (78), Chemula in one (10), Nasik in one (2), Paithan in one (3), Mangalpuri in one (78), Dharnikot at the mouth of the

Krishna in one (76), Dattamitri in one (3), and Gaud in one (10). All of these, except Dattamitri are well known. Dattamitri, writes Prof. Bhandarkar (Sec. Trans. Or. Cong. 345), was the name of a town in Sauvira near Sind. It may also be Demetria (Ditto). Of villages Mangalsthan or Magathan is mentioned in one (81), (Sa) Kapadra in one (10), and Saphad in one (29).] The gifts were caves, cisterns, pathways, images, and endowments in cash or in land. [Thirteen inscriptions (in caves 2, 3, 10, 19, 36, 39, 48, 53, 56, 58, 69,77, and 84) record the gift of caves, eight of caves and cisterns (12, 29, 43, 59, 68, 75, 76, and 81), four of cisterns only (5, 7, 37, 64), two of images (2 and 4), and two of pathways (95 and an inscription near caves 14 and 15). Eight endowment inscriptions (in caves 10, 12, 19, 56, 68, 76, 78 and 81) record the grant of villages, fields, and cash. The coins mentioned are *Karshapanas* and *Drammas*, but as there were both gold and silver coins of these names their value cannot be fixed. A third coin *pratika* called *padika* in Prakrit is often mentioned.] Only four of the inscriptions gave the names of kings. One in cave 36 gives the name of Madhariputra

and one in cave 3 gives the name of Yajdashri Shatakarni or Gotamiputra II., two Andhrabhritiya rulers of about the first and second centuries after Christ. Of the two, Madhariputra is believed to be the older and Yajdashri Shatakarni to be one of his successors. [Jour. B. B. R. A. S. XIII. 308; and XIV. 154.] Madhariputra's coins have been found near Kolhapur, and Prof. Bhandarkar believes him to be the son and successor of Pudumayi Vasishthiputra, who is believed to have flourished about A.D. 130, [Jour. B. B. R. A. S. XIV. 315.] and to be the Shri Pulimai whom Ptolemy (A.D. 150) places at Paithan near Ahmadnagar. Yajdashri Shatakarni or Gotamiputra II. appears in the Nasik inscriptions, [Sec. Trans. Int. Cong. 348,349.] and his coins have been found at Kolhapur, [Jour. B. B. R. A. S. XIII. 306.] at Dharnikot near the mouth of the Krishna the old capital of the Andhrabhritiyas, [Jour. Mad. Lit. and Sc. (New Series, III). 225.] and very lately (9th April 1882) in a *stupa* or burial mound in Sopara near Bassein.

The two other inscriptions, [Jour. Mad. Lit. and Sc. (New Series, III). 225.] in which mention is made of the



names of kings, are caves 10 and 78. These are among the latest at Kanheri, both belonging to the ninth century, to the Silhara kings of the Konkan who were tributaries of the Rashtrakutas of Malkhet. They are interesting as giving the names of two kings in each of these dynasties, as well as two dates twenty-four years apart in the contemporary rule of one sovereign in each family. Kapardi II., the Silhara king the son of Pulashakti, whose capital was probably Chemula, was reigning during the whole interval between 853 and 878, and apparently Amoghvarsh ruled at Malkhet during the same period. This Amoghvarsh is mentioned as the son and successor of Jagattung; Amoghvarsh I. was the son of Govind III. one of whose titles was Jagattung; but he must have ruled from 810 to 830, and Amoghvarsh II. was the son of Indra II. Indra either bore the title of Jagadrudra or Jagattung, or was succeeded by a son of that name. But the dates seem to point to Indra II. himself, who may have borne the title of Amoghvarsh, and he succeeded Jagattung about 850. [Burgess' Arch. Sur. X. 61.]

#### **Notices.**

Since their discovery by the Portuguese, early in the sixteenth century (1534), the caves have continued objects of much interest and wonder. In 1539, Dom Joao de Castro gave the following detailed account of the caves:

*1539.*

About a league and a half from the ruined city of Thana, among great hills, in a most grand high and round rock, from the plain below to the highest point, are many sumptuous temples and noble many-storied palace-like buildings, with images, columns, houses, porticoes, figures, pillars, cisterns, temples and chapels all cut in the rock, a thing certainly not within the power of man, so wonderful that it may be ranked among the seven wonders of the world, unless, instead of thinking them to be the work of men, we attribute them to spirits and the diabolic art of which I, at least, have no doubt. I have no pen to portray its greatness and form. But running the risk of being thought a story-teller describe the place with fear.

At the foot of the hill on one side are the bases of seven pillars, so deep and broad that the columns must have been of great height. A little further is the first edifice high and admirable, full of pillars and wonderful works. The first story where one enters goes into the rock with great rooms and halls, but to this I did not go as the ascent was difficult and steep. Close to it is a great gallery forty yards by eighteen without columns. At the end are two chapels worked in relief with a great round ball the object of adoration, and in the middle an inscription almost worn out through time. Beyond the porch of this gallery is a magnificent temple. Outside is a large yard with two high columns admirably worked in relief. The column to the right hand, has on the top a wheel like a Catherine's wheel, placed above four lions beautifully carved. The column on the left hand has some men supporting in their hands a great ball like the world and looking as if they were much borne down by the weight. On this side of the second column are many chapels and rooms. Passing from this yard and before getting to the door of the temple are two other pillars each about fourteen feet high, with on each an

inscription in clear and beautiful characters. A little beyond is a corridor, where, on one side, is a ferocious and great giant of thirty-six spans high and the limbs well proportioned. In the rest of the corridor are, in relief, many figures and faces of men. Beyond the corridor is the temple very high and beautifully vaulted, 120 feet long by fifty broad and fifty-four high. At the end of the temple is a great altar, with, on its top, the world or a masonry ball nineteen yards round. On each side is a row of thirty-seven columns, and between them and the walls is a cloister which goes round the body of the temple. Over the main entrance is a platform supported on two great colonnades, just like the place for choristers in Portuguese churches. Outside of the temple a way of steps runs from the foot of the rock to the top, so steep that it seems to go to heaven, and, all along the way from below upwards are many edifices, houses, porches, cisterns, chapels, and yards all cut out of stone. I shall speak of those only which I have seen. There are eighty-three houses, among which is one 120 feet long by sixty wide and others where you could keep 100 men; the rest are generally high and roomy.

Besides houses there are fifteen chapels, all worked in relief, and thirty-two cisterns hollowed in the rock with plenty of good water, and fifty-six porches some in relief and in fifteen of them legible inscriptions. Most of the houses and rooms have entrances with seats of stone all round. The length of the staircase that runs from the foot of the rock to the top is 930 paces, and besides it there are many other staircases with many buildings. It is a city cut in the rock that can hold 7000 men. To the north is another higher hill at whose feet runs a small stream. Across the stream is another rock with many dwellings. But I had not time to visit them. [Dom Joao de Castro, *Primeiro Roteiro da Costa da India*, 75-81.]

*1540.*

About the year 1540, Garcia d'Orta mentions two underground temples in Salsette, one of which was in a hill larger than the fortress of Diu and might be compared to a Portuguese city of four hundred houses. There were 300 houses with images carved in stone. Each house had a cistern, with conduits bringing rain water. [Colloquios dos

*Simples e Dragos*, 211-212, quoted in Da Cnnha's *Bassein*, 190.]

*1603.*

According to De Couto (1603), the Pagoda of Canari was cut out of the lower part of a great hill of light grey rock. There was a beautiful hall at its entrance, and, at either end of the yard which is outside the door of the hall, were two human figures engraved on the same stone so beautiful, elegant, and well executed, that even in silver they could not be better wrought. Near the front door were some cisterns hewn out of the rock, which received the rain water, which was so cold in the summer, that no hand could bear it. From the foot to the top of the hill, like a winding staircase, were more than three thousand small rooms in the form of small cells, cut out of the rock, each of them with a water cistern at the door. What was more to be wondered at was an aqueduct constructed so ingeniously that it passed through all the three thousand apartments, received all the water from the hill, and supplied it to the cisterns that were at the doors of the rooms. When the

Reverend Antonio de Porto (1534) lived in the Church of St. Michael (Cave No. 3), he was told by the Christians whom he had converted, that there was a labyrinth in the hill whose end had never been traced, and it was moreover stated that it extended as far as Cambay. The priest desirous of exploring this labyrinth took one of his companions, and gathered twenty persons with arms and matchlocks to defend themselves against wild beasts; and some servants to carry water, rice, biscuits, and vegetables for the journey, and oil for torches. They also took three persons laden with ropes to lay along their way. They entered the caves through an opening about four fathoms broad, where they placed a large stone to which they fastened one end of the rope. They travelled through the caves for seven days without any interruption, along places some of them wide and others narrow, which were hollowed in the rock, and on each side they saw small chambers like those in the sides of the hill, each of which had at its entrance a cistern, but no one could say whether these cisterns contained water, or how they could receive any water, for in all these passages they could not discover

any hole, crevice, or anything which could throw light on the subject. The upper part of the building was cut out of the rock, and the walls on each side of these roads were cut in the same way. The priest seeing that they had spent seven days without finding any opening, and that their provisions and water were almost finished, thought it necessary to return, taking for his clue the rope, without knowing in these windings whether he was going up or down, or what course they were taking as they had no compass for their guidance.

Couto also mentions that the Portuguese found the caves inhabited by ascetics or Yogis. One of the ascetics, who was 150 years old, was made a Christian and named Paulo Raposo; and Coleta another Yogi, who had a more saintly reputation than Raposo, was named Francisco da Santa Maria. With regard to the origin of the caves, De Couto was told by one of the earliest converts that they were made by a king whose son became a great religious teacher. Astrologers told the king that his son would become a great ascetic. To prevent this, and wean his mind

to pleasure, the king kept his son in a splendid palace full of life and beauty. As he grew up the son wearied of his confinement, and was allowed to drive in the city near his palace. During his first drive he saw a blind man, during his second drive an aged beggar, and during his third drive a corpse. Hearing that death was the end of all men, he loathed his life of thoughtless pleasure, and, flying from the palace, became an ascetic. De Couto's details of the life of this prince so fully and correctly agree with the legendary life of Gautama, that they strongly support the view that the *yogis* whom the Portuguese found at Kanheri were Buddhist monks. [See the details in J. B. B. R. A. S., I. 38-40. The monks also told De Couto that the prince went to Ceylon, fixed his abode in Adam's Peak, and when he left the island, pressed a mark of his foot in the rock. He was called Drama Rayo (*Dharmaraj*), and, when he became a saint, Buden or the Wise. De Couto further tells how the old converted *yogi* made the discovery (a discovery which has lately been re-made by Yule [Marco Polo, II. 263] and by Max Muller [Contemporary Review, XIV. 593]) that the story of Buddha is the same as the

famous Christian legend of Barlaam and Joasaph, and that, under the name of Josaphat, his old master Buddha was worshipped as a saint by the Christian church. J. B. B. R. A. S., I. 39.

The legend of Barlaam and Joasaph or Josaphat is supposed to have been written in the eighth century by St. John of Damascus. The early life of Joasaph is the same as the early life of Gautama in the Lalita Vistara. His father is a king, and, after the birth of his son, an astrologer foretells that he will rise to glory; not, however, in his own kingdom, but in a higher and better one; in fact, that he will embrace the new and persecuted religion of the Christians. Everything is done to prevent this. He is kept in a beautiful palace, surrounded by all that is enjoyable; and care is taken to keep him in ignorance of sickness, old age, and death. After a time, his father gives him leave to drive out. On one of his drives he sees two men, one maimed, the other blind. He asks what they are, and is told that they are suffering from disease. He then inquires whether all men are liable to disease, and whether it is known beforehand

who will suffer from disease and who will be free; and when he hears the truth, he becomes sad, and returns home. Another time, when he drives out, he meets an old man with wrinkled face and shaking legs, bent down, with white hair, his teeth gone, and his voice faltering. He asks again what all this means, and is told that this is what happens to all men; that no one can escape old age, and that in the end all men must die. Thereupon he returns home to meditate on death, till, at last, a hermit appears and opens before his eyes the higher view of life contained in the gospel of Christ. Max Muller in the Contemporary Review, XIV. 592,593.] Couto also heard from some wealthy Cambay Vanis, that the king who made the Kanheri caves lived 1300 years before the coming of the Portuguese, that his name was Bimilamenta, that he was a wise good king a native of Magor, Cedepur, and Patan, who had civilised the country reclaiming the people from wild wandering to a life of settled order. [Jour. B. B. R. A. S., I. 36, 37. De Couto's date for the making of the caves (A.D. 230), comes curiously close to the probable date (A.D. 177-196) of

Gotamiputra Yajñashri Shatakarni the chief patron of the Kanheri monastery.]

In 1625 Sir Thomas Herbert mentions two temples of profane worship at Salsette. He gives little detail, only noticing that one of them had three galleries. [Harris' Voyages, I, 410.]

*1675.*

Fryer gives the following account of a trip to the caves in 1675. The way, he writes, to the anciently famed, but now ruined city of Canorein, is so delightful, I thought I had been in England. It is fine arable pasture and coppice. After passing five miles to the foot of the hill on which the city stands, and half a mile through a thick wood peopled by apes, tigers, wild buffaloes, and jackals, and some flocks of paroquets, we alighted where appeared the mouth of a tank or aqueduct, cut out of a rock whose steaming breath was very hot, but the water cold. From hence it is thought the whole city was supplied with water; for as we ascend we find places, where convenient, filled with limpid

water, not overmatched in India. If it be so, that it should have its current upwards through the hard rocks artificially cut, the world cannot parallel so wonderful a water-course. From hence the passage is uneasy and inaccessible for more than two abreast, till we come to the city, all cut out of a rock, where is presented Vulcan's forge supported by two mighty colosses, bellied in the middle with two globes. Next comes a temple with a beautiful frontispiece. Within the porch on each side stand two monstrous giants, where two lesser and one great gate give a noble entrance; it can receive no light but at the doors and windows of the porch, whereby it looks more solemnly. The roof is arched, seeming to be borne by huge pillars of the same rock, some round, some square, thirty-four in number. The cornice work is of elephants, horses, and lions; at the upper end it rounds like a bow; near where stands a great offertory somewhat oval, the body of it without pillars, they only making a narrow piatzo about, leaving the nave open. It may be a hundred feet long and sixty or more in height. Beyond this, by the same mole-like industry, was worked out a court of judicature (West's No. 10), or place of

audience, fifty feet square, all bestuck with imagery well engraven, according to old 'sculpture. On the side over against the door, sate one superintendent to whom the Brahman who went with us, paid great reverence, not speaking of him without a token of worship; whom he called Jogi, or the holy man. Under this, the way being made into handsome marble steps, are the king's stables not different from the fashion of our noblemen's stables. Only at the head of every stall seems to be a dormitory or place for devotion, with images, which gave occasion to doubt if ever for that end, or rather made for a heathen seminary of devotees; and these their cells or chapels, and the open place their common hall or school: more aloft stood the king's palace, large stately and magnificent, surrounded with lesser of the nobility. To see all would require a month's time. But that we might see as much as could be in our allotted time, we got upon the highest part of the mountain where we feasted our eyes with innumerable entrances of these cony burrows, but could not see one quarter part. Whose labour this should be, or for what purpose, is out of memory; but this place by the gentiles is

much adored. It is probably a heathen fane or idolatrous pagod, from the superstitious opinion they still hold of its sacredness; wherefore the Portugals, who are now masters of it, strive to erase the remainder of this Herculean work that it may sink into the oblivion of its founders.' [New Account, 71, 72,]

*1695.*

About twenty years later (1695), the Italian traveller, Gemelli Careri, gives the following details: The first piece of workmanship that appears, consists of two large columns two spans high, the third part of them from the bottom upwards is square, the middle part octangular, and the top round. Their diameter is six spans; they are fifteen spans distant from one another, and each of them eight from the rock which is cut after the same manner. These columns support a stone architrave forty-four spans long, four in thickness and eight in breadth, cut like the rest out of the same rock. These three porticoes lead into a sort of hall or passage-room four spans long, cut in the same rock. At the end of it are three doors, one fifteen spans high and

eight in breadth, which is the middlemost, and two others four spans square on the sides, which are the way into a lower place. Over these doors is a cornice four spans broad, of the same stone; over which, thirty spans above the ground, there are other such doors or windows cut in the rock. At the same height there are little grots or dens six spans high, of which the middlemost is the biggest. Thirty-four spans above the ground, in the same place, is such another grot. It is no easy matter to conceive what the use of all this was. Ten paces towards the right, is a sort of grot, open on two sides twenty-four spans in length and fifteen in breadth, over which was a round cupola fifteen spans high and ten wide, with a square cornice like that about the grot. Here there is an idol cut in the rock in half relief, which seems to hold something in its hand, but what it is does not appear. The cap it has on is like the cap of the Doge of Venice. By it stand two statues in a submissive posture, as if they were servants. They have conical or sugar-loaf caps. Over their heads are two small figures, like angels painted in the air; below two little statues, holding their hands on a staff and two children by their sides with



their hands put together, as if in prayer; on their backs is something like a piece of wood. Close by is another round cupola all of one stone, and shaped like the other; the top of it is broken. Both this and the other are supposed to have been sepulchres of the ancient gentiles; but there is no ground to make this out, no opening appearing to put in the bodies or ashes; on the contrary, it is clear they are not hollow within, only cut without in the shape of the cupolas. About this second there are four great figures carved in half relief, holding in the left hand, something like a garment, and the same sort of caps on their heads with small figures at their feet, and two above. Opposite to them, there are three little ones sitting, and six other large ones, and three of a middling size standing, all cut in the rock after the same manner. That in the middle, which seems to be the idol, in its left holds a tree with fruit on it. On the other side are sixteen figures, all sitting with both hands on their breast, and the same caps; one of them seems to be superior to the rest, because there are two figures standing by its side, and two children above. At a small distance northward is a little grot eight spans square, and in it, as it

were a bed of the same stone, four spans broad and eight long. On the other frontispiece is a statue sitting on its legs, after the manner of the east, with the hands together on the breast; and another standing with the branch of a fruit tree, and above a winged infant. Beyond the grot, and on the same front, which runs sixty spans within the rock, there are two statues sitting after the same manner, their hands placed the same way, with conical caps on their heads, and two like servants standing by them. On the same side is the famous Pagod of Canarin. The entrance to it is through an opening forty spans long, in a wall of the same stone, fifty spans long, end eight spans thick, on which there are three statues. On the right hand, before you go into the pagod, is a round grot, more than fifty spans in circumference, in which, round the wall, there are many statues sitting, and some standing and one on the left is bigger than the rest. In the middle rises a round cupola, cut out of the rock, like a pillar of the same stone, with several characters carved about it, which no man can explain. Going into the first porch of the pagod, which is fifty spans square, there are on the sides two columns sixty spans high, with their

capitals, and six spans diameter. On the column, on the right as one comes in, there are two lions, with a shield by them; on the other upon the left two statues. Beyond these columns at the entrance of a grot, on the left, there are two great statues standing, and looking at one another. Still further in are two vast big statues on the left, and one on the right of the door, all standing, with several little statues by them, only within the space of that porch; for going into the adjoining grot, which is twenty-four spans square, there is nothing worth observing. On the right hand, where the lions are, there are no statues, but two large vessels upon convenient pedestals. Hence there are three equal doors thirty spans high and eight broad, but that in the middle even with the floor, those on the sides five spans above it, into another plain place. Here there are four columns twelve spans high, standing on the rock itself, between the five windows that give light to the pagod. On the right side of the door there are some unknown letters worn with age, as is all the rest of the work. In this place, on the sides, besides several small figures, there are two vast statues of giants standing, above twenty-five spans high; showing

their right hands open, and holding a garment in the left, on their heads the same caps, and in their ears pendants after the Indian fashion.

At the entrance of the great gate of the pagod, which is fifteen spans high and ten in breadth, there are on the right four statues standing, one of which is a woman holding a flower in her hand; and twelve others, some sitting and some standing, with their hands on their breasts, and something in them. On the left are four other statues, two of women, with large rings about their ankles of the same stone, and sixteen little statues on their sides, some sitting, some standing, and some with their hands on their breasts as was said before. Over the said door there are other two great ones, and as many opposite to them, with three little ones standing.

On the left hand within, is another inscription in the same character; over the arch of this door is a window forty spans wide, which is the width of the pagod, with a stone like an architrave in the middle, supported on the inside by two octangular pillars. The pagod is arched, forty spans in

breadth, and one hundred in length, and rounded at the end; besides the four columns at the entrance, there are thirty more within, which divide it into three aisles; seventeen of them have capitals and figures of elephants on them; the rest are octangular and plain; the space between the columns and the rock, that is, the breadth of the side aisles is six spans. At the end of the pagod, there is a sort of round cupola, thirty spans high and sixteen paces about, cut in the same rock, but not hollow within. All that has been hitherto described is cut in the rock, without any addition to the statues or anything that may be parted. But on the floor of the pagod there are several hewed-stones which perhaps served for steps to some structure.

Coming out of the pagod, and ascending fifteen steps, all cut in the rock, are two cisterns of rain water, good to drink; and as many steps above that a grot sixteen spans square, and a great one further on with much water standing in it. Mounting twenty paces higher, is another grot twenty spans square, which led to another of the same dimensions, and that into one of twelve. In the first was a

rising window with steps to it cut in the rock, with two columns near a small cistern.

At a small distance from these grots is another pagod, with a handsome plain place before it, and little walls about to sit down, and a cistern in the middle. Five doors cut in the rock lead into the first arch; and between them are four octangular pillars; all but the middle door are two spans above the ground. On the sides of this arch, whose length is the breadth of the pagoda, that is eight spans, there are on the left several statues sitting like those above mentioned, and others on the right standing. All about the frontispiece, there are many sitting and standing, no way different from the rest already described. Then there are three doors to the pagod, that in the middle twelve spans high and six in breadth, the two on the sides ten spans high and four broad. The pagod is sixty spans square, no way proportionable, being but twelve spans high. On both the sides, and over the entrance, there are above four hundred carved figures great and small, some sitting, some standing, like those before spoken of; two on the right, bigger than the rest, are

standing, as is that in the middle of the frontispiece, which is of the biggest idol, and another on the left in the same posture; but all worn with age, which destroys everything. On both sides there are two grots fourteen spans square with a low wall within two spans above the ground.

Going up ten steps further northward is a grot and within that another less. On the right is another like it, with another little one within it, in which is a low wall like those before mentioned. The great one is about twenty spans in length and ten in breadth; the other ten square, and all of them have small cisterns. On the right side, is another of the same bigness, with two small pillars before it, two little grots, and three cisterns, one on the right and two on the left; and another adjoining to it, with another within it, and a cistern of the same size as the other. It is likely these were the dwellings of the priests of the pagod, who there led a penitential life, as it were in a pagan Thebaida.

Descending from that great height by fifteen steps cut in the rock, there is a little pagod, with a porch before it thirty feet square through three doors, between which there

are two square pilasters. On the left hand there are four statues, two sitting and two less in the middle standing. On the right hand a little open grot and another pagod, with a cistern before it, the way into which is first through a door ten spans in height and six in breadth into a room twenty spans square, which has on the right another very dark room twelve spans square, which makes the pagod somewhat dark. In the midst whereof is a round cupola of one solid piece, fifteen spans high, which is the height of the pagod. Descending fifty upright steps there is a plain space cut in the rock, which is not very hard, and eight octangular columns twelve spans high, which leave nine intervals to ascend five steps that lead into an arch. In this place on the left side, which is ten spans, is a great idol sitting bareheaded; two other great statues standing, and some small ones; on the right side two other statues sitting and two standing, besides many little ones about them. Then the way into the pagod is through three doors, twelve spans in height and six in breadth, with two windows over them. The pagod is a hundred spans in length, fifty in breadth, and ten in height. About it runs an arch eight spans

broad, with ten square columns. Here are four rooms or grotts twelve feet square, besides seven in the front and left side of the pagod, where the cistern is, all which seem to be rooms for the priests of the temple. In the niche of it, which is ten feet square, is a great idol sitting, with two statues standing, and another sitting on the left, by which also there are two statues standing, and several small figures in half relief about it. Ascending ten spans over against it is a little grot, supported by two small columns, ten spans high. There is a door ten spans high, and four in breadth out of it, into a room or grot, sixteen spans square, and thence into another of twelve, where there is a large idol sitting, holding his hands on his breast.

Then descending twenty steps there is a plain space, whence four steps on the left lead up into an arch where there are four pilasters twelve spans high, the distances between which are the way into three little rooms cut in the rock. Twenty steps lower there are other grotts cut in the rock, with small cisterns, but for what use cannot be imagined, unless we suppose all these cavities were

dwellings of the idolators. [Churchill's Voyages and Travels, IV. 194-196.]

*1720.*

In 1720 Hamilton calls Canra the only city on Salsette island and hewn out of the side of a rock. It was nearly a mile in length and had antique figures and columns curiously carved in the rock and several good springs of water. At present, he writes, it is inhabited only by wild beasts and birds of prey. [New Account, I 181.]

Mr. Boon, who was Governor of Bombay between 1716 and 1720, had drawings made of the temple columns and of the colossal statues. He gives a good description of the great temple cave and notices several channels cut from all parts of the hill to supply the cisterns, many of which were continually full of very good water. 'This stupendous work' he writes ' must have been the labour of forty thousand men for forty years. Time and the zeal of the Portuguese have defaced a great deal. When they first took the island, imagining those places to be the habitations of

spirits and demons, they used constantly to discharge their great guns at them, which has left so many of them in a very maimed and broken condition. [Archaeologia, VII. 335, 337.]

*1760.*

Anquetil du Perron, who travelled through Salsette in the beginning of December 1760, has left a detailed account of the Kanheri caves. He came by the road from Vehar, and leaving his palanquin and several of his people at cave 8 of the lowest tier, perhaps West's 93, he crossed the ravine to the caves on the smaller bill. Beginning in the west he walked eastward up the valley till he reached the line of the old dam. On his way he passed nine caves which seem to correspond to West's 79 to 87. The cave most to the west, West's 79 or 80, was a great cavern about thirty-six feet long by twenty-four broad with many low openings. The next (81) had in front a porch with two pillars. At the end was a room with a shrine in which was a seated man. The cave was called the shop and the figure the Banian. The third (82) was a porch four feet deep with

two windows four feet broad and inside a room fourteen feet broad by eight deep and six high. At the back of the room in a shrine were three seated men. The man on the left was between two standing servants with whips, probably fly-flaps, in their hands. Under the two other men were seated figures like servants and under the middle one two little figures holding the pillar that supported the throne on which the figure was seated. To the right and left of the three first figures were other figures holding a string in their raised left hands. On the left at the cave mouth was an opening in the rock below. The fourth cave (83?) was a ruined room 20 x 10. The fifth (84) was a veranda 20 X 20 X 8 and inside a room 20x20 with a stone bench along the east and north walls. To the left a room eight feet square with a stone bench on the west side. Above a little cistern which had once held water was a writing in fair order on a stone 3❖ feet square. The sixth (85) was a ruined cave sixteen feet square. The seventh (86) was a cave 60 x 24. At the end were six rooms, each eight feet square except the third, which was twelve feet broad and twelve long and had an inner chamber eight feet square. Outside of the cave

to the left was a cistern. The eighth (87) had a veranda twenty feet broad and six deep, with two broken eight-cornered pillars, and within the veranda a room twenty feet broad and sixteen deep furnished with a stone bench. At the end was a niche with the figure of a seated man. Outside above the cistern mouth was an eight line inscription on a stone two feet high and two and a half broad, of which only eight inches remained. The three first lines and the fifth were nearly complete; the rest were almost worn out. The ninth (88) cave was about the same size as the eighth. Inside of a veranda was a room and on its right a second room. At the back of this last was a third room eight feet square. There was a little cistern outside of the entrance.

After finishing this row of caves in the smaller hill, Du Perron crossed the ravine at the old dam and turned to the right walking down the ravine apparently to Cave 11, then turning sharp to the left he took a row of ten caves which he calls the first tier going from south-west to north-east. This row he divides into two groups a western group low

down, corresponding to Caves 11 to 15, and an eastern group higher up, probably including West's 16 to 21. Of these groups he gives the following details: The first cave (West's 11) had a porch 24 X 8 with a little cistern on the right, on the left a niche with two seated women and a child standing between them; inside of the porch a room twenty feet square and six high; at the back a shrine with a strangely shaped *lingam* (this is a relic shrine or daghoba) in the middle, and to the right of the shrine a second room eight feet square. The second cave (perhaps West's 12) had a porch twenty feet broad six deep and eight high, with two eight-cornered pillars. At the back was a room twenty feet square and on its right a second room twelve feet square. Facing a little cistern was a writing on a stone five feet broad, above another cistern of the same breadth as the stone. The top of the stone was broken. The writing had 5❖ lines, then a line and a half division, and then five, lines more. The third cave (West's 13) was twenty-four feet broad and twenty deep. At the entrance were two rooms, the outer twelve feet square and the inner four feet square. Three other rooms were in ruins. Outside on the little

cistern was an almost worn-out writing of five or six lines cut on a stone three feet broad and one and a half high. The fourth cave (West's 14) had a porch 32 x 12, and on the left a dry cistern. The porch led into a hall 24 x 20, with at each corner a room eight feet square. At the back was a recess with two pillars, the wall opposite the entrance being covered with figures. At the two ends of this recess on either side were standing men. Within this room was an empty chamber eight feet square.

Climbing a little up the hillside the second or eastern groups of the first tier had six caves, corresponding to West's 15 to 21. Of these the first (15) was sixteen feet large and eight deep forming two openings; the second (16) was six feet square and six feet high with a *lingam* or relic shrine in the middle; the third was 24' x 20' with a stone bench along the east and west sides and three small rooms on the left; the fourth was a room ten feet square with a plain entrance; the fifth (19) was a damaged cave 16' x 4' with a stone bench; and the sixth, probably 21, was a porch supported by four pillars forming two arches. On the left, at

the back of the porch, was a cistern full of water, on the right a seated man with two small men standing beside him, holding in their left hands a tree whose fruit was like an apple. In front at the end of the porch was a seated man and opposite him another man standing, holding a bush with a flower (a lotus), like a sunflower, growing as high as his ear. Within the porch was a room 24' x 20', and on either side another room eight feet square. At the end was a shrine and in front of the shrine a seated man with standing attendants. On the side walls were nine seated figures one of which had two attendants.

Du Perron next climbed the hill to the east end of what he calls the second tier of caves. Beginning from the east he travelled west passing sixteen caves, an eastern or lower group of nine and a western or higher group of seven. This second tier of caves seems to correspond to the irregular row in West's map that runs in a broken line from 69 on the east to 8 in the west, and includes 69, 70, 71, 72, 42, 43, 99, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 10, 9, and 8. According to Du Perron the opening, most to the east (West's 69), is a porch 16' x 6'



with two pillars, and inside of the porch a room sixteen feet square and. on the left another room six feet square. The next cave (West's 70) was a porch without pillars and inside of it a room twenty feet square. To the left of that room were two small rooms of eight feet and to the right a recess. This cave had many figures of men both standing and seated, among others a bas-relief of a seated man and two attendants. Under this man, were two men holding the pillar that supported his seat. At the entrance was a large inscription on a stone five feet broad and three high. At the top about a quarter of the stone was broken. The inscription contained eleven lines of which seven were in large and four in small characters. No. 3 (West's 71) were plain cut reservoirs, a small cistern, and a ruined room, the whole sixteen feet square. Cave 4 (West's 72), a porch 16' x 12', with two pillars one of them broken, with two rooms at the ends one on the right the other on the left. Inside was a great hall sixteen feet square, into which a room opened on the left. At the back was a shrine with a seated figure, and on the wall to the right two seated figures one over the other. Cave 5 (West's 42?), a porch twenty-four feet long

with three broken pillars with fluted shafts. On the capital were four tigers with a child seated behind them. At the two ends of the hall were seated men each with two attendants or servants, one of whom held a whip and the other a fair-sized branch. Within were two large rooms sixteen feet square with a small room at the left of each. In the middle of the second room was a niche, and, outside of the niche, a well carved statue of a man or woman with a cap pointed in the form of a mitre, seated cross-legged like a tailor, and the breast adorned with jewels. Cave 6 (West's 43?) was in the same style as cave 5, only four feet smaller. At the back was a niche with a small figure. Cave 7 (West's 44?) was twenty feet long with side rooms each with two pillars. Within was a room sixteen feet square in which were three recesses with two pillars eight feet large. In this cave there were altogether eleven rooms. Two ruined caves 8 and 9 (perhaps West's 99 and 73) were twenty feet square with two rooms each and a cistern. These completed the eastern group of the second tier. The western group of the second tier, a little further up the hill than the eastern, included six caves apparently corresponding to West's 75,

76, 77, 10, 9, and 8. Cave 10 (West's 75) was a damaged cave about the same size as Cave 9. Cave 11 (West's 76) was like Cave 10 with two rooms and two entrance pillars, and an inscription showing the remains of six lines on a stone two feet high by three broad. Cave 12 (West's 77) was four feet larger than Cave 11, with two pillars and a well preserved inscription of nine lines, on a stone 3 feet broad and two high. Cave 13 (perhaps part of West's 77) was about the size of 12, and lay above 8 (perhaps West's 93), with a room more to the right and an inscription of four lines much worn, on a stone one foot high and five broad facing the water cistern beyond the room to the right. Cave 14 (West's 10), the school or Darbar cave, had a porch 26' x 6' with six pillars. In the porch, on the right of the entrance, was a standing figure holding an apple and a branch as high as his ear, and on his side two standing women. In the porch were fifty-seven seated figures seven of them large. Beyond the porch was a room about twenty-nine feet square round which ran a stone bench. The wall was covered with figures to the floor. The people called the cave the School because of the number of figures, but Du

Perron thought it more like a Prince's court. On either side of each Prince were two ministers, one with a raised whip, the other holding in his left hand a bush, like that in the porch. There were 100 figures on each of the three walls, Du Perron thought they were twenty Indian Princes with their retinues. The cave also contained four rooms two on either side without figures. The next two caves 15 and 16 (West's 9 and 8?) were small openings one with two, the other with three rooms.

Next comes Du Perron's third tier of six; caves taken from the west-eastward. They seem to correspond, but this is doubtful, to West's 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, and 35. These were small openings of little interest except that Caves 2 and 3 had inscriptions, the one in 2 much worn, the one in 3 with seven lines on a broken stone. Du Perron next passed from the end of his third tier to a fourth tier with sixteen caves. These he divided into an eastern group of seven and a western group of nine. The eastern group seems roughly to correspond to West's 47 to 68, and the western group to West's 48 to 55. But the arrangement is

confused and the identification doubtful. Du Perron begins about the middle, perhaps near West's 56, and mentions seven going east. Cave 1, perhaps West's 56, had three rooms with six pillars. It had a writing of eleven lines on a broken stone 2 feet broad and three high above the outside cistern; Cave 2 (West's 57?) was a ruined cave twelve feet square with two pillars; Cave 3 (West's 58?) was a little lower down eight feet square; Cave 4 (West's 59) was like 3 with two inscriptions one of three lines on a stone 2 feet broad above a water cistern, the other with longer lines over the entrance; Cave 5 (West's 60) was a little higher and well preserved; Cave 6 (West's 62?) was an opening of the same size with two small rooms and an inscription of two lines in the front wall; Cave 7 (West's 63?) was a porch 16'X 4' with two pillars, a large room inside, another room on the left, and at the back a pillared shrine in ruins

Du Perron then retraced his steps along these seven caves till he passed his first cave (West's 56). Between this and the west end of the tier he mentions eight caves; Cave

8 (perhaps West's 50) was about the size of Cave 7 and was reached by three steps. Below, at the entrance on the right, were two rooms. At the back was a great square room and to the left of it a little room; Cave 9 (West's 51) was like 8 and had damaged figures in the porch; Cave 10 (West's 52) was twelve feet square and in ruins; Cave 11 (West's 53) had a porch 14' x 6' with two pillars, and an inner room with the same figures as the School Cave (14 of the second tier; West's 10). To the right were two other rooms with doors opening into the outer room. In the middle of the back room were two attendants but no figure. There were two inscriptions, apparently modern, each of twelve upright lines lightly graven in Mongolian characters. [This reference is supposed to be to the Pahlavi inscriptions, but the number of caves does not agree as the Pahlavi inscriptions are in West's 66, Du Perrons 6 of this tier, in the extreme east of the row.] Cave 12 (West's 54) had a porch with two pillars, on the right broken figures, on the left no figures, within a hall twelve feet square. In the shrine was a seated figure with two attendants. In the wall, between the hall and the shrine, was an opening about ten

inches in diameter, through which women accused of bad conduct were made to pass and stuck half way if they were guilty. Cave 13 (West's 55) was a similar cave without figures. It had a small cistern and a much worn inscription of nine lines above the cistern on a stone 2❖ feet high and three broad. Cave 14 was twelve feet square and had one pillar.

On the top of the hill were two rock-cut cisterns, 8' x 6' x 3'. Below was an open space with seats where the priests came for fresh air. These Du Perron numbers 17 and 18. From the top of the hill Du Perron climbed down to the lowest tier joining it at West's 1. He follows this tier along eight caves, which, like West, he numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8. The first seven correspond to West's one to seven. Du Perron's 8 is perhaps West's 93. Cave 1, known as the Prison, was forty feet high and twenty-four broad, with an upper story of windows without any rooms and with no stair leading to them. Below were two wells and at the back three dark rooms. At the entrance were two pillars ten feet high. Cave 2, measuring 48' x 28' x 40', had two rooms at

the back with a stone bench running round. At the entrance were two strangely shaped *lingams* (relic shrines). Cave 3 was a great cave reached by three steps. The central hall, which was vaulted, was 76' x 28' x 32'. The Jesuits had made a church of it and it was still called the Church. There were fourteen pillars in the length, separated from the wall by an aisle. At the end was a headless *lingam* (a relic shrine). On the first two pillars were tigers, and on the others four elephants. On each side were six pillars in this style. The portico was about fourteen feet deep. At each end was the figure of a man sixteen feet high, and above each figure was a belt adorned with flowers and winged figures and with fluted pillars. In front were eight chief figures four of men and four of women, two men and two women on either side. The entrance to this cave was open with two pillars twenty-four feet high. On the right pillar was a reversed grindstone. On the left was a room whose walls were covered with figures of sitting men and women. This first part of the cave had a passage into the portico by windows. There were two inscriptions on the pillars, the first of twenty-three and the second of eleven lines; the

inscription stone was four feet high and three feet broad. Cave 4 was a small room, in a hollow within was the *lingam* (relic shrine), and, on the left, attendants. Cave 5, higher up, was an opening four feet square with two figures holding fire. In front was a great cistern with two openings. On a broken stone, above the two mouths of the cistern, was an inscription of two long lines. Cave 6, lower down, measured 20'x 10' and had two rooms; above a cistern on the left was an inscription of seven lines. Cave 7 was an opening with five windows and three rooms measuring altogether 20' x 14'. Above the four mouths of the cistern were traces of an inscription of two lines. Cave 8 (perhaps West's 93), a great cave called the Stable, measured 60' x 24'. At the back were six rooms, the fourth of which was a shrine with a seated figure and attendants and other figures on the sides. In the central hall on the left were the doors of four rooms, and, on the right, a recess with four pillars. The centre of the cave had five pillars on each face. The entrance was a gallery upheld by eight pillars joined by walls. On the left of the gallery was a little room where were three seated men surrounded by

attendants. Above the cistern was a great inscription of eighteen lines, and in front a second inscription of six lines in modern Sanskrit. [Zend Avesta, I. 394-408.]

*1760 -1804.*

This ends Du Perron's account of the caves. About three weeks after Du Perron (28th December 1760), a party of Englishmen from Bombay visited Kanheri. They specially notice one cave, apparently No. 3, which was 84 feet long by 21 wide and 50 high, ornamented with thirty-two pillars each twenty-seven feet high and 8 feet round the base. At the upper end of the cave was a large pillar fifty feet round at the base. It was still worshipped by the people. The cave was entered by a portico 36 x 15, with at each end a figure twenty feet high. Round the portico were small idols. After passing several caves cut into small square rooms, they entered a veranda 75 x 12 supported by nine pillars. Then was a hall 63x25x9. Within this were ten small rooms for living in, neatly cut and measuring 11x6. In the veranda were several English names, among others W. Aislable, E. Baker (1708), John Hanmer (1697),

and J. Courtney. They noticed the great number of cisterns of excellent water. The writer repeats the story that the caves were the work of a Gentoo king who wished to secure his son against the attempts to gain him over to another religion. The Marathas, he states, made a yearly pilgrimage to the caves and held them in great honour. [Quoted in Du Perron's *Zend Avesta*, I. 408-411.]

In 1781, a Dr. Hunter published a short account of the Kanheri, Elephanta, and Jogeshvari caves. In his account of Kanheri he notices only the great temple and the two statues of Buddha. [*Archaeologia*, VII. 299.] Dr. Hove the Polish traveller, who visited the caves in 1787, noticed only the Great Cave No. 3. The relic shrine was still worshipped. 'At the head of the caves,' he writes, 'stands a round pillar resembling the crown of a hat, to which the Hindus to this day pay their adoration.' He noticed two cisterns close to the entrance which were fed by a spring of water that issued 'very spontaneously' out of a chasm from the upper adjacent rock of the cave. [Tours, 13, 14. Dr. Hove notices that Mr. Wilmouth a painter had come from

Bengal and taken squeezes of the writings on wetted cartridge paper. He died at Canton on his way to England and his papers were lost.] In 1804, Lord Valentia wrote: 'The Kanheri caves are formed out of a high knoll in the middle of the range of hills which divides Salsette into two equal parts. The great cavern, like the Karli cave, is oblong and has a carved roof, but is inferior to it in size, in elegance of design, and in beauty of execution. It has the same singular building at the upper end and the vestibule is equally adorned with figures. Its peculiar ornaments are two gigantic statues of Buddha nearly twenty feet high, each filling one side of the vestibule. They are exactly alike and are in perfect preservation, in consequence of their having been christened and painted red by the Portuguese, who left them as an appendage to a Christian church, for such this temple of Buddha became under their transforming hands. The image of the presiding deity, in all the usual attitudes, embellishes several other parts of the vestibule; and one in particular is ornamented with the conical cap worn by the Chinese Fo. The entrance, on which there are several inscriptions in the unknown

character, faces the west. In a large cave close to the chief temple are many figures, especially one of Vishnu fanning Buddha with a fly-whisk. The innumerable caves which have been formed in every part of the hill are square and flat-roofed. They cannot but be intended for the habitations of the attendant Brahmans. [ Travels, II. 196-198.]

1825.

In 1825 Bishop Heber considered the caves in every way remarkable from their number, their beautiful situation, their elaborate carving, and their marked connection with Buddha and his religion. The caves, he writes, are scattered over two sides of a high rocky hill, at many different elevations, and of various sizes and forms. Most of them appear to have been places of habitation for monks or hermits. One very beautiful apartment of a square form, its walls covered with sculpture and surrounded internally by a broad stone bench, is called the Darbar, but I should rather guess had been a school. Many have deep and well-carved cisterns attached to them, which, even in this dry season, were well supplied with water. The largest

and most remarkable of all is a Buddhist temple, of great beauty and majesty. It is entered through a fine and lofty portico, having on its front, but a little to the left hand, a high detached octagonal pillar surmounted by three lions seated back to back. On the east side of the portico is a colossal statue of Buddha, with his hands raised in the attitude of benediction, and the screen which separates the vestibule from the temple is covered, immediately above the dodo, with a row of male and female figures, nearly naked, but not indecent, and carved with considerable spirit, which apparently represent dancers. In the centre is a large door and above it three windows contained in a semicircular arch. Within, the apartment is fifty feet long by twenty, an oblong square terminated by a semicircle, and surrounded on every side but that of the entrance with a colonnade of octagonal pillars. Of these the twelve on each side nearest the entrance are ornamented with carved bases and capitals, in the style usual in Indian temples. The rest are unfinished. In the centre of the semicircle, and with a free walk all round it, is a mass of rock left solid, but carved externally like a dome. On the top of the dome is a

sort of spreading ornament like the capital of a column. The ceiling of this cave is arched semicircularly and ornamented in a very singular manner with slender ribs of teakwood of the same curve with the roof and disposed as if they were supporting it. [Narrative, II 189-91.] The caves were next described by Mr. Vaupell in 1837, [Trans. Bom. Geog. Soc. VII. 147 -152.] and six years later Mr. Fergusson gave a short account of them in his paper on the Cave Temples and Monasteries of Western India. [Jour. R. A.S., VIII.63-69.] In 1850 Dr. Stevenson translated some of the Kanheri inscriptions and brought to light some historical names and facts. [Jour. B. B. R. A. S., V. 1-34.]

*1837-1882.*

In 1860 Dr. Bhau Daji numbered the caves. [Fergusson and Burgess' Cave Temples of India 355.] He was followed in 1860-61 by Mr. E. W. West, who published a plan of the caves and copies of the inscriptions with short notes on their position and condition. Mr. West also in the same year gave an account of some of the topes in galleries 38 to 41 and of some stone pots and seals found in digging cave

13. [Jour. B. B. R. A. 8., VI. 1-14, 116-120, 157-160.] Of late the caves have been taken in hand by Dr. Burgess the Government Archaeological Surveyor. A short notice has recently been given in Fergusson and Burgess' Cave Temples. But the full description of the caves and their inscriptions is not yet (April 1882) published.

### **Details.**

This completes the chief notices of the Kanheri caves. In the following account the cave details have been contributed by Mr. H. Cousens, Head Assistant to the Archaeological Surveyor, and the substance of the inscriptions by Mr. Bhagvanlal Indrajī from facsimiles taken in 1881. Mr. Bhagvanlal's study of the inscriptions is not yet complete so that the renderings given in the text are tentative and liable to revision. As noticed in the introduction most of the caves are cut in two knolls of bare rock separated by a narrow stream bed. Of the 102 caves all are easily entered, except five small openings. Of the rest about twenty-seven are good, fifty-six are small, and fifteen are partly or entirely ruined. Except temples



or *chaityas*, and the peculiarly planned cave 10, which was probably a place" of assembly, nearly all the caves bear marks of having been used as dwellings, and many of them have stone sleeping benches running round the walls. The doorways were fitted with frames and doors, which were fastened by horizontal bars held in holes in the stone jambs. The windows were either latticed or provided with wooden frames and shutters. The whole monastery was well supplied with water. On the hill top are several rock-cut ponds, and almost every cave has its cistern filled from channels cut above the eaves of the cave. To the east of the caves a massive stone wall, now ruined, ran across the stream that separates the two cave-cut knolls and formed a small lake whose bed is now silted and full of reeds.

For a hurried visit of one day, perhaps the best order for seeing the hill is, after visiting 1, 2, and 3, to pass to the left across the ravine, and, keeping up the sloping face of the knoll, see the sites of relic shrines or burial-mounds and the remains of an old temple behind. Then come back to the ravine and pass along its north bank examining the line

of caves from ninety-four to eighty-seven. Next struggle up the stream bed, pass through the breach in the dam, and, crossing to the south bank of the stream, come down along the lowest tier of caves from 21 to 10. At 10 turn back and up to 77 and pass as far as possible in front of the second tier of caves to the quarry on the hill top. See the view, the cisterns, quarries, remains of the retaining wall, and the ruins of a relic mound. Then pass down seeing as many as possible of the third tier of caves 68 to 90. Pass from 90 to 36 and 37 and then along a flight of steps to the burial gallery 38 to 40, returning by the same way. The path from 41 to 1 is difficult and should not be attempted without a guide.

#### *Caves 1-2.*

Climbing the footpath from the valley, the group of three temples 1, 2, and 3 attracts attention. They face west and have in front of them a large level space covered with bushes and with some remains of the *stupa* or relic mound of which an account is given later on. Passing a little to the south of 3, the most striking of the group, cave 1 should

first be examined. It is the beginning of a large temple or *chaitya*, the only finished portions being two large pillars supporting the front screen, whose general clumsiness seems to show that this is one of the latest caves on the hill; 2 is a long low excavation, irregular in plan, being originally more than one excavation, the partition walls of which have been broken down. At the south end are three rock-cut relic shrines or *dagobas*. On the wall behind the first relic shrine, is the curious sculptured panel which occurs again in caves 21 and 66, at the Aurangabad caves, at Elura, and at Ajanta. This is known as the Buddhist litany, a prayer to the good lord Padmapani to deliver his worshippers from the different forms of battle, murder, and sudden death. In the centre a life-size image of the Bodhisattva Padmapani or Avalokiteshvar, stands at attention holding in his left hand a lotus stalk and flowers; on his right and left are four shelves each supporting a couple of little figures. In front of each of these little groups, and between it and Padmapani, is a human figure with wings. In the upper group to the left, that is, on Padmapani's right, a kneeling

figure appears to be praying for deliverance from a lion, which is in the act of springing upon him. In the next group below, a kneeling woman with a child in her arms tries to avoid an old hag, disease or death. In the third compartment a kneeling man prays a winged figure to save him from one who holds a drawn sword over his head. [See Representation of Litany at Aurangabad in Arch. Survey Report, III. 76.] In the lowest compartment the figure prays to be saved from a cobra which is crawling towards it from an ant-hill. At the top on the other side the kneeling figure is about to be attacked by an enraged elephant; in the west compartment a man in the back ground has his hand raised in the act of striking the kneeling figure. In the next, perhaps the petition against false doctrines, heresies, and schisms, an orthodox Naga is attacked by a flying Garuda, the type of Vaishnavism. In the last, two figures pray from deliverance from shipwreck. The winged figure to whom each suppliant turns for help is probably a saint, an intercessor between him and the deified Padmapani. On either side of Padmapani's head are cherubim with garlands, and at his feet kneels a devotee. Other figures of

Padmapani and Buddha which adorn the wall on either side of this panel seem to have been added by different worshippers. There are three inscriptions in this cave. In one corner of the recess behind the large relic shrine, partly on the left and partly beneath a standing figure of Buddha saluted by nine men near his feet, is an inscription of six short and one long lines. The length of the lines is six inches and twelve inches. The inscription gives nine names, probably of the nine persons represented bowing to Buddha. The names are Nannovaidya, Bhano (Sk. Bhanu), Bhaskar, Bharavi, Chelladev, Bopai (Sk. Bopyaki), Bhattabesu, Suvai (Sk. Suvrati), and Pohoi (?). The characters seem to be of the fifth century. In the back wall, above a long bench set against the wall, is a deeply cut distinct inscription of two lines two feet two inches long. It is inscribed in letters of the time of Vasishthiputra (A.D. 133-162) and records the gift of a refectory or *satta* (Sk. *satra*), by Nakanak (inhabitant) of Nasik. A few feet to the north of the second inscription, and nearer to the cistern in front of the cave, is a third deeply cut and distinct inscription, of two lines two feet nine inches long.

It is inscribed in letters of the time of Vasishthiputra (A.D. 133-162) and records *the* gift of water (?) [The word in the inscription is *Panika* which means in Sanskrit a vendor of spirituous liquor. This is perhaps an instance of the use of liquor which did not differ in colour from water. (See above, p. 137). Near the inscription is a niche where, perhaps, water or some other beverage was kept and given to the monks after they had finished their dinner in the adjoining dining hall.] by Samidatta (Sk. Svamidatta) a goldsmith of Kalyan.

### *Cave 3.*

Close to No. 2 comes No. 3, the cathedral or *chaitya*, the most important of the Kanheri caves. The style and plan are much the same as in the great Karli cave, but, owing to its softness, the rock is much destroyed. The measurements are 86 feet long, 39 feet 10 inches wide including the aisles, and 37 feet 7 inches high. In front is a spacious court, entered through a gateway in a low parapet wall, whose outside has been prettily decorated with the rail pattern and festoons along the top. In bas-relief, on

either side of the doorway, stands a rather stunted gatekeeper, and attached to the walls of rock on each side of the court are great eight-sided columns on square basements with broken shafts. The capital of the northern column supports three fat figures holding behind them something like a great bowl, and on the capital of the southern column are four seated lions. A great rock screen separates this court from the veranda. This screen has three large square openings below, separated by thick massive pillars, the central opening being the entrance to the veranda. Above it is divided by four pillars into five open spaces which admit light to the arched front window. These pillars support the outer edge of the roof of the veranda. In each end of the veranda, cut in the end walls, a gigantic figure of Buddha twenty-five feet high stands on a raised plinth. Low on the left leg of the figure in the north end of the veranda, are cut, in old English characters, A. Butfer, K. B., J. B., J. S., 78, initials, which, as is shown by a writing in another cave, stand for Ann Butfer, K. Bates, John Butfer, and John Shaw, who visited the caves in 1678. [These letters puzzled Dr. Bird, who, in 1839, wrote,

" On one of the legs of the left hand statue we met with a cross (the old fashioned letter J written as an I with a stroke across the centre) and inscription, in Roman letters, which might be taken to be not more ancient than the times of the Portuguese, were it not for the Ethiopic or Arabic term *Abuk*, meaning *thy father* ; and which accompanied by the date 78, with a resemblance of the cross and the letters for *Kal Buddha, Buddha Sakya* may indicate its connection with primitive Christianity; whose doctrines introduced into India are supposed by Wilford to have given rise to the era of Shalivahan which dates 78 years after Christ." ] Between the two side and the central doorways, the front of the cave is adorned with life-size statues in bas-relief of men and women after the style of the Karli figures. The men wear the same curious head-dress, and the women the same heavy earrings, bracelets, and anklets. Above these are rows of seated Buddhas, and above the Buddhas again is the great arched window, through which light passes into the cave. Beneath this arch the central doorway opens into the nave of this great Buddhist cathedral. The roof is high and vaulted, and at the far end is a semicircular

apse, in the centre of which stands the object of adoration a relic shrine. Separated from this central space by two rows of pillars are two aisles. These are continued round behind the relic shrine where they meet forming an unbroken row of pillars. It is from the plain entablature above these pillars that the vaulted roof springs, the ceilings of the aisles being flat and very little higher than the capitals of the pillars. Of these pillars only eleven on the north side and six on the south side have been finished, the others are plain octagonal columns from top to bottom. The finished pillars have water-pot bases and capitals. The base rests on a pyramidal pile of four or five flat tiles or plates and the capitals support a similar pile of plates in inverted order. Over each of these pillars is a group of figures. In two cases the figures worship a relic shrine which is placed between them, on another a tree is worshipped, and on the rest are men riding elephants and horses. Some of the pillars have traces of plaster with painted figures of Buddha. The relic shrine is plain and has lost its umbrella which was supported by a pillar of which the base may still be traced. Round the drum or cylindrical base are square

holes at equal intervals apparently for lights. The roof of the nave has had arched wooden ribs similar to those at Karli, their positions being marked by dark bands on the rock. A few fragments of the old woodwork remain here and there generally in the form of stumps and beam ends standing out from sockets. Under the great arched window and over the central doorway is a wide gallery supposed to have been used by musicians. There are now no means of getting to it except by a ladder. There are nine inscriptions in and about this cave. In the right gate-post is a deeply cut and distinct but rather defaced inscription of 22 lines. The right side is imperfect as that part of the gate-post was built of squared stones which have been removed. The original length of the lines was three feet eight inches, which by the removal of the stones has been reduced to two feet in the upper part and three feet one inch in the middle. This is a valuable inscription, but much of importance has been lost in the upper lines. As it now stands, all that can be gathered from it, is that the cave was made in the time of king Yajnashri Shatakarni Gotamiputra (A.D. 177-196), by two merchant brothers Gajsen and

Gajvir from Datamiti (?) (Sk. Dattamitri) in Upper India, and that the temple was dedicated to the Bhadrayani school of Buddhism. [The Bhadrayani school rose in the third century after Gautama from the sect of Vatsiputra, an offshoot from the Sarvastivadina, a subdivision of the Sthavira school. They seem to have believed in a first cause, and that the soul or I is immortal. See Vassilief's Bouddisme, 172, 230, 233, 253, 269. Beal in Ind. Ant. IX. 300. The chief Nasik cave (No. 26) is also dedicated to the Bhadrayani school, which seems to have been in high favour with the rulers of Western India during the second and third centuries after Christ.] The inscription mentions the names of several Buddhist monks, Kalvarjit, the reverend Thera (Sk. *Sthavira*), Achal, the reverend (*Bhadanta*) Gahala, Vijaymitra, Bo..... Dharmapal, and Aparenuka, the son of a Buddhist devotee and merchant. The inscription closes with the words ' Finished by Badhika, the manager [The word in the original is Uparakhita which may mean the manager as given in the text or it may be a name.] and the pupil of the old Buddha monk Seul. The cave was carved by the great mason

Vidhika with Shailvatak, Kudichak, and Mahakatak.' Cut into the left gate-post is another inscription of eleven lines, originally three feet four inches long. It is deeply cut, and the rock being smoother and of a lighter colour it is more distinct than the last. The left side is imperfect in the upper lines owing to the outer angle of the gate-post having been broken off. The inscription, which is in characters of the second century, records gifts. The name of the giver is lost. It mentions gifts made in several places, in the Ambalika monastery in Kalyan, something given in the district (Sk. *ahar*) of Sopara (Sk. Shurparaka), a monastery, *vihar*, in (Paithan (Sk. Pratishtan), a Chaitya temple and thirteen cells in the cave of (Pra) tigupta, the grant of an endowment to support the Rajtadag reservoir on the way to Paithan, Asana and Chulkappikuti (?), a cistern and some other things. The third inscription is under a standing figure of Buddha, on the inside of the outer wall of the veranda, between the left gate-post and the left colossal figure of Buddha. It is of three lines each two feet eleven inches long. The letters belong to about the fifth century. It refers to the carving of the image of Buddha

below which it is set, and states that the image was made by the Shakya friar Buddhaghosha, residing in Mahagandhkuti a disciple of Dharmavatsa and teacher of the three great Buddhist books, *tripitakas*. There is a fourth inscription of one line, three feet one inch long, under a sitting Buddha sculptured on the back wall of the veranda, above the dancing figures on the right side of the doorway. It is cut in letters of about the fifth century, and is tolerably distinct but high up. It records, 'The meritorious gift of the Shakya mendicant Dharmagupta.' The fifth inscription, of one line ten inches long, is cut into the square shaft of a small bas-relief relic shrine on the right wall outside the veranda. It is deeply cut in characters of about the fifth century, and, as it stands, is complete. It gives the well known Buddhist formula. [The Buddhist formula is, "*Ye dharma hetu prabhava hetun teshantathagato, hyavad at teshancha yo nirodha evam vadi Mahashramana,*" that is: The object of those (the Adi Buddhas) who for the sake of religion came into the world before him (that is, before Gautama), the Tathagata (that is he who came as they came, namely Gautama) has explained; what they forbade

the great Shramana (that is Gautama) tells as follows: See above, p. 103.] The sixth inscription, of nine lines each ten inches long, is cut into a pilaster on the right side of a standing Buddha which is sculptured on the western wall inside the small chamber to the left of the entrance. It is faintly cut in letters of about the fifth or sixth century and records that the image was the gift of Acharya Buddharakshita. A seventh inscription, of three lines, was found on the face of a squared stone, 19 inches long by 10 inches broad, that lay on the outside terrace under the trees in front of this cave. The letters are of the fifth or sixth century, and the inscription is about the building of a house or *ghar* (Sk. *griha*). The name of the person who built the house is doubtful. An eighth inscription, of two lines, was found on the face of a smaller stone in front of the cave. It is probably part of the same inscription and seems to contain a portion of the lower two lines. The letters are of the sixth century. On the right of the inner doorway an inscription of four lines is painted in white upon one face of the octagonal column. It is very faint in places, but the date is fairly clear, especially in the afternoon sun. The date

may be either " *Samvat* 921 or 927 *Ashvin Shuddha*1..... " A similar inscription occurs on the next face of the column, and two others on two faces of the column on the opposite side of the doorway. These are fainter and less legible.

### *Stupas.*

In the open space in front of cave 3 were once two or three large relic mounds, of which the largest was built of stone and brick and was from twelve to sixteen feet high. Dr. Bird gives the following account of the opening of this relic mound in 1839: " After digging to the level of the ground and clearing the materials, the workmen came to a circular stone, hollow in the centre, and covered at the top by a piece of gypsum. This contained two small copper urns, in one of which were some ashes mixed with a ruby, a pearl, small pieces of gold, and a small gold box containing a piece of cloth; in the other were a silver box and some ashes." Two copper plates accompanied the urns containing legible inscriptions in the cave character, of which the following is believed to be the translation:

Salutation to the Omniscient (Buddha)! In the year 245 of the increasing rule of the Trikutakas, in the great monastery of Krishnagiri, Buddharuchi, an inhabitant of Kanak? (? Kabhoka or Katoka) a village in the Sindhu country, the son of the glorious Buddhashri and Pushyavarman, intent on religious duties, of the religion of Shakyamuni (who was) strong in the possession of the ten powers, revered, possessed of perfect knowledge, an Aryagana of his (that is Shakyamuni's) Shravaks, erected this relic shrine, *chaitya*, of dressed stone and brick to last while the moon sun and ocean endure, to the great Shravak of the Paramamuni (Buddha), the noble Sharadvatiputra. Therefore let the Devas, Yakshas, Siddhas, Vidyadharas, Ganas, and Manibhadra, Purnabhadra, Panchika, Arya Vajrapani, Vankanaka(?) and others be propitious. Moreover, as long as the milky ocean, the waters of the whirlpools of which are whirled round by the sea monsters which are driven about by its thousand waves, is an ocean of milk, as long as the rugged Meru is piled with great rocks, and as long as the clear rivers flow into the ocean; so long may this enduring and auspicious fame attach itself to



the excellent son of him named Pushya (varman).' [Archaeological Survey, X. 59.] Only the faintest traces of this relic mound remain.

Stupas were originally cairns or mounds raised either over the dead or in memory of some famous act. [Cunningham's Bhilsa Topes, 9, 10.] The practice of raising these memorials seems to date from before the time of Gautama. [Before the time of Gautama the Hindus gave up their custom of burial and practised burning, a tomb being raised over the ashes. Buddha Gaya, 119.] The previous Buddhas are said to have stupas raised over their bones, [Kashyapa, Gautama's predecessor (perhaps B.C. 1000), is said to have been buried near Benares, where as late as A.D. 400 he had a stupa. Rhys Davids, 181.] and there is a tradition that Gautama urged his followers to reverence monuments and to build them in his honour. [Bhilsa Topes, 12.] The earliest stupas, of which there is certain knowledge, were those built by Ashok (B.C. 250), partly over Gautama's relics, partly to mark places which his life had made sacred. Perhaps the only

one of these monuments of which traces remain is the Bharhut stupa in Central India. Though the building is now a ruin, there is evidence to show that it was a hemisphere on a cylindrical base with small holes for lights; that, on the top of the dome, was a square platform, fenced with a railing and supporting a crowning umbrella decorated with streamers and garlands; that large flowers sprang from the top as well as from the base of the square summit; and that a cylindrical ornament hung round the hemisphere. [Bharhut Stupa, 6; Bhilsa Topes, 10-14.] As time passed, the form of the relic mound changed from a hemisphere (B.C. 500?), through a dome raised a few feet above the basement (B.C. 200), to a dome on a plinth equal to its own height (A.D. 50), and from that to a tall round tower surmounted by a dome. [Bhilsa Topes, 177, 178, plate III.] The relic mound of Sarnath near Benares, which was built in the seventh century after Christ, has a plinth equal in height to the diameter of the hemisphere. [Bhilsa Topes, 166. Cunningham describes the Sanchi tope, which he places at B.C. 550 (Bhilsa Topes, 177) and Fergusson at B.C. 250 (Tree and Serpent Worship, 90), as a solid dome

of brick and stone, 106 feet in diameter, springing from a plinth 14 feet high with a projection 5 feet broad used as a terrace. The top of the dome was flattened into a terrace surrounded by a stone railing in the Buddhist pattern. From the flat centre of the dome rose a colonnade of pillars and within the pillars was a square altar or pedestal, from the centre of which rose a cupola or umbrella pinnacle. The total height to the top of the cupola was over 100 feet. (Bhilsa Topes, 185-186). The tope was surrounded by a colonnade and by a richly ornamented rail. (See Bhilsa Topes, 190, plate VII.; and Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*, 90.) Besides in memory of Gautama or over one of his relics, towers were built in honour of his disciples, Sariputra, Mogalan, Ananda Gautama's nephew and successor whose shrine was specially worshipped by nuns, and Rahula Gautama's son, whose shrine was the novice's favourite object of worship. Towers were also raised in honour of the three baskets of the law *tripitakas*, the *vinaya* or religious discipline for the monks, the *sutras* or discourses for the laity, and the *abhidharma* or metaphysical creed. [Beal, 57; Rhys

Dauids, 18-21.] Finally towers were raised either over distinguished members of the monastery who had risen to the rank of saints, [The ceremonies observed on the death of a saint are thus described by Fah Hian. In the Mahavihara monastery in Ceylon a famous monk, perfect in the precepts, had the credit of being a saint or *Rahat*. When he died the king came, and, calling the monks together, asked if their dying brother had attained reason. They answered he is a *Rahat*. Then the king, consulting the holy books, ordered that the funeral should be performed according to the rules laid down for the funerals of *Rahats*. Accordingly nearly a mile to the east of the monastery they raised a pyre of wood, thirty-four feet square and thirty-four feet high, the top of sandal, aloe, and all kinds of scented wood. Steps were laid up the four sides and the pyre was bound with clean white cloth. Then the dead body was brought in a funeral car followed by crowds of people. The king offered flowers and incense, the hearse was placed on the pyre, oil of cinnamon was poured over it, and the whole set alight. When all was over they searched for and gathered the bones to make a tower over

them. Beal, 160.] or over the ashes of the ordinary monks. [On the Bhojpur hill there are four tiers of topes, the lowest to the members of the monastery, the next to Pratyek Buddhas (Beal, 47), the next to Bodhisattvas, and the highest to Buddhas. Bhilsa Topes, 13-14.]

The following details of the building of the great tope in Ceylon, about B.C. 150, probably give some idea of the services that accompanied the building of the larger Kanheri topes. [Bhilsa Topes, 169-176.] A foundation was first laid of round stones, which were trodden in by elephants; then came courses of fine clay, brick, cement, iron-plates, incense, steatite, stone, brass, and silver. To lay the foundation stone on a full-moon night, the king with his ministers, thousands of troops, dancing and music marched to the site of the new tower. After making handsome presents the king stepped into the holy place and traced a circle with a pair of gold-tipped silver compasses. In the centre of the circle he placed gold and silver vases, cloth, and fragrant cement, and, in a relic chamber made of six slabs of stone, laid golden images of Buddha and a golden

relic casket brought to the spot with a special procession. The casket was then placed in the relic chamber and offerings heaped round. The shape of the tope was a hemisphere, crowned by a square pinnacle-enclosed parapet wall and supporting in the centre a double canopy. [Bhilsa Topes, 169-176.] The better class of relic mounds contained seven substances, gold, silver, lapislazuli, crystal, carnelian, amber or coral, and a ruby. [Beal, 41.]

#### *Cavas 4-5.*

Cave 4 is a small circular chamber to the left of Cave 3 containing a relic shrine. It has an inscription of three lines and two letters, cut into one side of the square tee of the relic shrine. It is cut in letters of about the fifth or sixth century, and states that the relic shrine was made to hold the relics of the reverend old Buddhist monk Dharmapal by Shivpalitanika, wife of the goldsmith Dhamanaka. Turning north, up a broad flight of steps, is Cave 5, a plain two-mouthed water cistern with a long inscription cut over it. The original length of line was probably nine feet ten

inches of which one foot ten inches on the left have entirely peeled off. Though deeply cut the inscription is much defaced, which is specially to be regretted as it is one of the oldest and most important in the series. It is inscribed in rather corrupt Sanskrit, the letters being of the age of Vasishthiputra (A.D. 133-162). It records the gift of a water-pot by the minister Shatoraka. [It is curious that the word in the original is *bhajan* a pot. A good many inscriptions at Kanheri record gifts of cisterns of water, but *bhajan* is found only here.] Though nothing distinct can be made out of the rest of the inscription, it appears from the fragments that this Shatoraka was the minister of the queen of Vasishthiputra. The queen is mentioned as belonging to the Kardamaka dynasty and it further appears that she was connected with the Kshatrapas, the word *Mahakshatrapasya* being distinct. She was perhaps a grand-daughter on the maternal side of a Mahakshatrap.

#### *Caves 6-9.*

Entering the ravine or watercourse, between the two knolls, and continuing on from Cave 5, come caves 6 and

7, both much ruined and of little consequence. Above the two mouths of the cistern, at the left end of Cave 7, two deep distinct inscriptions, one of three and the other of four lines, are cut into the rock side by side and about six inches apart. The length of line in the first is two feet four inches and in the second two feet nine inches. Both inscriptions refer to the cisterns. One records that one cistern is the gift of Samika, a merchant of Sopara; the other that the other cistern is the gift of a goldsmith Sulasdatta of Chemula, the son of Rohini Mitra. The letters are of the time of Vasishthiputra (A.D. 133-162) or perhaps a little earlier. After passing two great rocks in the stream bed and up some notches in the rock, is number 8, a water cistern, and beyond it Cave 9, a large plain room with four thick square columns in front. It is unfinished and forms the lower story of Cave 10 above.

#### *Cave 10.*

Following the ravine, a long flight of steps leads to Cave 10 generally called the Darbar Cave, the next largest cave to 3. Its arrangement differs greatly from that of most

other caves. The frontage is a long veranda 72' 6" by 8' 4" supported outwardly upon eight octagonal columns. A little chapel at the eastern end has some figures of Buddha and attendants. Three doorways and two windows communicate with the inner hall which is a long rectangular room, the same length as the veranda. Round the two sides and back of this inner hall runs an aisle separated from the room by pillars. In a shrine, that stands out from the middle of the back wall across the full depth of the aisle, is a large seated figure of Buddha, and in the back walls of the aisles are two small cells. The most curious feature in the cave are two long low seats or benches running down the whole length of the centre. They seem to show that, like the Maharvada at Elura, the cave was used as a place of assembly or as a school. [This cave is especially interesting as its plan more nearly resembles that of the hall erected by king Ajatashatru (B.C. 543?) to accommodate the first convocation at Rajagriha (Rajgir in Behar) than that of any other known cave. It is not a monastery *orvihar* in the ordinary sense of that term, but a *dharmshala* or place of assembly. According to the

Mahavanso (Turnour, 12), " Having in all respects perfected this hall, he had invaluable carpets spread there, corresponding to the number of priests (500), in order that being seated on the north side the south might be faced; the inestimable pre-eminent throne of the high priest was placed there. In the centre of the hall facing the east, the exalted preaching pulpit, fit for the deity himself was erected." So in this cave the projecting shrine occupies precisely the position of the throne of the president in the above description. It is occupied, in the present case, by a figure of Buddha on a lion seat, with Padmapani and another attendant. In the lower part of the hall where there are no cells is a plain space, admirably suited for the pulpit of the priest who read *bana* to the assembly. Other caves of this sort are the Nagarjuni at Barbar, Bhim's Bath at Mahavallipur, the Maharvada at Elura, and probably cave 20 at Ajanta. Fergusson and Burgess Cave Temples, 353.] In this cave are two inscriptions one much older than the other. On the left wall, outside the veranda and above a recess over the cistern, is a minute inscription of sixteen lines, six feet four inches long, with part of another line

and two half lines. Where not defaced it is tolerably distinct, and seems to be written in letters of about the fifth century. The language is pure Sanskrit and the whole inscription is in verse. It records the excavation of the cave by a merchant whose name is gone. In the fourth line he is described as famous among the millionaires of the great city of Chemula, as one whose widespread fame had bathed in the three seas. In the fourteenth line is mentioned the grant, to the Kanheri friars, of a village called Shakapadra [The village is probably Saki near Povai. It is mentioned as *apatyayika*, that is situated at the foot of the hill, on the lower slopes or *upatyaka* as opposed to the upper hill land or *adhityaka*. The first letter of the name is doubtful. It may either be *ga* or *sha*.] at the foot of the hill. In the last part of the inscription some account is given of a preceptor, *acharya*, named Kumar. The other inscription is on the architrave over the veranda colonnade. It consists of three upper lines eleven feet long, three lower lines eleven feet seven inches long, and two additional lines five feet six inches long, to the left of the three lower lines and on the same level. It is faintly cut but distinct, and the letters

apparently belong to about the ninth century. The inscription records an endowment, *akshaya nivi*, of 100 drammas by a great Buddha devotee from Gaud (Bengal) or Upper India, on the second day of the dark half of Margshirsh (December-January) in the Prajapati year, after seven hundred and seventy-five years, in figures *Samvat 775*, of the Shak king had passed, during the victorious and happy reign of Amoghvarshdev, the great sovereign, the great king of kings, the noble lord, meditating on the feet of the great sovereign, the chief of kings, the majestic lord, the illustrious Jagattung; and during the flourishing and victorious reign of Kapardi, king of the Konkan, who by Amoghvarsh's favour has gained the five great titles, a jewel among the chiefs of districts, meditating on the feet of Pulashakti, the gem of the great chiefs of districts..... [Arch. Sur. X. 61.] On the wall, cut in thick plaster, to the right of the middle door, are some records of English visitors with the dates 1697, 1706, 1710, and 1735.

On the opposite side of the ravine, Cave 70 has a long inscription of about the same date as that over the pillars in Cave 9 and very likely from the same hand.

#### *Cave 11.*

The next cave on the original side is Cave 11, which is further up the ravine and is hard to get at, as the path climbs the rock for some distance, runs across for about twenty yards, and again falls to the original level. It consists of a veranda supported outwardly on two small pillars, an inner room about fourteen feet square, and a chapel with a large relic shrine in the centre. Opposite Cave 11, on the other side of the ravine, is Cave 79. Next to Cave 11 on the original side is Cave 12, a plain small room with a veranda and a water cistern on one side. On the left wall, outside the veranda and over a large recess, is an inscription of about ten lines, five feet six inches in length. The letters, which are of the time of Vasishtiputra (A.D. 133-162), are deeply cut, and, where they have not peeled off, are distinct. They record the gifts of a cave, a cistern, a seat and a sleeping bench by an inhabitant of

Kalyan, (name gone), a merchant, son of Shivmitra. There is a further gift of clothes and *karshapanas* and one *pratika* a month to the friars who lived in the cave in the rainy season. [*Karshapanas* and *Pratikas* are coins. The *karshapana* was of different values; if of gold it weighed sixteen *mashas*; if of silver it was equal in value to sixteen *panas* of cowries or 1280 cowries; if of copper it weighed 80 *raktikas*, or the same as of gold, about 176 grains. According to some the copper *Karshapana* is the same as a *pana* of cowries, that is 80 cowries. The *pratika* appears to be equal in value to the silver *karshapana*, that is sixteen *panas* of cowries.]

#### *Caves 12-13.*

Over against this is cave 80. Cave 13 is a group of three or four broken caves with some ruined relic mounds. In this cave some interesting discoveries were made by Mr. West in 1853. In the centre of the floor, which was covered with earth, were found the foundations of four small relic shrines of unburnt bricks. In one of these foundations, which seemed to have been undisturbed since the

destruction of the shrine, fragments of clay seals were found representing a sitting Buddha surrounded by ornaments. Further search showed many similar impressions in dried clay, also several impressions of round seals of various sizes bearing inscriptions. Some larger fragments of dried clay which had been moulded into peculiar forms, were discovered to have been the receptacles in which the inscription seals had been imbedded. The larger fragments of dried clay were found to be portions of six varieties of seal receptacles. The impressions of inscription seals were laid face to face in pairs, and one pair was imbedded in each receptacle. They were small round pieces of dried clay with a flat face bearing an inscription in relief, evidently the impression of a clay with a flat seal, and a rounded back, which bore the impression of the skin markings of a human palm, showing that the clay was laid upon one hand while the seal was impressed with the other. [Mr. West found sixty-eight seal impressions of various sizes, being the impressions of twenty-two different seals. The number of impressions of each seal were, No. 1 seven impressions, No. 2 two, No. 3

ten, No. 4 three, No. 5 five, No. 6 five, No. 7 three, No. 8 three, No. 9 one, No. 10 one, No. 11 six, No. 12 four, No. 13 two, No. 14 two, No. 15 three, No. 16 three, No. 17 one, No. 18 one, No. 19 one, No. 20 one, and No. 21 one. There was one not figured and two were illegible.]

An examination of the most distinct of the seal impressions showed some words of the Buddhist formula, and this led to the deciphering of the whole inscription. On many of the other seals, the inscriptions, though differently divided into lines, were precisely alike, and represented in letters of about the 'tenth century, the well known Buddhist formula. One seal had an inscription in sixteen lines, the last three of which were found to be the Buddhist formula. All the impressions representing a sitting Buddha seemed to have been made with the same seal as the same defects occurred in all. The figure was represented cross-legged under a canopy, surrounded by ornaments and with three lines of inscription beneath it. Portions of seventy distinct impressions of this seal were found in Cave 13 of which two were broken, fifty-five were pieces containing the



whole sitting figure, the rest were in smaller fragments. The flat faces of the impressions were painted red, while the round backs bore distinct impressions of the skin markings of a human hand, showing that the seal was impressed in the same manner as the inscription seals. [Similar impressions in dried clay exist in a museum at Edinburgh where they are labelled as coming from Ceylon, and similar impressions in lac are figured in Moor's Hindu Pantheon and stated to exist in the museum of the East India Company. The meaning and use of these seals is well pointed out by Dr. Rajendralal Mitra (Buddha Gaya, 121). Little clay votive relic shrines were kept in store by the priests to be given to pilgrims and the value of the memorial was increased by bearing the seal impression of an image of Gautama or of the Buddhist creed. The dedication of relic shrines in sacred places was held to be most meritorious. Those who could not afford to make real relic shrines offered small models of stone or of clay. At Sarnath, Sanchi, and Mathura thousands of clay models, not more than three inches high have been found. At Buddha Gaya the models were almost all of stone. Some of

the clay models were stamped with the Buddhist seal and others with the image of Buddha. A cheaper form of offering was a small tile stamped with a relic shrine and the Buddhist creed.]

There were a variety of fragments of moulded clay found with the seal impressions. It was doubtful what they represented, but several of them, fitted upon others, formed mushroom-shaped ornaments which would fit on to the broken tops of the receptacles. One was a fragment of a larger umbrella-shaped canopy; another appeared to be one-half of a mould for casting coins, bearing the impression of a coin which might possibly be a very rude representation of a man on horseback. A brass or copper earring was found imbedded in a small ball of ashes.

Two stone pots were found buried in the earth between two topes. They were of laterite or some similar stone, and had covers fitting a sunken ledge on the top of the pots. Each of them held about a table spoonful of ashes, one pot had three copper coins and the other two copper coins. Of the coins, the first three appeared to have been little worn

and were covered on both sides with well cut Arabic letters which differed in each coin, though all three bore the date H. 844 coinciding with A.D. 1440-41. The latter two were much worn and the inscriptions were difficult to read and contained no date. [Mr. West in Jour. B. B. R. A. S. VI. 157-160.] On the other side of the watercourse are caves 81 and 82.

#### *Caves 14-15.*

Still following the ravine and crossing an upward flight of steps is Cave 14, a well finished cave but infested with bats and bad smells. The shrine off the back of the hall has a little antechamber with two slender pillars in front. The roof has remains of plaster. Opposite Cave 14 is Cave 83. Over the cistern corner of Cave 14 a rough path leads to Cave 15, an unfinished cave that seems to have contained a built relic mound. On a tablet, cut on a detached rock between Caves 14 and 15, is an inscription of four lines one foot four inches long. It is deeply cut and complete but not very distinct. The letters, which are of the time of Vasishthiputra (A.D. 133-162), record the dedication of a

pathway by one Kumar Nand (or son of Nanda?) of Kalyan. Opposite to this, on the other side of the ravine, is Cave 84.

#### *Caves 16- 19.*

Cave 16 is a small cell cut in the rock with a relic shrine. There are traces in it of red plaster. Cave 17 is open in front with a group of cells walled off in one end, and a low bench running round two of its sides. Across the ravine are Caves 85 and 88. Cave 18 is a water cistern and Cave 19 a small cell. On the left wall of the porch of Cave 19 is a faintly cut and rather indistinct inscription of 2 lines three feet long. It is cut in letters of the time of Vasishthiputra (A.D. 133-162) and records the gift of a cave by a recluse (name gone, perhaps *Asad*), brother of the reverend Vir, who also gave an endowment from which to supply a garment to the monk living in the cave.

#### *Caves 20-21.*

Cave 20 is a broken cavern with some low benches. Cave 21 is rather a good cave with a cistern on the right and a projecting porch supported outwardly by two pillars with cushion capitals. Beyond the porch is the veranda, the hall twenty-six feet ten inches long by twenty-two feet four inches wide, and the shrine with a seated figure of a teaching Buddha. There are Padmapanis on each side and Buddhas in the side niches with angels about. The most curious feature in this cave is a figure of Padmapani, on the right of a seated Buddha, in a niche to the west of the porch with eleven heads. Besides his proper head he has ten smaller heads arranged in three rows above, four in the central row and three on each side of it. There is also a litany group, like that in Cave 2, but much damaged. On some plaster to the right of the shrine door are the painted outlines of several Buddhas.

#### *Dam.*

At this point the ravine widens into a large basin and has, across its mouth, the remains of the massive stone dam of which mention has already been made. On a detached

rock, between Caves 21 and 22, is an inscription about the making of the dam. It is deeply cut and distinct, but most of the first line and part of the second have peeled off. The letters are of the time of Vasishthiputra (A.D. 133-162) and record the gift of a reservoir by a merchant named Punaka.

#### *Caves 22-28.*

Continuing in the same direction is 22, a small cave, neatly cut, with a veranda and a cell furnished with a sleeping bench. Cave 23 is a long straggling excavation much like 13 with some benches along the back wall; Cave 24 is a small cell; 25 is the beginning of a cave and 26 another small cave; 27 which comes next was meant to be large, but never went much beyond a beginning. In front are two half-cut pillars with cushion capitals. Some little distance lower is 28 which is of no importance.

#### *Caves 87-78.*

From this, as 29 is back towards 3, it is best to return by the other side of the ravine taking the caves from 87 to

78. Cave 87 is a little room and veranda with a water cistern'; 86 is similar in plan but rather larger; 88 is the beginning of a cave up above between 85 and 86; 85 is a small room much ruined; 84, which has a cistern, is like 85, and has a figure of Buddha in a niche in the back wall and one of the more modern inscriptions; 83 is a long straggling cave with a row of six cells in the back wall and the remains of one or more built relic mounds. 82 is a small broken cave; 81 is a neat little cave with a long inscription and a doorway and little lattice window on either side. The veranda is open and pillarless. 80 originally included three rooms, which are now broken into one another and much destroyed; 79, a plain little room with a veranda and two pillars, is apparently unfinished. In the back wall is a long rectangular niche with a number of small seated Buddhas. In the inner dark chamber of cave 78, on the front of a pedestal or altar before a sitting figure, is an inscription of four letters. The surface of the stone is much honey-combed and the first two letters are illegible. The letters are of the time of Gotamiputra II. (A.D. 177-196), or a little later, and the language may be Sanskrit. On the architrave,

over the veranda colonnade, is another inscription in Sanskrit of two sets of five lines, each line seven feet long. Each line is over the space between two pillars and the short line below is on the capital of a column. The first part, which is inscribed in letters of the ninth century, records the gifts, by the reverend Nainbhikshu, of an endowment of 100 *drammas* to the friars living in the large monastery of Krishnagiri during the reign of Kapardi (II.), king of the Konkan, the humble servant of Amoghvarsh, *Shak* 799 (A.D. 877). Near the above but separated by a line to avoid confusion is another inscription which seems to mean: During the reign of Pulashakti, governor of Mangalpuri in the Konkan, the humble servant of (the Rashtrakuta) Amoghvarsh beloved of the world, the great devotee Vishnuranak, the son of Purnahari, living on the lotus-like feet (of the king)", requests the honourable brotherhood (of monks) living in Krishnagiri to 'Read three leaves of the revered (books) Panchvinshati and Saptasahasrika.' Vishnuranak gave 120 *drammas* to keep up this sacred reading. On the left wall, outside the veranda of Cave 81 over a recess, is an inscription of twelve lines,

each line three feet nine inches long. It is cut rather deep and is fairly distinct, the last four lines being clearer and probably later than the rest. It records the gift of a cave and cistern by the devotee Aparenuka, son of Ananda, inhabitant of Kalyan, on the fifth day of the 1st fortnight of Grishma (April) in the sixteenth year of Gotamiputra Yajnashri Shatakarni (A.D. 177-196). Also of 200 *karshapanas* and a field in the village of Mangalthan [Mangalthan is the present deserted village of Magathan whose site lies about three miles west of Kanheri hill. It has Buddhist caves and remains. A large plot of land is still marked in the survey maps as *Kanherichi jaga* or Kanheri's land. See below Magathan.] (Sk. Mangalasthana), as an endowment to provide sixteen clothes and one *pratika* a month during the rainy, season. On the right wall, outside the veranda of cave 82, is an inscription of probably more than five lines, originally three feet three inches long. It is cut rather deep, but the rock is honeycombed and weather-worn so that in places the letters are very indistinct. About three letters are wanting at the end of the first line and a corresponding

number below. The letters are of the time of Gotamiputra II (A.D. 177-196), and record a gift by a nun (name gone), the disciple of some reverend friar. On the right wall, outside the veranda of Cave 84 and above a recess over a cistern, is an inscription of eight lines, three feet three inches long. It is faintly cut on a tablet surrounded by an ornamental border, the surface of the tablet being much corroded. The letters are of about the fifth century. It probably records the gift of a cave.

#### *Cave 29.*

About fifteen yards to the north of, and on a much higher level than, number 3 the cathedral cave, is 29, an ordinary sized cave with a hall twenty feet nine inches by eighteen feet five inches. A low bench runs round two sides of the hall, and the walls are adorned with numerous Buddhas, seated on lotus thrones supported by Naga figures. There is a plain open window on the left of the hall door and a latticed window on the right. The cave is provided with the usual water cistern on one side. On the inner wall of the veranda, over and between two grated

windows, is an inscription of one line seven feet six inches long, and of seven lines three feet one inch long. The inscription, which is deeply cut on a rough surface and tolerably distinct, records, in letters of the time of Grotamiputra II. (A.D. 177-196), the gift of a cistern and a cave by a merchant Isipal (Sk. Rishipal), son of Golanaka, inhabitant of Kalyan, and (the gift) of a field in the village of Saphad as an endowment from which to supply a garment to a monk during the rains, and, in the hot season, a monthly grant of one *pratika*, and, from what remained, to make an awning, *mandap*. [The word in the original is *mandap*, by which is perhaps meant a temporary bower-like structure in front of the cave to ward off the summer sun.]

#### *Caves 30-34.*

30 and 31 are small caves of little interest. 32 differs in plan from any cave except 45. A long veranda is supported along the front on four plain thick octagonal pillars. Instead of having the doorway of the hall in the centre of the back wall of the veranda it is pushed towards one end, the other

end being occupied by a group of cells. Two oblong windows, much larger than usual, light the hall, one on either side of the doorway; and, further along the wall, another similar window opens into the cells. Round two sides of the interior of this hall runs a low bench. A water cistern is attached to this cave. Passing up the steps between 30 and 31, keeping to the left, is 33, a much damaged cave with a water cistern and long benches against the rocks outside. 34 is a small cave with two pillars supporting the front of the veranda, and two little lattice windows, one on either side of the doorway, admitting light into the little room.

#### *Cave 35.*

Cave 35, next in size to 10, has the floor considerably raised above the outer court and has a well cut flight of steps leading to the veranda. The front of the veranda is supported on four thick plain octagonal pillars. Between each of the pillars, except the middle pair, is a low bench with a back that forms a low parapet wall from pillar to pillar. The outside of this wall continues straight down to

the floor of the court. The upper part is adorned with the Buddhist rail pattern and an upper horizontal edging of festoons, which, in timber fashion, are shown as if resting on the cross beams of the veranda floor, the square ends of which are allowed to project a little beyond the face. These again rest on a long horizontal beam which runs the whole length of the front of the cave, the beam itself resting upon vertical props which at intervals rise from the ground. [This construction is well represented at Nasik where gigantic figures, half of whose bodies are above ground, supported the ends of the horizontal cross beams on their shoulders.] The veranda walls are covered with representations of Buddha in different attitudes. A central and two smaller side doorways enter on a large hall, forty-five feet six inches by forty feet six inches, with a bench running round three sides and cells off the two side walls. These inner walls are also covered with sculptured figures of Buddha and Padmapani. A good water cistern is attached to the cave. From 35 the path leads up the rock, over the cistern near 33, southwards, across an upward


flight of steps, about fifteen yards to 36 a much damaged cave.

#### *Cave 36.*

Outside the veranda on the right and left walls of cave 36 are two inscriptions. The right inscription of seven lines, three feet eight inches long, is faintly cut on a somewhat honeycombed surface. The lines seem to have originally been ten inches longer and in this part have become illegible. The left inscription, probably of eight lines three feet six inches long, is faintly cut on a honeycombed surface and is indistinct. Both inscriptions relate to the same subject and have the same date. The names of the donors are different. The inscription runs: ' In the eighth year of king Madhariputra the lord Shirisena, in the sixth fortnight of Grishma (April) on the tenth day, a merchant householder, the son of Venhunandi, merchant, living in Kalyan, made this cave of Satta (?) with the respectable....., with his father Venhunandi, with his mother Bodhisama, with his brother.... hathi, with an assembly of all co-religionists.' On the left wall, outside the veranda and near

a recess over a cistern, is a third inscription of ten lines three feet long. It is faintly cut, on a rough surface exposed to the weather, in letters of about the time of Gotamiputra II. (A.D. 177-196). It records the gift of a cave, a cistern, and a bathing cistern by Lavanika, wife of Ayal (Sk. Achal), a merchant, son of Nandana and inhabitant of Kalyan, and of an endowment of 300 *karshapanas*. The inscription also mentions something done in the Ambalika (monastery?) in Kalyan.

#### *Caves 37-38.*

Further in the same direction, passing a dry cistern, is 37, a small cave with two front pillars broken away. It has a latticed window on either side of the doorway to the inner room and a cistern outside. On the rock, near the entrance to the open gallery (38), is a deep cut and distinct inscription of one line fifteen inches long. At a little distance below it, to the left, is this symbol □□, 10  inches square and apparently of the same age.

#### *Galleries 38-41.*

The four long open galleries, under the south-western brow of the hill, 38, 39, 40, and 41, though rarely visited, have several objects of interest. From the Tulsi side, 38 is the first to come in sight, as the path passes under it about a mile from the Cathedral Cave (No. 3). Like the three other galleries, 38 seems to be an enlarged natural hollow in the face of the cliff, where a band of soft rock lies between two harder layers. The harder belts are blackened by the rain, while the soft band has worn into dust and been blown away, leaving a long hollow under the brow of the hill, where the rock, being sheltered from the rain, keeps its natural sandy colour. [Many such hollows occur in the valleys to the north-east of the caves, Some of them have been enlarged by art, but it is most difficult to get at them.] The only safe entrance to 38 is from above, where a path, cut in the rock and furnished with steps, crosses the lower plateau of rolling ridges, and may be reached either down the steep slope of 55, or by keeping below the terrace wall in front of 36. Following this path southwards, it turns suddenly to the right over the brow of the precipice, alongside which it descends by broken steps cut in a semi-



detached rock, which end in another rock-path leading north to 39 and south to 38, The path to 38 goes down some steps and up others to the level of the floor of the gallery, and is soon sheltered by the rock above. The floor of the gallery is covered with brick-dust, the foundations of fifteen to twenty small brick topes or relic mounds buried in their ruins.

#### *Stone Stupa.*

Beyond the brick ruins are the remains of a large stone tope, and, behind the stone tope, are three small chambers, with much sculpture, greatly decayed owing to the perishable quality of the rock. The first chamber has a group on both sides and at the back, each consisting of a large sitting figure with attendants, two of the attendants in each group being life-size. Between the first and second chambers is a small sitting figure with two larger figures below. The second chamber has a sitting figure with attendants on the left wall; a standing figure with attendants on the back, and several small sitting and standing figures on the right. The third chamber has a

standing figure with attendants on both side-walls, a sitting figure with attendants on the back, and, outside, the remains of some sculptures. All these chambers have remains of plaster and traces of paint. Beyond the large stone tope, the floor of the gallery suddenly rises about fourteen feet to a short level space, on which are the foundations of eleven small brick topes, buried in their ruins. Another rise of three feet leads to a level containing the foundations of thirty-three brick topes, also buried in their ruins. These topes have been built on a platform paved with brick, and in some places the rock above has been cut to make room for them. Brick ruins, the remains of other topes, extend beyond the fourth chamber, which is semicircular, with a small ruined relic shrine in the centre and a small recess at the back. From this point, brick disappears for about eighty feet, the floor beginning to rise past another semicircular chamber, above the level of the gallery, with a small rock relic shrine in the centre and an umbrella-shaped canopy cut in the ceiling. It then passes a relic shrine in bas-relief and the beginning of a cell, where broken bricks again appear and go on for about two

hundred feet, no doubt covering the foundations of brick topes. The floor of the gallery then rises rapidly to the end, where a bench is cut in the rock, commanding a fine view of Bassein. Near the end of the gallery are three recesses, with benches from six to ten feet above the level of the floor; and below the first recesses are three sockets cut in the rock for fixing, wood work. A rock-path formerly passed the end of the gallery, leading to steps up the hill. But the first part of this path has slipped down the cliff and communication is cut off.

Of the numerous topes in this gallery, the ruins of the large stone tope have been fully explored, and many of the brick topes have been cleared. In 1853 the large stone tope presented the appearance of a heap of dust and stones decaying into bluish earth, which had probably not been disturbed for ages. It was noticed that one or two of the stones were covered with small sculptured figures, and the whole heap was carefully turned over and cleared in search of sculptures. The result was the discovery of the lower part of a large tope, built of stone, differing from the

neighbouring rocks, and of some architectural merit. This stone tope has been a sixteen-sided polygon for a greater height than the present ruins, and above that it must have been circular. The many sided base of the tope, which measured about twenty-two feet in diameter, was, for twenty-seven or twenty-eight feet from the ground, ornamented with level belts or friezes of sculpture, separated by narrower bands of tracery, and, perhaps, divided into panels by upright pillars and pilasters. Too little of the tope is left to show for certain the number of tiers or friezes of sculpture which encircled the base. There seem to have been nine tiers or belts, several of which were sculptured into figures or tracery. Portions of the two lowest belts remain in their original position; the other fragments that have been recovered were found scattered among the ruins. The lowest belt seems to have been plain and less than an inch broad. The second belt was about two inches broad and had figured panels. One of these (Mr. West's 1), measuring eighteen inches square, has a central and two side figures. The central figure is a broken spirit or Yaksha-like form, which with both hands steadies on its

head a relic shrine, apparently a copy of the tope. Its many sided base seems carved into six level belts and supports a semicircular cupola, from the centre of which rises a tee of five plates each plate larger than the one below it. On either side of the central tope bearer are two larger human figures, and behind are damaged figures which seem to bring offerings in dishes. Mr. West's fragment two, which he thinks may belong to a higher belt, is about six inches broad, it has two rows of heading, and is divided into three small panels. On the right (visitor's left) is a central *kirtimukh* or face of fame with a boy and an elephant's head on both sides. The next panel is a man holding a rosary, beyond him are two elephants' heads neck to neck, and at the end is a panel of tracery. The next four fragments (Mr. West's 3, 4, 5, and 6) perhaps belonged to a fourth belt about six inches broad. They are groups of lions, tigers, cattle, and deer, peaceful and undisturbed, showing how under Shakyamuni's influence the lion and the lamb lay down together. Mr. West's fragment seven, which he thinks may have belonged to the fifth belt, is about nine inches broad. Above is a scroll of tracery about

three inches broad, divided by upright lozenge panels. Below is a plain rounded moulding, about six inches broad. The sixth frieze was about eighteen inches broad. What remains of it in its place is plain. But Mr. West thinks that the groups of figures in his fragments 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14 may have belonged to this belt. In fragment eight (3' 6" x 1' 3" x 7") in the extreme right (visitor's left) a man, probably an ascetic, without ornaments, and with his hair standing out from his head in a great circle of curious tufts, sits under a tree on a stone bench, perhaps draped with cloth; his right leg is drawn up across the bench and his right hand holds near his chest a short broad-bladed dagger. His left leg rests on the ground and his left hand is set on his left thigh. On the ascetic's left a man, who has dismounted from his horse, kneels on stones before the ascetic, and, with joined hands, seems to ask his help. This figure has a curious shock head of hair falling below the ears, or it may be a cap, and wears a waistcloth tied in a knot behind, and a belt or waistband. His horse, a sturdy long-tailed cob, has a bridle without a head-piece, a saddle except for its high pommel much like an English saddle, a

girth and two belts, one passing round the chest the other under the tail. To the left of the horse the ascetic apparently again appears though the head-dress is a little different. He is seated and rests his right hand, in which lies something perhaps bread, on his right knee, and he holds up his open left hand as if forbidding. A male figure, apparently the same as the kneeling figure in the last, stands with shock hair and a dagger in his right hand, and something, perhaps bread, in his left hand. Behind and above, a woman seizes the hands, and a man the feet, of a male figure who struggles to get free. It is difficult to make out the meaning of this group. Perhaps two travellers have been waylaid by thieves, one is carried off, the other escapes. The traveller who escapes goes to a holy man who takes from him his sword and gives him food to offer the thieves and induce them to give up his friend. To the left (visitor's right) of this group the stone is bare and worn. It was once written with letters of the fourth or fifth century. One letter *ko* is still plain. On the same slab, separated by a plain pilaster, is a group of three figures under a tree. In the back ground a standing man, his hair tied in a double top-knot and with

a plain necklace and bracelet, blows a conch. Below on the left (visitor's right) a woman, with big round earrings, a necklace, and a top-knot, kneels holding her hands in front. On her right is a kneeling male figure with a double top-knot and bracelet with something broken, perhaps a musical instrument, in his raised left hand. The object of worship, which these figures are reverencing, has gone. Fragment ten measures 2' x 1' 3". In the right (visitor's left) is a standing woman with a sword in her left hand, and, behind her, another woman. These figures are separated by a pillar square below and rounded above, in the fourth or fifth century style. To the left (visitor's right) of the pillar, under a tree, is a standing woman, with bracelet, waistcloth, and anklets. Her right hand is on her breast and her left is raised to pluck the leaves of a tree. Behind her is a man's face and two male figures stand in the back ground. On her left is a seated figure, apparently an ascetic, with his hair in the dome-coil or *jata* style, no ornaments, and his waistcloth passed round his knee. His right hand is up to his chest and held something which is broken. His left hand is stretched forward and seems to clutch a sword,

which is held in the right hand of a male figure, who seems to be running towards him. This figure, whose head-dress, like a three-plaited tiara, seems to show that he is a king, wears a necklace and armlet, and a waistcloth which falls in a tail behind. A woman, perhaps the same as the woman to the right of the ascetic, with a big earring and back-knot and an anklet, kneels in front and clasps the king's right knee as if in fear. The king seems to brandish his sword as if about to kill the woman, and with his left hand tries to free the sword from the ascetic's grasp. On the king's left a woman, standing under a cocoa-palm, clutches his waistcloth and seems to try to hold him back. On her left is a running figure with a royal tiara, brandishing a sword in his right hand and his left hand set on his left hip. The story of this group seems to be that a king's wife, the standing woman on the ascetic's right, has left her home to live in the forests with the ascetic. Her husband comes in search of her, and, finding her, threatens to kill her, while the ascetic clutches his sword and the wife throws herself at his feet asking for pity. In the right of fragment eleven, which measures 2' 2" x 9", is a seated teaching Buddha under a

tree, and, on his right, a seated disciple in the attitude of thought. A man, with a second man on his shoulders, comes from the right and behind them is a band of women dancing and singing. Behind the dancers are lotuses, and, in the extreme right is a dwarf carrying a dish on his outstretched hands. In fragment twelve (2' x 8") in the right panel are elephants and trees, and in the left (visitor's right) panel a man on a barebacked horse with two attendants in front with shields. Fragment thirteen (which measures 1' 6" x 6") is a line of six small broken male figures, some seated, others standing. In fragment fourteen (9" X 7"), an elephant with two riders enters from the right. Before it goes a man on foot with a shock head of hair and a coarse waistcloth. He carries a dagger in his right hand and a long shield in his left hand. Four more fragments (15-18) are believed by Mr. West to belong to a higher belt. They are panels (about 2' 2" X 9") divided by pillars, in the Elephanta Cave style, showing groups of Buddha, alternately teaching and in thought, with, in each case, two attendant fly-whisk bearers. Two more fragments (19 and 20) measure 1' 6" x 6" and 2' x 5". Nineteen is part of a belt

of festooned drapery and twenty has an overhanging belt of rosebuds above and a plain withdrawn band below. The character of the figures, the shape of the letters, and the style of the pillars, seem to show that these sculptures belong to the fourth and fifth centuries. [Of Mr. West's 20 fragments of this tope, Nos. 8, 9, and 14 are in original in the Museum of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Of two others (14 and 15), which are in the possession of the executors of the late Dr. Bhau Daji, plaster of Paris impressions are in the Society's Museum. The rest are probably still at Kanheri.]

At some time after the building of the tope, the sculptures were covered with a thin coat of white plaster, on which the features of the figures were painted in red lines, which do not always correspond with the original features. After the lower sculptures had become broken, a circular brick moulding was built round the basement, so as to hide the two lower friezes; it was covered with a thin coating of white plaster. Besides the sculptures, three flat stones were found, bearing portions of an inscription on

their circular faces. These stones probably formed a part of the upper circular portion of the tope, below the level where it began to round into a cupola. Many plain stones were also found of the proper shape for forming portions of the cupola. A stone moulding was also found among the dust round the tope. It is a part of the polygonal portion, and bears an inscription in Pahlavi letters, cut in vertical lines, and without diacritical points. The letters are finely but superficially cut, like those in the inscription on the three stones above-mentioned, and the inscription extends over only four lines. It reads, 'The year 390 (A.D. 1021) of Yazdakard Shatraiyar. Mah Frobag'. On another stone of the relic shrine is an inscription of which only two or three detached letters can be read. It appears to have consisted of seven vertical lines on a flat space between two groups of sculpture; but the surface of the stone is so decayed that the letters are just sufficient to show that the words have been Pahlavi. The tope was probably solid, the inner portion being of stone cut from the neighbouring rocks. It had already been broken open and the square hole in the rock had been emptied of its relics.

### *Brick Stupas.*

The foundations of all the brick topes that have been cleared are of three sizes, six feet, five feet three inches, and four feet six inches in diameter. They are solid, of large flat segmental bricks shaped in moulds on the outside, and of square flat bricks within. All the brick work has been covered with a thin coat of white plaster, which does not appear to have been painted. As eight of these topes were carefully searched without any relics being found, it is probable that the place of deposit was in the cupola, which, in every instance, was destroyed. In two of the cleared topes a small plain stone was found occupying the place of a portion of two courses of the brickwork just above the mouldings, and this probably existed in all. A similarly shaped stone was found among the broken brick between the topes which had an inscription on its circular face. Many square stones cut in steps, and with a square hole through them, were found among the broken bricks and evidently formed ornamental tops for the topes. The great number of these brick topes, there must have been at

least 100 of them, makes it probable that they held the ashes of the priesthood and that this gallery was the burying-ground of the monastery. [Mr. West in Jour. B. B. R. A. S. VI. 116-120.]

### *Inscriptions.*

On the circular edges of three flat segmental stones, which were dug out of the ruins of the large built and sculptured stone tope were three inscriptions one of two lines, another of two lines, and a third of one line. The sizes of the circular surfaces of the stones were respectively 18 by 5 inches, twenty inches by 5, and 21 inches by six. The inscriptions were cut in five lines upon a smooth surface. The beginning of all the lines was distinct, but the stone was corroded at the right end of the second and third inscriptions. They are probably parts of one inscription and the beginnings of the lines were originally in the same vertical line. The first portion begins with the date 921 (A.D. 999) *Ashvin shuddha*. [These letters were probably carved by some visitor to the caves. The stone bearing this inscription is in the Bombay Asiatic

Society's Museum.] There was another inscription on one of the friezes of this tope alongside the sculptured representation, perhaps of a road robbery, where some faint traces of more ancient letters were barely visible. On the face of a stone, 8❖ inches by 4❖ inches and 9 inches deep, found among the ruins of a brick burial mound in the open gallery 38, is a three line inscription. The first two lines were distinct, except the third letter in the second line, but the lower line was much decayed. The letters belong to the fifth or sixth century. In the first line occurs the name of an old friar Aiashivnaga (Sk. Aryashivnaga). On the back wall of open gallery 39, is an inscription of one line six feet nine inches long, written in letters of the time of Gotamiputra II. (A.D. 177-196). It is deep cut, but on a honeycombed surface, and records the gift of a cave.

*Caves 42-43.*

A little above 13 and 14, close to the steps that run between them, is cave 42, much inferior to it in execution but, in plan, closely resembling Nasik cave 3. The pillars, though now broken, have had the same pot capitals

surmounted by the flat tiles and groups of pictures. These groups remain attached to the ceiling and one of the pot capitals lies on the ground. The pilasters at either end have a central lotus rosette, with a half rosette above, and the neck between is cut into three large flutes. These are very poor, and, like the pillars, show inferior and careless workmanship. Instead of the usual large hall, two rooms of equal size open from the veranda, each by its own doorway. A low bench runs round two aides of each room. Close by, separated only by a broken partition wall, is 43, a plain cave, with two octagonal pillars in front of the veranda, and a small square hall with a figure of Buddha cut in a niche in the back wall. On each side of the central doorway is a little lattice window and a cistern. On the right of the entrance over the mouth of the cistern is an inscription of eight lines. The letters are of the time of Gotamiputra II. (A.D. 177-196) and record the gift of a cave and cistern by an old nun, the disciple of the reverend Ghos. There is also the record of an endowment of 200 *karshapanas* from which to give sixteen clothes and one *pratika* a month.



### *Caves 44-49.*

Cave 44 is broken and unfinished. It differs from the rest by having a small chapel in each of the three inner walls of the hall, the fronts of each chapel being supported upon two pillars. There is a cell at either end of the veranda and a cistern outside. Cave 45 is identical in plan with 32. The long veranda is supported outwardly by four square pillars with octagonal necks that pass from the ceiling about one-third down their shafts. At either end of the veranda is a Buddha with attendants, and in a niche in the back wall is a seated Buddha. 46, 47, 48, and 49 are small caves, the last much destroyed. Outside the veranda on the left wall of cave 48 is an inscription, of five lines, originally three feet four inches long. The letters, which are of the time of Gotamiputra II. (A.D. 177-196) are clear but not deep cut. The lines are complete at the right hand end, but on the left the rock has peeled off. The upper lines are more indistinct than the rest. It seems to record the gift of a cave and an endowment of some *karshapanas* from which to supply a monk with a garment during the rainy months.

On the left wall outside the veranda of cave 49 is an inscription, probably of nine lines, which may have been four feet long. It is very imperfect, indistinct, and faintly cut. The few legible letters show that, like the last, the inscription is of the age of Gotamiputra II. (A.D. 177-196).

Beyond 49, passing over the rock to the south, is 50, a neat cave with a cistern, double veranda, a ruined front wall and a bench running round three sides of the interior. Further, in the same direction, comes 51, a tolerably large cave with a nicely finished front. The outside of the parapet is of much the same style as 35. Cave 52 is plain but very neat. On the right wall, outside the veranda of cave 52 and above a recess over a cistern, is an inscription probably of 9 lines, three feet four inches long. It is deeply cut, in letters of the time of Gotamiputra II. (A.D. 177-196), but on a honeycombed surface.

### *Caves 50-66.*

The upper three lines and part of the next two have peeled off, and it is difficult to make out anything of what

remains. Cave 53 is like 52. On the right wall, outside of the veranda and above a recess over a cistern, is an inscription of eleven lines, three feet four inches long. It is deep cut, but on a honeycombed surface, and the centre has peeled off. The letters, which are of the time of Gotamiputra II. (A.D. 177-196), record the gift of a cave. Across a small torrent from 53, are caves 54 and 55, small and unimportant. From 55 the path runs back to the north-east, where, above 45, is 56, about the cleanest cave on the hill. It is of fair size and makes an excellent dwelling. As in many of the other caves four octagonal pillars support the front of the veranda; a low bench runs round two sides of the interior, two lattice windows aid in lighting the hall, and there is a cell in one corner with a small window opening into the veranda. In front, a fine open terrace with stone couches, commands a beautiful view of the sea, Bassein creek, and Bassein. There are two inscriptions in this cave. Outside the veranda, on the left wall and above a recess over a cistern, is one of eleven lines, three feet four inches long. It is cut to a moderate depth, but, owing to the honeycombed state of the rock, is not very distinct and part

of the centre has peeled off. The letters are of the time of Gotamiputra II. (A.D. 177-196) and record the gift of a cave and an endowment by a Kalyan worshipper (name gone). On the pilaster, at the right end of the veranda, is the other inscription of 6 lines, one foot seven inches long. It is faintly cut and indistinct, and is very modern (9th or 10th century). A groove has been cut through its centre at a still later date to fix some wooden framing. The inscription refers to something done in the old cave, probably the setting up of some Brahmanic or Jain image.

#### *Caves 57-59.*

57 is much decayed. 58 is a small but neatly cut cave in good preservation. On the inner wall of the veranda of 58, and to the left of a grated window, is an inscription of two lines, three feet long. It is deep cut, distinct, and perfect. The letters are of the time of Vasishthiputra (A.D. 133-162). It reads, 'The meritorious gift of a cave named Sea View (Sk. *Sagara Pralokana*) by the reverend elder Mitrabhuti' This cave is rightly named Sea View as it commands a fine stretch of the Bassein creek and of

the *sea* beyond. 59 is like 58. On the back wall of the recess over the cistern mouth is an inscription of three lines originally two feet nine inches long. It is deeply cut and distinct, but about five letters in the first line, three in the second, and two in the third have peeled off. The letters are of the time of Vasishthiputra (A.D. 133-162) and record the gift of a cave and (cistern) by a nun named Damila. The rest cannot be made out. On the inner wall of the veranda of the same cave, and above a small grated window, is an inscription of one line, five feet three inches long. It is clear, though not deeply cut, and all the letters are perfect; three small letters under the line can also be easily read. The letters are of the time of Vasishthiputra (A.D. 132-162), and the inscription records the gift of a cave and a cistern by a nun Damila of Kalyan.

*Cave 60-66.*

60 is plain and larger than the last two; it has a low bench running along one of the inner walls. 61 is like 60 but smaller; 62 is unfinished. A small chapel in the back wall has two pillars supporting its front. It is probably the

antechamber of a shrine that was never begun. Caves 63 to 68 run parallel to these, on a higher level. Of late years almost all of these caves have been used as dwellings by Jogis and other ascetics. The last Jogi died two or three years ago and they are now (1881) deserted. 63 is a large well cut cave in the style of 35. 64, a fairly large cave, has had its front pillars broken away. The veranda walls are covered with sculpture, and two large oblong windows light the hall which is a large plain room with a low bench round two sides. On the back wall of a recess over a cistern mouth, to the right of the entrance of cave 64, is an inscription probably of six lines, faintly cut and indistinct. The two lowest lines have disappeared, and nearly half of the third and fourth lines is illegible. The letters are of the time of Gotamiputra II. (A.D. 177-196). It records the gift of a cistern by the recluse Jamadevika, daughter of the very rich Shivtana (Sk. Shivtanu) and the mother of Mahasakdeva. 65 is small and much ruined. 66 is rather an interesting cave from the amount and nature of the sculpture. It has the best representation of the Buddhist 'litany' that occurs at Kanheri. The arrangement of the little

groups is much the same as in cave 2. Padmapani has two female attendants one on either side. The fourth compartment from the top on the right side represents a man on his knees praying for deliverance from a fire, in the middle of which is a human head. The figures are generally cut with greater spirit and more variety of pose than in cave 2; they are also in much greater relief. The rest of the wall is covered with relic shrines and figures of Buddha on his lotus throne upheld by Nagas. In the back wall is cut a throne for a seated Buddha, but the seat is empty and a wretched attempt at a *lings* supplies its place.

On two of the outer pilasters and on the wall just above the cistern are three Pahlavi inscriptions, the work of Parsi visitors of the eleventh century. [These inscriptions run, (1) In the name of God. Through strong omens and the good Judge this year 378 of Yazdakard, on the day Auharmazd of the month Mitro (10th October 1009) there have come to this place the co-religionists Yazdan-panak and Mahaiyyar sons of Mitraaiyyar Panjbukht and Padarbukht sons of Mahaiyyar, Mardanshad son of Hiradbahram, and

Hiradbahram son of Mardanshad, Mitraaiyyar Son of Bahrampanah, and Bahrampanah son of Mitraaiyyar, Falanzad and Zadsparham sons of Aturmahan, Nukmahan, Dinbahram, Bajurgatur, Hiramard and Behzad sons of Mah..... (2) In the name of God, in the year 378 of Yazdakard, the month Awan and day Mitro (24th November 1009) there have come to this place the co-religionists Yazdanpanak and Mahaiyyar sons of Mitraaiyyar, Panjbukht and Padarbukht sons of Mahaiyyar, Mardanshad son of Hiradbahram, and Hiradbahram son of Mardanshad, Mitraaiyyar son of Bahrampanah, and Bahrampanah son of Mitraaiyyar, Falanzad and Zadsparham sons of Aturmahan, Nukmahan, Dinbahram Bajurgatur, Hiramard and Behzad sons of Mahbazae, and Bahrampanah son of Mitrabandad. In the month Atur, Auharmazd son of Avanbandad died, (3) In the name of God, in the month Mitro and day Dino of the year 390 of Yazdakard (30th October 1021), there have come from Iran to this place Mah Frobag and Mah-aiyyar sons of Mitraaiyyar, Panjbukht son of Mahaiyyar, Mardanshad son of Hiram Bahram, Behzad son of Mitravindad, Javidanbud

son of Bahram-gushnasp, Bajurgatur son of Mahbazaе, Mahaiyyar and Bandesh sons of Hiradfarukho, and Mahbandad son of Gehankhash, the listener to instruction. Arch. Sur. X. 62-65.]

*Cave 67-76.*

In the rock under 66 is a cave whose front is nearly filled up. 67, a small cave with much sculpture like that in 66, has a shrine in the back wall of the hall with a life-size seated Buddha with numerous little figures on the shrine walls. 68 the last of this group is a small plain cave neatly finished. On the left wall, outside the veranda is an inscription of seven lines, deeply cut and distinct but the upper lines partly defaced. The letters are of the time of Gotamiputra II. (A.D. 177-196) and record the gift of a cistern and a cave (?). The name and residence of the giver have been lost. He seems to have been a recluse named [Bu] dhak. A little way down the hill to the north-west is 69, a plain much damaged cave. There is an inscription in this cave mentioning the eighth year of some king but too faint and worn to be read. 70 is a larger cave but much

destroyed. On the left wall outside the veranda are two inscriptions one above the other, of seven and four lines respectively, originally six feet three inches long. The upper inscription is deep cut and distinct except at the top and left end. There is a blank space in the fifth line. The lower inscription is faintly cut and in places indistinct, the last two lines being very faint. The words used closely resemble Sanskrit and the language, though Prakrit, differs much from the Prakrit of the other inscriptions. 71 is smaller and in equally bad order; 72 is a large well finished cave probably of late date with a shrine and seated Buddha; 73 and 74 are much decayed; 75 is a plain cave in rather better order than either of the last two. On the right wall outside the veranda of cave 75 is an inscription of eight or nine lines originally three feet long. It is deep cut, and tolerably distinct, though on a rough surface; the upper two or three lines and much of the other lines have peeled off. The letters are of the time of Gotamiputra II. (A.D. 177 - 196) and appear to record the gift of a cave and cistern perhaps by the daughter of Samaka. 76 is much ruined, but on the right wall outside its veranda is a deep cut and clear

inscription. The rock is rough and the upper two or three lines and much of the other lines have entirely peeled off. The letters are of the time of Gotamiputra II. (A.D. 177-196) and record the gift of a cave and cistern by a recluse the daughter of Ramanaka, beloved of his family and inhabitant of Dhenukakata and the disciple of the old reverend monk Bodhika. She also gave an endowment from which to distribute sixteen clothes. 77 is much like 76. It is only about twenty yards to the east of 35. On the right wall outside of its veranda and over the entrance to a side chamber is an inscription of five lines originally six feet long. It is rather faintly cut on a rough surface. Nearly the whole of the first line, and about eighteen inches of the left end of the second line have peeled off, with a corresponding portion of the following lines. The letters are of the time of Gotamiputra II. (A.D. 177-196) and record the gift of a cave.....by the mother of Khandnagasataka.....

*Caves 89-102.*

On the left of the entrance of cave 77, on the back of the recess over the cistern, is an inscription of ten lines, three feet six inches long. It is faintly cut on a honeycombed surface, very indistinct and almost completely illegible. The letters are of the time of Gotamiputra II, (A.D. 177-196) and appear to record the gift of a cave. The ten next, 78 to 88, have been mentioned on the way down the ravine from 28. The remaining caves are 89, south of 66, on the edge of the stream-bed, which is not worth a visit. 90 and 91, between 36 and 50, are both much ruined; 92 is a little to the south-east of 3 the cathedral cave; 93 and 94 are close to the stream across from 8 and 7; and 95, 96, 97, and 98 are ruined caverns and cells further up the ravine bank. 99 is a small cave near 44. 100 is high in the rocks over against 24 and 26, and 101 and 102 are broken cells in a great black hillock on the east of the hill above 100. On the back of a bench, the remains of cave 94, on the north side of the ravine opposite cave 7, is an imperfect inscription of two lines. The bench is ten feet six inches long, but only three feet six inches of the end of the last line of the inscription are legible. The

inscription is deep cut, but the surface of the rock is much honeycombed and weather-worn. The letters are of the time of Gotamiputra II. (A.D. 177-196), and, in the second line, there appears the name of a village perhaps Gorpad. On the back of a low bench, along the flight of steps just above cave 95, is a deep cut distinct and perfect inscription of 2 lines, three feet nine inches long. It is of the time of Vasishthiputra (A.D. 133-162) and seems to refer to the dedication of a pathway by a Chemula goldsmith Dhamaka, the son of Rohanimitra (and brother of the giver of the cistern in cave 7). The pathway consists of a long flight of steps beginning on the side of the stream bed opposite the cistern recess of cave 5, and climbing the northern hill as far as the ruins of the great relic mound. Above a recess, over a bench in the left veranda of cave 96, is an inscription of two unequal lines, three feet eleven inches and four feet eight inches long. Though faint and somewhat rude the letters are distinct and perfect. It seems to record the gift of a field as an endowment by the merchant Mudapal (Sk. Mundpal) son of the devotee Vhe(nu?)-mitra. The letters are of the age of Gotamiputra

II. (A.D. 177-196). Outside cave 99, on the left wall, above a recess over a cistern mouth, is an inscription of six or more lines originally three feet long. It is deep cut but indistinct, the rock being much decayed. About one foot eight inches of the left end of the inscription and all the lower lines have disappeared. It records the gift of a cave in the eighth year of some reign probably that of Gotamiputra II (A.D. 177-196). There is an inscription of one line on the front of a small low platform cut in the surface of the rock near the top of the main hill. The platform is six feet long, but there are no letters on the first eighteen inches. The letters are very new and seem to have been scrawled by some nineteenth century ascetic.

Besides the caves, interesting remains crown the fiat tops both of the main spur and of the smaller knoll to the north of the narrow ravine. Above the tiers of caves the upper slope of the main hill is in places cut into cisterns and crossed by long roughly traced flights of steps. Along the flat top are cut a line of quarries and cisterns, and, in

several places, scattered lines of large dressed stones lie as if brought together for some large building.

*Remains.*

Along the eastern crest of the hill run the foundations of a wall, and, near it, are one or two mounds covered with blocks of dressed stone apparently the remains of relic shrines or of burial mounds. Further along, towards the south, is a quarry with blocks of dressed stone, some ready to be taken away, others half cut as if the work of building had been suddenly stopped.

To the north of the small stream-bed, behind the line of caves, a flight of eighty-eight shallow roughly-traced steps leads from the south up a gentle slope of rock. Along each side of this flight of steps three clusters of prickly-pear bushes mark the sites of what seem to have been small temples or relic shrines. Most of these sites are too ruined to show the form of the building that stood on them. But enough of the third site on the right hand is left to show that it stood on a stone plinth about seventeen feet by

twenty-two, and apparently rose in steps into a central building of brick and stone. Close to this ruin is a little rock-cut cistern. The building to which the flight of steps led is completely ruined and thick covered with brushwood. It seems to have been a round building of dressed stone, with a diameter of about forty feet, surrounded, at a distance of about twenty-four feet, by a rail or stone-wall apparently square. In a hollow, about fifty yards to the west of this mound, lie some large broken pillars, and behind them is a hole which seems to have been worked as a quarry. A second knoll, about fifty yards further west, seems to have once been crowned by another burial mound or relic shrine. Behind these knolls a deeply wooded ravine cuts off the Kanheri spur from the main Kaman range. Beyond the wooded ravine the rocky scarp of Kaman seems to have been cut into several cave mouths.

*Worship.*

To the common people the caves have no connection with Buddhism. The people have fully adopted the Brahman story that the caves are the work of the Pandavs.



Several of the figures are worshipped, notably the two huge Buddhas on either side of the entrance to the Cathedral Cave (No. 3). Their feet are reddened with pink powder and spotted with yellow. But the figures are respected not for the sake of Buddha, but because they are believed to represent Bhim the giant Pandav. Besides Hindu visitors, Parsis and Christians come to see the caves during the dry season.

#### *Fairs.*

There are two yearly fairs, one on the eleventh of the bright half of *Kartik* (November - December) the *Divali* of the gods, and the other on the *Mahashivratra* or great night of Shiv, the thirteenth of the dark half of *Magh* (January-February). On both occasions, Brahmans, Gujars, Vanis, Sutars, and Marathas come to the number of about 1000, bathe in the ponds near the hill, examine the caves, and worship the *ling* in cave 66. Sweetmeats and other articles worth from ₹10 to ₹20 (Rs. 100-Rs. 200) are sold in the

Darbar Cave (No. 10), which is also called the Market or Bazar Cave.<sup>144</sup>

#### **Kanheri: the archaeology of an early Buddhist pilgrimage centre in western India Himanshu Prabha Ray**

There is a large corpus of secondary literature on the varied dimensions of pilgrimage the Indian subcontinent especially those associated with the Brahmanical and Jaina traditions. Buddhism remains neglected, perhaps on account of its decline in India from about the twelfth century onwards. As a result few anthropological studies are available, and research on early Buddhist monuments has largely been restricted to descriptions architectural or sculptural details, with little attempt at integrating these within the larger context of ideological changes in society. A case in point are the rock-cut caves at Kanheri on the west coast (Fig. 1). Three hundred and four caves were excavated in the hill ranges 10 km south-east of Borivili, suburb of the present city of Bombay, between the first and the tenth centuries AD

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[https://gazetteers.maharashtra.gov.in/cultural.maharashtra.gov.in/english/gazetteer/Thana%20District/places\\_Kanheri.html](https://gazetteers.maharashtra.gov.in/cultural.maharashtra.gov.in/english/gazetteer/Thana%20District/places_Kanheri.html)

(Plate 1). In AD 1015, the stupas at Kanheri figured prominently in an illustrated Nepalese manuscript (Cambridge, University Library, Add. 1643). The available studies nevertheless focus on either the architectural developments at the site (Dehejia 1972; Nagaraju 1981; Leese 1983) or the inscriptional evidence (Gokhale 1991).

Archaeological excavations were carried out at the site in the nineteenth century, first by Bird (1841) and then by West (1856-61). Subsequent excavations were undertaken in 1969-70 (Indian Archaeology - a Review 1969-70: 21-2). Yet they have gone largely unnoticed. The questions that need to be probed are: the position of Kanheri within the hierarchy the Buddhist monastic sites of the Deccan; and the reasons for its continued occupation in contrast to the other centres in the region. These questions need to be answered within the framework of the development of Buddhist thought in the subcontinent, though the data cited are primarily archaeological. Perhaps the first issue that should be taken up concerns the antiquity of the tradition pilgrimage in Buddhism and the nature of objects venerated or worshipped. A recurrent theme in early Buddhist canonical literature is the need to provide ideological jus

for several popular customs and observances prevalent among the monks and lay devotees. One of the issues that continued to be debated was the acceptability of the devotees. One of the issues that continued to be debated was the acceptability of the stupa-cult or worship of the stupa by the monastic order. Other issues involved were the inclusion of an elaborate ritual for worship and the sanction of magical practices. The origins of stupa worship are obscure and it is not quite certain whether it was assimilated from an earlier tradition of veneration of a tumulus or it was a practice initiated by Buddhism. It was nevertheless one of the fundamental institutions of early Buddhism (Plate 2). The Nigalisagara pillar inscription of the Mauryan ruler Asoka, dated to the second century BC, refers to a stupa in the Nepalese terai dedicated to the Buddha's mythical predecessors and enlarged and embellished by Asoka (Sircar 1975: 61). Amongst the reliefs at Sanchi in central India are several representations of congregational and ceremonial stupa-worship by lay devotees with music and floral offerings (Marshall and Foucher 1940, vol. II: pls 12, 15, 26, 32, 33, 36, 41, 43, 45, 47, 48, 60, 62 and 63). As evidenced by references in the Mahavastu, stupa worship had developed its own elaborate

ritual by the early centuries of the Christian era involving circumambulation, obeisance, offerings of flowers, incense, cotton and silk clothes, placing of lights and striking up of instrumental music (II: 362-4). Referring to the reign of Asoka, the Mahavamsa (p. 19) mentions festivals associated with the worship of the stupa. To the lay worshipper, the boons expected were not so much spiritual benefit as advancement in worldly life, riches and prosperity (Mahavastu, II: 362-4). Another far-reaching development in early Buddhism was the worship of relics. In the beginning, the relics involved were corporeal relics of the Buddha himself. Gradually the beginning, the relics involved were corporeal relics of the Buddha himself. Gradually the scope was enlarged and, by the beginning of the Christian era, not only the bone relics of monks were included, but also precious objects such as gold, silver, pearls, crystal, lapis lazuli and so on. Descriptions provided by the Chinese monk Fa-Hien, who travelled through India in the fifth century, indicate that festivals were regularly organized for the worship of these relics and cult objects. For example, at Pataliputra he refers to a procession of images celebrated every year on the eighth day of the second month. The images were placed in a wooden chariot

and monks and lay devotees 'from within the borders' assembled to pay homage (Legge 1965: 79). In addition to these annual festivals, monasteries also regularly displayed the relics possessed by them such as, for example, the alms-bowl of the Buddha (ibid.: 35). The importance of the relics that a monastery possessed determined the following that it commanded (Gunawardana 1979: 227). On the analogies of present practices in Thailand a regular feature is the distribution of charms and medals by monasteries to lay worshippers as a protection against evil influences. This practice would seem to have earlier antecedents. References in the Jatakas, for example, mention the use of charmed sand and thread as a protection against demons (Vol. I: 39). In the context of Kanheri, these changes and transformations are indicated by the inscriptions either engraved in the caves themselves or on stone slabs and copper plates which were recovered during excavations, as also by architectural developments. One of the earliest caves at Kanheri is a flat-roofed rectangular caitya or hall of worship with a stupa placed inside at the far end (Nagaraju 1981: pl. 93). During the first to the third century AD, caves were excavated extensively over the hillside and the natural caverns or hillocks which could be easily

widened were used. One of the characteristic features of this first phase of rock-cut excavation was the overwhelming use of wooden prototypes. Not only were the caves modelled on the basis of earlier wooden constructions, but, wherever necessary, wooden parts were incorporated and, even when stone was used, it was treated as if it were wood (Leese 1983: 80). There is a variety of excavated units at Kanheri and in addition to the prerequisite of the vihara, or residence of monks, and caitya, or hall of worship, the monastic establishment included separate cisterns for water (cave 5), separate benches (cave 7), baths with steps leading down into them (in front of cave 75) and what seems to be a toilet consisting of two chambers (cave 89). Within the caves, the donative inscriptions were often placed on the side wall of the courtyard. These provide a record of visitors to the site in the early centuries of the Christian era. An issue that cannot be taken up for discussion here is the close interaction between Buddhism and trading groups in the Early Historical period (Ray, forthcoming: chap. V), it should nevertheless be reiterated that monastic establishments at this time were located along trade routes and merchants and traders were the major category of donors. Kanheri was the largest religious centre along

the west coast located in the fertile basin of the Ulhas river. Thus its hinterland included the agrarian tracts of the region and the inscriptions refer to several villages (Lueders 1912: no. 1000; Gokhale 1975: 21-5), as well as the urban centres in the neighbourhood. Donees from port sites in the vicinity find frequent mention, for example those from Sopara, Kalyan and Chaul (Burgess 1970: Kanheri inscriptions nos 12 and 20; Gokhale 1975: 23), as also from sites further inland such as Nasik (Burgess 1970: 74). The references are mainly to gifts of land and money (Lueders 1912: nos 1000 and 1024; Gokhale 1975: 21-5). The records from Kanheri are significant on account of the large numbers of money donations as compared to other sites of the period (Ray 1986: 62; also appendix IV). There are no indications of the occasion when these donations were made. References in Buddhist literature indicate that the uposatha days of the month were traditionally set apart for alms-giving and ritual. Cave no. 11 at Kanheri seems to have been well suited for congregational purposes. It has ten cells on the three sides and two rows of benches in the centre of the hall (Gokhale 1991: 28). This fortnightly celebration was held at the time of the new moon and the full moon. On these occasions, the monks recited the

rules of conduct, while the laity reaffirmed their vows through dana or gifts to the Buddhist monks. The earliest lists included only four categories of objects suitable as gifts: robe; food given as alms; place for rest; and medicine (Dighanikaya, 1.61; Majjhimanikaya, 11.62; Vinaya Pitaka, III.89). By the time of the Cullanidessa (523), i.e. third century BC, however, the list had already expanded to include fourteen items, some of the additions being clothing; vehicles; garlands; perfume; paste; dwellings; and material for lighting lamps. A much debated matter within the Buddhist monastic order was the acceptance of donations of land and money. Unlike the other Buddhist settlements of the Deccan, most of which were abandoned around the third-fourth centuries AD, Kanheri continued to be occupied. Nevertheless there was a break in rock-cutting activity and new caves were added only in the fifth-sixth centuries AD. Fa-Hien writes that in the south country was a five-storeyed monastery 'hewn out from a large hill of rock' where monks resided. 'The country about is [a tract of] uncultivated hillocks, without inhabitants. At a very long distance from the hill there are villages where the people all have bad and erroneous views.' On account of the inaccessibility of the monastery, Fa-Hien was unable to visit the site and so narrated

the information that he gathered from other travellers (Legge 1965: 96-8). The same practice of engraving inscriptions on the side walls was continued in the second phase of rock-cutting. As compared to the earlier phase, there are fewer donatory inscriptions, patronage now being provided by the elite rather than by society at large. In the fifth century, a resident of a village in the Sindhu country, located perhaps in modern Pakistan, paid for the construction of a caitya at the site (Gokhale 1991: 17). An inscription in cave 11, dated AD 854, records a permanent endowment of one hundred drammas for the construction of the meditation room and clothing for monks by a resident of Gauda, identified with the region of Bengal (ibid.: 70). In the second phase of rock-cutting, the concern was more for order and symmetry of plan and the sculptural component was conceived as a part of the whole. In addition Buddhist images were added to the walls of many first phase caves, e.g. caves 2, 3, 4, 5, 19 and so on. While most of the images were carved within panels, in cave 36 the images were painted (Leese 1983: 121). It should perhaps be mentioned here that worship

Buddha was first conceived in aniconic form and the symbols used most frequently were the stupa, the Bodhi tree, etc. The

image of the Buddha was certainly sculpted by the beginning of the Christian era in the northern and north-western regions of the Indian subcontinent, but in the caves of the Deccan it was the stupa that continued to be the object of worship till the third-fourth centuries AD. Kanheri generally conforms to this norm, though two small Buddha figures were carved in relatively unobtrusive positions on a pillar in the caitya cave no. 3. Leese (1979: 83-93) has convincingly argued that these belong to the first phase of rock cutting at the site and stylistically they may be traced to portable icons familiar in the north. The limited archaeological excavations at Kanheri, however, have not provided any evidence of portable objects of worship. Another feature of the second phase at Kanheri was the erection of votive stupas of brick. Votive stupas of stone had earlier been recorded at the Buddhist site of Bhaja in the Deccan, those of brick being known mainly from Kanheri. The donation of small votive stupas was a major component of the ritual of pilgrimage. These were either monolithic or of brick, terracotta or metal. The stone and brick stupas often contained tablets or plates inscribed with the Buddhist creed, images or protective magical charms. In cave 87 on the south-western corner of the Kanheri hill, more than a

hundred bases of brick stupas were found in a rock shelter. Archaeological excavations by West (1861: 118) uncovered several sculptural elements from the cave and subsequent explorations by Gokhale in the area led to the recovery of a large number of well-cut stone slabs, with the names of Buddhist monks in whose memory the votive stupas had been donated (Gokhale 1991:111-36). On the evidence of the earlier archaeological excavations by Bird (1841: 94-7), it is evident that these brick stupas were erected by pilgrims to Kanheri in memory of Buddhist monks. On excavating the largest brick stupa in front of cave no. 3, Bird found a hollow in the centre covered by a piece of gypsum. Placed in the hollow were two small copper urns, in one of which were some ashes mixed with a ruby, a pearl, small pieces of gold and a small box containing a piece of cloth; in the other a silver box and some ashes were found. Two copper plates accompanied the urns. The smaller of the copper plates had an inscription, the last part of which contained the Buddhist creed *ye dharma hetu prabhava*. . . . The larger copper plate recorded the erection of a caitya of dressed stones and brick by a resident of the region of Sindhu, during the reign of the Traikutakas, for a venerable Buddhist monk (Gokhale 1991: 61).

The same creed is also inscribed beneath a stupa carved in relief in cave 3. The rock-cut cave no. 3 dates to the second-third century AD, but the relief was added later in the fifth century AD at the behest of the visitor to the site (ibid.: 56). From the vicinity of the caves, a square stone slab with the Buddhist creed was found reused in a large Brahmanical temple (West 1861: 13). Two issues need to be resolved at this stage: one is the reason for the continued importance of Kanheri as a major centre; and the second is the archaeological data that supports its wide network. Kanheri rose to prominence around the beginning of the Christian era, largely on account of its proximity to the ports of the west coast, especially Kalyan and Sopara, and its importance for seafarers continued in the later periods. In-coming ships also provided a regular source of revenue for the emerging political elite. Prominent among these were the Satavahanas in the Early Historical period

later the Traikutakas and the Silaharas. The Traikutakas established themselves along the Konkan coast in the fifth century AD and continued to rule for more than a century. Chaul was a major port at this time and a sixth-century inscription from Kanheri refers to a rich merchant from Chaul 'whose fame has

bathed in the three seas' (Dikshit 1942: 429).. The Silaharas ruled somewhat later, from the eighth to the twelfth centuries, with Thana near modern Bombay as their capital. Chaul and Sopara continued as major ports and revenue in the form of duty collected from incoming ships formed a significant source of income. Inscriptional evidence shows that there was a difference between the duties levied on ships from 'foreign lands' as opposed to those from neighbouring regions (Paranjape 1989: 87). It is interesting to see how these fluctuations in the maritime networks are reflected in the donations available for rock-cutting activity at Kanheri. Excavation of caityas and viharas at Kanheri was interrupted in the third century AD, but began again in the fifth-sixth centuries and some further additions were made in the ninth century. The site continued to retain its position as late as the eleventh century (Leese 1983: 2). At this point it is necessary to highlight the Buddhist approach to seafaring which was unlike that of its contemporary religions. Brahmanical texts like the Dharmasutra forbade travel by sea, while the Manusmṛti (III.158) takes a less rigid stand. It is, however, in Buddhism that the notion of a protector who could be called upon in distress, either by seafarers or by merchants travelling in caravans, developed

into the concept of a Bodhisattva. The cult was already prevalent at the time that Fa-Hien came to India, though standing and seated images of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteswara from Mathura are dated to an earlier period (Mitterwallner 1986: 115-24). At Kanheri, the Avalokiteswara image is prominently carved in three caves (nos 2, 41 and 90), the most elaborate representation being found in cave 90 (Plate 3). Here the Bodhisattva is depicted with his consorts and the eight dangers, including ship-wreck, are carved around the figure. The central position of Kanheri in the transoceanic, as also the long-distance overland, network is evident, but were these channels also used by pilgrims visiting the site and what is the nature of the archaeological evidence that supports this premise? Archaeological excavations at Kanheri have yielded the shoulder of a fine red-ware pot with the inscription 'Arhadissa/Anhadissa ghata', i.e. the pitcher of Arhata or Anhada (Rao 1971: 45). Inscribed sherds with legends in the Brahmi script, generally on bowls or pitchers, have been found at several monastic sites in the Deccan dated between the third-second centuries BC and the eighth century AD (Ray 1987: 8). Kasrawad on the river Narmada central India is one of the earliest monastic sites to yield inscribed sherds and also the productive.

That several of the names inscribed on pots were of pilgrims is corroborated their mention in the inscriptions of the second-century BC Buddhist stupa at Bharhut central India (Diskalkar 1949: 6). Some indication of the contents of the pots is provided by a sherd which reads 'for lamps in the vihara built by Nigata' (ibid.: 8). Thus at least of the pitchers would have contained oil for lighting lamps at the monastery. On analogies from Salihundam, a monastic site on the Andhra coast, other inscribed sherds belonged either to bowls or to dishes. The bowl was a venerated item owing to the sanctity ascribed to the worship of the Buddha's bowl; and the dish or platter was perhaps used for offerings of items like incense, garlands, etc., used in Buddhist ritual. The excavations at Kanheri may not have been very productive as far as inscribed sherds are concerned, but they have yielded large numbers of sealings in various stages of baking

These oval sealings depict the figure of the Buddha in the centre, seated on a low stool, and in the upper register is shown the temple at Bodh Gaya, well known as the place of the Buddha's enlightenment. In the lower half of the sealings are three lines in the eighth/ninth-century script enshrining part of the Buddhist creed *ye dharma hetu prabhava* . (Tathagata, i.e. the Buddha has



revealed the cause of those phenomena which spring from a cause and also the means of its cessation. So says the Great Monk). Similar sealings were found in the excavations at the contemporary Buddhist monastic site of Nalanda in eastern India (Rao 1971: 46; West 1861: 13). These unbaked clay sealings were an integral part of the Buddhist ritual of pilgrimage in the eighth-ninth centuries AD and have been found extensively at the Buddhist monastic sites of north and east India. Thus the pilgrims to the site over the centuries have left a prolific record of their piety and devotion. Many of these were from centres in the Deccan, as also from elsewhere in the subcontinent. There is, however, no evidence of pilgrims from across the Bay of Bengal, in spite of the fact that Kanheri was located in the vicinity of the major ports of the Konkan. Indeed, the debate on the 'Indianization' of Southeast Asia has been bogged down by the two issues: Van Leur's (1967) argument that most traders who travelled between South and Southeast Asia were peddlers and the most unlikely agents transmission of the cultural baggage; and the subsequent corollary to this that it was at the initiative of local rulers that the brahmanas were invited to the courts and initiated the adaptation of brahmanical ritual by the local elite. In

this debate no attention has been paid to the role of Buddhism or to that of the monks and nuns. Through what channels did Buddhism spread, and by whom? The Buddha from the outset conceived the Sangha as a missionary organization and monks and nuns were exhorted to go out and preach - no two going the same way nor being allowed to turn down any invitation to preach (Vinaya, 1.21). Indeed, while monks were not normally allowed to travel during the rainy season, an exception is made for the monk who is with a caravan or on a ship (Vinaya, 1.52). At the present stage of research, there is very little information on the religious beliefs of early Southeast Asian communities or the nature of transformation and change after the introduction of Buddhism. It is nevertheless evident that there was a shift in the nature of settlement in mainland Southeast Asia in the early centuries of the Christian era. There was an increase in the number of sites and one or two major centres emerged in the settlement hierarchy. The new centres of power were located in the fertile river basins of mainland Southeast Asia such as the Irrawaddy, Chao Phraya and Mekong valleys. These are also associated with the early political elite and surface finds indicate the presence of are also associated with the early political elite

and surface finds indicate the presence of statuary and religious monuments increasingly adopting the use of brick. A number of wooden images of the Buddha dug out from places in the Mekong delta have been radiocarbon dated between the second and seventh centuries AD (Smith and Watson 1979: 259). U Thong and Nakorn Pathom have yielded large quantities of gold jewellery similar to that from Taxila and Oc Eo together with votive and Buddhist images embossed on heavy gold foil (Lyons 1979: 355). The problem is that, as the bulk of the jewellery is in private collections and of dubious provenance, documentation and study becomes difficult. Similarly, very little attention has been paid to the large numbers of unbaked clay sealings of Buddhist affiliation in the museum collections of centres in mainland Southeast Asia or the clay stupas found at Buddhist sites. The numbers involved from eighth/ninth-century Buddhist sites in Indonesia alone indicate the dimensions of the database that has been untapped so far: Hundreds of these [tiny clay stupas] were found in 1924 at Pejeng on the island of Bali and in 1935 at Jongke in Java 7 km north of Jogjakarta while two have been reported from the neighbourhood of Palembang in Sumatra and over 1,200 were discovered during the restoration activities

at Barabadur in 1974. (Lohuizen-de-Leeuw 1980:278) Bronze moulds for making these have also been recovered during archaeological excavations. Somewhat different is the nature of evidence available from peninsular Southeast Asia. Several inscribed stone and clay tablets have been reported from Kedah in Malaysia, but detailed accounts of these are lacking (Allen 1986-7: 50). A stone inscription from Bukit Choras in Malaysia has the Buddhist creed *ye dharma hetu prabhava* inscribed on its three faces (Shuhaimi and Yatim 1990: 63), while from Sungai Mas comes a clay sealing with seated Buddha figure (*ibid.*: 54). Found in the vicinity are three inscriptions engraved local stone identified as shale. These have been dated to the fifth century AD and depict a stupa carved in relief together with the Buddhist creed. The Bukit Meriam tablet contains both the *ye dharma* and *karma* verses, whereas the *Buddhagupta* and the *Kampung Sungai Mas* tablets have only the *karma* verse. The *Buddhagupta* record contains additional information and states that it was set up by the mariner *Buddhagupta* from *Raktamrttika*, or lower Bengal, on the successful completion of his sea voyage (Allen 1986-7: tables 1-6). It is nevertheless significant that the shape of the stupa depicted on the three tablets shows close similarities

with that from cave 3 at Kanheri, but the contacts need to be probed further. The data is certainly indicative of the adoption of the Buddhist ritual of pilgrimage by centres in Southeast Asia. It is also likely that, as one of the major monastic centres on the west coast, Kanheri would have been the destination of much of this pilgrim traffic by sea. Conclusive evidence is nevertheless lacking. It is hoped that once the varied dimensions of Buddhism and its interaction with society are accepted as research strategies in South and Southeast Asian studies, it would be possible to study the cultural borrowings between Kanheri and sites in the region.

### **Acknowledgement**

The photographs for Plates 1-3 were provided by courtesy of the American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi, with whose kind permission they are reproduced here. 16.ix.93 Centre for Historical Studies Jawaharlal Nehru University New Delhi

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### **Abstract**

Ray, H. P. Kanheri: the archaeology of an early Buddhist pilgrimage centre in western India The Buddhist site of Kanheri on the west coast of India continued to receive patronage from

the first to the tenth centuries AD. This was in the form of money and land donations in the early centuries of the Christian era, whereas, in the early medieval period, the pilgrims built votive stupas Enshrined within these stupas were relic caskets and copper plates or stone tablets bearing the Buddhist creed. Many of these stone tablets have been found at early centres in Southeast Asia, together with sealings of unbaked clay and small votive stupas, and no doubt provide archaeological evidence of the pilgrim traffic by sea between South and Southeast Asia.



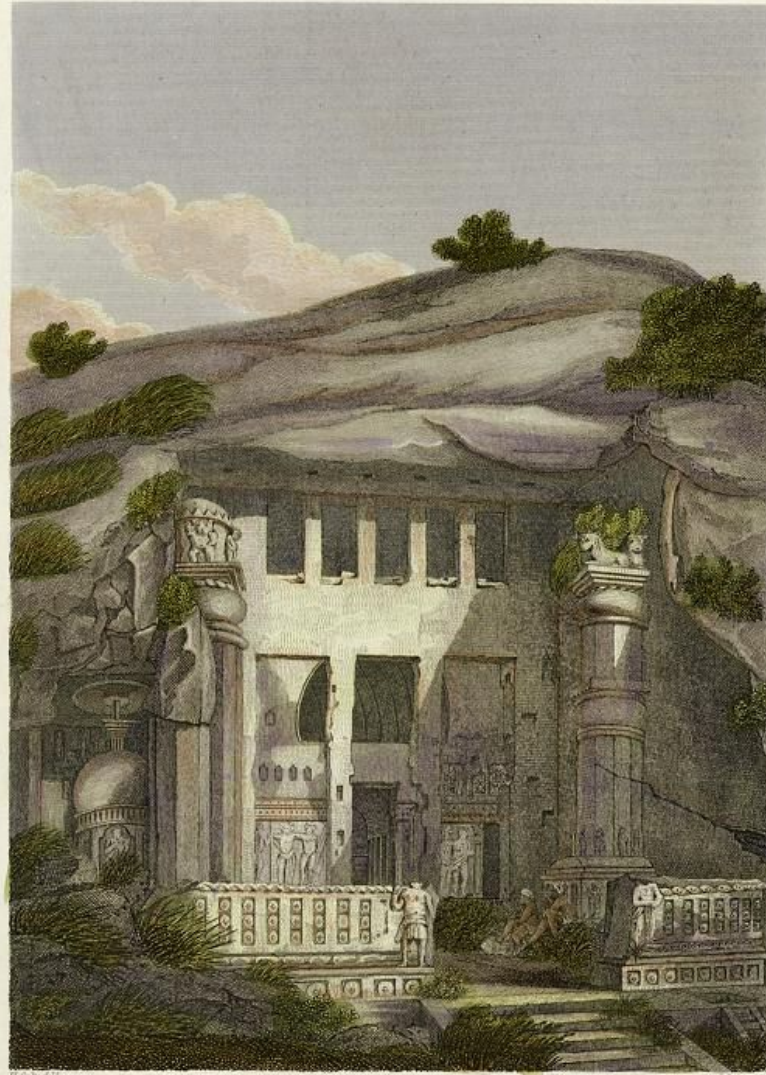








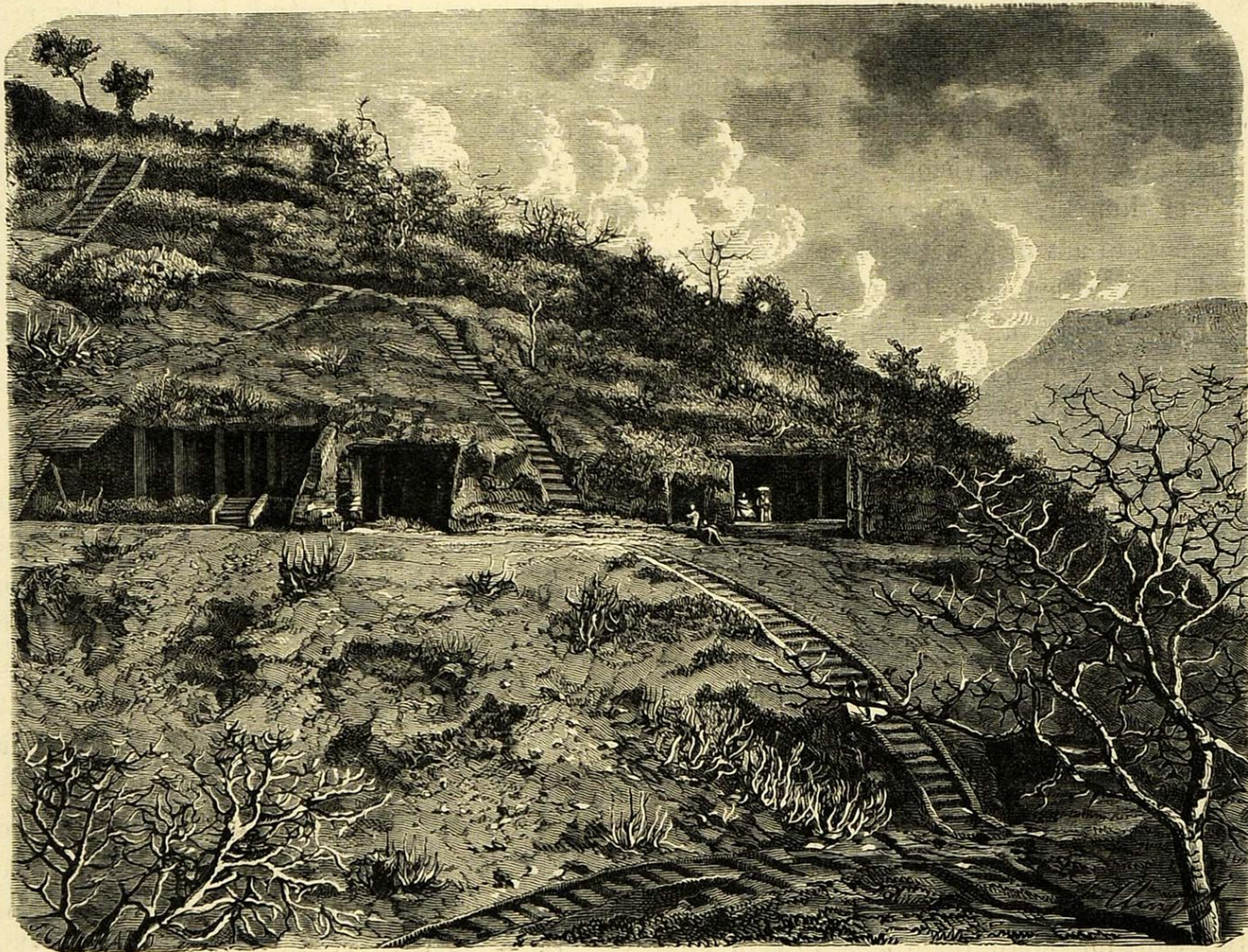




FRONT VIEW OF THE CAVE OF KENNERI.

Publ. 1823. By Wm. Miller, of the same Office, London.





THE HILL OF KENHARI.



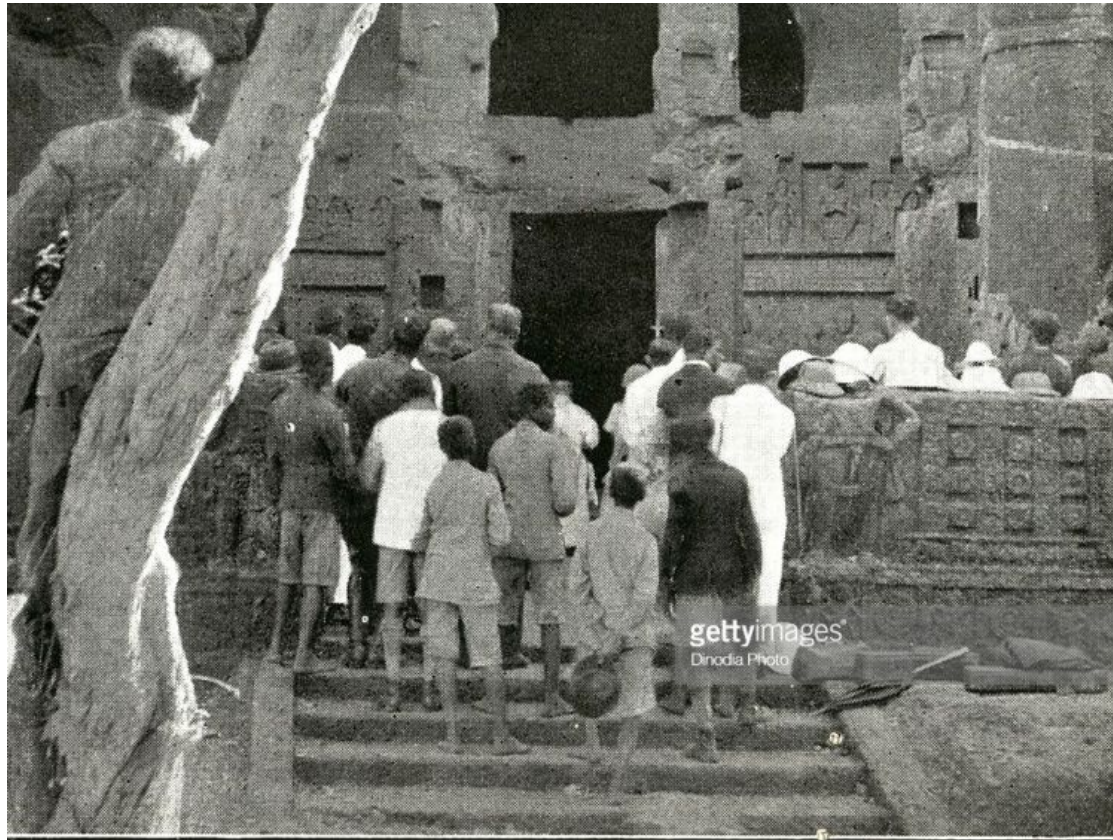


THE GREAT CHAITYA AT KENHARI.





FAÇADE OF A GROTTA AT KENHARI.



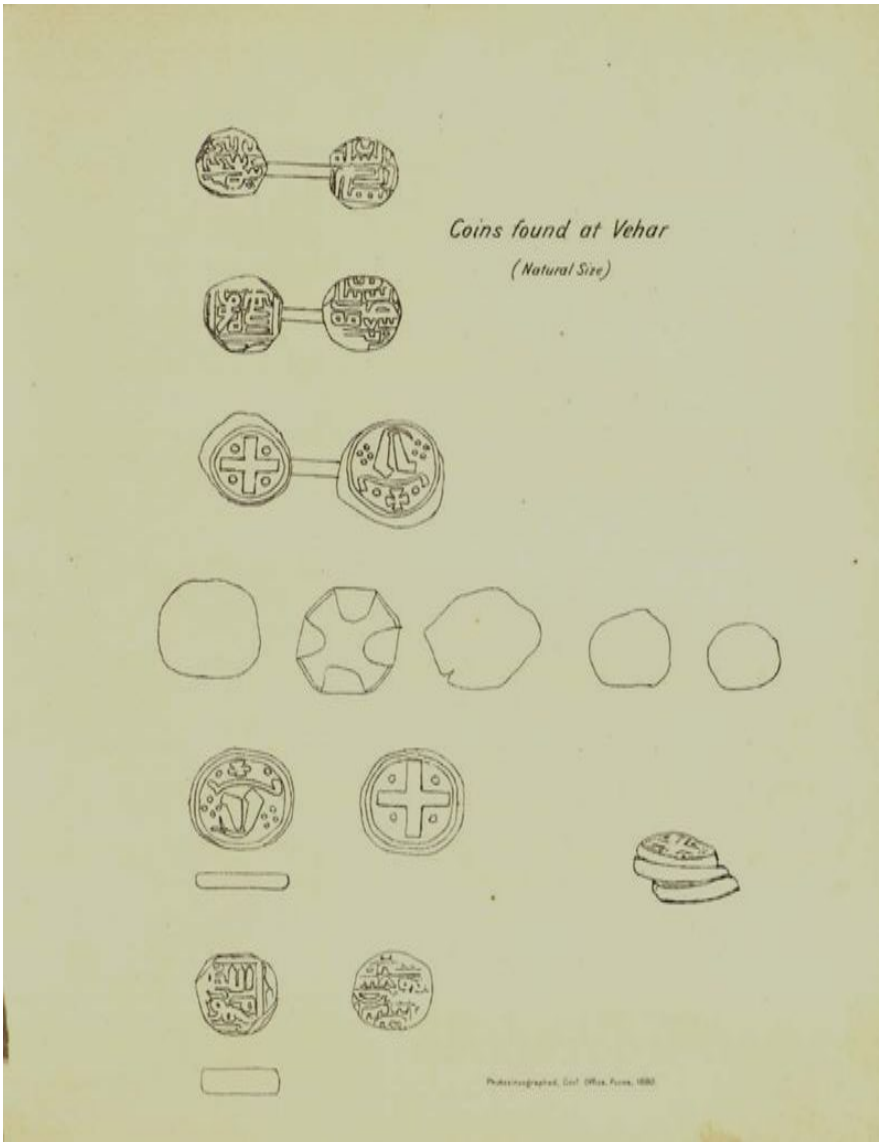
**Catholic Young Men's Excursion to the Kanheri Caves. Mass being said in the Central Cave, once dedicated to Christian worship by Fr. Antonio do Perto**

52175359E



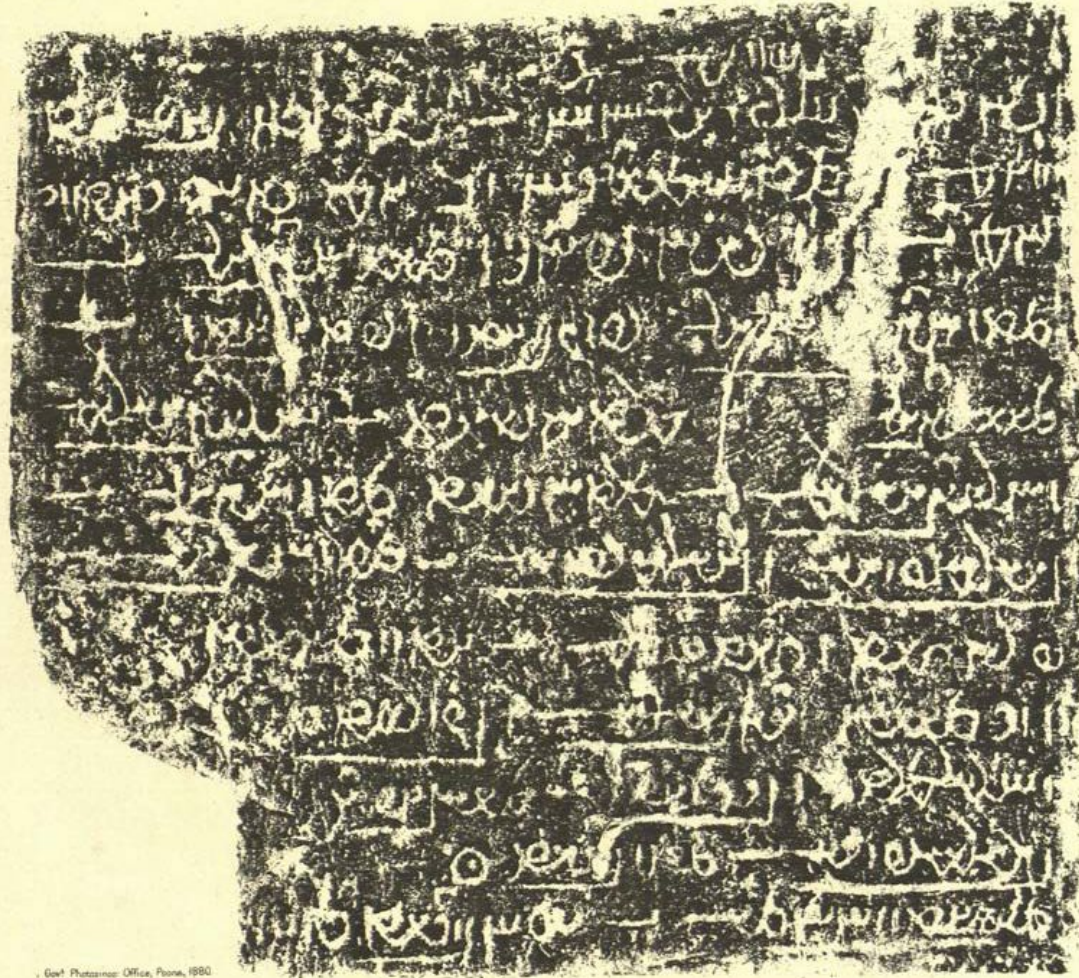


‘The Visit to Kanheri’ commemorates the visit of British painters Thomas Daniell and William Daniell to the Kanheri caves in 1793.  
(Vasudeo Kamath )



№ 1

*Kanheri. Pehlavi Inscription*

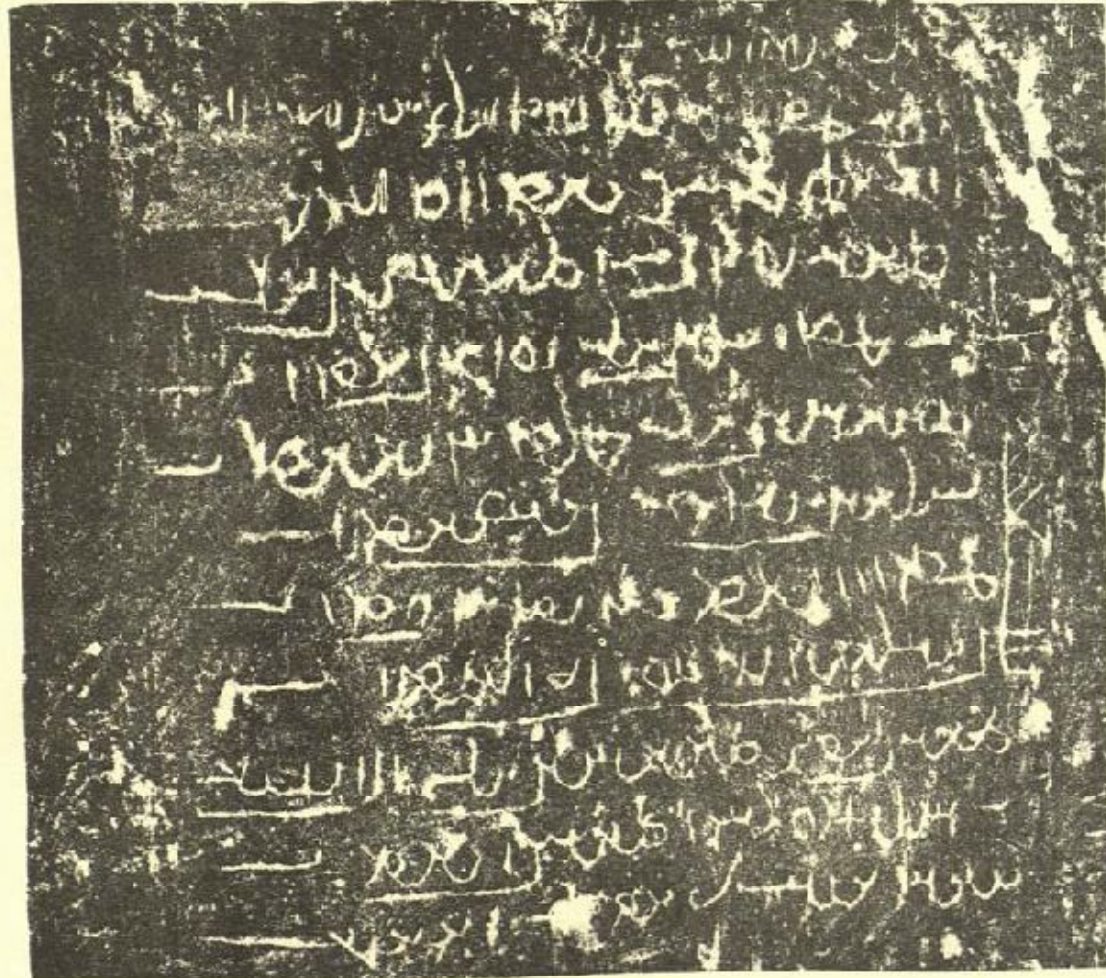


Govt. Photodup. Office, Poona, 1980



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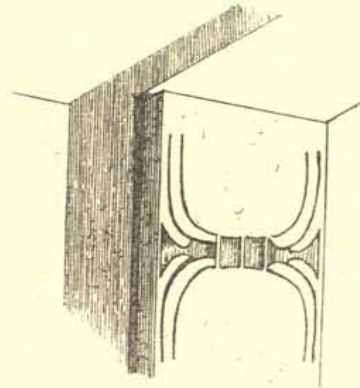
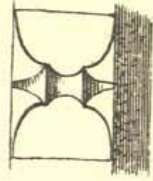
*Kanheri Pehlavi Inscription*



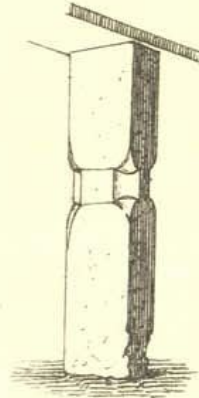
Govt. Photoduplication Office, Poona, 1960

# KANHERI

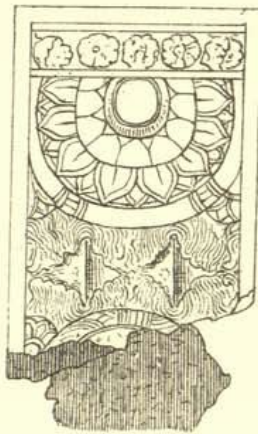
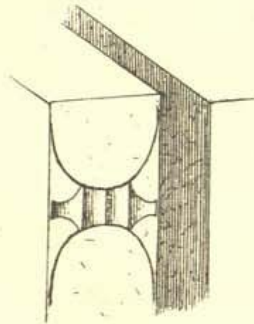
## ORNAMENTS ON PILASTERS &c



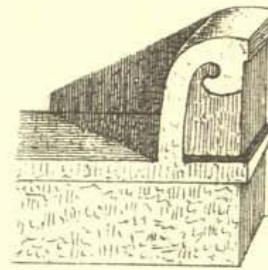
IN CAVE XXXV.



IN CAVE XLV.



IN CAVE XLII.



BENCH IN CAVE XLV.



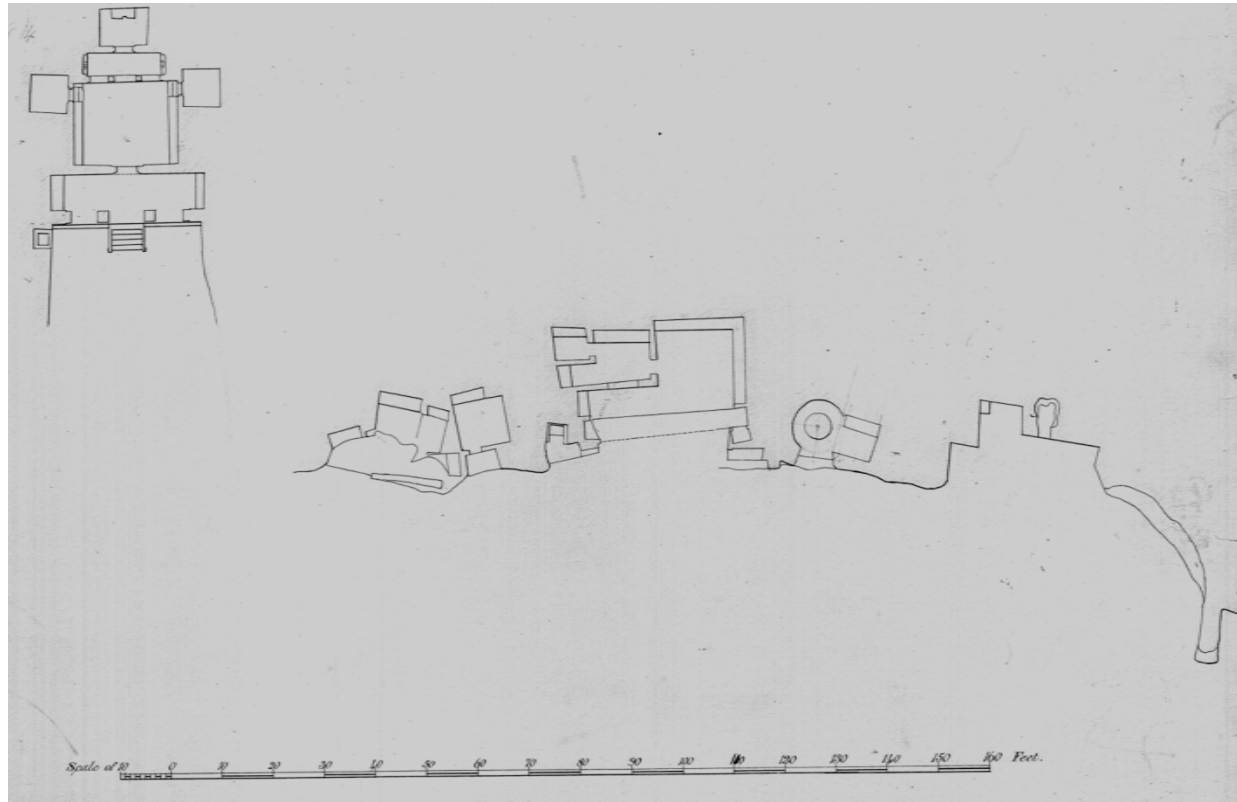
Courtesy ASI

Cave no. 34 to 40 and 25 to 30

Cave no. 31 to 33

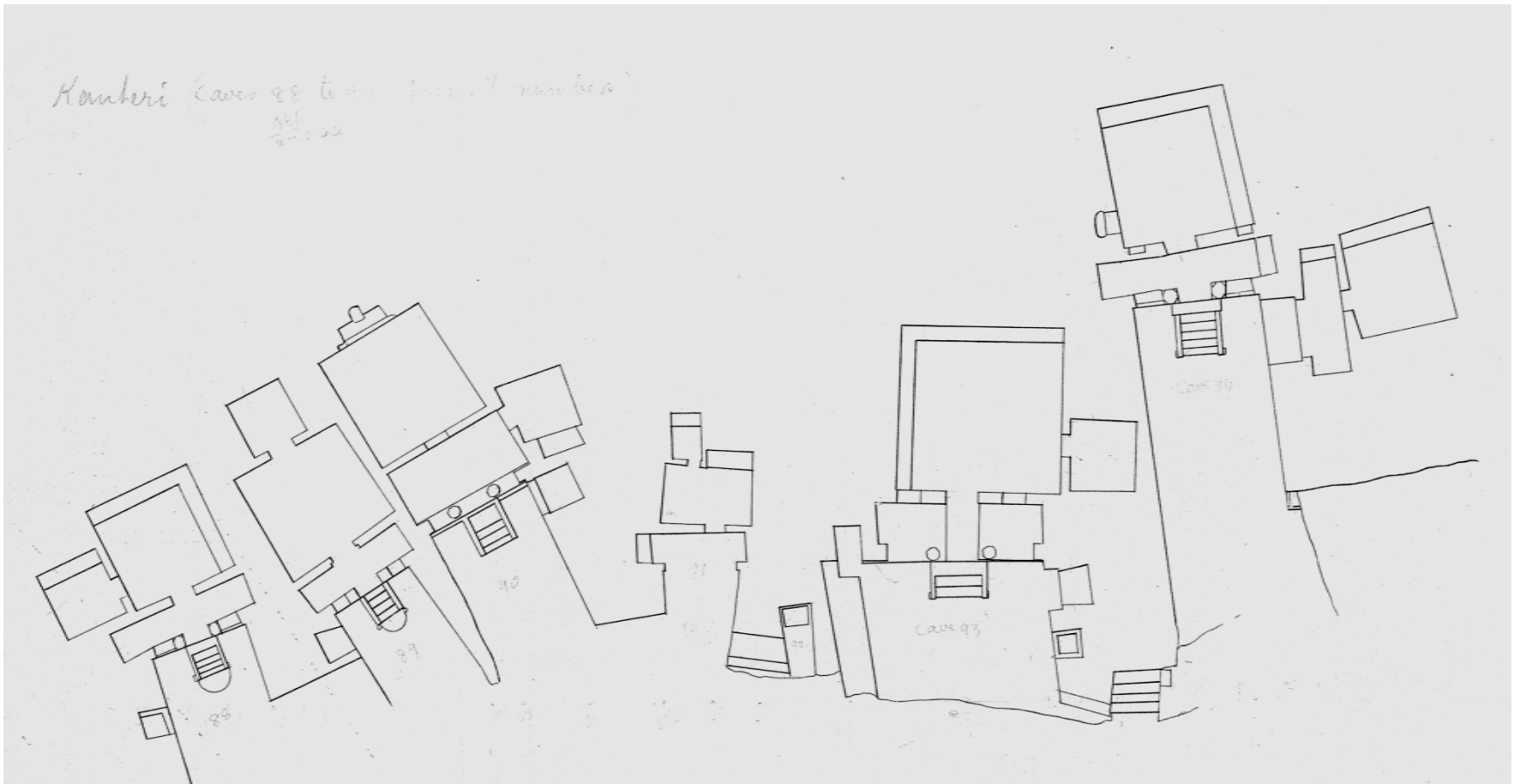
Courtesy ASI





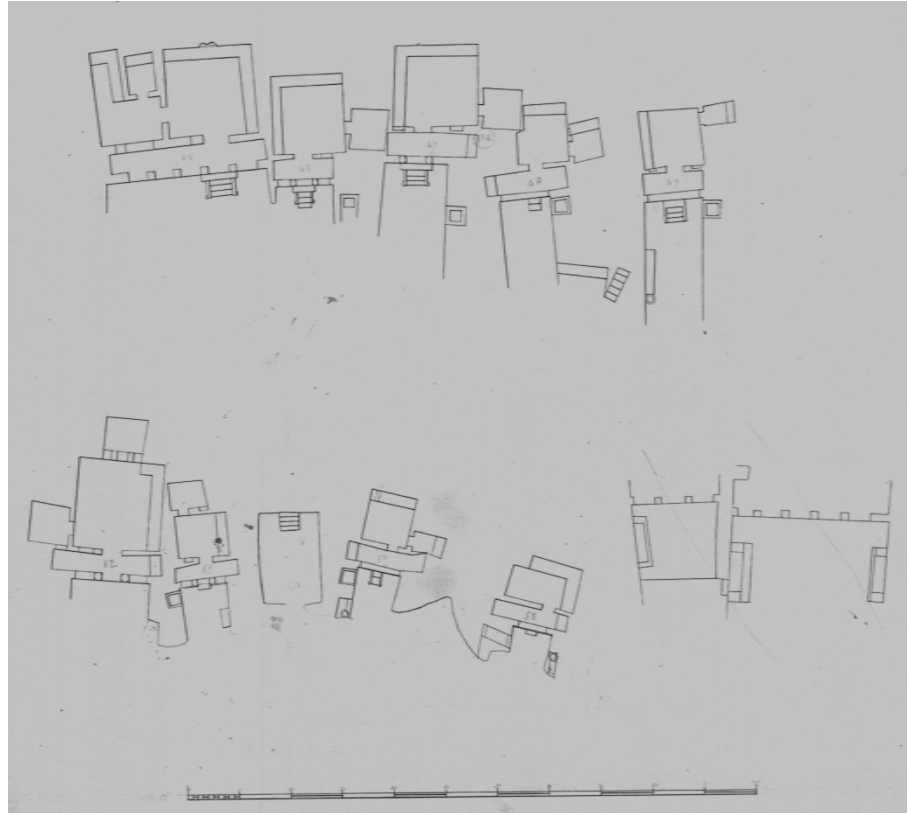
**Cave no .35 to 41**

**Courtesy ASI**



Courtesy ASI

Cave no. 89 to 94



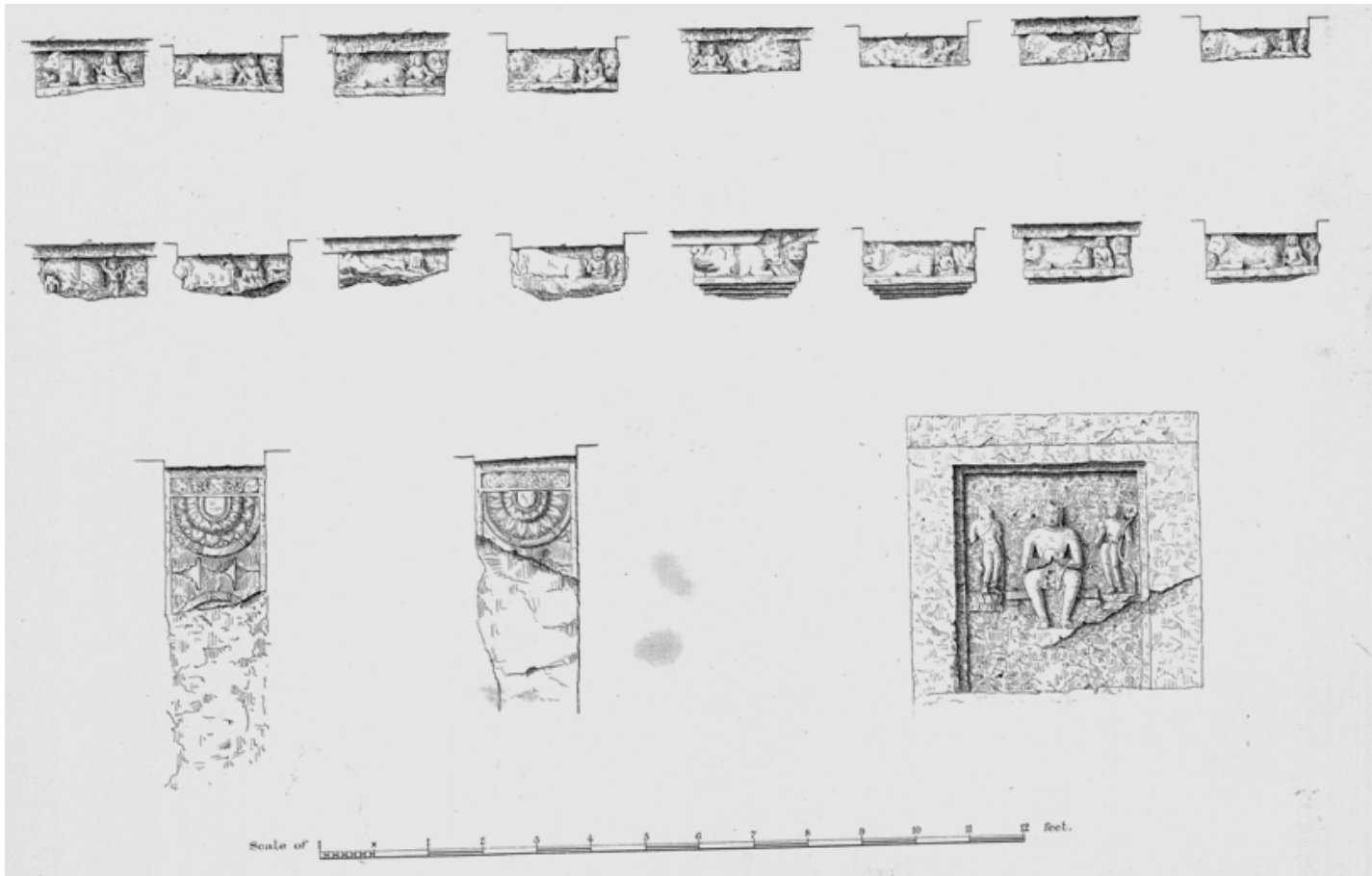
Courtesy ASI

Cave no. 56 10 60 and 95 to 99

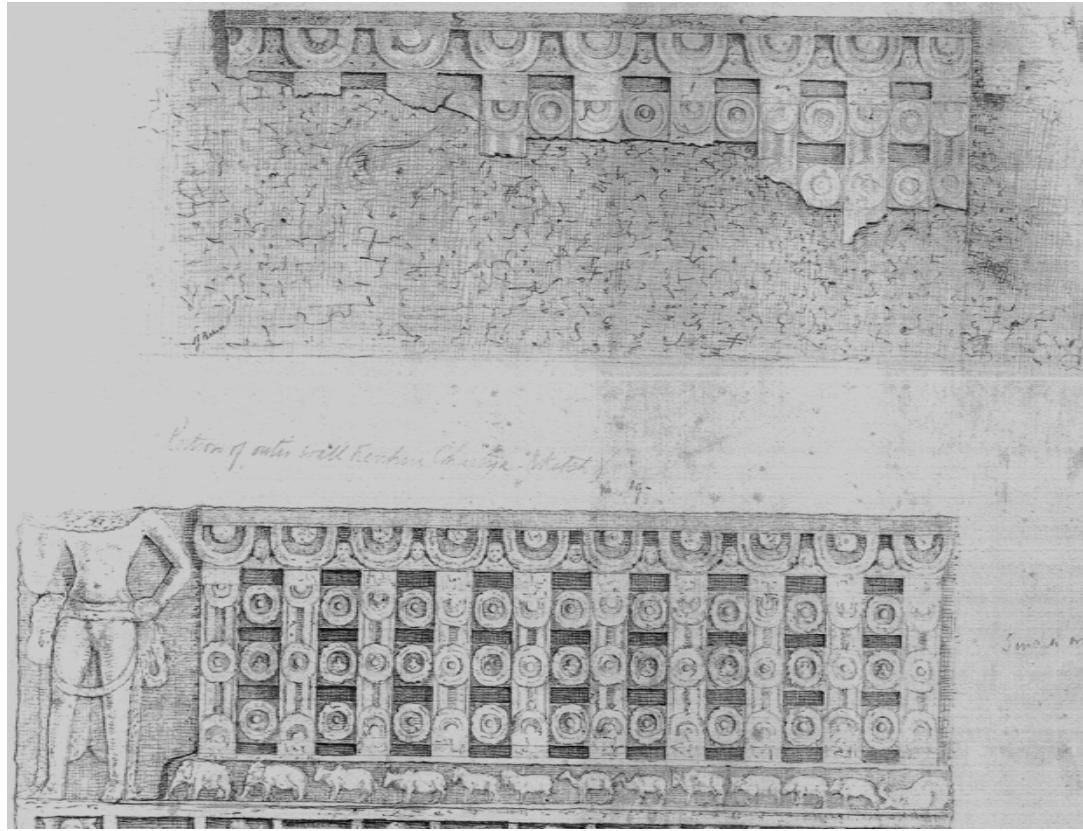


**Courtesy ASI**

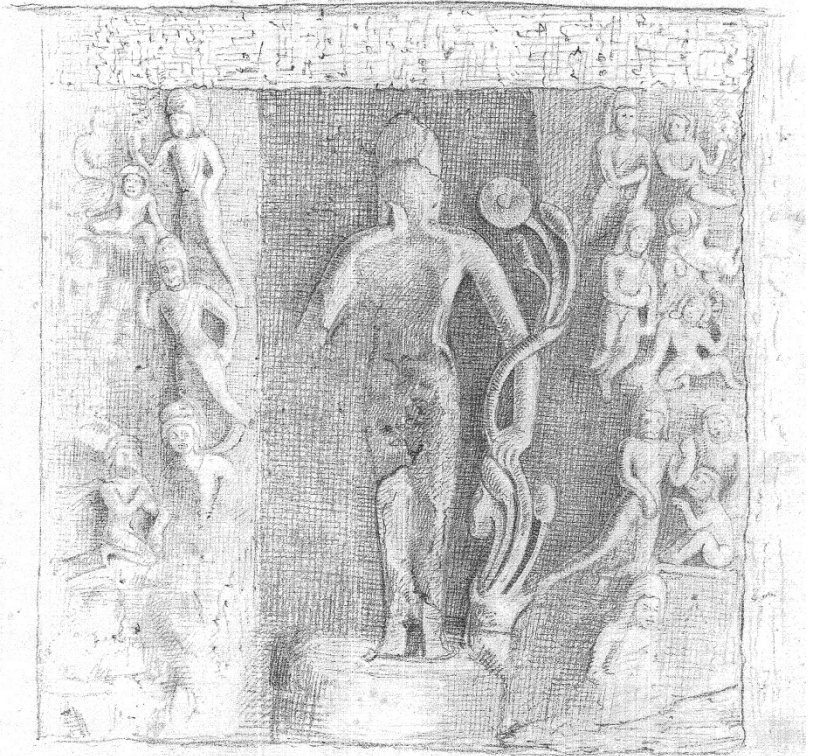
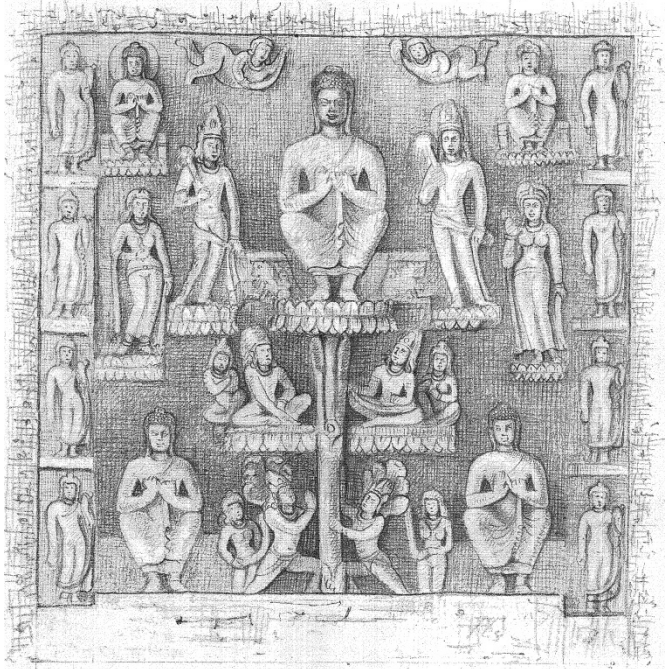




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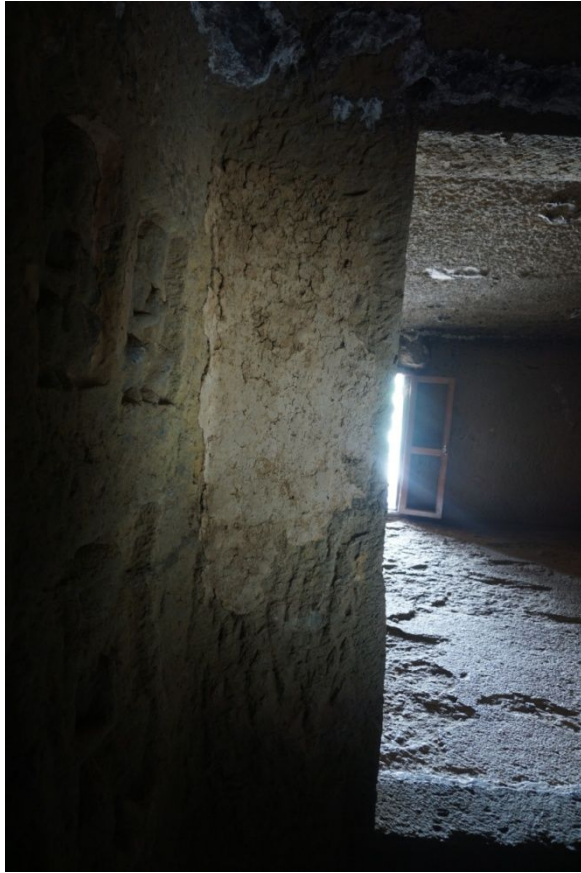


Courtesy ASI

Fragments of Paintings



**Cave no. 41**



**Cave no. 41**





**Cave no. 41**



**Cave no.36**



**Cave no.89**





**Cave no.89**



**Cave no.89**



**Cave no.89**

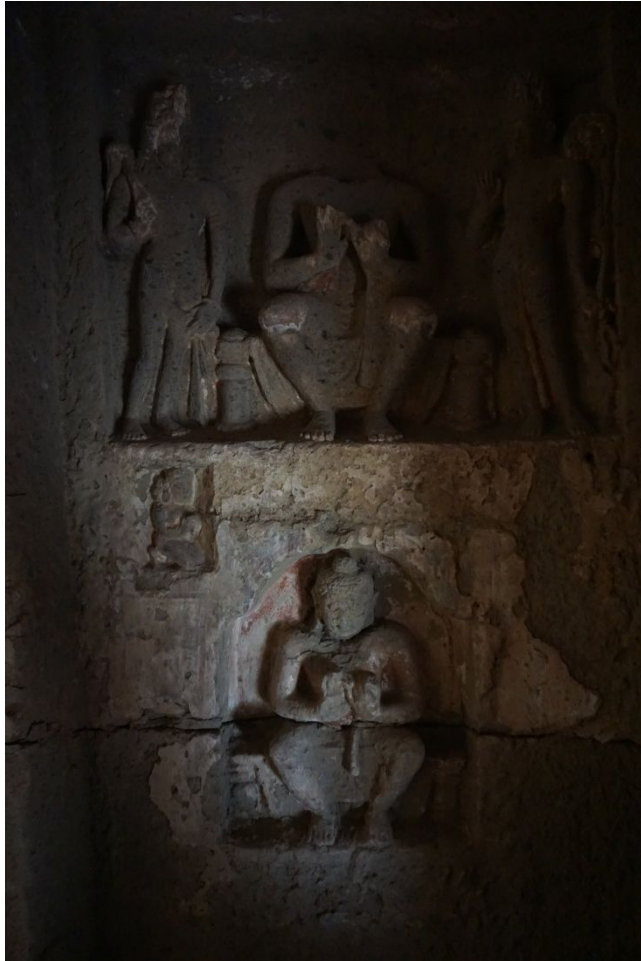




**Cave no.90**



**Cave no.52**



**Cave no.90**



**Cave no.87**





**Cave no.87**





# Kondane Caves

## Locatio of the cave



Imagery ©2017 DigitalGlobe, CNES / Airbus, DigitalGlobe, Map data ©2017 Google 5 km





Kondane is one of the early Buddhist monastic sites in Western India. This rock cut site is supposed to be stylistically dated to 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE. The general chronology of Western Indian Buddhist Rock Cut architecture suggests the following development of sites as Bhaje, Pitalkhor and Kondane. These dates given by scholars are mainly of the chaitya caves at the site. The monastery here continued here at least till 6<sup>th</sup> century CE as these caves were re-painted in this period.

There are remains of plaster and paintings on the ceiling of cave 2 at Kondane. This vihara was under use at least till late 5<sup>th</sup>- early 6<sup>th</sup> century CE. As suggested by these paint fragments. The date is suggested by the patterns resembling to Ajanta cave paintings. Unfortunately the state preservation is bad and urgently some measures should be taken up to stop the further damage.





## Location

Kondane Caves are situated at the base of Rajmachi hill fort overlooking the Ulhas River in the Karjat taluka of Raigad District. (Lat. 18° 51'N, Long. 73° 23') These caves were first noticed by Vishnu Shastri around 1830 AD and Mr. Law, the collector of Thane who visited the caves soon after. (JBBRAS 1850: 46–47 and Fergusson, Burgess 1969: 220)

The caves are placed along the Bhor Ghat, an important trade route connecting the hinterland ports like Kalyan-Sopara and ancient inland towns like Ter, Junnar and Paithan.

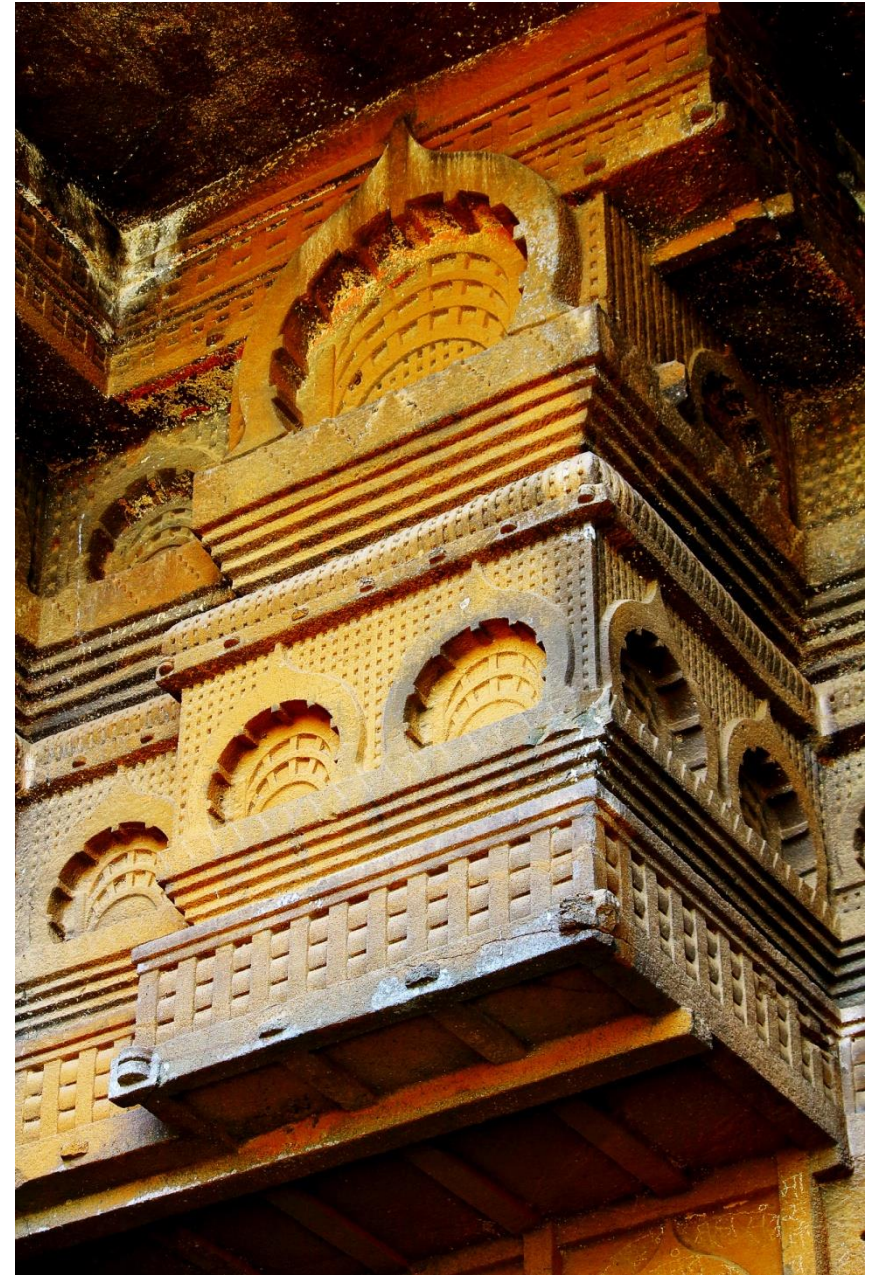
The cave complex at Kondane is located just opposite the Bhor Ghat which is also popularly known as Khandala pass. The cave complex is not easily accessible today. One needs to climb the gentle slopes of the hill for around 30 minutes. Though today ASI has provided steps to access these caves, caves are still not easy to access. It is interesting to see the cluster. Chronologically early caves in this group are stylistically placed in 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE. Chaitya, though highly damaged due to bad quality of rock, gives us the evidence of the early architectural features. The façade here is decorated here with some sculptures. Most interesting feature of the Chaitya is an image of Yaksha at the entrance. This is one of the master piece of early sculptural art.



An inscription near this broken image gives name of the artist as 'Baluka'. He is mentioned here as disciple of 'Kanha'. There is an inscription engraved on the hand of a Yaksha found at Pitalkhora mentions the name of the artist as 'Kanhadasa'. Both the sculptures are contemporary and there is a possibility of 'Kanhadasa' from Pitalkhora being the 'Kanha' at Kondane. Cave 2 at Kondane is interesting because it gives us the evolved plan of the structural monasteries in North India. This vihara has the evidence of earliest relief stupa in Western India. This marks the remarkable doctrinal development of Buddhism.

Today, path leading to Rajmachi fort passes not far from this cave complex. Rajmachi route was one of the most popular routes used by traders and travelers reach near Lonavla. Approximate distance from Kondane Caves to Karla Caves via Rajmachi is 25 to 27 km with a climb of around 800 meters.

As suggested by paintings in cave 2, these caves were under occupation by Buddhist community at least till 6<sup>th</sup> century CE. We actually do not know when and how the decline of the monastery took place.



## Description of Caves

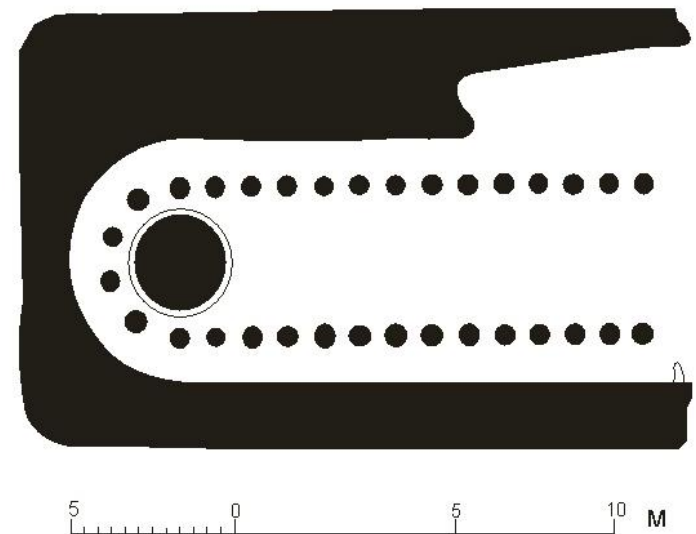
There are seven west facing lenas and a chaityagraha at Kondane. (Qureshi 2010: 274–278) All belonging to the early period under consideration, and are untampered by later activities of the Mahayana period. The caves are not well- preserved, but enough remains to testify the grandeur of at least two if the caves in the group. All the caves face west and these are numbered from South to north.

### Cave No.1

This is the well- known chetiyaghara, a highly impressive architectural work adorned with exquisite carvings. This belongs to the class of apsidal vault- roof chaitya halls. The measurements cannot be accurately made out due to its much deteriorated lower portion, but appears to be 8.1 m wide and 8.6 m high and about 22.2 m long from the back of the aspe to the place where once a doorway existed. The hall is divided into three parts, a nave and two side aisles, by two rows of octagonal Pillars meeting in a semi circular line at the back. The nave is about 4.9 m wide and the side aisles including the pillars are about 1.6 m wide. The stupa is about 2.9 m in diameter and is placed at the back end of the have equidistantly from the side and back walls. The walls are straight,

but the octagonal pillars rake inwards slightly. The roof over the aisles is curved, the profile being about 1/6th segment of a circle.

The roof over the nave is vaulted. This rises straight to a height of about 2.4 m from a thin beam carried by the pillars, and then the actual curvature of the roof begins. This part can be better described as a pointed vault then barrel shaped. There are square mortises cut along a simple ledge at the top of the vertical rise. Similar square mortises are also seen on the aisle walls below the ledge which carried the curved wooden rafters and it is likely that the beams stretched downwards up to a level, about 2.1 m higher up from the ground.





At present the lower part of the front of the cave is much damaged. The front part of either of the side walls has disintegrated to form deep cavities. But closer observation reveals that this had a front screen, partly cut in stone and partly made of wood. Just in front of the left aisle, remnant of a disintegrated return wall still preserved to a height of about 45 cm and stretching for about 60 cm is visible. In the upper part two huge stone jambs supporting the arch are still extant. These are square in cross-section and taper as they go upwards. The broken parts show that these continued down to the floor and divided the front of the cave into three parts, forming a wide doorway in the centre flanked by a window in front of each of the aisles. The upper portion of these jambs still retains two curved wooden reapers connected by a radial reaper, which adorned the chaitya arch in the fashion of a sun-window. The whole facade could, however, be reconstructed on the analogy of the rock facades from Ajanta 9, Bedsa chaitya hall, etc., in which case these jambs would have had a heavy wooden architrave below the arch and probably a wooden screen with a wide doorway below. In front of the aisles there may have been windows in the fashion of those seen in Ajanta 9. But here the screen in front of the aisles may have been of wood, the lower Part alone being cut in stone.



The chaitya arch projects to about 1.5 m in front of this and its soffit is carved with parallel longitudinal reapers. The spandrels on the facade, as well as the side walls, have excellent decoration of railing and chaitya arches above, and the whole thing looks like a three storeyed mansion. Above a horizontal railing decoration which stretches along the line of the springing of the arches are beautifully carved square panels alternately carved with chequered pattern and a pair of man and woman. It appears the panels with man and woman depict some story in a sequence. This is again surmounted by a stretch of stepped cornice with its topmost riser ornamented with triangular merlons and over this is another stretch of chaitya arches. These are overhanging balconies, one on either side of the big chaitya arch and these are again in two stages- amidst the horizontal decorative bands in succession consisting of the railing pattern, the chaitya arches and stepped cornice- the only difference in the two sets being in the size and number of chaitya arches in the middle. The sides of the projecting balconies as well as the spandrels on either side of the big arch are also treated in a similar way as the fronton of the balconies.

The wall surface below the railing in the line of the paws of the arches is plain, except for the figure of a yakshi carved in high relief on the left wall .

There is an inscription by the side of the yaksha figure. This refers to the making of that sculpture by Kanha a disciple of Balaka.





The mathematical formula adopted in designing Kondane 1 is difficult to make out in the absence of exact measurements of different parts due to the ruined nature of the cave. However, one thing that strikes conspicuously is that the height of the hall is more than the width. In almost all cases (Bhaja, Ajanta 9 and 10, Karle 8, etc.) they are equal or the height is less than the width. The only other chaitya hall that shares the features is Nasik 18. Secondly the nave is very wide and it appears, the width of the nave is  $\frac{3}{5}$ th of the total width of the hall and aisle including the pillar is  $\frac{1}{5}$ th the width. The diameter of the stupa appears to be  $\frac{1}{3}$ rd the width of the hall, and in this feature it is similar to the Bedsa chaitya hall. The nave in front of the stupa, if measured up to the place where the wooden doorway may have stood once appears to be double its own width.

There are several architectural features which reveal chronological position of this chetiyaghara with reference to many others.

Firstly, the absence of the verandah, the open front and the raking of octagonal pillars are features which testify that this belongs to the generic class of Bhaja 12 and Ajanta 10. But there are few features that show the later date of the present one than the above two. The form of the stupa has the harmika and stepped capital done more elaborately than in Ajanta 10 and Bhaja 12. The

appearance of the huge tapering jambs shown as supporting the front arch is a new feature and these appear to be forerunners of similar ones found in the chaitya halls Ajanta 9, Bedsa 7 and Karle 8 where the screen walls are completely in stone. The possible form of the facade when completed in wood as conjectured above, shows that the facade was divided into two parts dominated by the big arch above, and below it the central doorway flanked by windows.

However, Bedsa and Karle chaitya halls have regular verandahs, but Kondane displays none. So the immediate step subsequent to Kondane 1 but preceding Bedsa 7- Karle 8 can be surmised to be one in which the screen wall is replaced completely by stone, but which still lacks the verandah. Such a stage is well-represented in Ajanta 9. The low stone-cut screen wall, now indicated by a remnant, shows a tendency towards adoption of stone in preference to the wooden parts. In this feature too Kondane 1 stands in a position slightly interior to Ajanta 9, but ahead of Ajanta 10

Another architectural element also helps in bringing these two nearer. It is the square pillar with chamfered corners in the middle, seen in relief on the façade of Ajanta 9. This is not noticeable in the Kondane chaitya hall but a very fine representation of this is seen in relief neighbouring Lena, and it will

be shown below that the interior pillars in this lina were also of this form and that lina is contemporaneous with Kondane 1. Further all the other elements in the façade like the form of the chaitya arches, the stepped cornice and merlon decoration also appear in both Kondane 1 and Ajanta 9.

Thus, in stylistic sequence, the chaityagharā at Kondane occupies an intermediate position between Ajanta 10 and 9. It is also of interest to note that the chaitya hall at Aurangabad has some features nearer to Kondane 1, particularly in the form of the stupa and the use of triangular merlons, seen on the stupa there and in the façade decoration here. The difference in date between the two may not be much.

The inscription (Kondane 1) belonging to series I B substantiates the relative chronological position of the Kondane chaitya hall and this can be roughly placed around c.170- 180 B. C

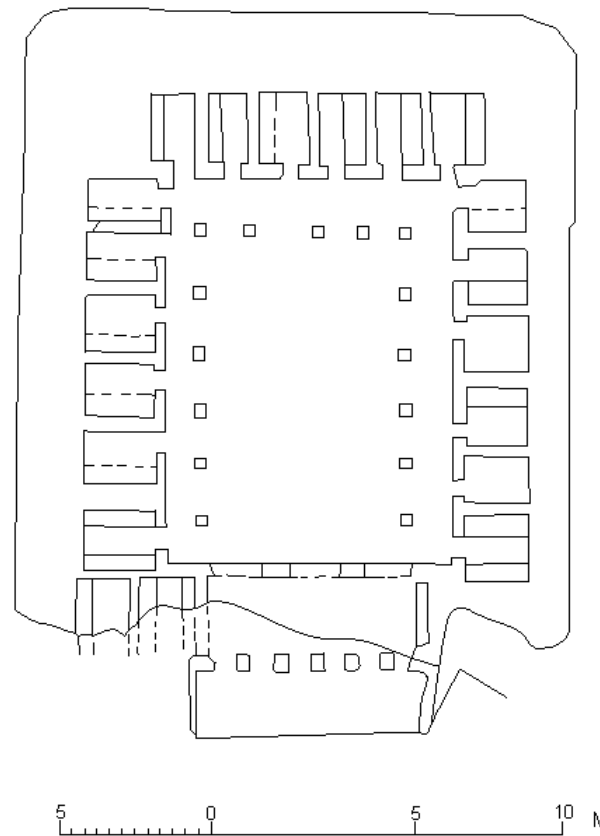
## Cave No. 2

This is a lena situated adjacent to cave 1, at the level of the chaitya arch. The cave is very much ruined, but still retains sufficient features for a detailed examination. This belongs to the class of lenas with cells- around- hall and a verandah in front.

The verandah is about 2.4 m d, and 6.4 m w. It appears to have had a line of five pillars in front. The lower part of the verandah being broken, the form of the pillars cannot be ascertained. Square stumps still hanging from the roof are the only indications. A pilaster partly preserved in the right wall. The back wall of the verandah was pierced into by a doorway and two large windows on either side. The lower part of this wall is broken. Still it is possible to make out that the central doorway was 1.6 m wide and its lintel was 86 cm below the ceiling. The side openings are 1.7 m wide and their lintels are 1 m

below the ceiling, thus these side openings could be considered as windows at waist level.

The interior hall is 8.5 m wide and 11 m deep and 2.5 m high. There



were fifteen pillars arranged about 1.2 to 1.3 m apart from one another in a row running parallel to the three inner walls. The bases of all these are gone and only stumps remain hanging from the roof. From the remnants however, it can be inferred that these were square in cross section both at the bottom and top but were octagonal in the middle. They were slender pillars, 37 cm square, and rose to a height of 2.5 m. The original shape of these pillars is also revealed by the pilasters set in a row below a decorative stupa on the right wall of the verandah, and also from a remnant part of the pilaster of the front of the verandah, seen by its side. The chamfering

of the arrises in the interior pillars at 50 cm down from the top as seen in the 3<sup>rd</sup> pillar in the right row. There are eighteen cells in all around the hall, arranged in such a way as to be six on each of the three inner walls. The cells vary in size from 4.8 to 7.2 m in length

and breadth. All have stone beds along a side, except the first two cells nearer the front wall which have two benches in each. The doorways of the cells are narrow just about 57 cm broad and 1.7 m high but they have no slanting jambs. In many of the doorframes, a chase runs from top to bottom on one of the jambs. All the lintels and jambs including those of the main doorway have cut corners for the insertion of the wooden frame. A peculiarity seen here is that to make provision for the wooden frame sometimes the decorative sculptures above the doorways too have been cut. This probably shows that originally there may not have been the intention to make all the cells and some may have been inserted later.



The roofs over the hall and the verandah are flat. The hall roof is finely carved with large beams and smaller connecting joints, dividing the whole roof surface into square panels. The pillars in the hall are shown to be carrying heavy beams, but the beams are less in thickness than the pillars. It looks as though the beams themselves are passing through the pillars. (This feature appears to be seen only in caves of very early date). The verandah supported the heavy architrave. The roof in front of the architrave projects forward to about 2.4 m and the under surface of this has parallel beams cut in it. The extensive copying of wooden architectural features in the roof of verandah and hall has been done so faithfully that with the sooted surface of the rock, the whole interior can pass for woodwork itself.

The interior hall has a stretch of decorative work running along the three inner walls, above the level of the doorways. This consists of a band of railing pattern connecting the legs of large chaitya arches. The arches used here are of simple type and these too have the delineation of curved wooden reapers on the surface bracketed by the arch, and the soffit of the arches has the dentil decoration, representing projecting parallel beams. The decoration reminds of similar work in Bhaja 12, Nasik 19, etc.



The right wall of the verandah has some fine carvings. The lower part has four square pilasters with the arrises cut in the middle. These support a band of railing pattern. Above this is a chaitya arch of the usual design housing a stupa. The stupa has the drum with a fillet of railing decoration and this supports a hemispherical dome which carries a harmika with railing pattern and the square inverted pyramidal capital. A square yasti rises from its top flat member. This appears to have been a dedicatory stupa, as a square hole is seen on the side of the drum which may have been meant to keep the relic.

The façade has a simple decoration in two stages. On the fronton just above the projecting chajja there is a band showing the

square pins in a line. Above this is a stepped cornice supporting a string course of railing decoration. Again the roof projects forward from this with its under surface decorated with the parallel beams. The fronton of this projection too has the wooden pins and railing, and above this is a stretch of decorative chaitya arches in a line. Above this is a further projection of the overhanging rock. These chaitya arches are neatly cut with pointed finials, incurved arms and curved and radiating reapers within. It is interesting to note that the second chaitya arch to right has a small stupa cut in it. The decoration though simple has a magnificent effect, and the whole thing has been wrought in such a way as to give the impression of actual woodwork. The façade decoration has been so arranged as to be in continuation of the decorative work seen on the façade of the chaitya hall. This suggests that the chaitya hall and this lina are works resulting from a single design.

There are two inscriptions carved on the façade, one each on the lowermost band of the two successive projections. The upper one records that it is a donation by one Kamchikaputa (Kondane No. 3). The lower one probably states that overhanging eave (possibly the decoration) is of (caused to be made by) Kamchika's son Dhamayakha of Baraka. The inscriptions are in characters of series I B.

Apart from the position of this lina and the palaeography of the inscriptions which connect this with the neighbouring chaitya hall, the use of square pillars with cut arises in the middle part shows that this is nearer in date to Bhaja 22, Ajanta 9, Nasik 19, etc. But the doorways of this lina appear not to show any rake of jambs. Most of the doorways are of course very damaged. (It is also noticed that the decorative chaitya arches are not just above the cell doors. This is probably due to the fact that the decorative work at the higher level, was finished first and then the cells were cut. There might have been demand for more accommodation and hence more cells may have been cut than what was originally planned, by which the doorways were displaced from their originally intended position below the arches.)

The present lina is peculiar due to the fact that this is the only one of the early period having pillars in the interior hall. This could be due to the fact that this is the first of the linas of such huge dimension that was attempted by the rock cutters of west Deccan. There was no need for pillars for smaller halls, where, even in wooden architecture, the length and breadth could have been short enough to be spanned by single rafters. It is possible that in this lina having a large hall the wooden architectural feature of providing supports when the space to be spanned was more was copied. This appears to us to be a logical explanation. When the

stone cutters realized by experience that such pillars were useless in the new rock medium, they may have given up the practice even while cutting large linas like Nasik 10, or Junnar- Ganesh Pahar 7. But the practice may have risen up again during Mahayana times purely for decorative purposes.

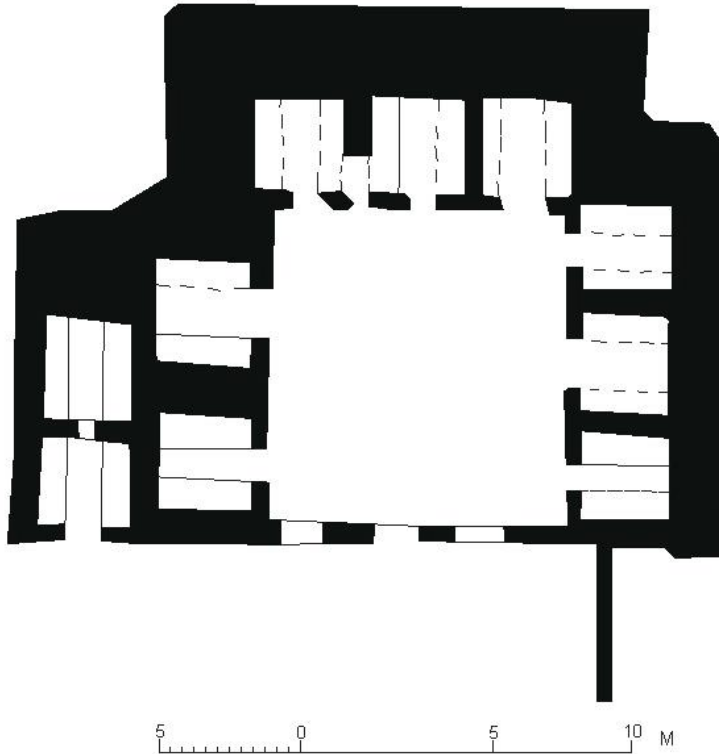
### **Cave 2a**

This small lina with two cells placed adjacently is cut to the left of the verandah of cave 2. One of the cells has two benches while the other has only one. This lina appears to have been made as an annexe to cave 2 for providing accommodation for the increasing number of monks.

In its full capacity cave 2, along with 2a, could have accommodated 23 monks.

### Cave 3

Next to the above is a simple lina, belonging to the class of cells around hall type (B iii). The hall is about 6 m wide and 6.3 m deep. There are eight cells around the hall, two in the left wall and three



each in the back and right walls. All the cells have two beds, one along each side wall. The front wall has a central doorway and an open window on each of its sides. The lina is very much ruined. Practically all the front walls of the cells and the front wall of the hall and almost the whole of the verandah are broken and not much

architectural element of value remains. There are no pillars in the hall probably due to the fact that the hall is small. The cave does not have any decoration too, either on the walls or on the ceiling. This cave appears to have been made more with an eye towards utility, to provide as much accommodation with as minimum expenses as possible and hence there was no scope for decoration work. The fact that the cells here are provided with two beds too indicates the same attitude of the donors; while the bigger lina 2 could accommodate 20 persons, this lina which is one third of its size has a capacity to accommodate 16 persons. As there is very little space in the cells for the monks to keep their belongings, additional rectangular niches have been cut in the back wall in all these cells. This resembles cave 12 and 13 of Ajanta so far so providing the double bench and additional niches are concerned.



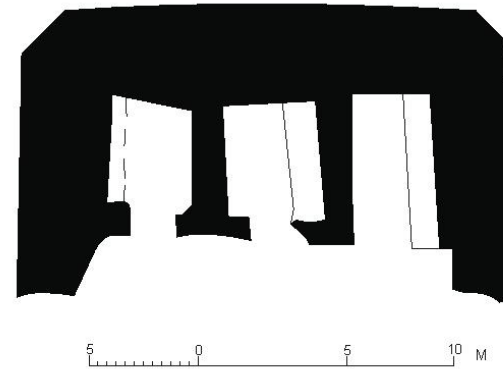
#### Cave 4

This lina adjacent to the above has two cells, one behind the other. Both have two beds. This cave meant for four monks, is such a simple one that the idea of economy (but greater utility) appears to have been in the minds of the donors even in this case. There is no architectural feature worth recording.

All the caves further on from this are ruined to such an extent that all of them together look like a large single natural cavern. However, different units can be recognized from a careful examination of the extant remains.

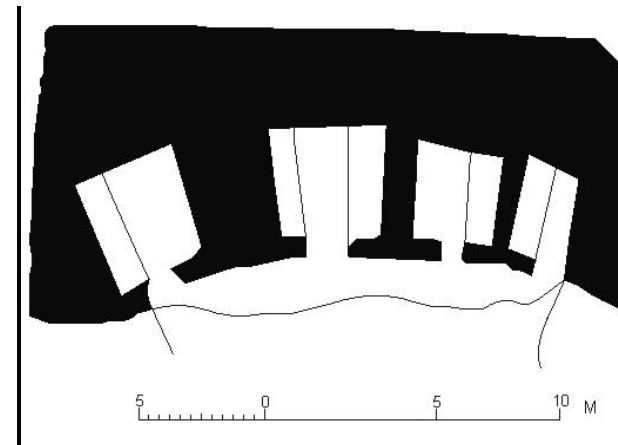
#### Cave No. 5

This was a lina with three cells in a row (Type B i). These probably opened into a common verandah, of which too the traces do not remain. All the cells have a single bench in each.



#### Cave 6

This is similar to the above, but had 4 cells. One of the cells however has two beds one along each of the side walls.



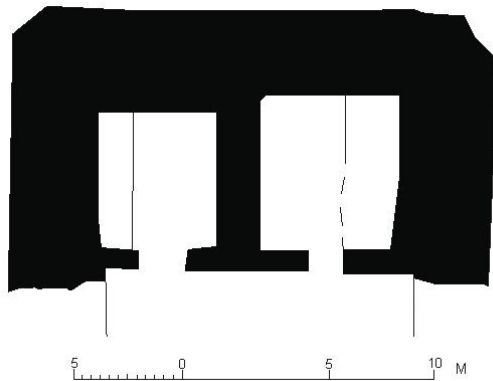


### Cave 7

The Verandah is partly preserved. There are two cells, with a bench in each.

### Excavation 7a

There is a simple recess. The front is broken.



### Cave 8

Though broken, this is somewhat an interesting cave. This has a peculiar plan and is the only one of its kind at Kondane. This consists of a hall with a low 'L' shaped bench to the left. In the right wall of this cell is another doorway leading to a narrow recess. Though the arrangement of the different parts is aberrant,

this cave may be compared in type to several caves with hall, cell and recess (A iv type) seen in the Ganesh Pahar group at Junnar. This may be a lina mant for a monk of status. Or, more likely, it was a dining hall as the presence of the low bench in the hall indicates. The inner cell with bench and the recess could have served as kitchen or pantry. There is a large cistern by the side of this, and it is of interest to note that this is the only cave in which water cistern is present. Its location at the end of the group is also noteworthy.



## **General Discussion**

Among the Kondane Caves, only 1 and 2 are of interest. All others are simple and much ruined excavations, bereft of useful architectural elements.

This small monastic unit had at least seven dwelling caves, with a capacity to accommodate 54 monks. The chaitya hall is big enough to hold this huge number, but the dining hall (cave 8) could have accommodated more than 15-16 at a time. For a small place like Kondane the number of monks appears to be rather high. It has not been possible yet to locate the city or town which was supporting this monastic establishment. Kondane is situated in a heavy forest area surrounded by rugged hills and it is not possible to expect any town of considerable size to have been there, as for miles around no cultivable land of useful extent exists. So it is more likely that this place was serving as caravanseri along the main trade route in which the people, particularly monks, moving along could have just spent a day or night on their way, up or down ghats. The trading community frequenting this place could have provided the necessities for the few monks permanently residing here.

Nothing can be said with certainty regarding the sequence of cave cutting at the place. However, Caves 1 and 2 are contemporary. They being placed on the basis of style analysis and paleographical

evidence (above) between Ajanta 10 and Ajanta 9, they are datable to the early part of 2<sup>nd</sup> century B. C. After the making of these when their usefulness as a suitable place for temporary halts during the long journeys was recognized, more monks may have begun to resort to this place as a result the highly economical architectural works like Cave 2a and 3 came up shortly afterwards. Later, caves 4 to 8 may have been hewn one after the other in the very same order, but their dates cannot be made out. However, even in these caves simple benches are seen. The indication possibly suggests a slightly earlier date, perhaps not later than 1<sup>st</sup> century A. D.

Shortly afterwards the importance of Kondane appears to have diminished for some unascertainable reasons. It is possible that the Borghat route itself began to be used sparingly, due to some economic or political reasons, and in such a case, bereft of the resources available from the trading community, this place which had little local economic support could hardly have flourished any more.

## **Location of the inscriptions at Kondane**

Unlike other contemporary rock hewn caves at Bhaje, Karle and Bedse, no inscriptions are visible inside the chaitya griha. The pillars and the stupa are in dilapidated condition that probably deprived us of the valuable information.

As per the information provided by the Archaeological Survey of India (<http://asimumbaicircle.com>), there are total three short Brahmi-Prakrit inscriptions engraved on the outer façade of the chaityagriha. Out of which only one finds mentioned in all the pervious important documentations. (JBBRAS 1850: 46–47, Epigraphia Indica- Vol-X, Appendix no. 1071, Fergusson and Burgess 1969: 222 and Gupchup 1963: 174–184) Burgess and Indrajī have neither discussed Kondane Caves nor the inscriptions therein in their work. (Burgess Indrajī) Only S. Nagaraju has recorded later two inscriptions and marked them as ‘unpublished’. (Nagaraju1981: 339) Neither an estampage nor an eye copy of these inscriptions was made available by any so far.

Dikshit, M G has noted fourth inscription in his unpublished thesis. He reads it as ‘Hamma of (i.e. donated by) Prakara.’ Thereby identifying the Kondane establishment of a Hammiya type. (Dutta 2015: 96) However this inscription too could not be located by us in situ.

### First Inscription<sup>1</sup>

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1 The reading of all the three inscriptions and discussion on paleography is as discussed by subject experts Mokashi R and P. Samel in their paper on ‘Brahmi Inscriptions from Kondane Caves’ published in an online Journal ‘Ancient Asia’, 2017. ([https://www.ancient-asia-](https://www.ancient-asia-journal.com/articles/10.5334/aa.114/)

As seen in the photograph first inscription records donation by Balaka, the disciple of Kanha (Krishna). The details of which are as under

*Kanhasa antevāsina balakena katam*

Dr. Kern has translated it as ‘made by Balakaken, the pupil of Kanha (Krishna)’. (Fergusson and Burgess 1969: 221) Lüders has translated it as ‘made by Baluka (Balaka), the pupil (antevasin) of Kanha (Krishna)’. (Epigraphia Indica- Vol-X, Appendix no. 1071) The inscription is engraved over the left shoulder of the intricately carved fragmentary sculpture of a yaksha. Probably the sculpture was donated by Balaka. However, this is not a conclusive evidence. A donative inscription from Nashik engraved above the image of a yaksha in cave no. 18 may be mentioned here.

*.....bena ch...ni.....yava Nadasiriyava cha veika yakho ch  
karita*

(Epigraphia Indica-Vol-X, no.1143 and Epigraphia Indica- Vol-VIII, no. 21: 93) This fragmentary inscription records donation of

[journal.com/articles/10.5334/aa.114/](http://journal.com/articles/10.5334/aa.114/)). This as been added here as being latest and most apt study on the topic.

a Yakha (yaksha) and Vedika by Nadasiriya. This inscription suggests that figures of yaksha (Deshpande 2010: 91–104) were donated at the rock hewn caves of western India.

### **Paleography of the inscription**

The earliest recorded inscription from coastal Maharashtra is the fragmentary edicts No. 8 & 9 at Sopara of Emperor Ashoka that dates to 3 BCE. The earliest inscription of the Satavahana dynasty, the successors of the Mauryas in western India belongs to the reign of second Satavahana King Kanha. (Krishna)

This inscription reads

*Sadavahan kule rajini Nashiken*

*Samanen mahamaten len karita*

(Epigraphia Indica-X: Luder's List No.1144)



A comparison with these two inscriptions will allow us to arrive at a plausible date of the first inscription.

All the letters in this inscription are well in conformity with its Sopara counterpart except the letter 'va' which is seen with a rounded shape with small vertical line on top. Similar type of rounded 'va' is seen in the Nashik inscription of King Kanha.

However, in this inscription it has taken triangular shape suggesting its early Satavahana period origin in conformity with the dating of the architecture.

### **Second Inscription**

As seen in the photograph the second inscription is engraved on the lowermost cornice of the overhanging cave. This Prakrit Brahmi inscription is read in the flyer uploaded at the website of the Archaeological Survey of India (Western Circle) (<http://asimumbaicircle.com>) as,

*Sidham barakasa dhammayakhasa*

*Kanchikaputasa po(thira?)*

The inscription is neither translated in the flyer nor by S. Nagaraju who mentions it as unpublished. Nagaraju has retained same reading of this inscription. (Nagaraju 1981: 339) Nagaraju also suggests the reading of the last word as 'pavado'.

A discrepancy is observed in the reading after evaluating the inscription at Kondane. We read the inscription as *sidham* (Soloman 1998: 67) *barakas ha(dha?)maya(kh)sa*

*kuchikaputasa pathe*

‘Ha(dha?)mayaksha, resident of Barakasa, son of Kuchika donated at the rear side’

As seen in the photograph, this inscription is positioned high above on the facade of the main chaityagriha. The letters of the inscription are not as fine and deeply carved as that of the earlier. Usually the donative inscriptions are inscribed on the objects donated. Considering the high position of this inscription, no immediate object that could have been possibly donated by Ha(dha)mayaksha there. However, a donative inscription from Karle gives us a clue. Harfaran, a resident of Abulama donated a mandapa (Vihara) of nine cells at Karle caves during the 24th regnal year of Satavahana King Vasithiputra Pulumavi. The last line of the grant records the donation by the mother of Buddharakshita behind this cave.

Budharakhitasa matu deyadhamma patho ano (Mirashi 1981: 55–57)

‘There is another pious gift of the mother of Buddharakshita behind (this cave)’. V. V. Mirashi suggests that ‘..... if ‘patho’ is amended into ‘pathe’ (prushthe), the intended meaning may be ‘there is another (mandapa) behind (this).’ (Mirashi 1981: 55–57)

As seen in the photograph, here at Kondane too is a vihara behind the façade where the present inscription is engraved. If the

above explanation is accepted, then the vihara was possibly donated by Ha(dha)mayaksha.



### **Paleography of the Inscription**

As seen in the earlier inscription, this inscription too shows all the characteristics of the early Satavahana characters. Its posterity to the Ashoka’s edicts of the 3rd BCE is marked by the inverted ‘dha’ shown as D. However, the letter ‘ma’ still shows the rounded features of the Ashokan type.

The letter ‘ma’ has taken a clear triangular shape in the Nashik inscription of the reign of King Kanha (Krishna). Letter ‘ma’ has retained its rounded shape in the Naneghat Inscription of Satavahana queen Naganika that immediately succeeds the Nashik

inscription of King Krishna. It must be noted that the letter 'dha' is of inverted type ( D) in Naneghat inscription. Thus, this inscription finds more similarities with the Naneghat inscription.

### **Third Inscription**

As per the records of Archaeological Survey of India, the third inscription is located on the lowermost cornice of the overhanging projection of the façade decorated with chaitya arches. (<http://asimumbaicircle.com>) and reads as follows:

*Kanchikaputasa deyadhama*

Nagaraju, S also has retained the same reading and marked this inscription as unpublished. (Nagaraju 1981: 339)

It can be translated as the donation by the son of Kanchika. This brief inscription suggests that Ha(dha) mayaksha made another donation at Kondane, though his name is not mentioned in the inscription.

In spite of our vigorous search we could not find this inscription. In the absence of any physical record it is difficult to ascertain the nature of this donation or the actual reading.<sup>2</sup>



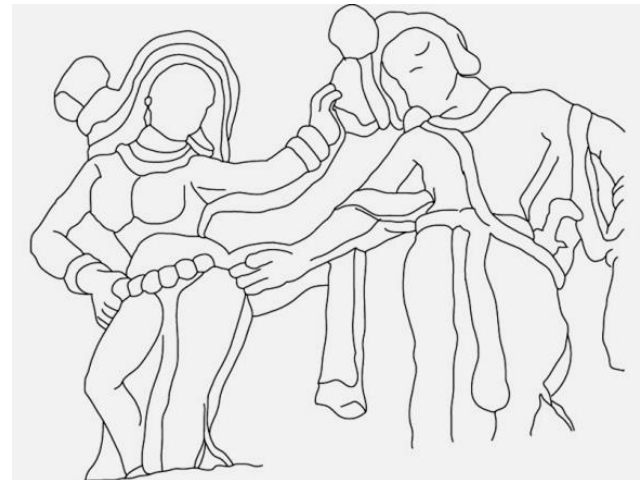
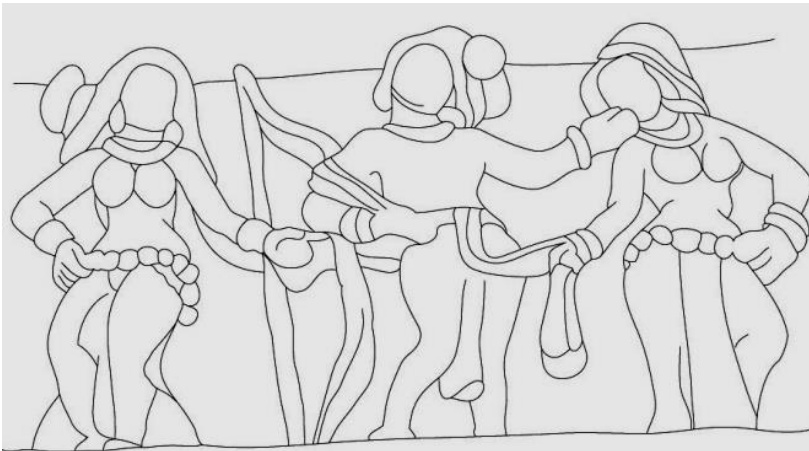
View of the vihara behind the facade bearing the inscription

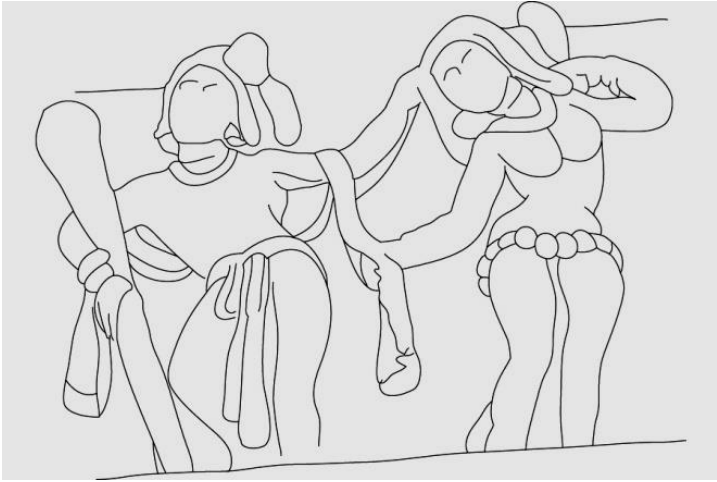
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<sup>2</sup> Rupali Mokashi, Pankaj Vijay Samel, *Brahmi Inscriptions from Kondane Caves*, Research Paper, Journal of the Society of South Asian Archaeology, Ancient Asia, 20 April 2017



**Sculptures**









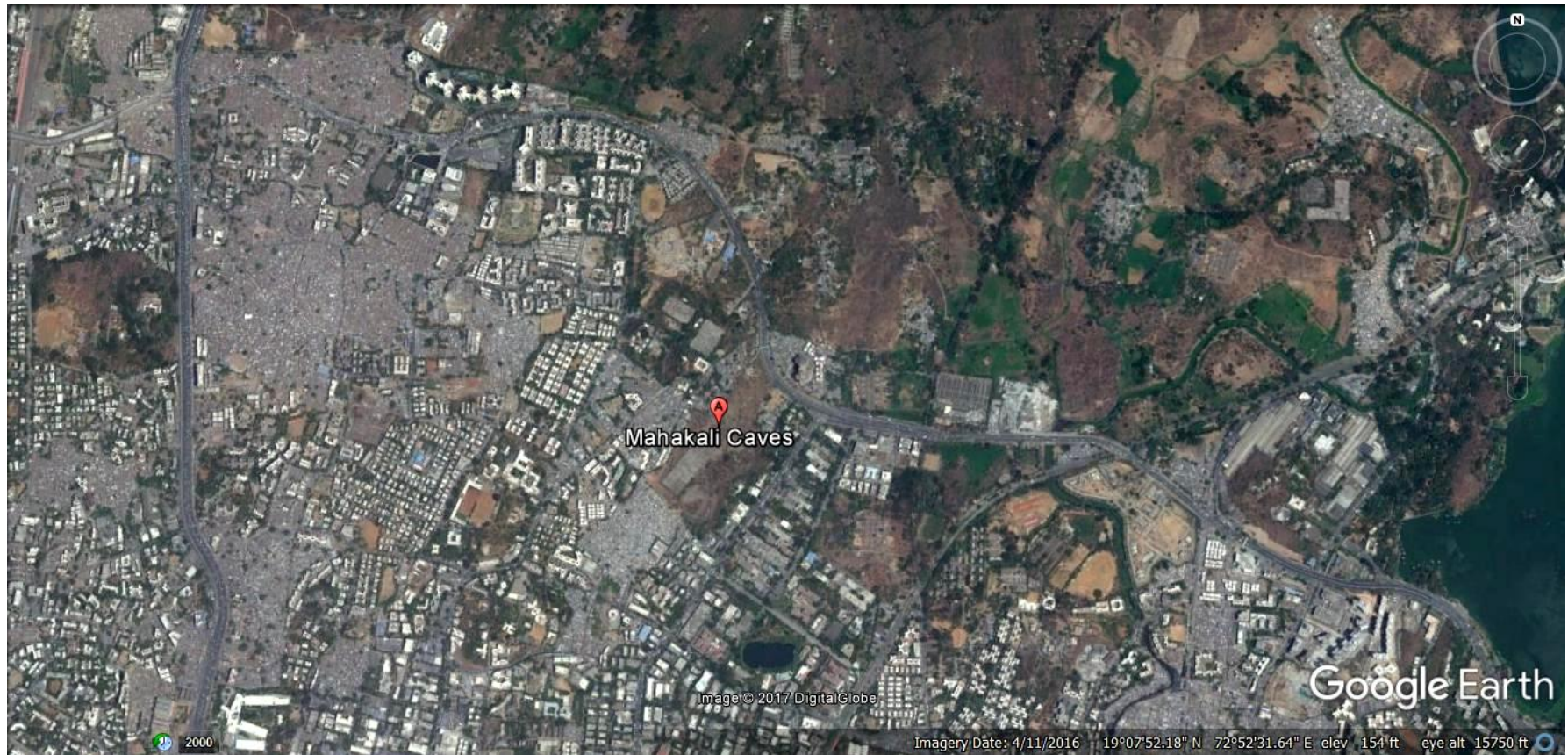
There are few sculptural panels on the façade of main chaitya. These sculptures are usually referred to as 'toilette scenes'. We would like to address them as '*mithuna*' or couples. They are stylistically can be placed in late 2<sup>nd</sup> or early 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE. As they being placed on the façade of the main chaitya we would like to assign the early date to these sculptures. They carry the sculptural legacy from Bhaja and Pitalkhora in western India. It is interesting to see that they are contemporary to late Shunga sculptures. Though this is so they show a great dynamism. Yaksha at the entrance of the chaitya is a master piece. The detailing of his hair-dress and costume are commendable. These are the earliest known sculptures from

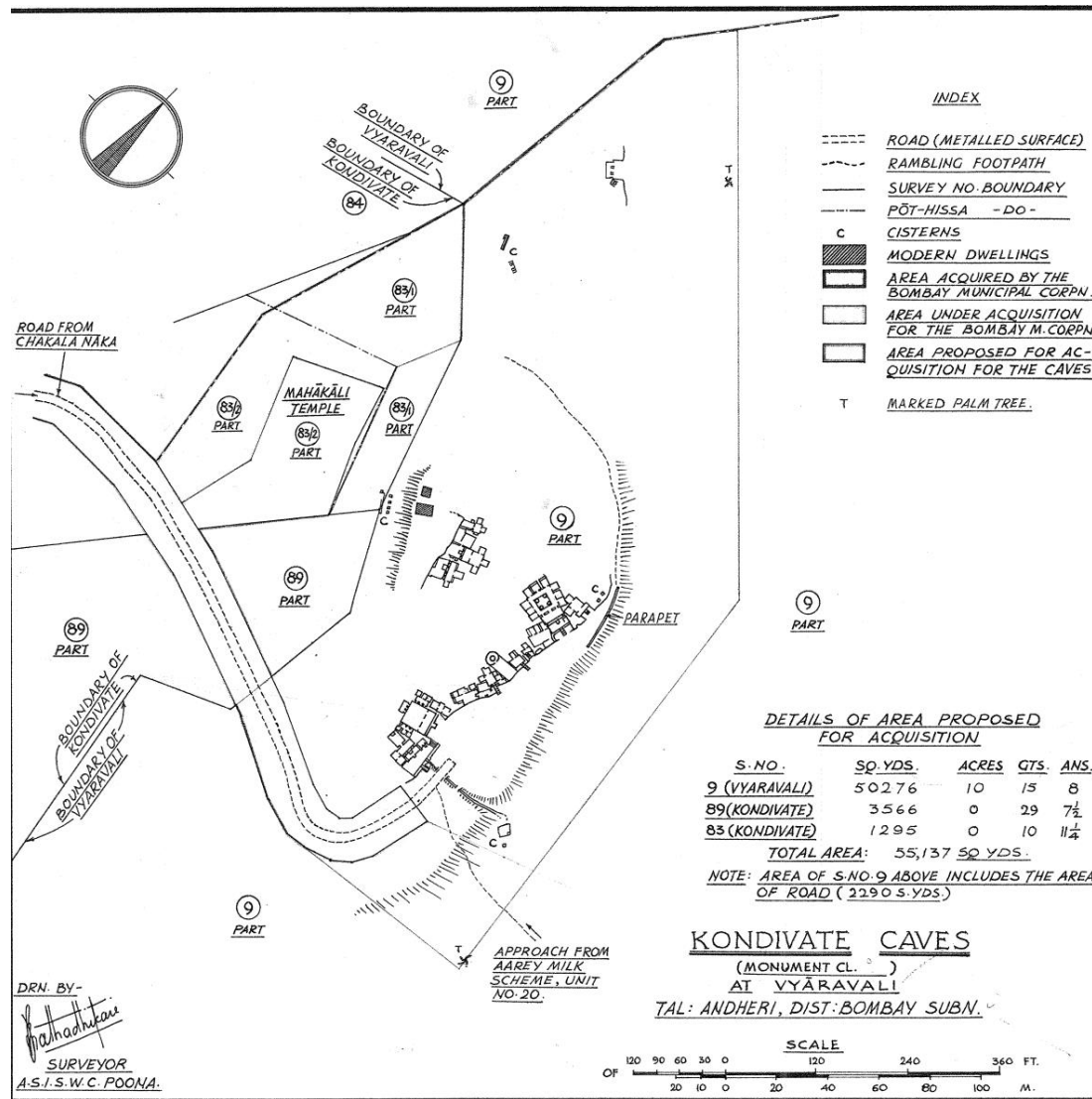


# Mahakali Caves



## Location of Mahakali Caves





Site Map of Mahakali Caves (Courtesy ASI)





Mahakali Caves

Cave No,1,2,3



## **Introduction:**

The Cave complex of Mahakali is also known as Kondivate Caves. They are situated on Mahakali hill in Marol region of Mumbai. The site of Mahakali is approachable by road from Andheri, Jogeshwari and Marol. Marol is a suburb of Mumbai city. These caves were referred as Kondivite or Kondivti caves by J M Campbell as these caves were near Kondivti village. It is a small hillock on a periphery of a small locality called Kondivate, after which the site was named by the early scholars. The hill is surrounded by smaller hillocks now known as Veravali. There are total of 19 caves, fifteen on southeast face of the hill and four on the northwest face. The site is approachable from the western side. The eastern scrap leads to the slums at the foot hill with a small modern shrine of Goddess Mahakali, known as 'Juna Mahakali mandir'. The site was in the south of Sanjay Gandhi National Park, now 'Arey Colony' of which Veravali hill forms the last extension. The site is not far from ancient caves at Jogeshwari. Both the cave sites namely Jogeshwari and Mahakali are linked with a modern road named Jogeshwari- Vikroli link road. Mahakali is in the south of Kanheri Caves. It is suppose to be the satellite settlement of Kanheri in the beginning. The Buddhist monastery at Mahakali

was supposed to control the natural and Socio-Economic resources around and exploit them for the Buddhist Monastery at Kanheri. The location of site must have helped a lot to exploit and divert the natural resources towards Kanheri. Eastern slopes of Mahakali Caves lead us to the small plain of Marol and Powai villages. This was supposed to be the major part of agricultural land on Salsette Island. The region is also rich in water resources. There are few lakes, wells and rock- cut water tanks apart from the major river flowing in the region. Apart from this the Powai Lake is located in the North East of the site, which was one of the major sources of water for the city of Mumbai till the recent past. A small river known as Mahim River or Mithi River contributed to the prosperity of the region. It is most probably to capture these natural resources, the site was selected and group of caves was excavated there. The archaeological evidence suggests us that the site was well- connected with Kanheri by various forest parts. These parts are still under use by aboriginals in Sanjay Gandhi National Park.

## **Previous Work**

S R Wauchop refers these caves as the Mahakel caves and refutes the name Kondiwte previously given by Fergusson. Owing to simplicity of these caves, Wauchop assigns a very early date to these. He provides dimension for cave 2 as 27 feet by 14 feet. Cave 8 is of special interest as that contains a rectangular room with a stupa in circular domes chamber, provided with two latticed windows and an inscription above one window. He also describes cave 13 in detail which he considers of a more recent date.<sup>3</sup>

Fergusson and Burgess, the pioneers in the studies of the cave architecture in India were the first people who dealt with the site in detail. In their book the 'Cave Temples of India' (1880), the focus of the work was to describe the site and put the caves in chronological order. They have mainly talked about Cave no. 2, Cave no. 9 (the main Chaitya) and Cave no. 14. No other rock-cut monument at the site was discussed by the scholars. Since then the Chaitya at the site has been the topic of discussion among the scholars studying Western Indian Buddhist rock-cut architecture. Interestingly, Fergusson has

brought to the notice the similarities between the main Chaitya at Mahakali and the earliest known manmade cave Sudama, Barabar hills, near Gaya, Bihar. On the basis of these architectural parallels, Fergusson was tempted to date this cave to 5<sup>th</sup> Century B.C. E. Thus, the cave became the earliest known manmade cave in Deccan<sup>4</sup>.

After the Cave temples of India, Burgess published a series monographs on inscriptions and the survey reports of Western Indian Buddhist rock-cut architecture. Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji worked as an epigraphist for the Archaeological Survey of India. In one of the volumes (1883-84), they have published an inscription of Kondivate (Mahakali) with i-copy and translation. Paleaographically that has been dated to 1<sup>st</sup>- 2<sup>nd</sup> century C. E. The same has been again published in *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. X (1909-10) as a part of the 'list of Brahmi inscriptions in India from the earliest times to 400 A.D.'<sup>5</sup>

Vidya Dehejia, who wrote her book on chronology of Western Indian rock-cut monuments (1972), talked about the site, the chaityagriha and inscription. Fergusson and Burgess had

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<sup>3</sup> Wauchop S R, (1933). *Buddhist Cave Temples- India*, Culcutta.

<sup>4</sup> Fergusson, James and Burgess, James (1880). *The Cave Temples of India*. MunshiramManoharlal. New Delhi. ISBN 8121502519.

<sup>5</sup> Indraji Bhagwanlal, (1909-10), *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. X, Archaeological Survey of India.

used art and architectural elements as a parameter to fix the chronological order of these monuments and gave secondary status to the epigraphic and paleographic sources. Vidya Dehejia had used epigraphy and paleography as a primary and decisive tool to fix the chronology of the monuments. And the controversy on the date of main Chaitya cave begins.<sup>6</sup>

S. Nagaraju, a trained archaeologist studied the monuments, applied archaeological methods for fixing their chronology, classification and analysis. With his method we reach to the same conclusion of Fergusson about the date of the cave. He has also dealt with the other Buddhist caves at the site and for the first time compiled and published their plans.

According to S. Nagaraju “The peculiar plan of the chaityagriha Kondivate, the only one of its kind in Western India, has tempted art historians to attach great importance to this monument. There is a general similarity in plan between this and the Sudhama cave in Barabar hill, both having a rectangular hall with a circular cell at the end. The Sudama cave belongs to the Mauryan period and this is to be considered naturally as one of the early attempts in rock-cut architecture. While in that cave

the hall and the cell are placed to stretch axially into the rock scarp, Kondivate 9, cut perpendicularly into scarp, shows advancement in technique. In the Sudama cave the whole hall had to be lit by the only doorway cut in the centre of the front wall; the circular cell is almost dark. The plan adopted in the Kondivate cave has sought a solution for the defect; light is shed from the front opening directly into the hall as well as the cell behind, and for that matter even on the stupa inside. The next step towards having a better hall of worship is to do away with the front hall of the circular cell by which the form of the apsidal chaityagrihas is achieved. The introduction of pillars or otherwise may have depended on the dimension of the chaityagriha. Though this contention looks logical, we have suggested another possibility too regarding the origin of the apsidal chaityahalls. It is not unlikely that several architectural forms in brick and wood may have been in vogue so far as the chaityagriha are concerned, and Kondivate cave 9 may represent one of the experiments to adapt a variety, an example of which is fortunately preserved in the Sudama cave. However, just the fact of fortuitous availability of a rock-cut chaityagriha of Mauryan times with which Kondivate 9 has certain similarities need not lead to the

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<sup>6</sup>. Vidya Dahejia, Early Buddhist Rock Cut Temples.



conclusion that this is the earliest chaityagriha of Western India. The relative chronological position of this with reference to the other chaityagriha in this region can be made out from the form of the stupa installed here. It has been shown that the Kondivate stupa comes very near the stupa in Junnar- Tuljacave 3. The Kondivate stupa has, however, an advanced feature in introducing the railing and also a square platform to receive the harmika which may have been of wood. Both from style and technique this stupa comes nearer to the great stupa in Bhaja 12. The stupas in Bhaja cave 12 as well as Kondivate cave 9 represent, both in their own ways, a slightly advanced technical stage compared to those in Junnar- Tulja cave 3 and Kanheri 2e. Taking this feature into consideration the chaitya hall in Kondivate occupies stylistically a position later than Junnar-Tulja cave 3 and others of its clan and nearer to Bhaja cave 12 and certainly earlier than Ajanta cave 10, where the stupa is fashioned with the harmika and the stepped pyramidal capital also in stone. It can also be noted that this stupa at Kondivate is similar in features to stupas 4 and 5 in the group of dedicatory stupas in Excavation 20 at Bhaja, in which connection we have contended that these stupas belong to stylistically between those without the harmika in stone and those with that member. Hence,

we feel, the cave could have been made sometime in the latter part of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Century B. C. This is quite in tune with the stylistic relationship this bears with the Sudama cave, as delineated above. Another item which substantiates the contention of the above mentioned date is the set of perforated windows these are finely wrought, stimulating the Vedika pattern and is comparable to the one seen in Kanha's cave at Nashik. However, the inscription carved above one of the perforated windows is in characters of series V B and is datable on paleographical grounds to the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A. D. It is not known whether this inscription is contemporaneous with the making of this cave. The record is much damaged. According to the reading provided by Bhagvanlal Indrajī (BG), it appears to record the making of a vihara by a brahmin. It is possible that the inscription was carved long after the making of the cave. It is difficult to make out the exact nature and age of the caves in their present dilapidated condition. However, the single cave called cave 10, which appears to have been a work wrought later than the chaityagriha, as its making has damaged partly one of the walls of the latter. The duration of interval between the makings of the two is uncertain. Cave 12 with the railing decoration in the hall, just beneath the ceiling reminds of similar

decoration in Bhaja 7. Like the latter the vedika here is also neatly carved faithfully depicting all the details of wooden vedikas, and hence has to be dated to an early period, nearer to cave 7 at Bhaja, i.e. to around 200 B. C. Thus this cave appears to be a contemporary of chaityagriha this place.

Another scholar who has finished the site was Suresh Vasant. In one of his articles on circular chaityas published in the Prof. Walter Spink Felicitation Volume 'Chachaji', he deals with the main chaitya cave at Kondivate as well. The main focus of the paper is to put the cave in chronological order with the help of architectural elements and epigraphical data. The only inscription in the cave has been reread and interpreted by Suresh Vasant.

A claim has been made by Anita Rane- Kothare of discovery of two small caves on the northern slope of the hill.

### **Date & Chronology of Caves:**

Chronological development of the site goes parallel to the evolution of Buddhist monastery at Kanheri. After Kanheri,

These caves are filled with debris and as per the paper published by Anita Rane- Kothare those are vihar caves.

Most of the scholarly contribution discussed above deals with early caves at the site. One of the monographs published by Burgess as mentioned above gives description of later caves at the site. Nothing much been discussed above the later caves except in the book 'Age of Traikutakas' by Suraj Pandit. Here the problem of chronology later of later caves has been addressed by the author.

There is a brief review of the important publications on the site of Kondivate. Though there are many art history books talk about the site, they are either descriptive in nature or repeat more or less similar content discussed by above mentioned scholars<sup>7</sup>.

this is another site continued for around thousand years. The site has witnessed the change in cultural background and all the three

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<sup>7</sup> Nagaraju S., (1981). Buddhist Architecture of Western India

phases in development of Buddhism. The chronological development of the site can be divided into three phases corresponding with three phases of development of Buddhism in the region.

Most controversial issue with reference to Kondivate is the date of the main chaitya. Fergusson had pointed out the similarity between main chaitya at Kondivate and Sudama cave in Barabar hills. On the basis which the cave has been dated to the end of 3<sup>rd</sup> Century B. C. E. Fergusson and Nagaraju refer this cave as the earliest cave in Deccan. The façade of the cave was made in wood suggested by a line of postholes at the entrance of the cave. Vidya Dehejia dates this cave to the beginning of the Christian era with the help of its architectural as well as epigraphic study. The only inscription in the cave can be paleographically dated to 2<sup>nd</sup> century C. E., which talks about the donation of the vihara. Though the vihara mentioned in the inscription cannot be satisfactorily identified, it is believed by scholars that it must be the neighboring cave, cave no. 8. Nagaraju suggests that the inscription must be the later addition to chaitya. Vidya Dehejia follows more or less similar argument but refuses to accept the date given by Fergusson.

The above discussion can be summarized as follows:

Fergusson and Nagaraju date this cave to 3<sup>rd</sup> Century C. E.

They refer it as one of the early caves in Western India.

They draw our attention to the similarities in the plan of chaitya at Kondivate and Sudama cave in Barabar hills.

Nagaraju also talks about the wooden façade which is to be treated as the early feature in the development of rock-cut architecture.

Burgess, Dehejia and Nagaraju date the inscription in the cave to 2<sup>nd</sup> Century C. E. on the basis of its paleography.

Vidya Dehejia on the basis of the study of art historical and epigraphic sources dates this cave to 1<sup>st</sup> Century B. C. E. to 1<sup>st</sup> Century C. E.

The architecture at Mahakali is to be understood in its geological context. At the same time should be dated in comparison with the architecture at Kanheri. The stone here at the site is Breccia and not of the good quality for excavation of caves. This is more or less similar condition seen at Kanheri. Most of the caves in 2<sup>nd</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> century C. E. at

Kanheri had extensive wood work due to not so good quality of rock. For example- cave no. 2, 3, 6, 7, 17, 18, 32, 33, 35, 37, 38, 39, etc. These caves have the wood work not only just because of the early period but also the available rock was not good. So in many of the cases the façade and the entrance of the cave were provided in wood. At cave no. 9 i.e., the chaitya cave at Mahakali is made in Breccias. Thus, the wooden supplement need not be interpreted as the architectural element suggesting the early date. The chaitya is divided into two chambers similar to Sudama cave. The outer chamber is rectangular following the inverted semi circular shape of the inner circular chamber. The cave is of the moderate size and the only chaitya at the site. Both the features of the size and plan may be due to the quality of rock. It is interesting to see that the weathered upper part of the stupa in the circular shrine gives us remains remains of vedika band similar to stupa in cave no. 2 at Knaheri. No early chaitya cave at Bhaje, Kondane, Pitalkhora, Tuljaleni (Junnar) gives us the evidence of such vedika band on stupa. Another interesting feature on the wall of the shrine is lattice windows placed one on the either side of the doorway. They remind us of similar lattice windows in vihara cave no. 19 and Nashik. There are

numerous 2<sup>nd</sup>- 3<sup>rd</sup> century caves at Kanheri given us the evidence of lattice windows like cave no. 21, cave no. 50 and cave no. 94 a. On the basis of above discussion one can say that cave needs not to be dated to 3<sup>rd</sup> century B. C. E. Thus, the origin of Mahakali as a site goes back to 1<sup>st</sup> century C. E. on the basis of 1<sup>st</sup>- 2<sup>nd</sup> century C. E. Stylistic features of stupa and paleographic studies of inscription.

**Table No.1**

**Chronology of Caves**

<b>1st century C.E.</b>	<b>2nd century C.E.</b>	<b>3rd century C.E.</b>	<b>4th century C.E.</b>	<b>5th century C.E.</b>	<b>6th century C.E.</b>
<b>12</b>	<b>5(Parallel to Kanheri cave no. 32,67 )</b>		<b>-</b>	<b>2,3, 1</b>	
	<b>6, 7,7(A), 10,9,8</b>	<b>4,11,15,17,14,1 8</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>13,19, 16</b>



### **Description of caves:**

#### **Cave 1, 2 & 3**

This is the first cave group when you enter through the main entrance. There are three caves connected with each other. The middle one is the main cave and it consists of an open courtyard with a pillared portico, a rectangular hall with a seat for an icon on the western side. A stupa has been carved on the back wall behind this seat.

Portico has four pillars and two pilasters rising above a parapet carved with rail pattern. The pillars have square shaft



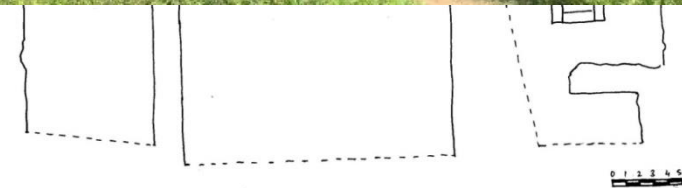
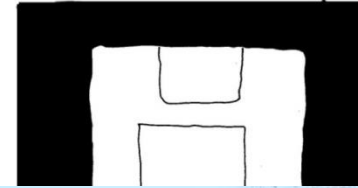
broken in its upper part with a design so familiar with other similar architectural patterns. The capital is very primitive suggesting the early age of the excavation. A cell is provided in the left wall however it has a separate entrance from cave

2. Entrance door of the hall is carved with chaitya windows above the lintel. It is decorated with various patterns on its jambs. The hall inside is 7 m deep and 4.2 m wide. On either side of this unfinished central chaitya cave, are provided pillared entrances into cave 1 and 3. These entrances are at lower depth than the entrance of the chaitya cave which is in middle of these two lower entrances.

**Cave No.2**



**Cave No.1,2,3**

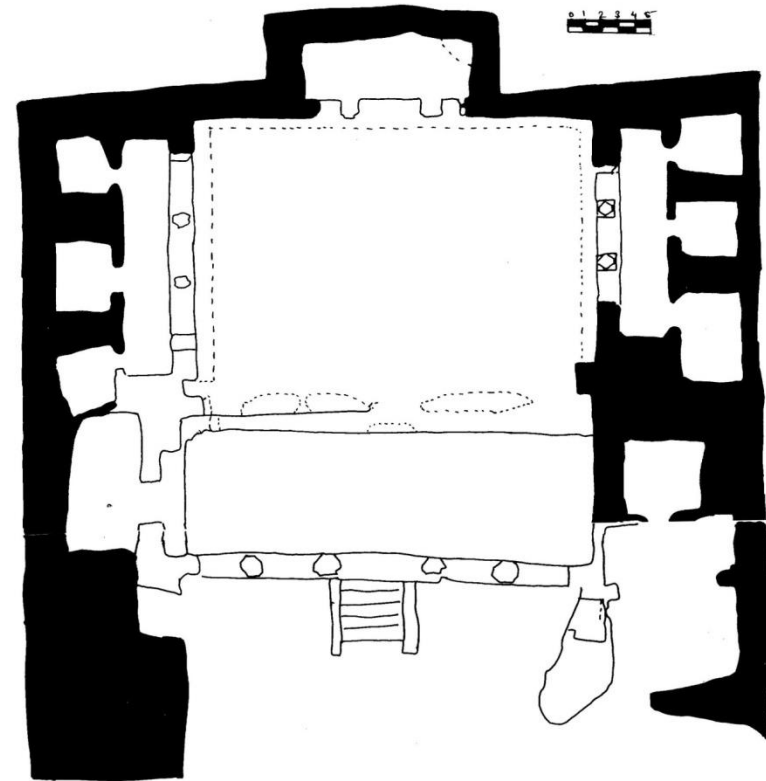


**Cave 4 or the Vihara Cave**

This vihara is entered through a verandah supported on four pillars and two pilasters. A flight of five steps leads a visitor

to this entrance. The verandah is 11.1 m in breadth and 2.8 m in depth. The pillars are plain octagonal shafts without any capital.

There are three entrances leading into a rectangular hall which is 11.2 m in breadth and 7.65 m in depth. On its lateral sides, there are chambers supported on two pillars and two pilasters. Inside these chambers are three cells each. Dr Qureshi mentions that usually in such vihara, the cells directly open into the hall, however here these open into a chamber which in turn connects to the hall. On the back wall of the hall is provided a chamber supported on two pillars. However there are no cells provided in this chamber. The vihara is bereft of any decoration of sculptural embellishment.



Cave No.4,5



## Cave 5

This cave is a very simple. This vihara is entered through a verandah. Inside the cave there is cell on the back side.



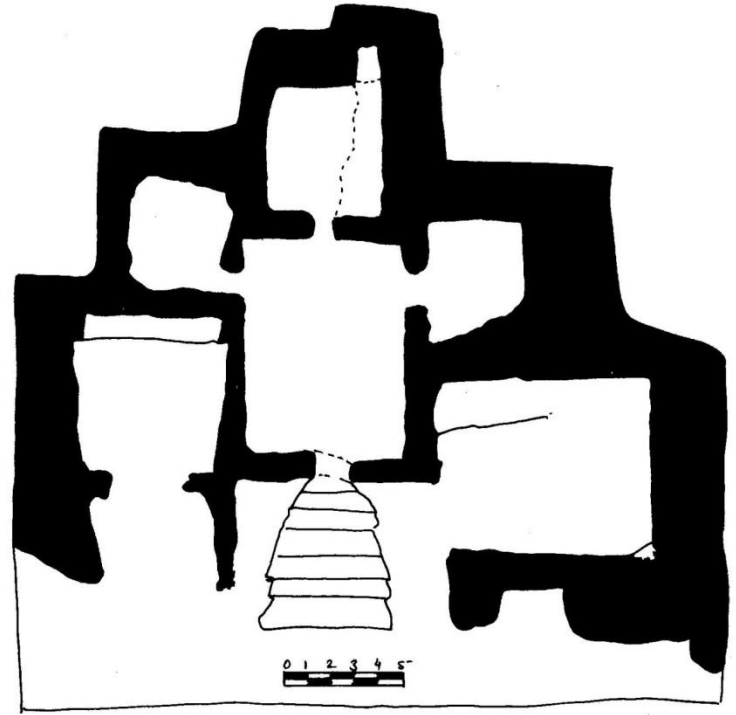
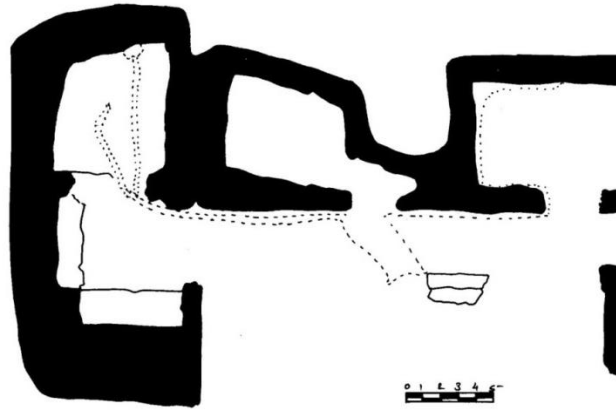
### Cave 6, 7 and 8

These three excavations are in a group like cave 1, 2 and 3. All caves were provided entrances into their respective courtyard which was not supported on any pillars or pilasters. These are bereft of any decoration.

The break of the wall is cave no. 6 in cave no. 7A. It suggests that cave no. 7A was excavated earlier than cave no. 6. Cave no. 6 is elaborate Cave with 3 cells were excavated from right to left in sequence.

Cave no. 7 is actual divided in few part of 7A and 7B most probably had excavated paralarly. There are 3 cells, in cave 7B which seen to be adjusted and push behind. Cave no. 7 & 8. This suggests that in the progress of the excavation there were some alteration made in the plan of cave no. 7 and 7B.



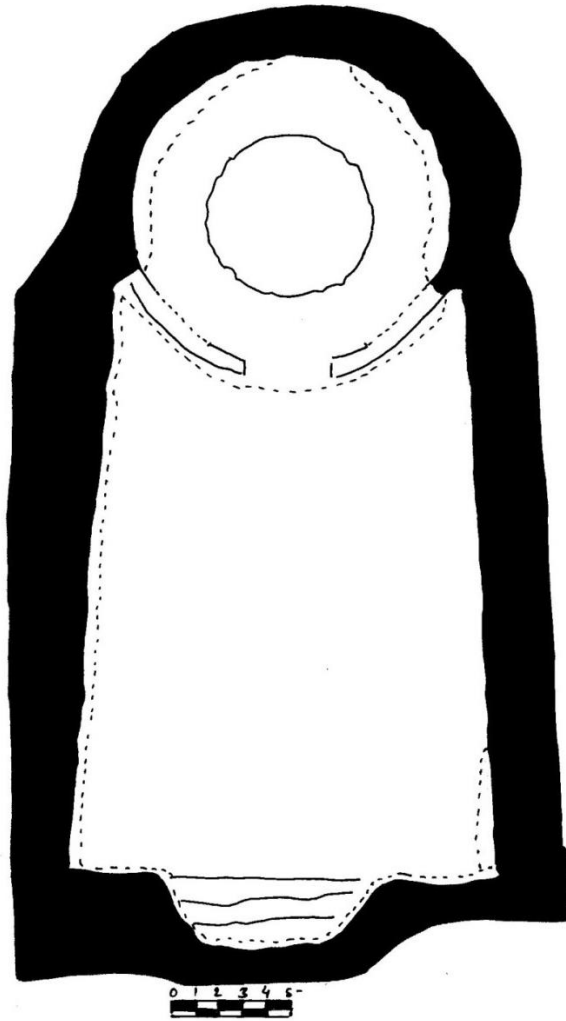


Cave No6,7.8

### **Cave 9 or the Chaitya Cave**

This is the main cave of the group and probably the oldest excavation at the site. It faces east and entrance is provided from a rectangular hall. The hall is 5.4 m in breadth, 7.4 m in length. Usually this kind of hall has pillars on its entrance however here the hall is not supported on any pillars and is wide open on its eastern side M Campbell tells us that there are only two other parallels of this circular shrine like structure and both these are located in Bihar, Lomas Rishi cave and Sudama cave in Barabar hills near Gaya. Dr Dulari Qureshi says that this seems to be the earliest chaitya in Western India. She further states that here we see the first structural departure from the Lomas Rishi cave in Bihar. Where in Lomas Rishi the entrance into the hall is provided from the side and the hall is executed in traverse, however here it is not the same. The hall and the inner chamber are aligned to the main entrance in the east. The inner chamber with stupa inside is enclosed by a circular wall, a feature not seen at any other place. The stupa is 2.35 m in diameter with a circumambulatory path around it. The walls of the hall were originally bare but carved with statues of Buddha during the late Mahayana phase. Dr Qureshi writes that this stupa shrine is converted into a Shiva lingam and devotees

offer prayers here. However during my visit to the site, I did not see such things. There was no door frame fixed to the entrance to the stupa chamber as mentioned by Dr Qureshi.



This cave locally called Anasicha Kamara is a chaityagriha having a circular cell housing a stupa in its centre and a rectangular hall in front. The hall is 7.6 m long, 5.3 m

broad and 2.7 m high. The side walls touching the sides of the semi-circular front wall of the cell are 9 m and 9.4 m long. The circular cell cut in the back, has a semi-circular front projecting for about 1.5 m from the back wall of the hall. It has a rectangular doorway 1.14 m broad 2.3 m high and on either side of the doorway is a latticed window 1 m high and 83 cm long. The roof over the hall is flat, but the circular cell has domical roof.

The interior of the circular is 4.4 m in diameter and the domical ceiling rises to a height of about 4.6 m. In the centre of this cell is the stupa 2.2 m in diameter. The space between the stupa and the walls all around is 1.1 m wide. The stupa has a cylindrical drum with vedika band at the rim, and over this is the hemispherical dome. There is no harmika above, but a flat member with holes in the corners is present and this may have received the harmika, of wood. The total height of the extant of stupa is 3 m. The stupa is partly ruined.

The lattice windows are finely carved imitating the wooden vedika. The front of the rectangular hall is now open, but mortises in the floor of the hall suggest that there was a wooden

screen. In front of this three low steps have also been cut in the rock<sup>8</sup>.

### **Inscription**

An inscription is carved above the left grated window in the thin front wall of the circular chamber. Of Cave 9.

#### **Inscription from the upper side of window, Chaityagriha**

पथिकामाथेवाथवसबम्मनसगोतमगोतस

पितुलसदेयधमविहारोसमातुक

**Inscription** – J M Campbell mentions about a Pali inscription near the lattice window of this circular shrine. He mentions that

the characters are very similar to the third century CE Rudradaman inscription of Girnar. Bhagvanlal Indrajī translates the inscription as, ‘*Gift of a vihara, with his brother, by Pittimba, a Brahman of Gautama gotra, an inhabitant of Pachi Kama*’. Pachi Kama probably is present day Pachmarhi<sup>9</sup>.

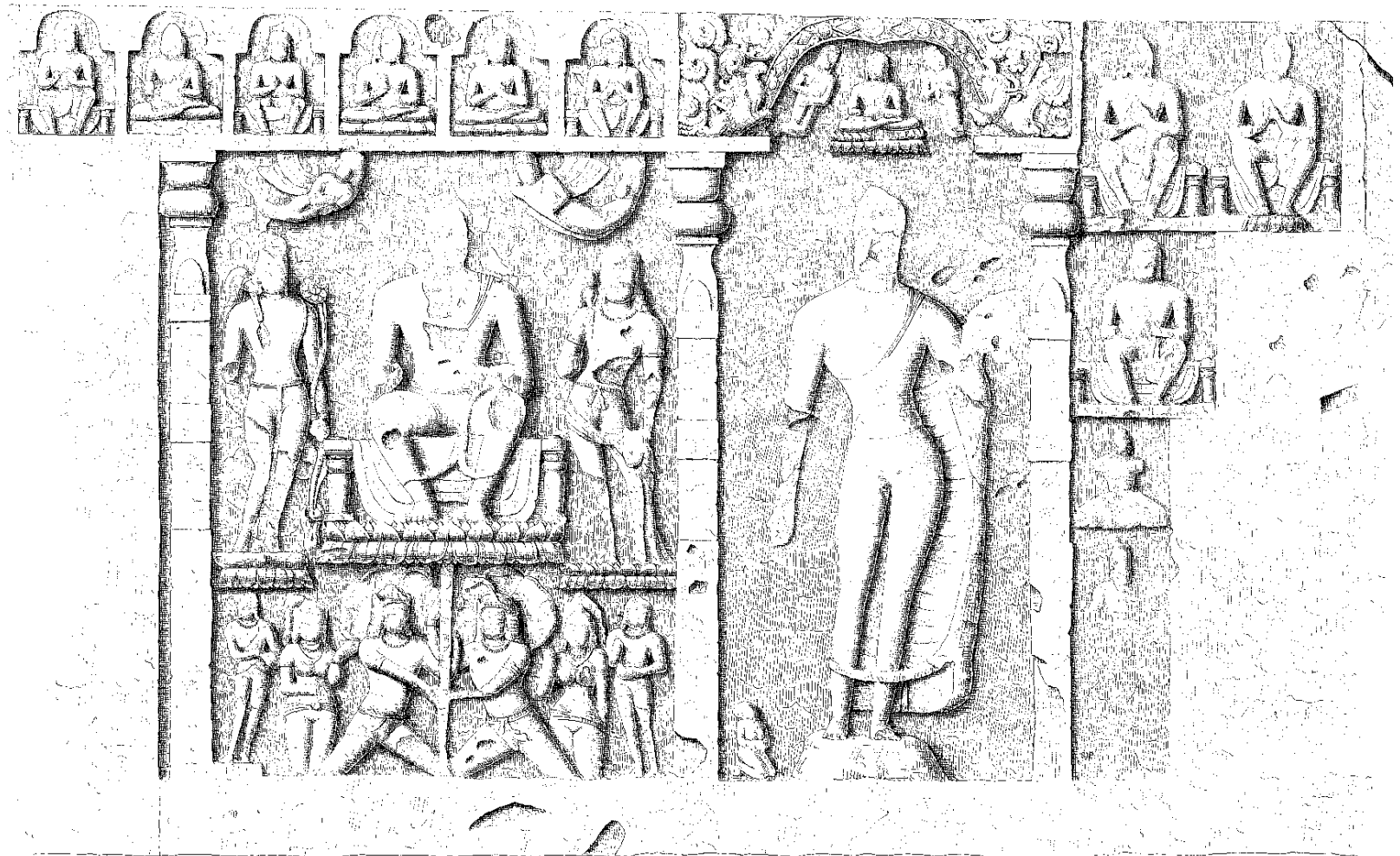
Sculptures Of Buddha, Cave No.9 (Fig No.1)

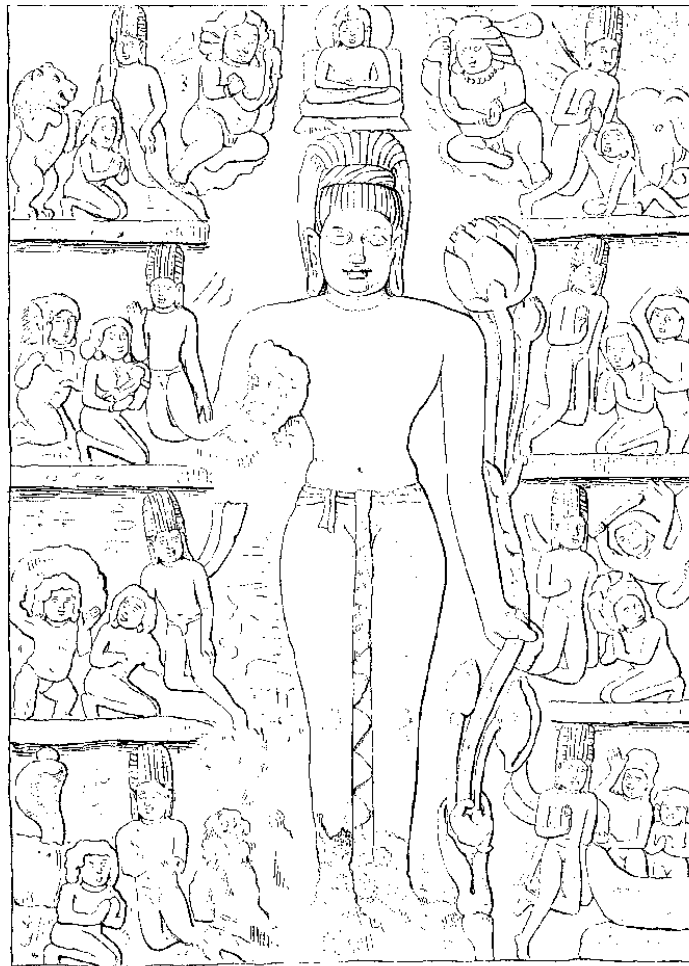
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<sup>8</sup> Nagaraju S., (1981). Buddhist Architecture of Western India

<sup>9</sup> Burgess James and Bhagavanlal Indrajī, (1881), Inscriptions from the cave Temples of Western India.

COURTESY ASI





Scale of 1" = 1' 2" 3" 4" 5" 6"

(Fig No.2)

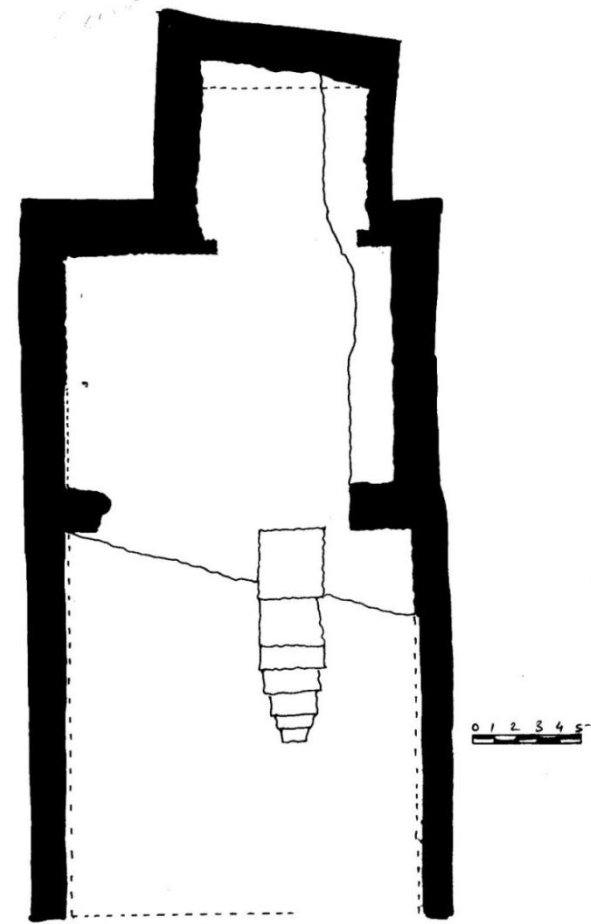
Cave 10



This is a small cave with a hall and a cell at the back. The cave is much ruined. Its front,



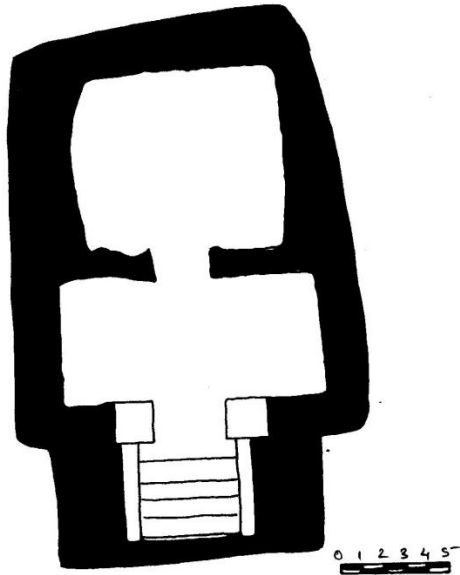
however, has completely fallen down. This cave is at higher level than the chaitya hall and the hewing of this has partly broken the right wall of the latter and so this may be considered as later in date than the chaitya hall. There is a nich at the entrance of cave 10 lies in the right of the door. A wooden facade of the cave has been lost those suggested by the random of grooves. Nich in the right of the entrance is very unique and was decorated with relling decoration or chaitya graha. This reminds us of similar nich in the hall of cave no. 22 at bhaja.



Cave No.10

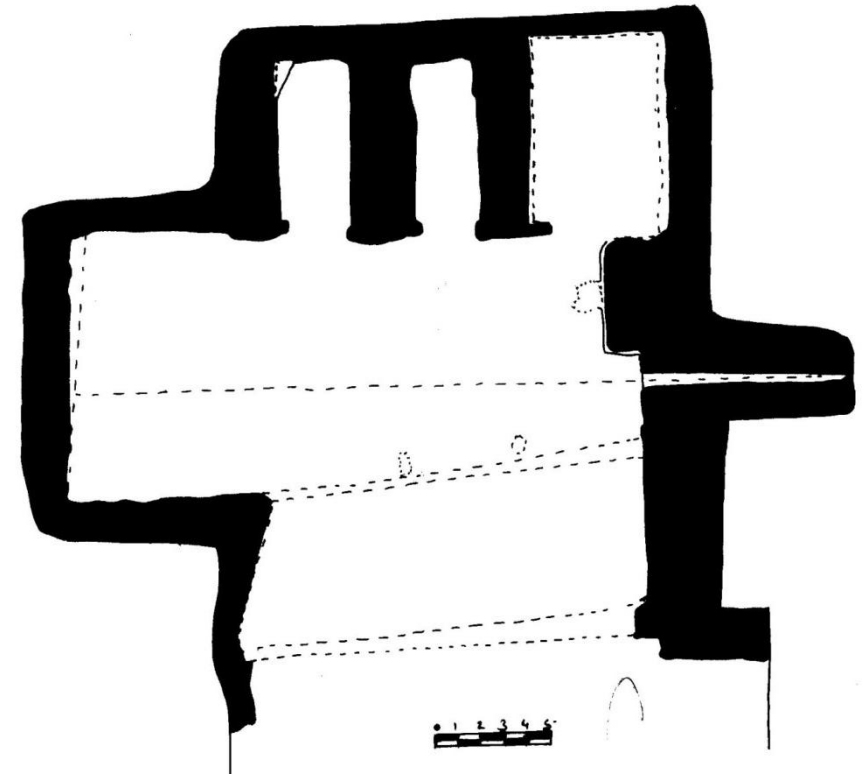
## Cave 11

This cave is very simple. This vihara is entered through a verandah. There are two pillars entrance of the cave. This cave seems to be of early comparatively late date may be an early 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE as suggested by a door type, pillar type and a small court yard, a stair case reconstructed. So, door not gives any clue of about cave.



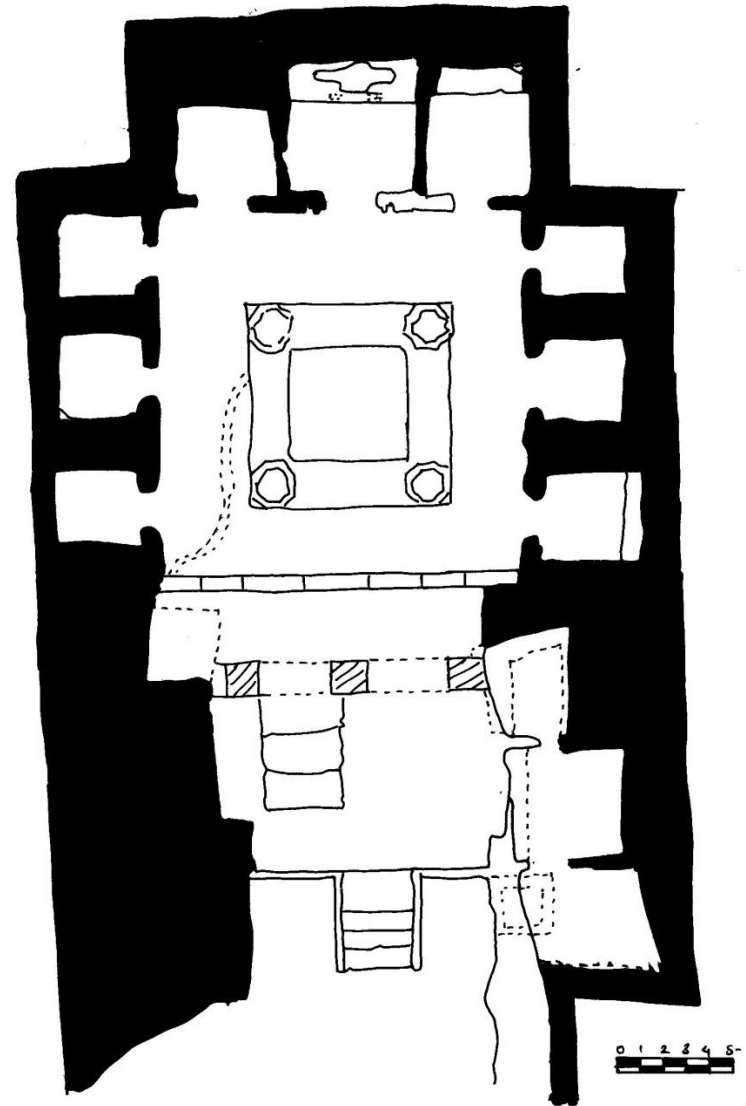
### Cave 12

This is a much ruined cave of possibly Type B ii. It consisted of 3 cells in a line all opening into a hall in front. At present all the front and partition walls of the cells are broken. The hall was about 7.6 m long and appears to have had a niche in the left wall. Inside the hall, in a projected portion just under the ceiling, there is a stretch of vedika design.



### Cave 13, 14

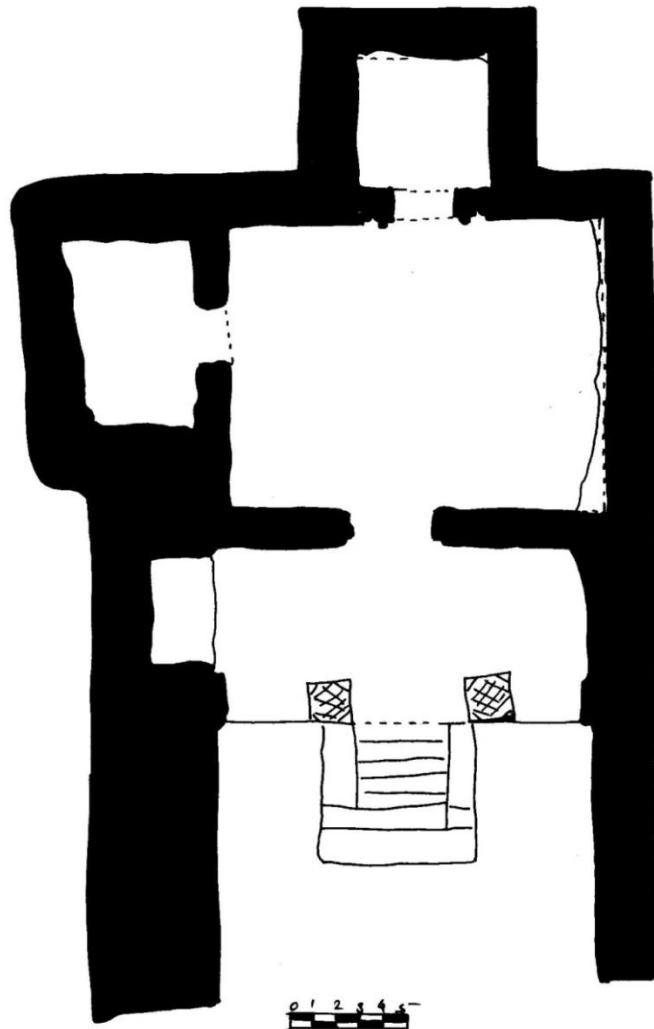
Flight of five steps leads into a enclosed courtyard where a further flight of four steps leads into a pillared verandah. A stone bench is provided on the right side of the courtyard. Courtyard is 6 m in breadth and 3.8 m in depth. The pillars supporting the roof of verandah have circular amalaka pattern capital. There are three entrances into the main hall. The hall is a square of 8.8 m. A raised platform is there in the center of this hall. It is supported on four central pillars. Pillars have round base, then octagonal shaft turning circular going up, topped with amalaka pattern abacus. This raised platform inside the hall allowed space all around the platform. There are total nine cells inside the hall, three on left and right side and two on the back wall on the either side of the shrine. Except the central shine in the back wall, doors of other cells are very plain. There are decorative pattern of chaitya arch can be observe on lalatibimb on three side of the middle cell. Cave 14 is connected in right side wall of the cave 13. There is a cell centre of the back wall of the hall. In hall there are two benches in left and right side of the wall. Back side of the cell there are three benches in left, right and back side of the wall.



## Cave 15

### Cave 15

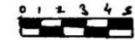
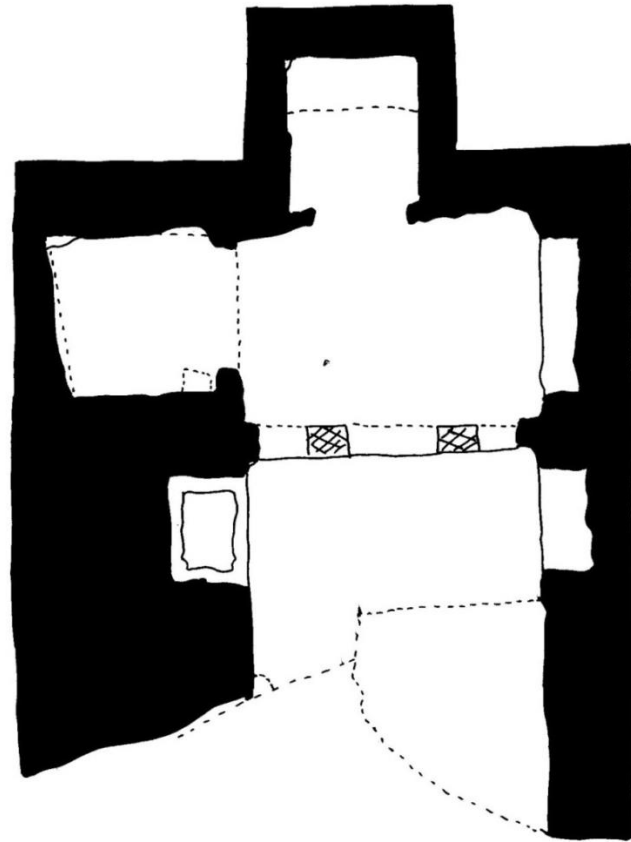
This cave has a verandah supported on two pillars and two pilasters. A single entrance leads into a rectangular hall. There is a cell in center of the back wall of the hall. The door



of the cell is decorated with similar patters seen on other doors at the site. A cell is provided on the left wall of the hall, the right wall is plain without any cell. It has an open court with a cistern in recess along the right site.

## Cave 16

This is Plain cave with a verandah, hall with a shrine. This is a simple cell hall type cave. It has an open court with a cistern in recess along the left wall. The staircase which is a ruined in condition. The rectangular verandah has a bench in recess along the right wall. There are two square pillars in the verandah, one on either side of the entrance. Pilasters are simple and rectangular in shape. Cells are provided on the walls of the verandah. There is one cell on the back side and the second cell is on the left side of wall.



Cave no.16



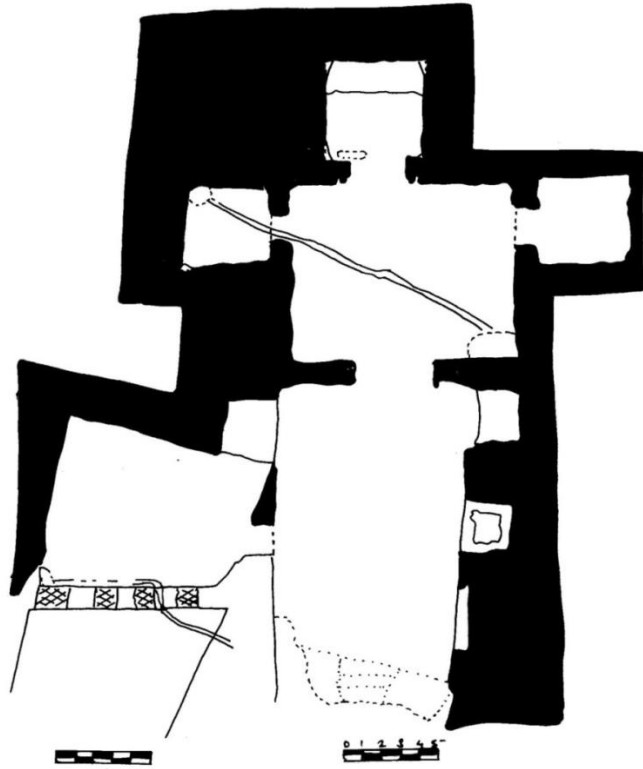
### **Cave 17**

This cave is rectangular in shape. There are four pillars in the entrance and it is connected with cave no. 18. The cave has verandah and rectangular hall.

### **Cave 18**

This cave has Verandah supported on two pillars and two pilasters. Stone benches are provided on left and right walls of the verandah. There is only one entry into the hall. The hall has a cell in its back wall. The door of cell is decorated. The back wall of the cell is probably converted into a Shiva temple by putting or carving a linga there however it has been removed now. There is two cells are provided on the left and right wall of the hall.





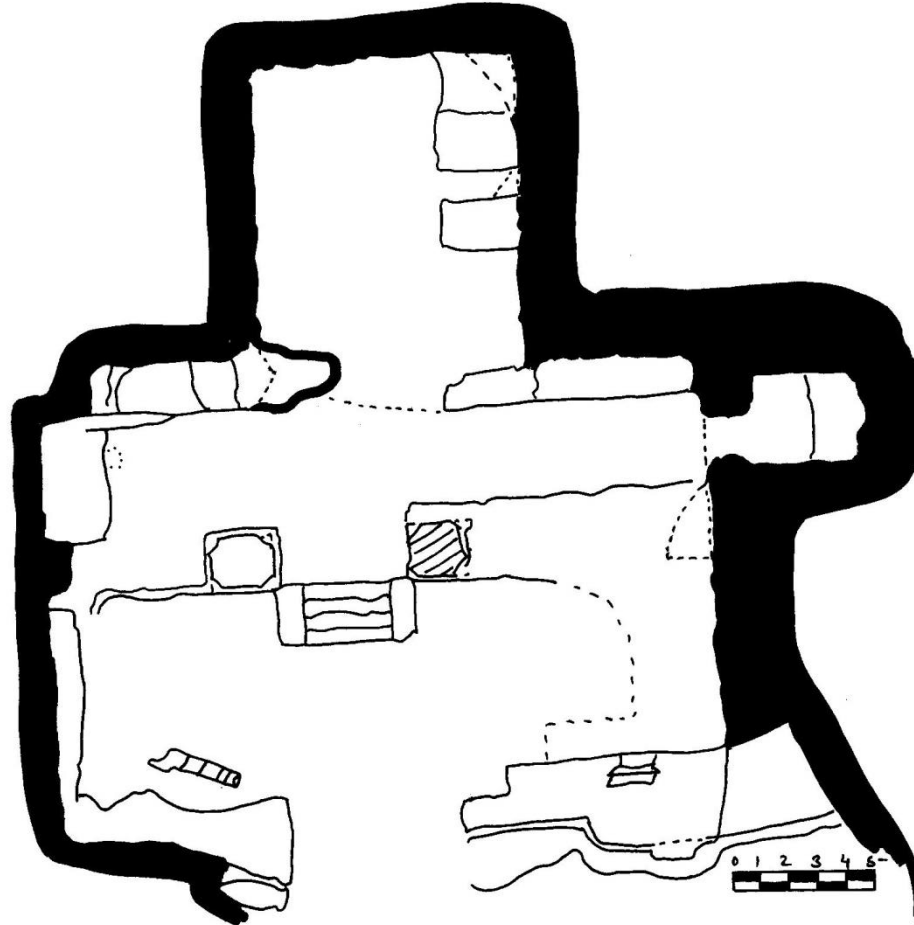
Cave No.17,18

### **Cave 19**

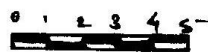
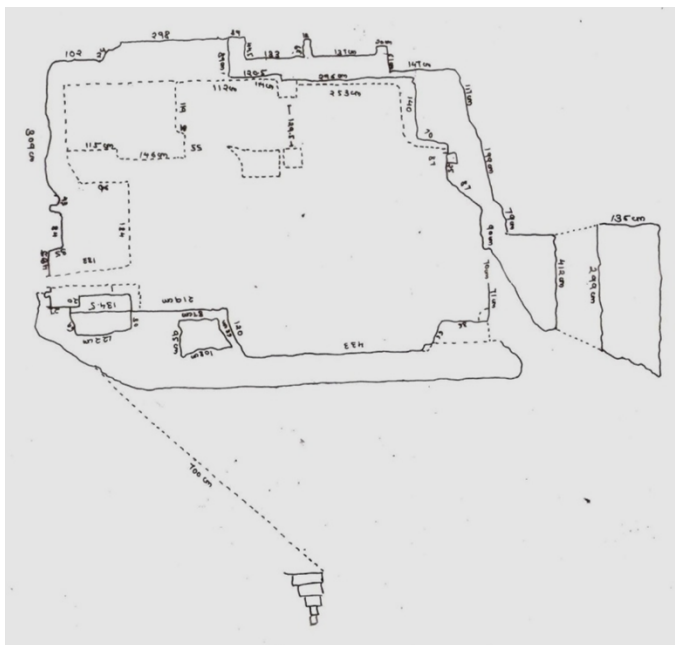
This big excavation has a large verandah supported on two pillars and two pilasters. Cells were provided on the left and

right wall of the verandah. Stone benches were provided on the western wall of the verandah, where, in middle, a door is provided to enter into the hall. The hall has a platform for an icon and a deep niche also to support some statue etc.



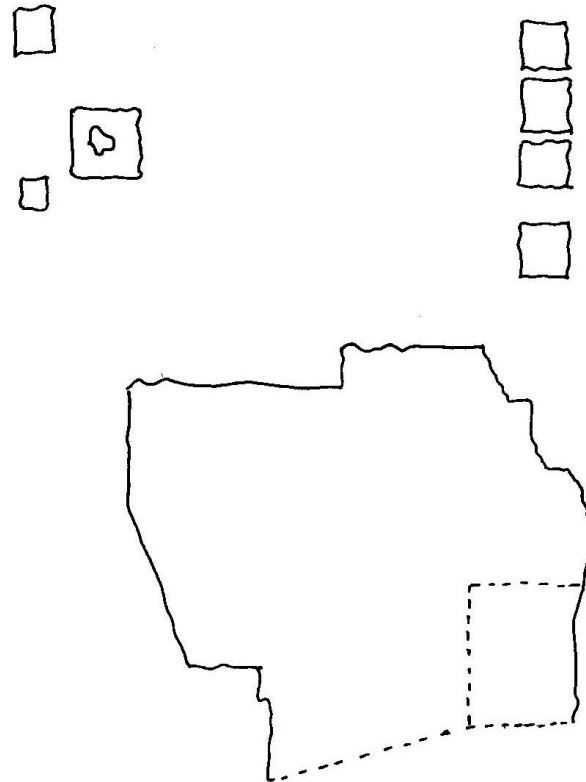


Cave No.19

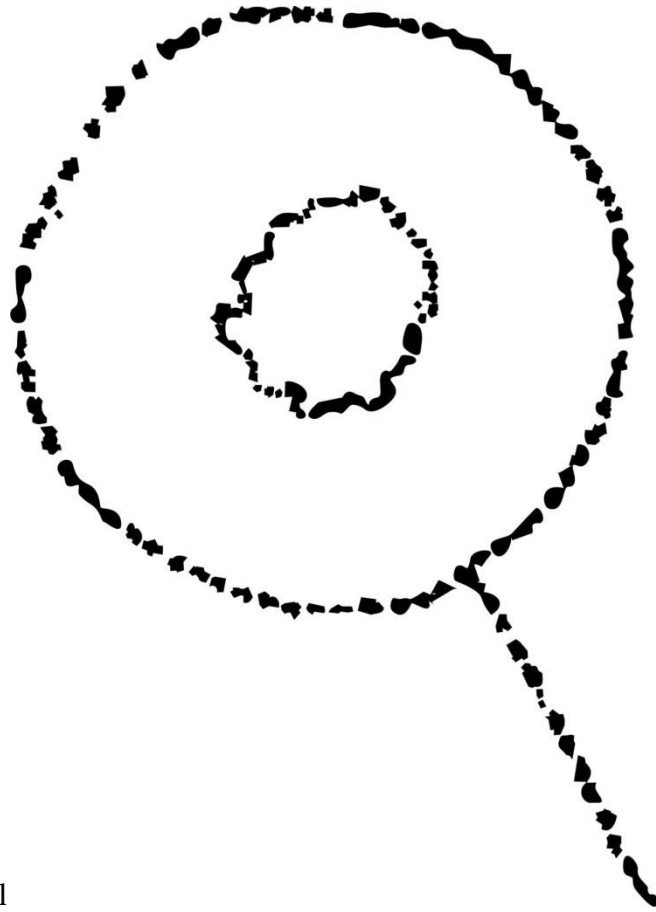


Upper Tank, 1

 Broken parts



Upper Tank, 2



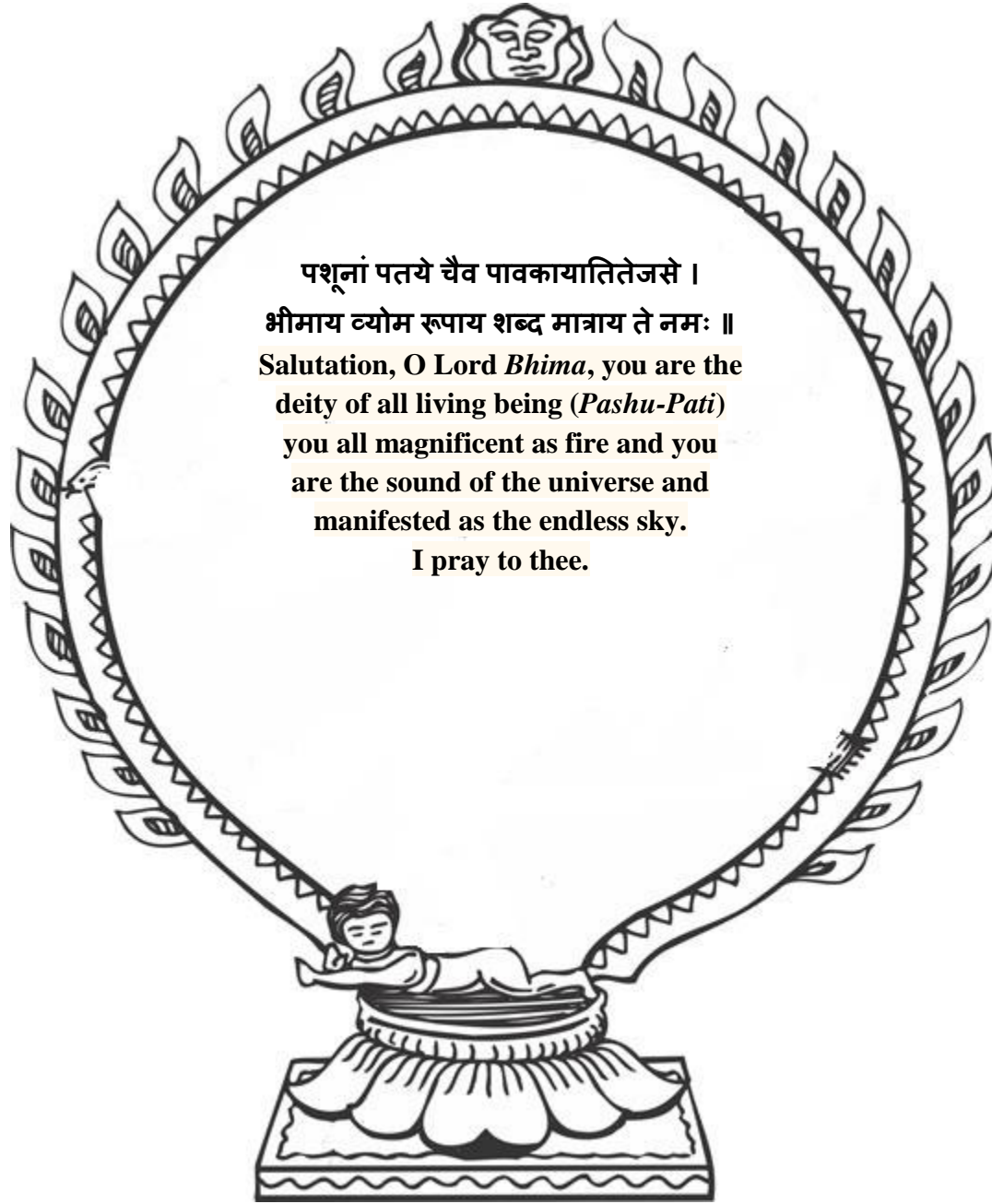
Stupa on the Top of the hill

**Section II**

**The Brahmanical Caves**



**Chapter I**  
**Introduction**



पशूनां पतये चैव पावकायातितेजसे ।  
भीमाय व्योम रूपाय शब्द मात्राय ते नमः ॥  
Salutation, O Lord *Bhima*, you are the  
deity of all living being (*Pashu-Pati*)  
you all magnificent as fire and you  
are the sound of the universe and  
manifested as the endless sky.  
I pray to thee.

### *Śaiva (Pāśupata) Caves*

*Śiva* is worshiped as a popular deity since early times. Scholars opine that we can find evidence of this in the Harappan culture too. *Śiva* meets in *Rigveda* in the form of *Rudra*. After this, there is a great variety of literature available on *Śiva*. Those who worship *Śiva* as *ārādhyā*, they are considered as *Śaiva*. Early *Śiva* Traditions in India mainly consists of *Kashmir Śaiva*, *Pāśupat*, *Kālāmūkha* and *Kāpālik*.

*Śiva* is also known as *Paśupati* ("Lord of *Paśu*"). *Pāśupat*, perhaps the earliest known *Śaiva* sect to worship the lord *Śiva* as the supreme deity. The sect takes its name from *Paśupati*, an epithet of *Śiva* meaning "lord" (*pati*) of "beasts" (*Paśu-s*). *Paśu-s* are more precisely sacrificial or domestic beasts, the males of five species: goats, sheep, horses, cows and, theoretically, humans. The "beasts" are therefore human souls, worshippers regarded as the cattle of the god and fit for sacrifice. It gave rise in turn to numerous sub-sects that flourished in Gujarat and Rajasthan, at least

until the 12<sup>th</sup> century<sup>10</sup>. And it was spread across the entire western India. *Lakuliśa* was the incarnation of *Śiva*, and it is believed that he was the preceptor of the *Pāśupata* philosophy. A popular story in western India gives us the valuable information about *Śiva* in the form of *Lakuliśa*. In this story, *Śiva* indicated that he would enter a dead body and incarnate himself as *Lākulin* (or *Nakulin* or *Lakuliśa*). *Lakuliśa* is known so as he holds *lakula* meaning "club", in his hand as his attribute. Inscriptions from the 10<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries such as *Eklīngaji* stone inscription<sup>11</sup> refer to a teacher named *Lakulin*, whose followers believed him to be an incarnation of *Śiva*.<sup>12</sup> Scholars suggest that, he might have lived sometime between 200 BC and 200 CE. The teachings of *Lakuliśa* are partly preserved in the *Paśupata Sutra*.

*Pāśupat* philosophy has special significance in Western India from the 1<sup>st</sup> century to the 10<sup>th</sup> century CE. This is evinced through art and literature. Rock-cut

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<sup>10</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Pashupata>.

<sup>11</sup> Bhandarkar, D. R.,(1908)."An Eklīngji stone inscription and the origin and history of the Lakulisa sect", *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*: Vol No.22,p. 151-167.

<sup>12</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Pashupata>.



caves of this period can as well present the architecture and art related to this philosophy. *Pāśupata-s* were an ascetic, which partially explains the reasons for choosing caves for their religious practices; Mumbai is the land mark, which provides proofs for the existence of this philosophy of early period in the form of Padan, Jogeshwari, Mandapeshwara and Elephanta caves.

There were inscriptions at a lost site of Padan in Mumbai near village Akurli (Kandivali East) which give us the name of *Kausikeya*.<sup>13</sup> A set of inscriptions here say that ‘The western seat of *Vasaka* mountain’ and ‘Eastern pleasure seat of *Kosikeya*’. Another inscription refers to this hill as ‘The Mountain, the residence of *Siddhas*’. Paleographically all these inscriptions can be dated to late 2<sup>nd</sup> and early 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE. *Kaushika* was one of first the four disciples of *Lakulīśaa*. *Kaushikeya* in this inscription indicate that he can be the follower / disciple of the *Kaushika*. If this is true, then this can be considered as one of the early evidence of *Pāśupat* as in the region.

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<sup>13</sup> Indraji bhagavanlal,(1982). Antiquarian Remains at Sopara and Padana,Bombay

Shaivaites caves at Jogeshwari can be dated to the early to mid 6<sup>th</sup> century CE, while the other Hindu cave temples at Mandapeshwara and Elephanta are of the later date. Both the rock cut temples at Mandapeshwara and at Elephanta (or Gharapuri) are believed to have occurred in the (second half of) 6<sup>th</sup> century CE.<sup>14</sup> These caves continued to being habited up until the late period at least until the 13<sup>th</sup> -14<sup>th</sup> century CE where in a few sculptures and structures were added<sup>15</sup>.All these rock cut temples shade light on religious and cultural history of Mumbai.

Patronage is the support and money given by someone to a person or a group such as a charity<sup>16</sup>. Patronage has various forms, from beliefs, religious purpose to political goals. For every art form to develop and grow require resources, provided none other than patrons. Thus all ancient monuments, architectural and art forms had developed under the patronage either of dynasties or trading communities. Jogeshwari, Elephanta and Mandapeshwara are *Pāśupata* rock cut temples in Mumbai. Innumerable scholars have

<sup>14</sup> Walter, M. Spink (1967). Ajanta To Ellora, Marg Publications, India.

<sup>15</sup> Pandit suraj, (2013). Stories in Stone- Historic Caves of Mumbai, Mumbai.

<sup>16</sup> <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/patronage>.

suggested various theories about patronage of these *Pāśupata* caves.

According James Ferguson (1880) these rock-cut temples must belong to Rashtrakuta period. Another group of prominent scholars like K.V. Rajan (1980), R.S. Gupte (1962), Bramhanad Deshpande (2002) these rock-cut temples belong to Chalukyan period. While scholars like Walter Spink (1972), **George Michell** (2002), **Charles Colin** (1991) have their view that these monuments are of the Kalachuri period.

A number of coins of Kalachuris have been found from Elephanta Island. These coins bear a name of *Kṛīśnaraja*, a Kalachuri King. Kalachuri were the successor of Traikutakas and predecessor to Maurya-s and Chalukya-s of Badami in the region<sup>17</sup>. They had ruled in Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra in 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> century CE. They conquered northern Konkan by the mid of 6<sup>th</sup> century CE, here they succeeded the Traikutakas. *Kṛīśnaraja*'s coins described him as '*Parammaheśwara*' i.e. devotee of *Śiva* ,

and his son *Śankargangā*'s Ujjain grant state that he was devotee of *Pāśupati*<sup>18</sup> since his birth, like his father. Coins of Kalachuri dynasty were also found at Ellora rock cut temples which shows their Patronage at Ellora. According to Walter Spink, rock-cut temples at Mandapeshwara and Jogeshwari might have received Kalachuri Patronage. Since Jogeshwari, Elephanta and Mandapeshwara share the similar architectural plan and iconographic features. But Plan and other architectural features of *Pāśupata* rock cut temples in Mumbai do not match with Chalukyan caves of Badami and Aihole.

### **Philosophical Influence**

Any architectural form is designed as per its usage. In similar way, *Pāśupata* rock-cut temples were created as per the requirements of religious systems followed there. In other words, religious rituals associated with specific tradition get reflected in their architecture. For example, Elephanta caves or Gharapuri, where Gharapuri word is derived from Sanskrit word '*Agrahārapuri*'<sup>19</sup>. *Agrahāra* is a

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<sup>17</sup>Pandit suraj, (2013). Stories in Stone- Historic Caves of Mumbai, Mumbai.

<sup>18</sup>Charles Dillard Collins, (1988). The Iconography and Ritual of Siva at Elephanta, Page No.4-9, Suny Press.

<sup>19</sup> <https://www.sahapedia.org/elephanta-caves-patronage-and-religious-affiliations>

place where priests practice their spiritual and religious traditions. Scholars such as Stella Kramrisch, Collins had also studied the same concept. Mandapeshwara, Jogeshwari and Elephanta are similar in Architectural plan due to same mode of worship. According to Stella Kramrisch<sup>20</sup> and Collins, Architecture of these caves reflects philosophies of Shaivism. *Pāśupat* text of *Siddhānt* describes the process to become a *sādhak* or follower. According to *siddhānt*, *sādhak* can be of any background, need not to be Brahmachari, even married person can become *sādhaka*. In first phase of *sādhak*, common man has to take preaching of sect or *dhikśā*. Following the first phase, second phase includes staying

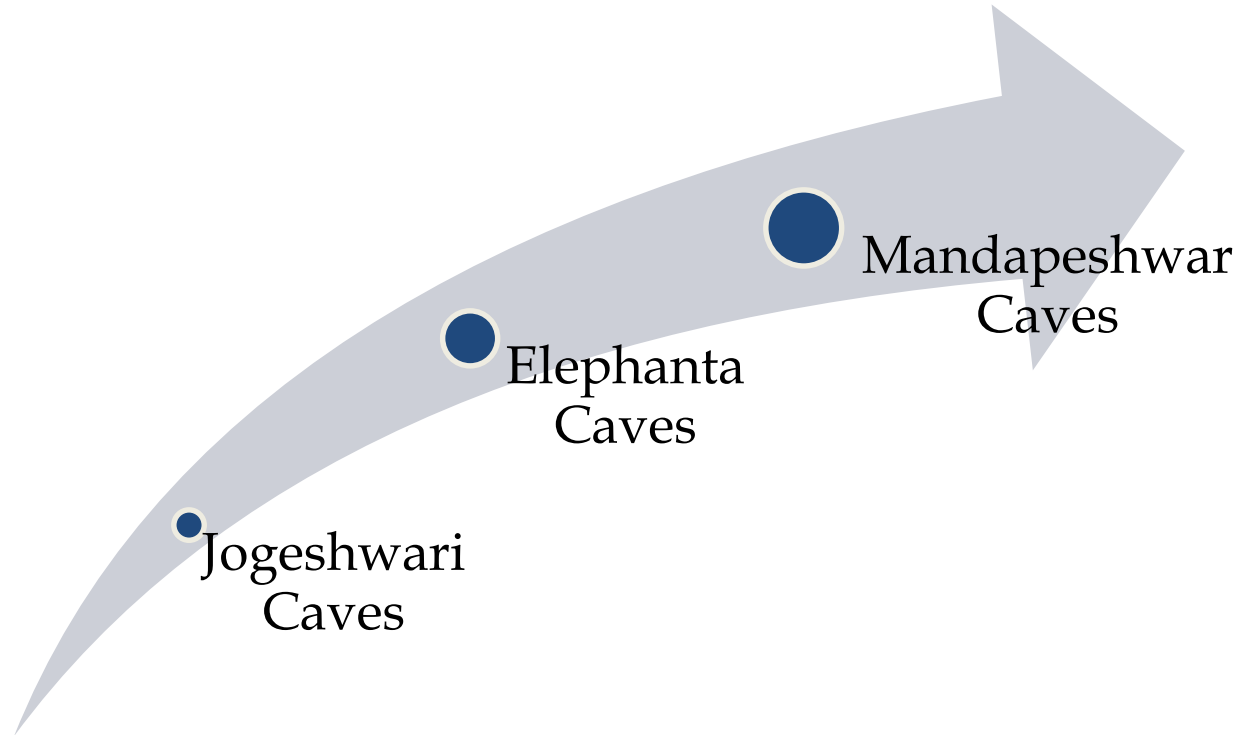
with teacher or *ācharyā* to gain knowledge while staying away from home. The third phase includes residing in *Pāśupat* temple for certain period of time to practice rituals and tradition. In fourth phase, *sādhak* have to live in caves for meditation. In last phase, *sādhak* have to stay on cremation ground to attain *Śiva*. At the main cave of Elephanta *Sadāśiva* form of *Śiva* represents *Pāśupata* philosophy. *Sadāśiv* form of *Śiva* has five faces i.e *Sadyojāta*, *Vāmadeva*, *Aghora*, *Tatpuruṣh* and *Isāna*. All these five faces represent five stages of *Pāśupata* mentioned above<sup>21</sup>.

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<sup>20</sup> Stella Kramrisch,(1988). *The Presence of Siva*. Princeton University Press (Reprint: Motilal Banarsidass). pp. 452–454.

<sup>21</sup> <https://www.sahapedia.org/elephanta-caves-patronage-and-religious-affiliations>

List of *Pāśupata* Caves in MMR





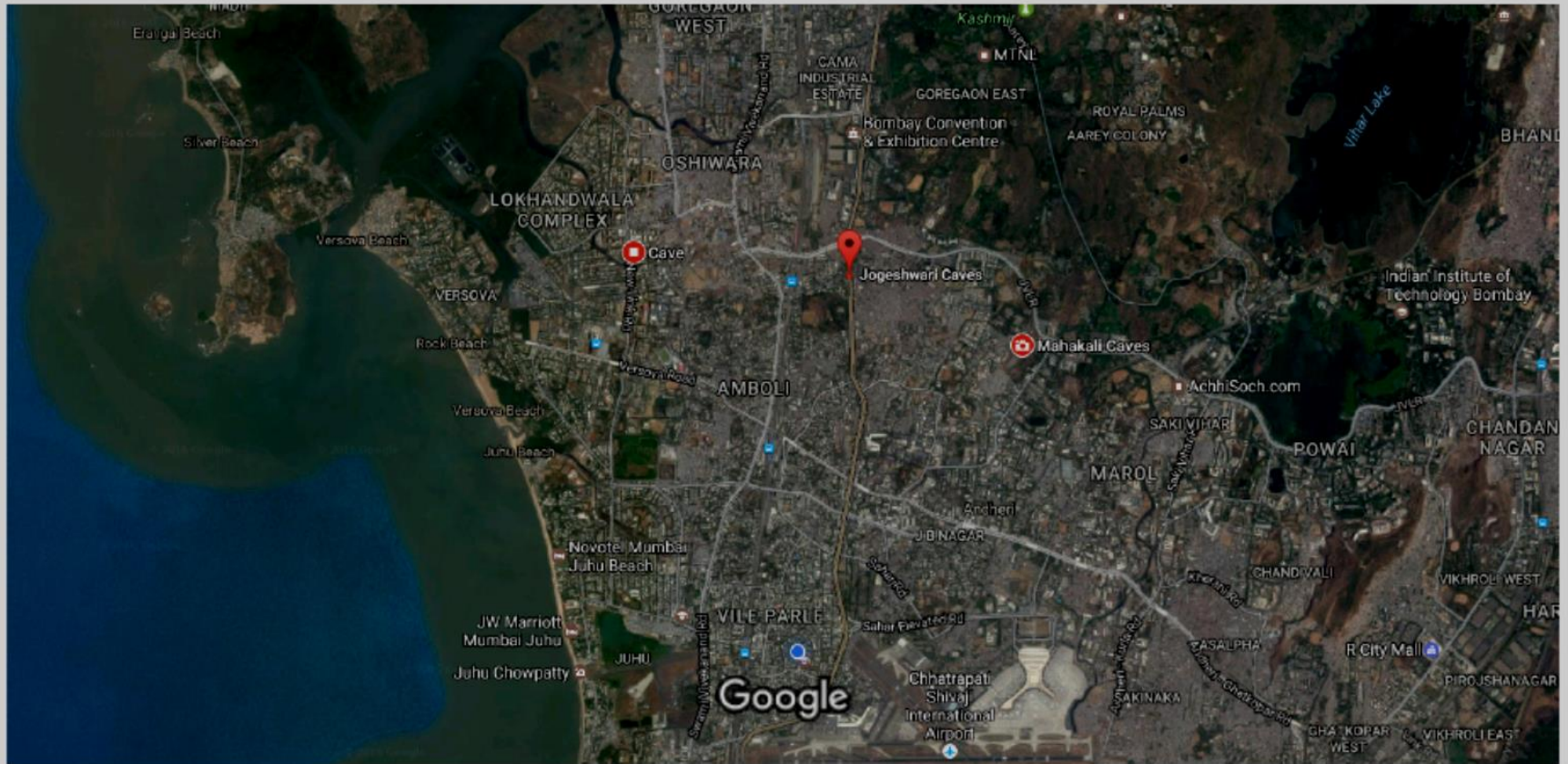
**Map No.1**



**Chapter 2**  
**Jogeshwari Caves**



Google Maps Jogeshwari Caves



Imagery ©2017 DigitalGlobe, TerraMetrics, Data SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, GEBCO, Map data ©2017 Google

1 km

Map No.2

## **Introduction**

Jogeshwari Śaiva rock cut temple complex is located near the junction of Jogeshwari-Vikroli link road on the Western Express highway. The rock cut temple complex can significantly be dated to mid-6<sup>th</sup> century CE. This rock cut temple complex was a Shaiva Pāśupata center in Western India with ample monumental remains associated with Pāśupata cult. Chronologically this is one of the earliest Shaiva rock cut temples in MMR.

This entire area is known after the name of the monument which is a significant cultural center even today. At the time when the foundations of the monastery were being laid down, this site must have been isolated and must have situated on the periphery of the habitational area. These old settlements must have been on the bank of a small river which is now known as OŚivarā nālā. Number of natural lakes and ponds can be seen around this site which helped the growth of population of migrants in the area. This basaltic hill is virtually converted into tunnel-like cave in the mid 6<sup>th</sup> century CE with the help of simple tools like chisels and hammers.

Though today the site is known as temple of goddess Jogeshwari, originally it must have been the temple of lord Śiva. The central shrine had a Śivaliṅga and resembles the shrine at Elephanta in form. This is sarvatobhadra Shrine. This is the only site in MMR occupied by the religious group for more than 1400 years. Even during the Portuguese dominance of the region, the worship at this shrine went on undisturbed. The oral traditions about this shrine also emphasis the faith of devotees, as it being an abode of the lord Yogeśwara and goddess Yogeśwarī.

It is quite possible that this belief has a history of 1400 years. The southern entrance to the main shrine indicates the decoration of a dwārasākhā with motifs of mango fruit and trees. Mango represents the symbol of fertility. The shrine might have had the Mother Goddess, may be in an abstract form. The principal deity must have been Śiva which is on the lintel of western door frame of the main shrine in the form of central figure of Lakuliśa. There is also an evidence of a mukhaliṅga which is present on the lintel of southern door frame. These evidences substantiate the argument that this temple must have belonged to Yogeśwara Śiva or Śiva liṅga was installed in the shrine initially.



Cintra inscription 1137 AD clearly talks about the donation given to the families worshipping lord Śiva and his consort. This 10<sup>th</sup> century inscription is a clear evidence of worship of *Yogeśwar* with his consort in some form or the other at this site. In the later part of early medieval period, during political crisis, the goddess *Yogeśwari* might have gained the superior position. This is stated in *Bimbakhyāna*, which is also popularly known as *Mahikāvati* *Bakhar*. The text talks about a local ruler of Mumbai, who performed some rituals in the presence of this goddess. This period is also known as the period of migration of the Pathare Prabhus and a few other communities from Gujarat and other neighboring region. *Yogeśwari* is a family goddess of many of these families, mainly belonging to the Pathare Prabhu community. Cintra inscription clearly mention about few names belongs to the Pathare Prabhus and other migrated communities. This grant state that “the houses, thirteen in number, of certain persons most probably belongs to the Pathare Prabhu community apparently connected with the temple of the goddess Jogeshwari such as the *mathapati*, the

*pujāri* (worshipper) etc were exempted from the house-tax which was usually levied on houses in North Konkan”. The royal order was issued in the presence of certain officers of the Secretariat of *Shatshasthi*, i.e *Diva karanāyaka*, *Viśnu bhatta sena* and *Mahalu Thākura*<sup>22</sup>

Oral traditions reiterate believe that this community was responsible for the installations and worship of mother goddesses like *Yogeśwarī*, *Ambikā*, *Padmāvati* and a few others. Even in the modern times this community performs their annual rituals which are dedicated to Goddess *Yogeśwarī* in this cave. The present name of Jogeshwari must have been derived from the original *Yogeśwarī*, the goddess and the consort of Śiva the *Yogeśwara*, who resides with him in the sanctum sanatorium.

Due to the association of this shrine as being the abode of the family deity of various families, this rock cut temple must have been functioning even during the period of religious intolerance under the Portuguese rule.

**Location:**

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<sup>22</sup> Mirashi, V.V (1977). Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum vol. VI, page 127-130, New Delhi.

Jogeshwari caves are located in Pratap Nagar amongst the residential blocks of Jogeshwari region of Mumbai just at a distance of about a kilometer from the Jogeshwari railway station in a thickly populated surrounding. These caves were also referred as Amboli caves by many scholars such as J M Campbell & J Burgess as the caves were lying within the limits of Amboli village. Because of high density of population, these caves are under the constant threat of encroachment.

### **Early references**

#### **Hector Macneil<sup>23</sup>**

Macneil mentioned that the entrance to the cave of Ambola is neither dignified with the objects that present themselves on your first approach to the caves of Cannara, nor beautified by the romantic scenes that surround them. The main cave is perfect square of 90 feet, adorned with twenty pillars which support the roof 15 feet from the walls,

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<sup>23</sup> Hector Macneil, (1783). "An Account of the cave of cannara, ambola, and elephanta, in the East Indies: in a letter from hector macneil, Esq. (then at Bombay) to a friend in a letter from Hector Macneil, Esq. (then at Bombay) to a friend in England: dated 1783," *Archaeologia: or, Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity* 8:270,273-74,277,279.

and consequently form another square of 25 feet within colonnade.

He described many sculptures of the cave, however as he did not have any hint of Hindu iconography, hence it was not much useful except his eye-witness account. About the *Śiva-Pārvatī* dice game sculpture, he writes that the sculptor indeed seems to have excelled himself in the execution of this which in ease, attitude and symmetry would not perhaps disgrace the genius of Michael Angelo. The large *Ganeśa* image in the eastern extreme cave here was still in worship during his visit. He referred the image as the image of Swami worshiped by Hindus and was smeared over in red color.

#### **William Hunter<sup>24</sup>**

He referred the caves as Ambola caves. He mentions that the main entrance was from west where an arch was formed due to a fallen tree. From this entrance, there is an open passage of 30 feet long leading to a high entrance. Most of the sculptures he saw were very much defaced already. He

<sup>24</sup> Dr. William Hunter,(1784). "An Account of some Artificial Caverns in the Neighbourhood of Bombay: Read July 1, 1784." *Archaeologia: or, Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity* 7:287-88,290-95.

mentioned that the main shrine inside the cave was under worship. On leaving the cave, Macneil writes, 'Time, or perhaps some bad quality stone, has rendered it now but the skeleton of its former grandeur; and though we view with astonishment such stupendous monuments of antiquity, we still retire with a sigh, impress with the folly of human pride, and the instability of all its boasted greatness'.

### **George Valentia**<sup>25</sup>

Valentia in company of Mr. Salt visited this cave which Anquetil du Perron has described as Djegueseri. He mentions that most of the sculptures were much decayed and had very unpleasant appearance. The central shrine inside the main hall had a *lingam* which suggests that the cave was dedicated to Mahadeo.

### **Henry Salt**<sup>26</sup>

Salt's paper included the plan and drawings furnished by Major Atkins of the Bombay establishment. He referred the caves as Jogheyseer near the village of Ambollee. His

approach was via a Banyan tree which formed a natural arch. This at present is the main approach to the cave temple. He mentions that though the main entrance was on the west side but in the past the eastern entrance would have been used as the main entrance. He tells that the figures in the chambers of the western entrance were almost decayed by that time. After Salt, the caves were mentioned in the Bombay Gazetteer compiled by J M Campbell. The description was mostly drawn from Salt's narrative but improved with eye-witness account of Campbell. Walter Spink visited this cave in 1960s and recalls an unofficial dump just above the cave and squatters livings in niches inside. He tells that this cave is the transitional state which connects the Buddhist caves of Ajanta to the Hindu caves of Elephanta.

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<sup>25</sup> Valentia, George Viscount, (1809). *Voyages and Travels* Vol. 1, London.

<sup>26</sup> Henry Salt, (1806). *The account of the cave Salsette*, The Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, Asiatic society of Bombay, Bombay.



### Architectural Description:

Jogeshwari is the Hindu rock cut temple which has been considered as the third largest *Pāśupata* cave in the series of western Indian rock cut architecture. This cave has two entrances, one from east and the other west. The eastern entrance is the main entrance as we can observe same pattern in other temples. Basically eastern entrance provides entry to the rock cut temple and western entrance provides exit from the cave, but unfortunately eastern entrance is close now because of debris and wastes of local encroachment.

When we enter in the rock cut temple through the eastern way, we could observe a water tank in the right wall, after passing the steps we reach to 1st entrance door. Here we can observe simple *dwāraśākhā* (decoration on bracket of door) around the door and there is a sculpture of *Rāvanānugraha Murtī* which is in very deteriorated condition found at the top of the door.

K. V. Sundarajan gave detail description on *Rāvanānugraha Murtī*. According to him “The scene of *Rāvanānugraha* depicted within the *toraṇa* enclosures is that of *Kailasa* with *Śiva* and *Pārvati* seated, *Pārvati* rather partially reclining upon *Śiva* seated towards her right with

her legs flexed backwards in a typically feminine posture and with her face and body turned towards *Śiva*. *Śiva* is seated in *sukhasana* pose, left leg flexed vertically and feet placed upon the seat. He is surrounded by attendants and in addition by *Ganeśa* shown in a squatting position with both legs flexed horizontally and meeting each other. He is found on the proper right extremity. Obviously there is another figure of *Kārtikeya* whose exact position is not visible owing to the badly worn out character of the rock. Below the seat in the lower zone is *Rāvana* kneeling down with left leg flexed backwards and right leg acutely folded and kept towards the front, all his twenty hands and ten heads straining to lift *Kailāśa* by inserting his body into a cavern in it. On the other side are shown *bhuta-ganas* of whom *Naṇḍi* also could be seen with a *dānda* in his hand and with *udaremukha*. Two *dvārapālas* one on either end with their own dwarf attendants on their outer flank are also seen. These *dvārapālās* are two-armed, one arm in *kati* and the other probably in *vismaya-hasta*. The figure shown inside the lotus medallion of the barge-roof is a gana in the posture of hovering in the air with the garland held by his two hands. The outer edge of this barge-roof is vertically chamfered

both outside and on its rear thickness in order to show the limits of the cornice. The figure shown inside the lotus medallion of the barge-roof is a *gana* in the posture of hovering in the air with the garland held by his two hands. The outer edge of this barge-roof is vertically chamfered both outside and on its rear thickness in order to show the limits of the cornice<sup>27</sup>.

Entering in the door of *Rāvanānugraha Murtī*, we reach in a vertical rectangular hall. In this hall there are two cells at right and left wall which contains some of the sculpture. There are four pillars provided at the entrance of the right and left cells. In the right cell we can observe sculptures of *Ganeśa*, *Kārtikeya* and *Bhairava* on the wall. *Ganeśa* has been depicted on center of the wall and between *Bhairava* and *Kārtikeya*. The image of *Ganeśa* is still under worship by local people. Panel of *Saptamartukās* is placed in the left pillared corridor, which is highly eroded. This passage can be approached by a small flight of steps.

The verandah leads to the open courtyard, where scattered damaged sculptures and stone boulders can be seen. Not far from this open rock cut path, is a place where probably 'Cintra inscription' was once placed. Today the place is marked by a stone carved with an image of a cow and calf. This open court takes us to another rock cut entrance. Through this courtyard we reach to another door. A rock cut passage leading to the southern open court of the cave begins from the left corner of this court. The main door to the rock cut temple has highly ornamented *dwāraśākhā* with *dwārpāls* and attendants at the lower left and right corner. The *lalātabiṃba* is decorated with the panel of *Nateśa*. Entering this door, we can reach the huge hall, this hall also contains the two pillared verandahs at right and left but the entry in these areas are prohibited for travelers, visitors, locals. There are two subsidiary entrances from these verandahs to the main hall. There are three important sculptural panels at the entrance of the *mandapa* carved above the entrance. These are of *Lakuliś*, *Akśakridā*, and

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<sup>27</sup> SoundaraRajan, K V (1981). Cave Temples of the Deccan, 129-134, Archaeological Society of India. New Delhi.

*Kalyānsudaram* K.V Sundararajan<sup>28</sup> gave the detail description of these panels:

### ***Lakuliśa***

The central panel of *Lakuliśa* shows him seated in *padmāsana*, two arms, left arm holding the *lakuda* with clubbed end by its handle and with right hand raised almost upto the breast and having an *akśamāla*. The *urdhvamedhra* is not emphasized. The four disciples are shown as ranged two on each side, the upper in each pair showing an aged ascetic with *jatābhāra*, side whiskers and beards and a face representing concentration in what has been expounded by *Lakuliśa*. The two lower figures on the other hand show two young disciples with the hair combed behind and with *yajnopavita*, seated in the *utkutika* posture. The hands are in *anjali* while the hands of the older ascetic are resting on the *danda*.

Above the *makara* on either side of this *Lakuliśa* panel are shown the figures of female attendants of which one is

very tall in the center on each side while two more to their sides are shorter and a fourth pair is shown as *vidyādhari*, hovering in the air almost horizontal body posture carrying a garland. The attendants are carrying platters with *puja-samagri*, while the main female attendant is herself having her outer arm on the hip or dangling, while the right arm is holding a pot<sup>29</sup>.

### ***Kalyānsudaram:***

The panel above the southern *dvārapāla* shows the scene of *Śiva*'s marriage with *Pārvatī*, *Śiva* is shown to the proper left of centre, two-armed, left arm on the hip and right arm clasping a palm of *Pārvatī* by placing his above hers. *Pārvatī* is standing to the right of the *Śiva* with body partially turned towards Him with the left hand flexed up across her body with the fingers under the chin. *Siva* is wearing a *yajnopavita*, a loin cloth and a *kativāstra*. To the right of *Parvatī* seated is *Brahma*, which is attending to the ritual of *homa* with the sacrificial fire before him, with the right arm

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<sup>28</sup>SoundaraRajan,K.V,(1981).Cave Temples of the Deccan,129-134,Archaeological Society of India. New Delhi.

<sup>29</sup> SoundaraRajan, K.V, (1981).Cave Temples of the Deccan, 129-134, Archaeological Society of India. New Delhi.

in the act of throwing *havir* into the fire and with the left arm counting the *rik* or the hymns. To the left of Siva, are found two figures, one taller and the other shorter, the taller being perhaps *Himavān* and the shorter perhaps being *Maināk*, his wife and the mother of *Parvatī*. However, on the analogy of the identical sculptures carved both at Elephanta and at Dhumarlena, Ellora, and by many other attendant sculptures, it may perhaps be more plausibly taken the taller one of the two *pratiharas*, the other actually being shown on the opposite side with *chamara*.

The shorter one on the side of *Parvatī*, who is a female, is obviously a female attendant, although instead of being shown on the side of *Parvatī*, as in other places, she is shown on *Śiva*'s side. *Himāvan* is carrying what it appears to be a fruit or a pot containing the sacrificial waters to confirm *panigrahana*, while Mena is looking up at *Śiva*, of the two upper arms of *Śiva*, the extant left arm is carrying *nāga*. There are subsidiary of at least four *ganās*, one to the left and three to the right, in addition to an outermost right side figure standing in full height of the panel, apparently two-armed

and holding some object in his hands appearing to be *chamara* with a twisted grip part<sup>30</sup>.

### *Aksakridā*

The other panel over the northern *dvārapāla* shows the scene of *Śiva* playing dice or *aksakridā* with *Pārvatī*. It shows Siva to the proper right end, four-armed, the upper right arm holding *triśula* which along with his hand is having a curled *nāga* spreading its hood to the right shoulder of *Śiva*, the left upper palm supporting itself by holding the right horn of *Nāṇḍi* shown behind *Śiva*, the lower right arm spreading out his fingers in his hand in the act of showing her that he has won, while the upper left arm is pulling *Parvatī*'s *uttariya* or *stanavastra* in order to stop her from getting away.

He is seated in a *sukhasana* posture left leg horizontally flexed and the foot resting upon the lower part of the seat. In between *Śiva* and *Parvatī* is kept the dice board. *Parvatī* is shown seated in cross-legged posture but inclined to turn

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<sup>30</sup>SoundaraRajan, K V (1981).Cave Temples of the Deccan, 129-134, Archaeological Society of India. New Delhi.



away abruptly from the game; with her own left hand is being supported by a female attendant nearby. The facial expression of Siva, his body posture and that of *Parvatī*, all show a highly realistic and intimate portrayal of this scene of a mild domestic rupture. There are surrounding attendants of whom two are female, one close to *Parvatī* and the other just above her holding a *chamara*, while of the remaining two, one is gana carrying a garland in his hands and shown above *Parvatī* and the other is what appears to be a *dvārapāla* with a staff or *triśula* in his left hand, body in *abhāṅga* with her right arm finger in *suchihasta*.

This *dvārapāla* corresponds to the other figure shown at the extreme south- end of the southern panel. The lady holding a *chamara* is supporting herself by extending her right arm behind the gana above *Parvatī* and holding the left horn of *Naṇḍi*<sup>31</sup>. Here observe huge sculptures of *dwārpālas* with *āyudhā* and sculptures of *kinnars*.

This entrance provides direct entry to the main hall of the cave. The main hall of the cave contains the *sarvotobhatrā*

*garbhāgruha* (sanctum), this sanctum is situated on the square platform, steps have been provided at the platform from three sides. The northern staircase seems to be unfinished. Goddess *Jogeshvari* has been worshipped in this sanctum. The central deity of in the sanctum initially was *Śiva* as *Jogeśwar* or *Yogeśwar* but in later period even the goddess was accommodated in the same sanctum. All entrances of the sanctum are highly ornamented, eastern entrance of sanctum displays beautiful the sculptures of dwarf, northern contain *dwāraśākhā* with mangoes, and sculpture of *Lakuliśa* on *lalātbimba* of western entrance. At the south of sanctum, there are three doors opening in pillared porch. The wall in the verandah is decorated with sculptural panels of *Mahīśasurmardīnī* and *Aṇḍhakaśuranugrahamurtī*, placed above the window. As K.V.Sundararajan describes, *Durgā Mahīśasurmardīnī* is practically worn-out excepting for patches showing the upper part of her body and one of her upper right arms and another of her left arms holding the mouth of the buffalo-faced demon and her right leg flexed and resting upon the

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<sup>31</sup> Soundara Rajan, K V (1981).Cave Temples of the Deccan, 129-134, Archaeological Society of India. New Delhi.

body of the demon. Of the other features preserved, significant would be the two animals on the two upper corners of which the one to the proper left undoubtedly is the lion, while the other to the proper right is most probably a deer<sup>32</sup>.

In this porch a fragmentary Brahmi inscription is seen. This has been deciphering as ' गहपट्टिकराज<sup>33</sup>'. Only this word is legible in the present condition. There is an unfinished cave opposite to the porch in the southern court. There is one *Śiva* temple next to this unfinished cave. Next to the *Śiva* temple there is small cell which is closed by ASI.

From door of the porch which is located in front of the *Śiva* temple provides way to the main *mandapa*. At the western wall of main cave provided entrance to the small hall. Both sides have small cell; right side of cell contains the image of *Lakuliśa*.

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<sup>32</sup> Soundara Rajan, K V (1981).Cave Temples of the Deccan,129-134, Archaeological Society of India. New Delhi.

<sup>33</sup> Dev, S.B, (1984). Maharashtra va gove shilalekh tamrapatanchi varnanatmak sandharbh suchi , Page No. 173,Kolhapur.

Basically this cave is one storied cave the access of upper cave available from the outside, now day's upper cave is worshiped as the Datta Mandir.

### **Inscriptional Record**

Cintra stone inscription of *Aparadityā I* (*Śaka* year 1059), now preserved at Cintra near Lisbon in Portugal, in Penha Verde i. e Green Rock, which, in the first half of the sixteenth century, had been the country seat (quinta in Portuguese) of the Indo-Portuguese Viceroy Don Joan de Castro. The original find-spot of this inscribed stone is not known, but from the contents of the record on it, it seems likely that it was in the vicinity of the Jogeshvari caves. The inscription was first edited by Dr .E. Hultzsch with a transcript and a translation of the first fifteen lines, but without any facsimile in the Festgabe Hermann Jacobi, page 189 a photographic representation of the inscription was later published in *Asia Major* (1926).<sup>34</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Mirashi, V.V (1977). Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum vol. VI, page 127-130,New Delhi.

The inscribed stone bears at the top the symbols of the sun and the moon and at the bottom the representation of the ass-curse as on several inscribed stones of the Shilahara period. The inscription consists of twenty-two lines written in the *Nāgari* alphabet, but Hultsch could give the reading of the first fifteen lines only. Mirashi have added that of the remaining lines.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Shilahara king *Aparadityā* who bears here the usual titles assumed by the Shilahara kings of North Konkan, including *Paschimasamudradhipati* 'the Lord of the Western Ocean' it will be evident that he is the first Shilahara king of that name. Apart from the name of Shilahara king the inscription mentions some loyal officers:

- The *Mahāmātya Srimāli Khētaya Thākura*
- The *Mahāsāndhivigrahika Śrī-Amuka*,
- Senior Treasury Officer *Śrī -Lakshmanēyaprabu*
- The Junior Treasury Officer *Śrī -Amuka*

The inscription or grant was made by the King on the twelfth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Chaitra* in the *śaka* year

1059, the cyclic year being *Pingala*'. This grant state that "the houses, thirteen in number, of certain persons apparently connected with the temple of the goddess Jogeshwari such as the *mathapati*, the *pujāri* (worshipper) etc were exempted from the house-tax which was usually levied on houses in North Konkan". The royal order was issued in the presence of certain officers of the Secretariat of *Śatsasthi*, i.e *Diva karanāyaka*, *Viśnu bhatta sena* and *Mahalu Thākura*<sup>35</sup>

Text

शक संवत् ( त् ) १०५९ पिंगलसंवत्सरे चै -

त्रशुद्ध १२ पूर्व अद्येह समधिगताशेष -

पंचमहाश[ब्द] महासामंताधिपतीत[ग] रपुरपरमेश्वरश्रीसि(शि)

लाहा-

रनरै[द्र]जीमूतवाहनांन्वयप्रसूतसुवर्णगरुडध्वजाभिमानमहोदधि

पश्चि -

<sup>35</sup> Mirashi, V.V (1977). Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum vol. VI, page 127-130, New Delhi.

मसमुद्राद्धि( धि)पतित्यागजगङ्गं (जङ्गं)

पङ्गंपडाचार्यशरणागतवज्रपंजरेत्यादिस -

मस्तराजावलीविराजितमहामंडलेश्वराधिपतिश्रीमदपरादित्यादेव

कल्या -

णविजयराज्ये तथैतत्प्रसादाव्या (वा) प्तसमस्तमंडलचिंताभारं

समुद्भवति महामा -

त्यश्रीमालीखेतयठाकूरमहासंधिविग्रही (हि) कश्रीअ [मु]क

श्रीकरणभांडागारे प्र-

थमच्छेपाटीमहाप्रदा ( धा) नश्रीलक्षणयप्रभुः

द्वितीयच्छेपाटीश्रीअमुक इ -

त्यादिश्रीकरण (णे) सत्येतस्मिन्काले प्रवर्तमानेसति [ अ

]णितपल्लाविष -

यान्त स्थितदेणकबाहय[ग]त श्रीअपरादित्यदेवे श्रीपुरिग्राम -

नाईवा[स]मे षट्षष्ठी देणकसाभ्यन्तरकृत षट् षष्ठीकरणे नियु -

क्तठादि दिवाकरनायकविष्णुभट्टसेनमहलूठाकूरस्य वर्त माने

इह ( भू) मिदेणनिर्मुक्तौ गृहे ( हाणि ) गृहविकर श्रीजोगे(श्व)रि (

री ) देव्या ( वी )-

सक्त ( त्क ) मठपतीगृह तथा लिंगपूजिपूजारीगृह भट्टेवलगृह

मा -

लीगृह [उ] तरी गृह[कु] म्भारगृह आरतीगृह माचला गृहे गा --

[ सा ] म गृहे [ प ] रकीगृह वासिकागृह उभष्ट सत्कौ गृहे

अत्रत्या सतति क्षितीसमये श्रीअपरादित्यदेव अत्यक निरुपित

प्रदत्त

साधक इअ स्थाने (?) जोगदेव आष्टक तथा महलूठाकू [रु ]

अम्भयासुत

त्येवं सत्यपि .. जो चाली चालविवो च वावमदभुवाजलपात्रे सांघ -

कंकिवय..स्थान ( ने ) पट्ट किलठा ... निक्षिप्तां ( प्तम् ) (I \* )....

मंगलं महाश्री [ : I

### Translation

(Line 1)—In the Śaka year 1059 {and} the (cyclic) year *Piṅgala*, on the 12th (*tithi*) of the bright fortnight of *Chaitra*— today, on the aforementioned (*tithi*) , here— In

the beneficial and victorious reign of the illustrious *Aparādityadēva* (I), the *Mahāmandalēsvarādhipati*, who is adorned with all royal titles such as the *Mahāsāmantādhipati*, '(he) who has obtained the five *mahāśabdās*, 'the sovereign lord the City of *Tagara*', 'the illustrious *śilāhāra* king', ' (he) who is born in the family of *Jīmūtavāhana*', (he) who has the banner of the Golden Eagle', 'the great ocean of pride', 'the lord of the Western Ocean', 'a veritable

*Jhampadāchātna*. Who excels the world in charity, 'an adamantine cage [for the protection) of those who seek refuge'—

(Line 7)—And while the Government, consisting of the *Mahāmātya*, the illustrious *Mālikhētaya thākura* the *Mahāsāndhivigrāika*, the illustrious *Amuka*, and the Senior Officer of the Government Treasury, the *Mahāpradhāna*, the illustrious *Lakshmaṇēyaprabhu* the junior Officer, the illustrious *Amuka* and others, is beaming the burden of the cares of administering the whole *mandala* obtained by his favour—at such a time—

(Line 10)—The illustrious *Aparādityadēva* encamped outside *Dēnaka* comprised In the *vishaya* of *Anītapallā*, (has

granted) exemption from the house tax of (the following) 13 houses In the presence of the officer *Divākaranāyaka*, *Viśnu bhattasēna*, (and) *Mahalū Thākura* employed in the secretariat of *Śeaṣasṭi* in (the division of) *Dēnaka-66* in regard to the village *Śrīpurī*—the names of the houses being as follows—one house of the owner of the *matha* of the holy goddess *Jōgēsvarī* also one house of the worshipper of the *Līṅga*, one house of *Bhuttēvala*, one house to the north of the house of the gardener, one house of the potter, one house of the *Āratī*, one house of *Māchalā*, two houses of *Gāsāma*, one house of *Parakī*, one house of *Vāsikāia*, two(?) houses of *Ubhashta*

(Line 18)— Here, on the occasion of this land (grant), the illustrious *Aparādityadēva* has appointed the following trustees for this grant— (viz ) *Jōgadēva Āshthaka*, *Mahalū Thūkura*, the son of *Ambhayā*, They should continue this (exemption) and get it continued {The document) has been deposited with the *Pattakila* May there be happiness and great prosperity"



(After Mirashi, 1977)

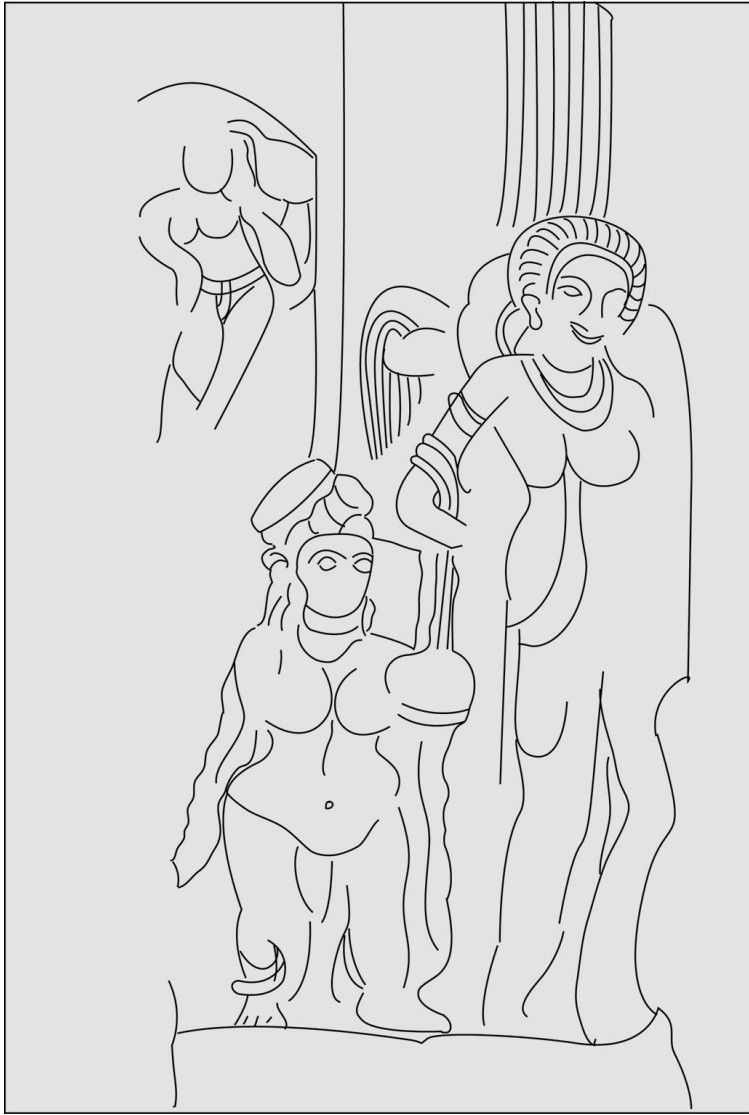
CINTRA STONE INSCRIPTION OF APARĀDITYA I ŚAKA YEAR 1059



(After Mirashi, 1977)

**Trace images of sculptures of Jogeshwari caves**





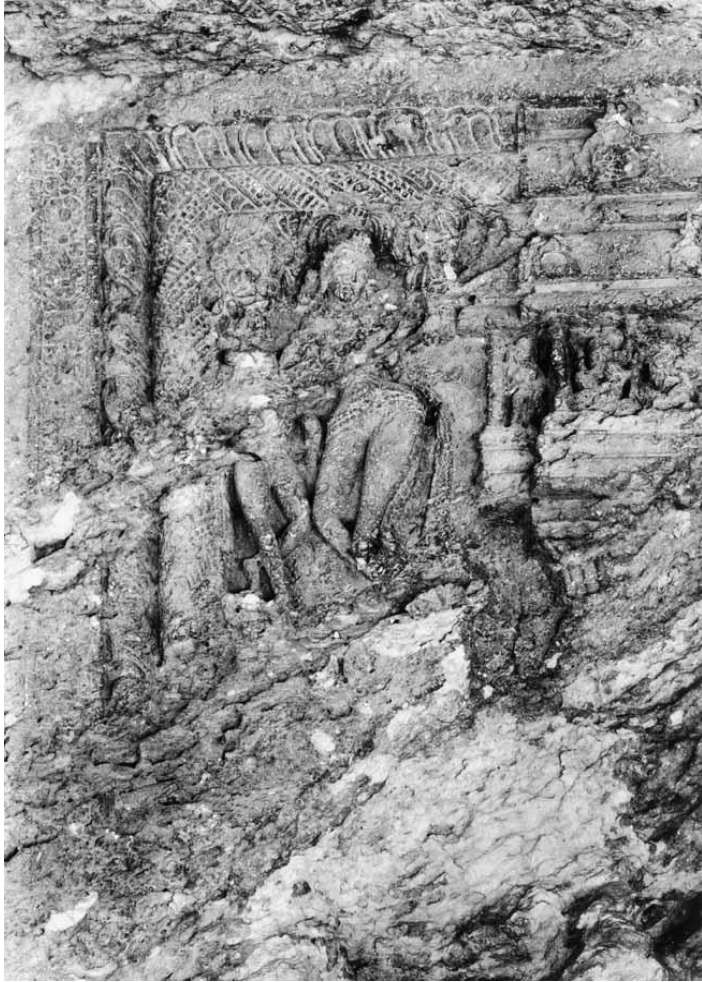




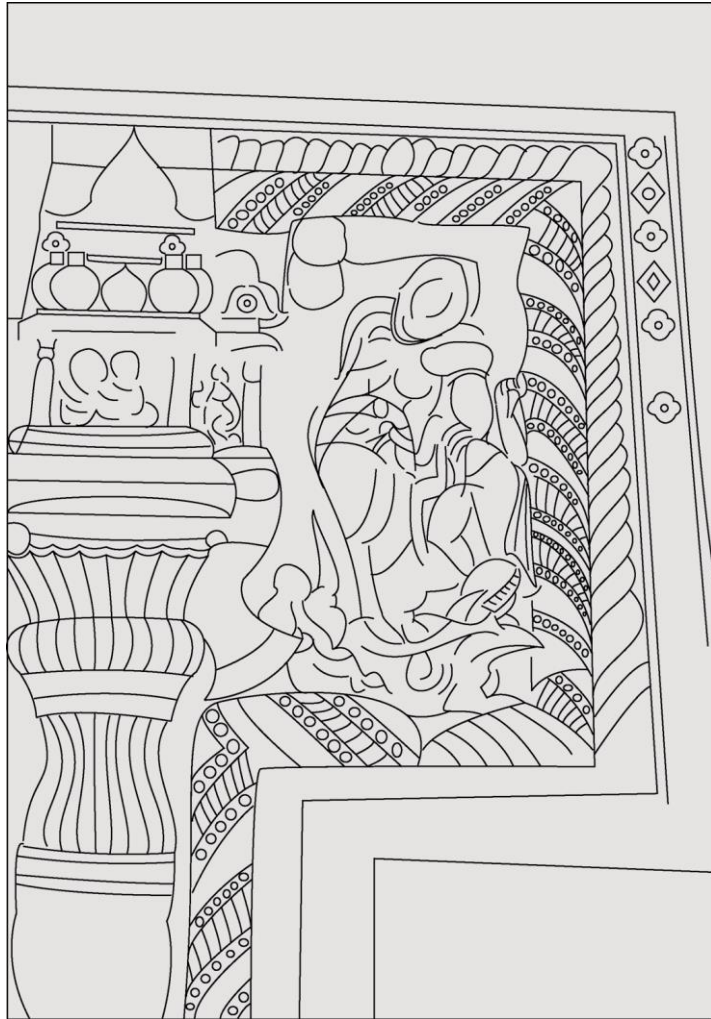












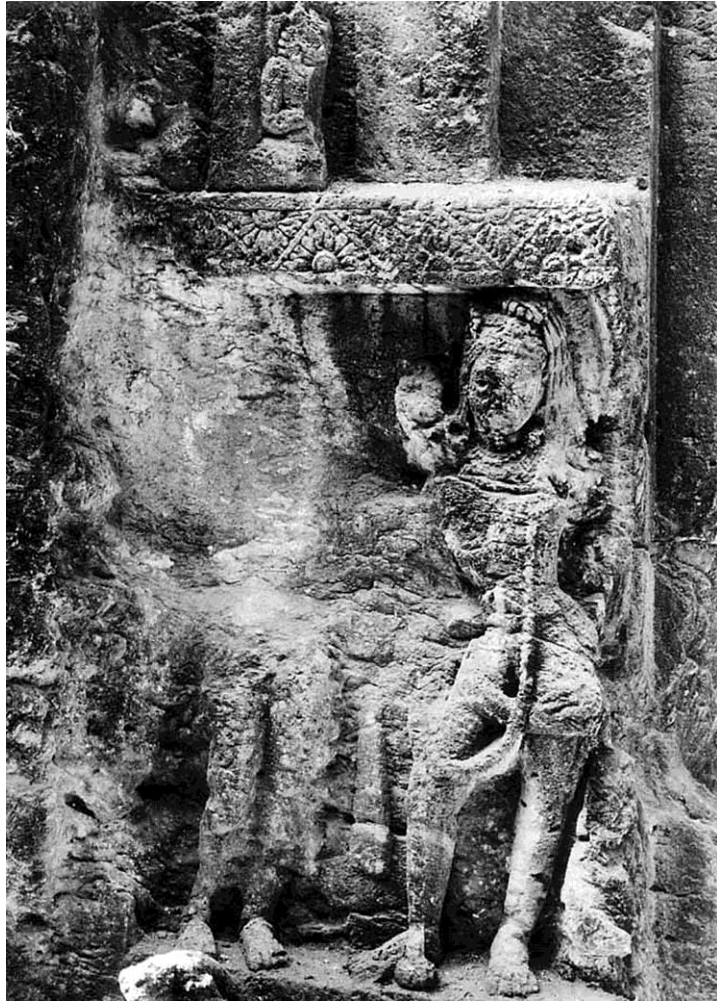


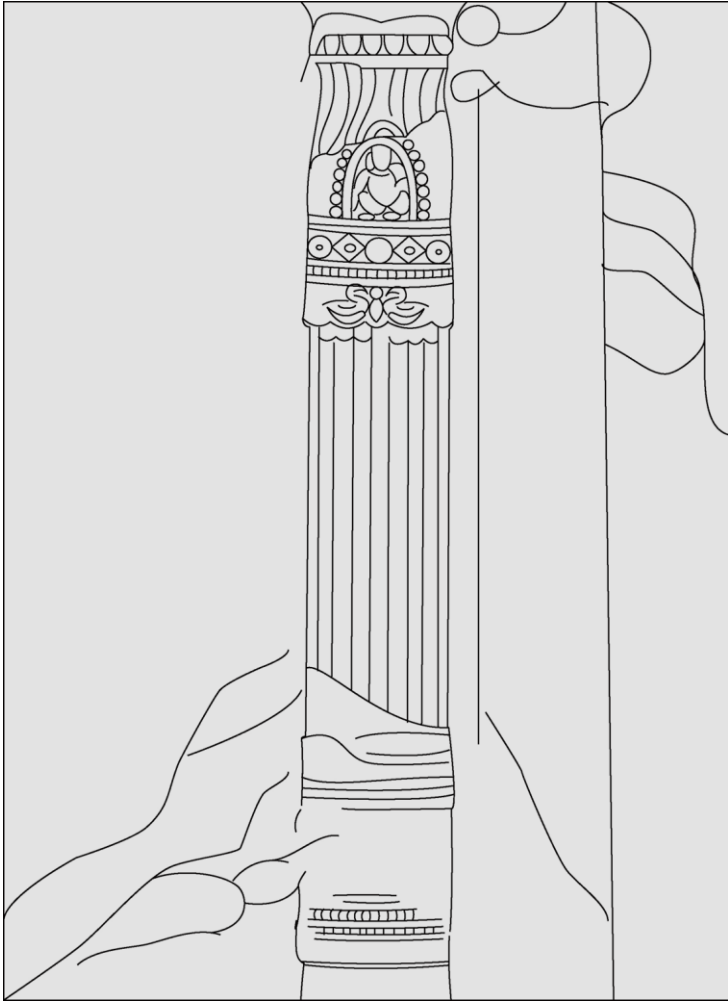


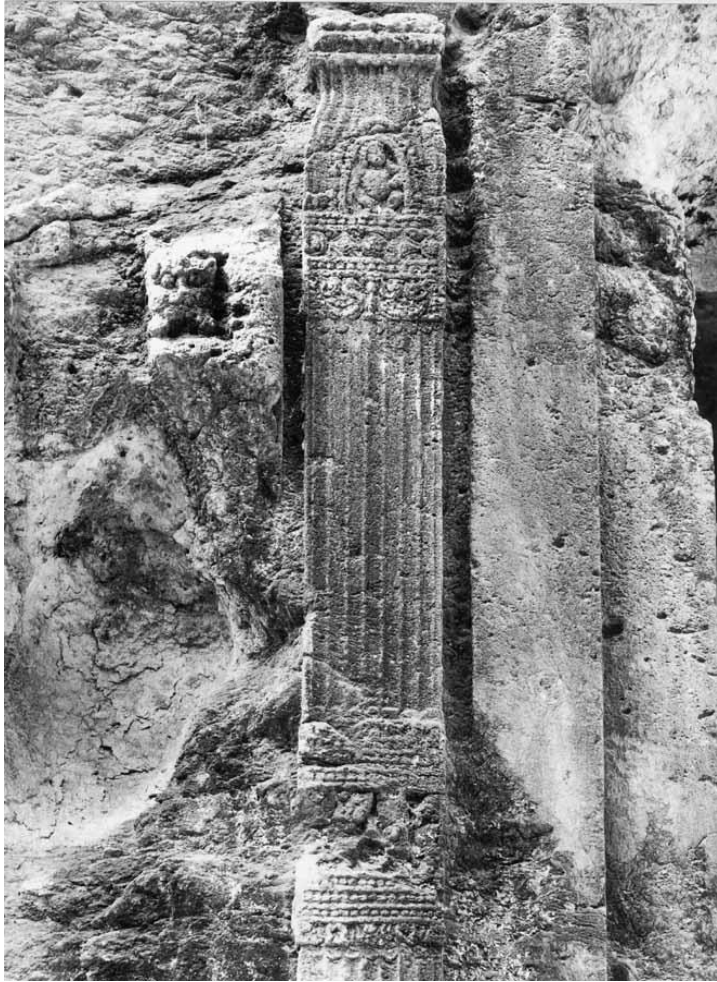


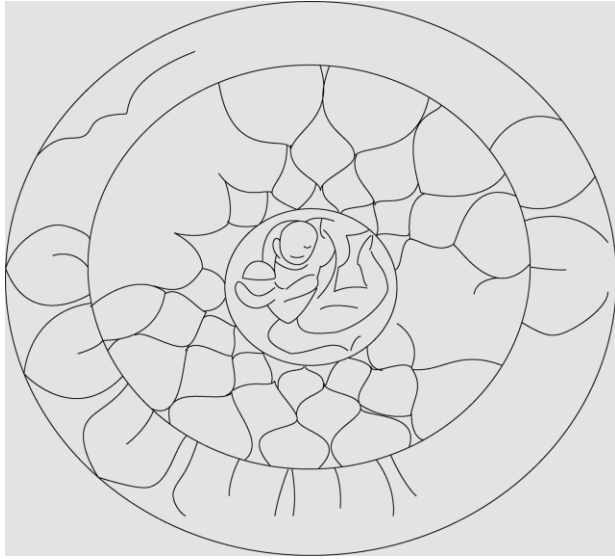






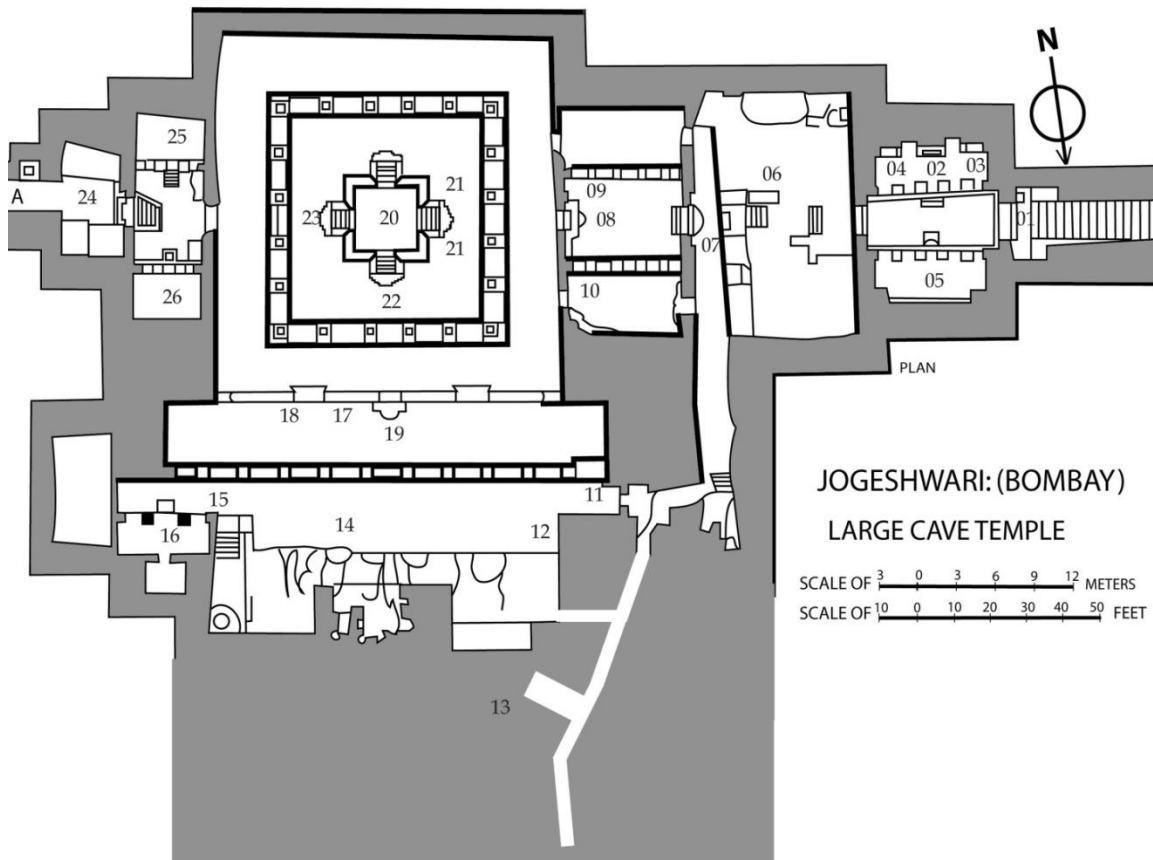
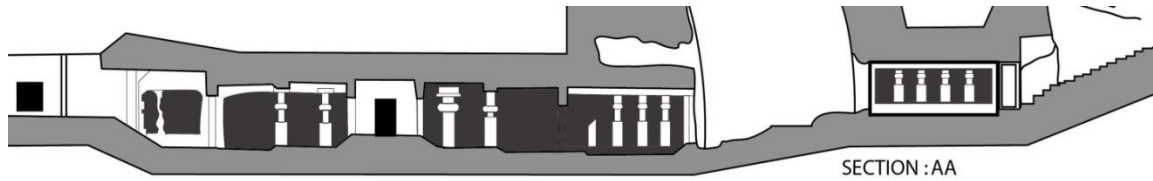








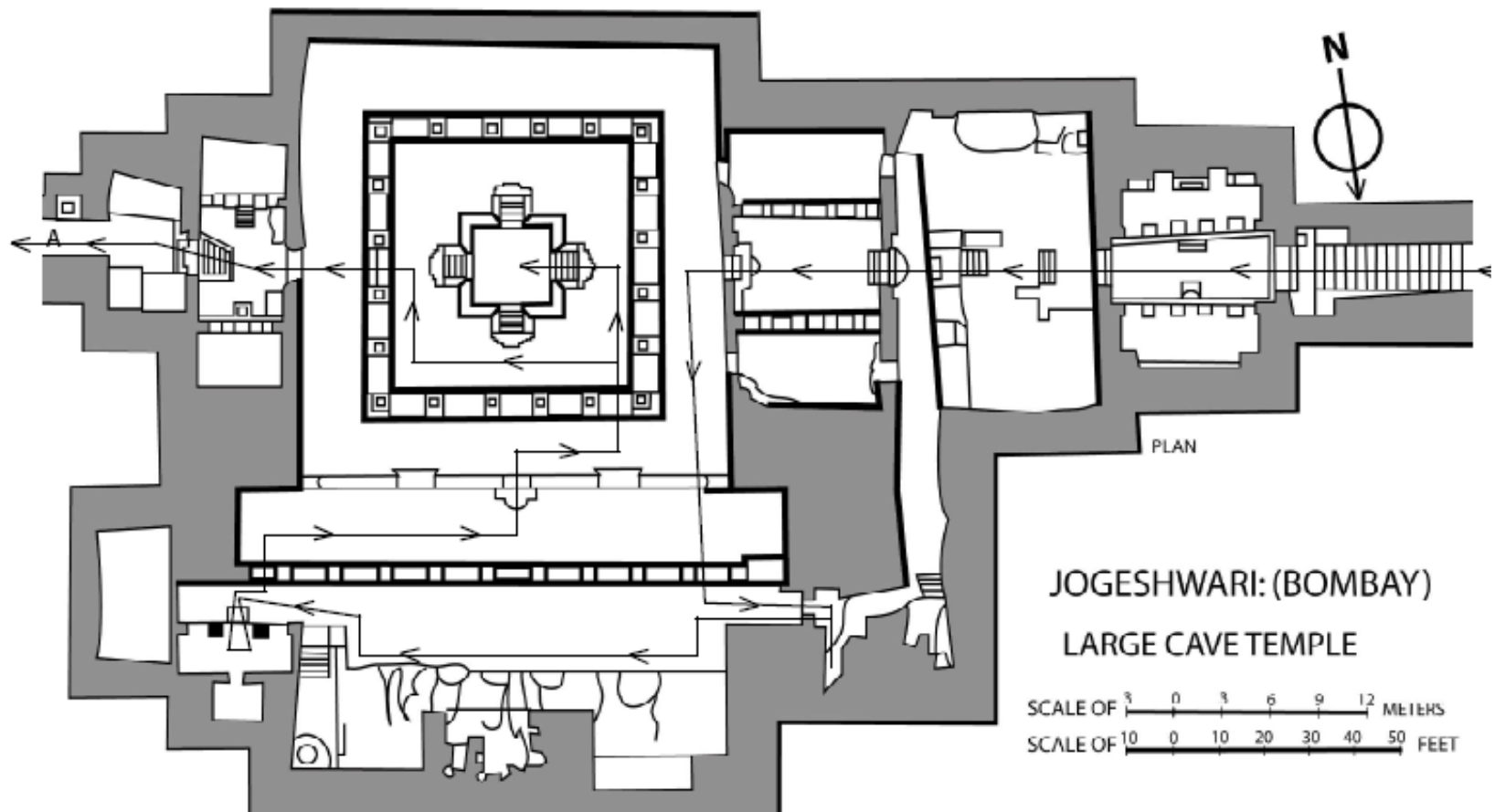
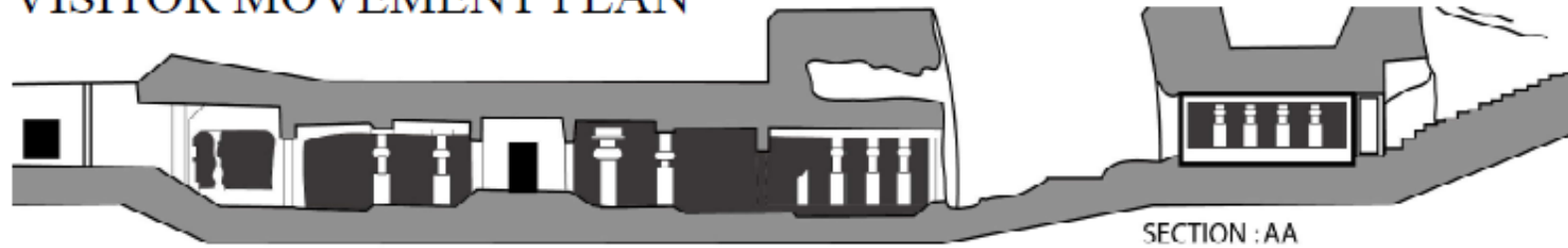
# PANEL LOCATION PLAN



- 01. Ravananugraha
- 02. Ganesha
- 03. Bhairava (?)
- 04. Kartikeya )(?)
- 05. Saptamatruka
- 06. Dhenugal
- 07. Natesha
- 08. Lakulisha
- 09. Saripata
- 10. Kalyanasundara
- 11. Railing & Inscription
- 12. Female Deity
- 13. Hanuman Mandir
- 14. Sculptural Remains
- 15. Pillar Bracket
- 16. Shrine
- 17. Durga Mahishasuramardini
- 18. Andhakasura Anugraha
- 19. Dwarashakha & Mukhalinga
- 20. Garbhagruha
- 21. Dwarfs
- 22. Dwarshakha with Mango
- 23. Dwarshakha with Lakulisha
- 24. Main Entrance - West
- 25. Sculptural fragments
- 26. Lakulisha Sculptural Fragment

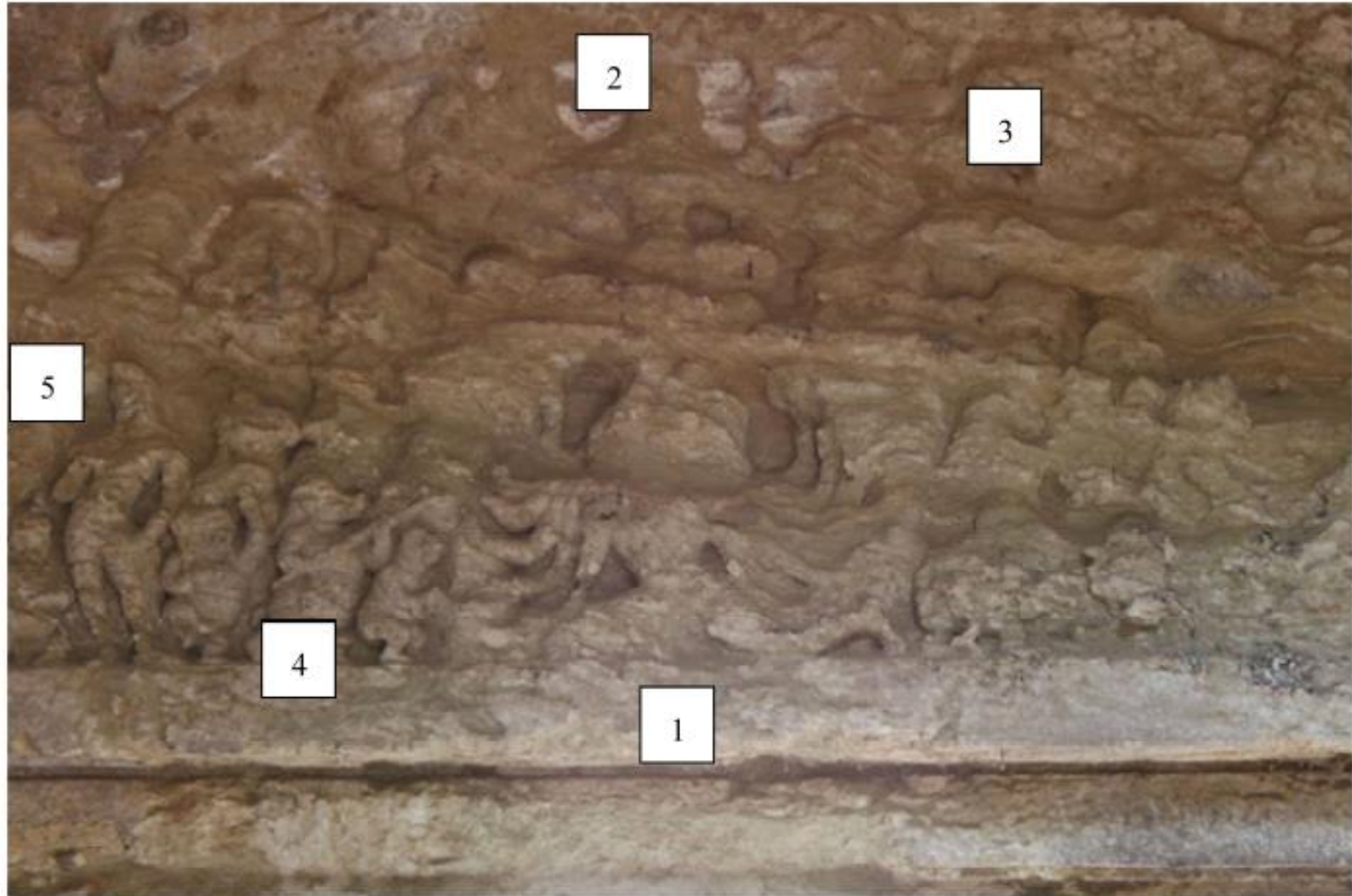
JOGESHWARI: (BOMBAY)  
 LARGE CAVE TEMPLE  
 SCALE OF 3 0 3 6 9 12 METERS  
 SCALE OF 10 0 10 20 30 40 50 FEET

# VISITOR MOVEMENT PLAN



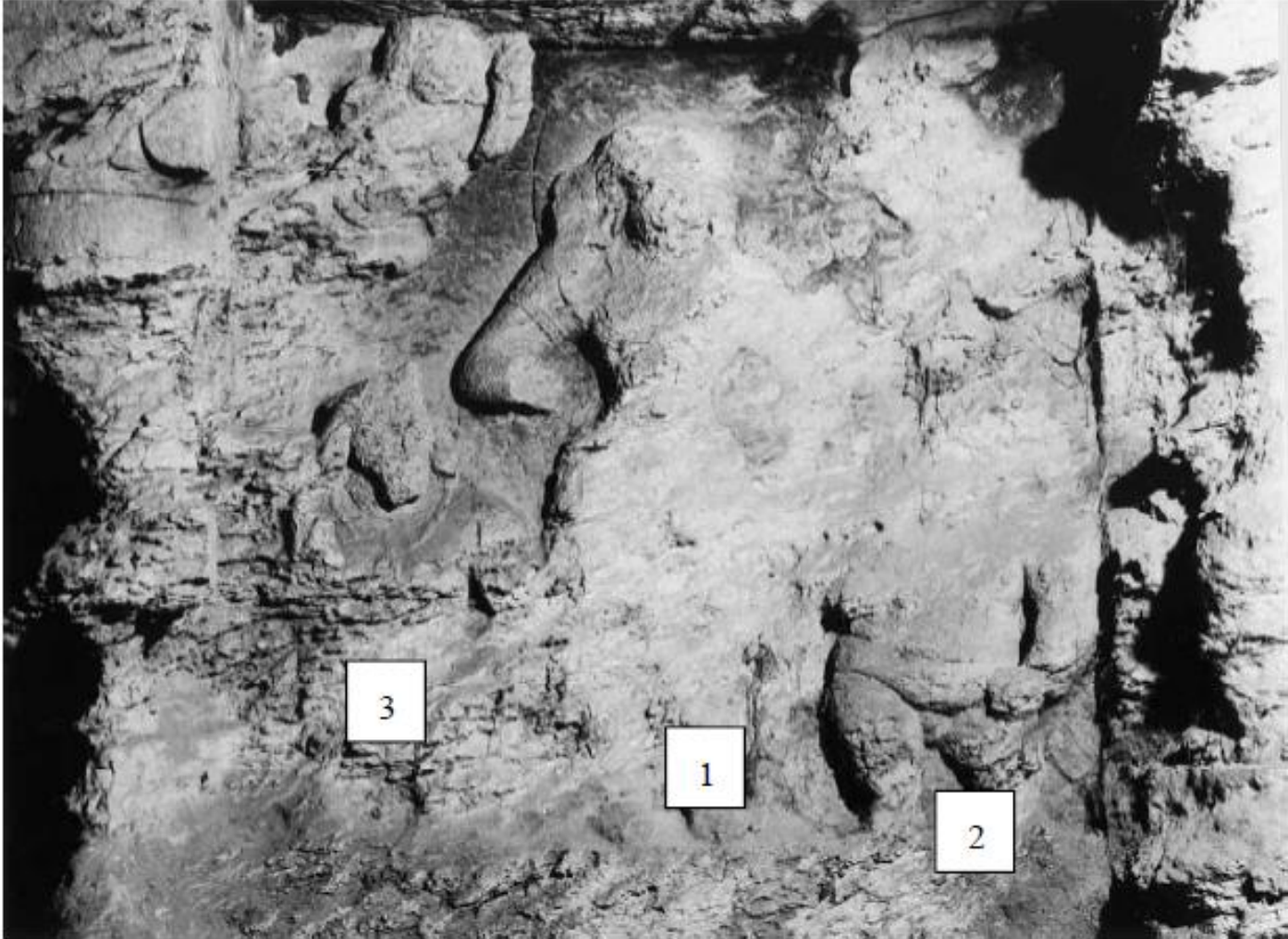
## **Sculptural Identification of Jogeshwari Sculptures**

## Ravananugraha Murti



1. Ravana, 2. Shiva, 3. Parvati, 4. Ganas, 5. Dwarapala

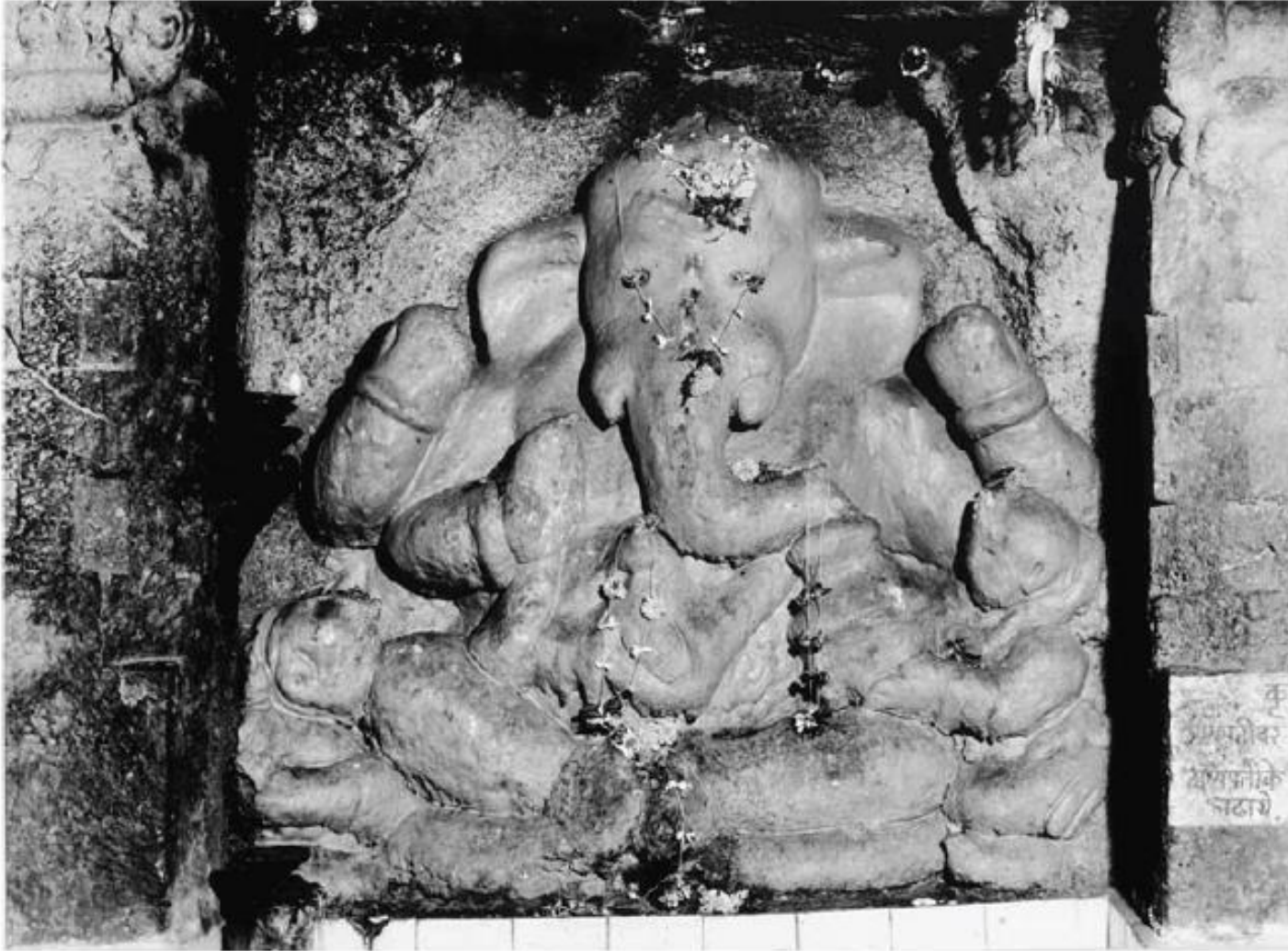
## Naigamish ?



1. Naigamish, 2. Gana, 3. Attendant



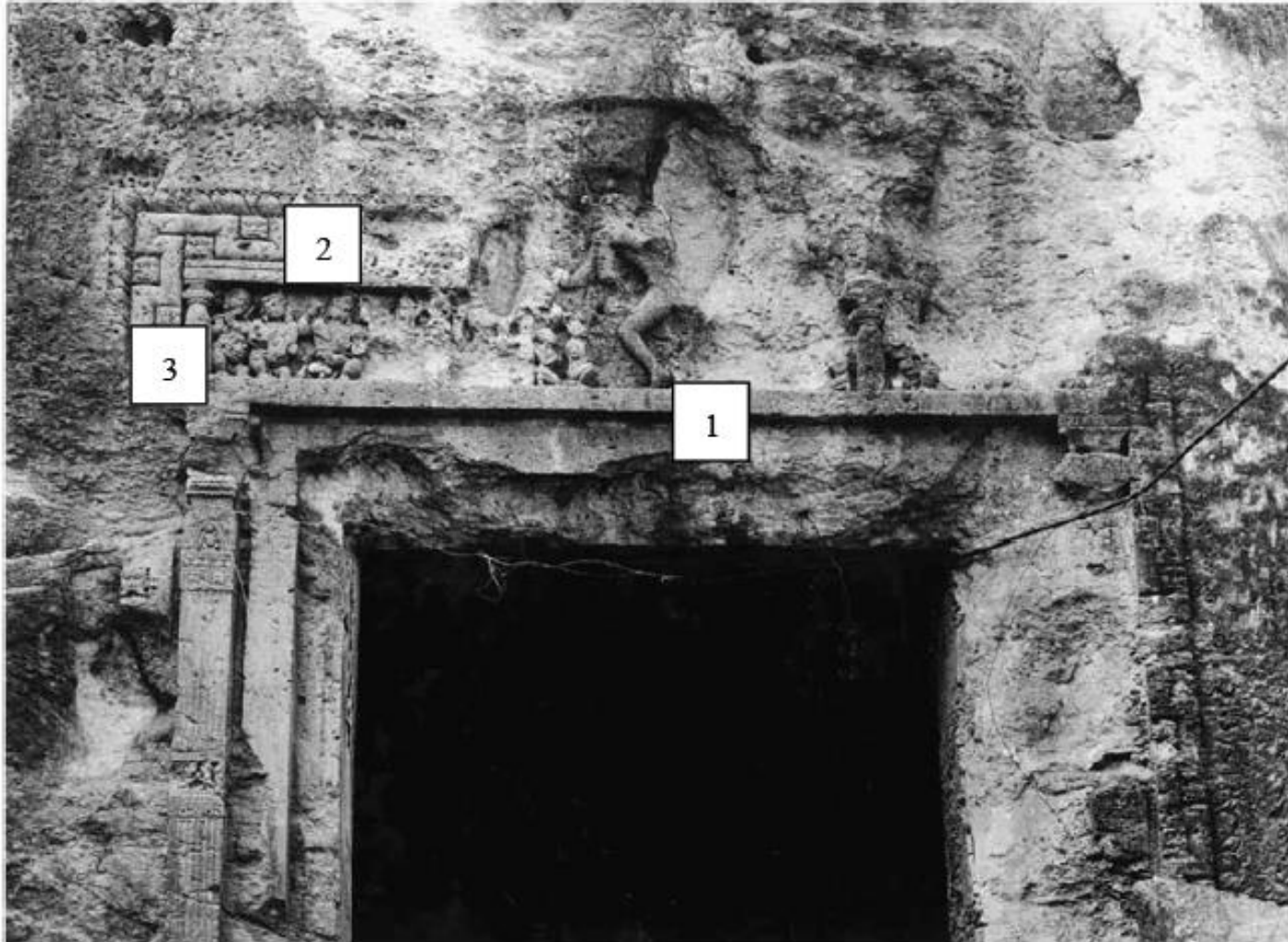
# Ganesha



## Saptamatruka Panel



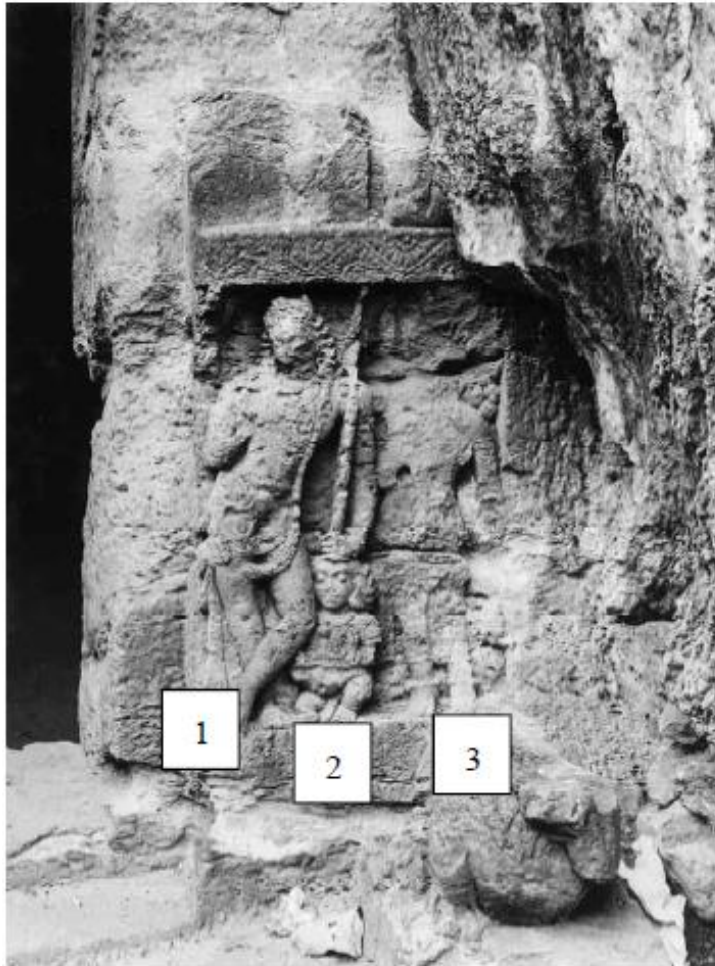
## Natesha



1. Shiv Natesha, 2. Gana, 3. Gana with mouth in the belly - Udaramukha

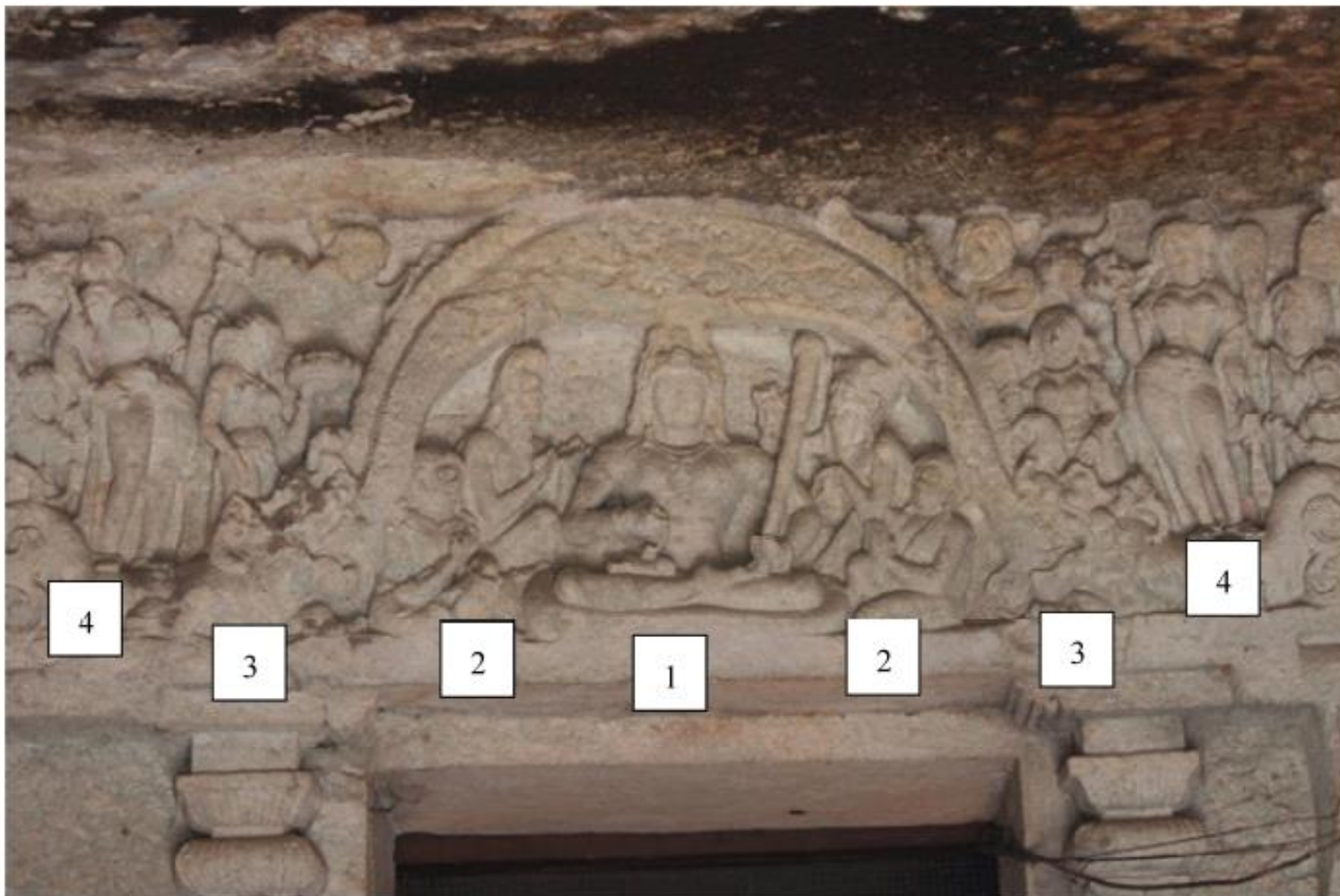


## Eastern Doorway



1. Dwarapala, 2. Shoolpurusha, 3. Attendant

## Lakulisha with his disciples



1. Lakulisha, 2. Disciples, 3. Makara, 4. River Goddess(?)

## Kalyanasundara Murti



1. Shiva, 2. Agni, 3. Parvati, 4. Brahma,  
5. Himavaan, 6. Unidentified Sculpture, 7. Nandi, 8. Celestial Gods, 9. Gana

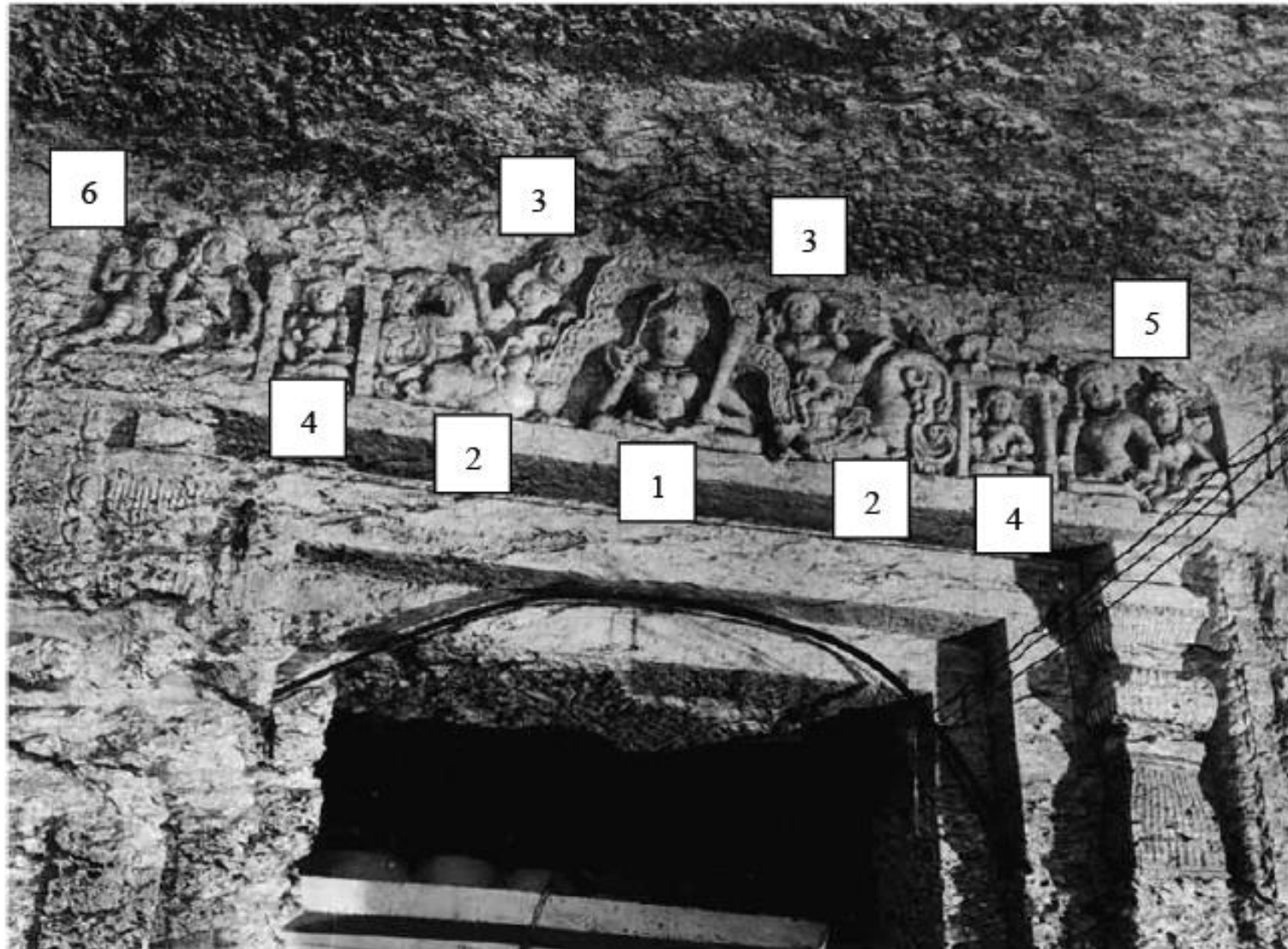


## Saripata



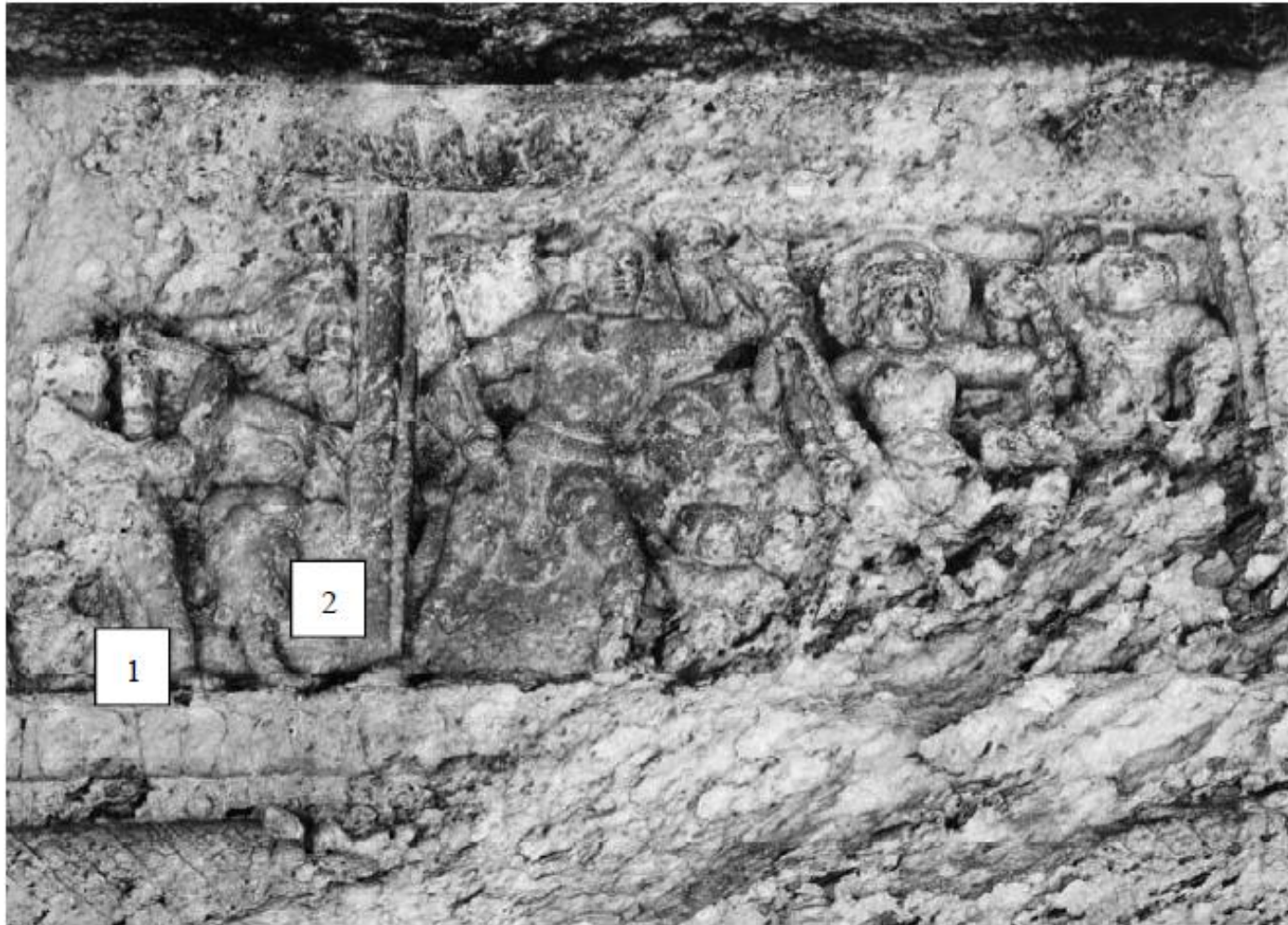
1. Shiva, 2. Parvati, 3. Attendant of Parvati taking away the Nandi, 4. Nandi, 5. Gana,  
6. Chowry Bearer, 7. Parvati's female attendant, 8. Dwarapala

## Lakulisha



1. Lakulisha, 2. Makara, 3. Vidyadhara, 4. Sidhha,  
5. Yugula, 6. Aakashastha Yugula

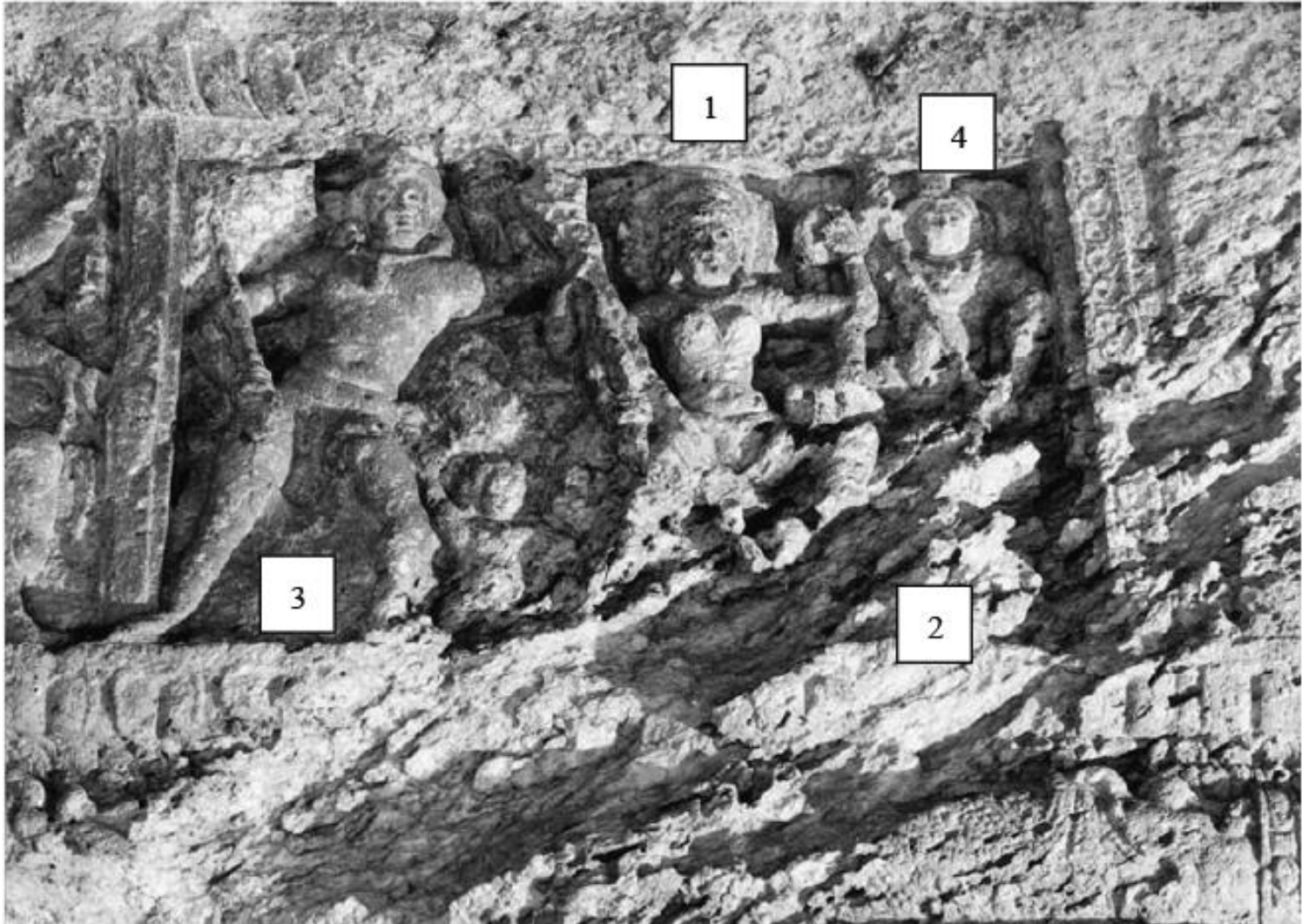
Andhakasura Anugraha Murti



1. Shiva, 2. Head of Gajasura

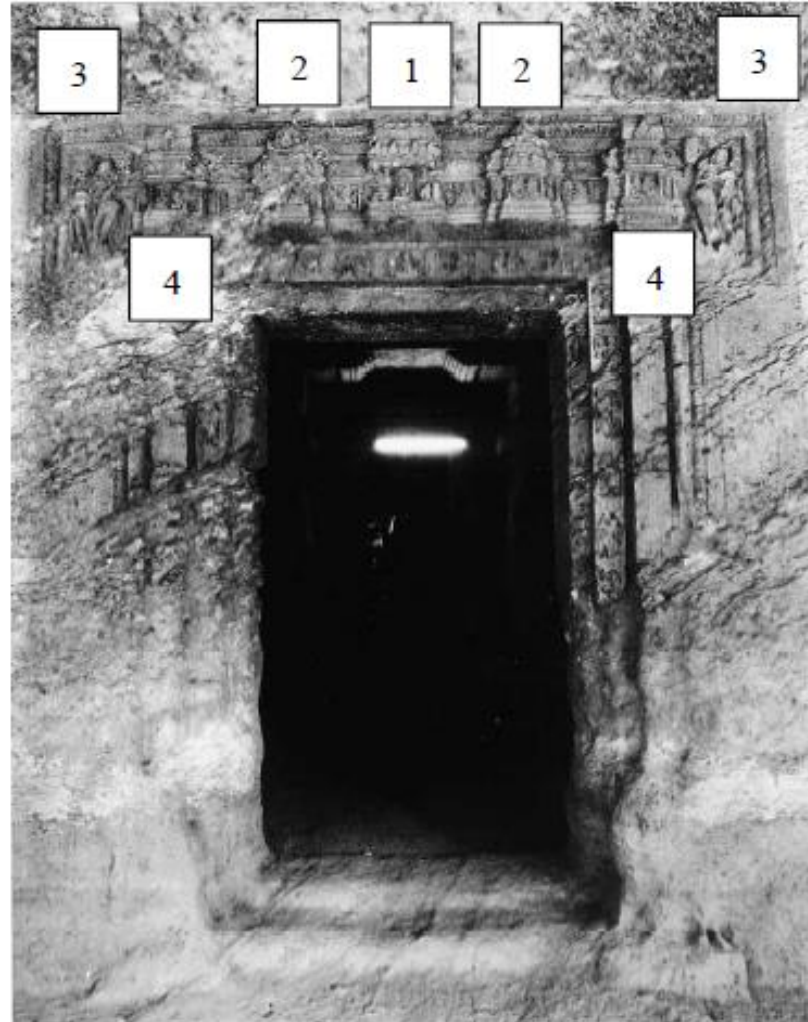


## Mahishasuramardini



1. Mahishasuramardini, 2. Mahisha, 3. Veerabhadra (?), 4, Gana

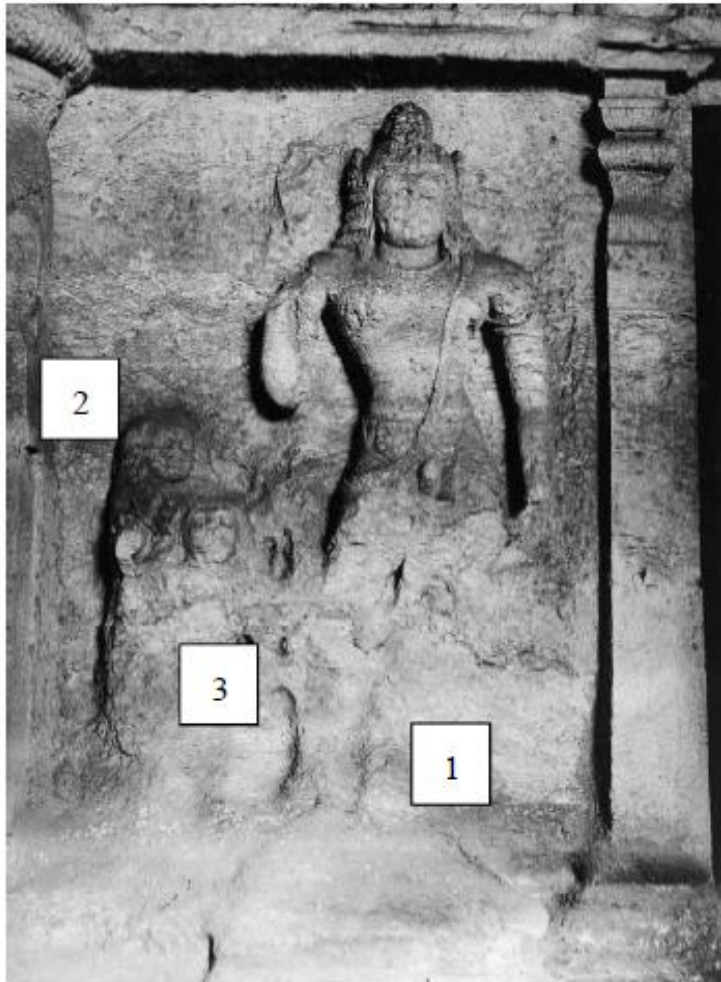
## Mukha Linga Panel



1. Mukha Linga, 2. Sidhha, 3. River Goddesses, 4. Yugula

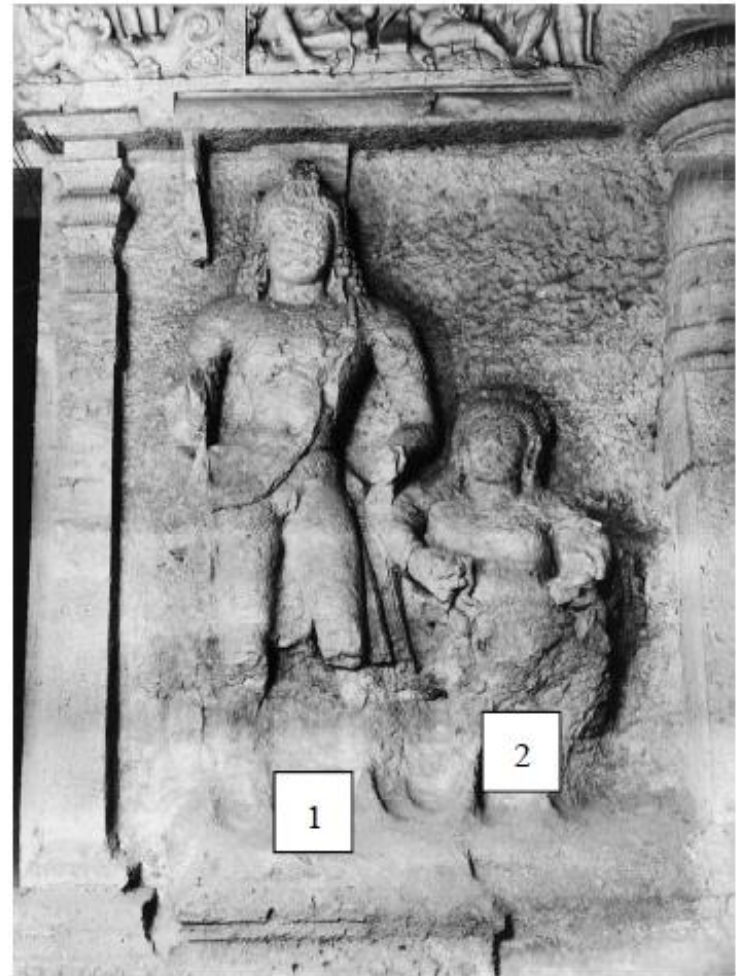


## Dwarapala

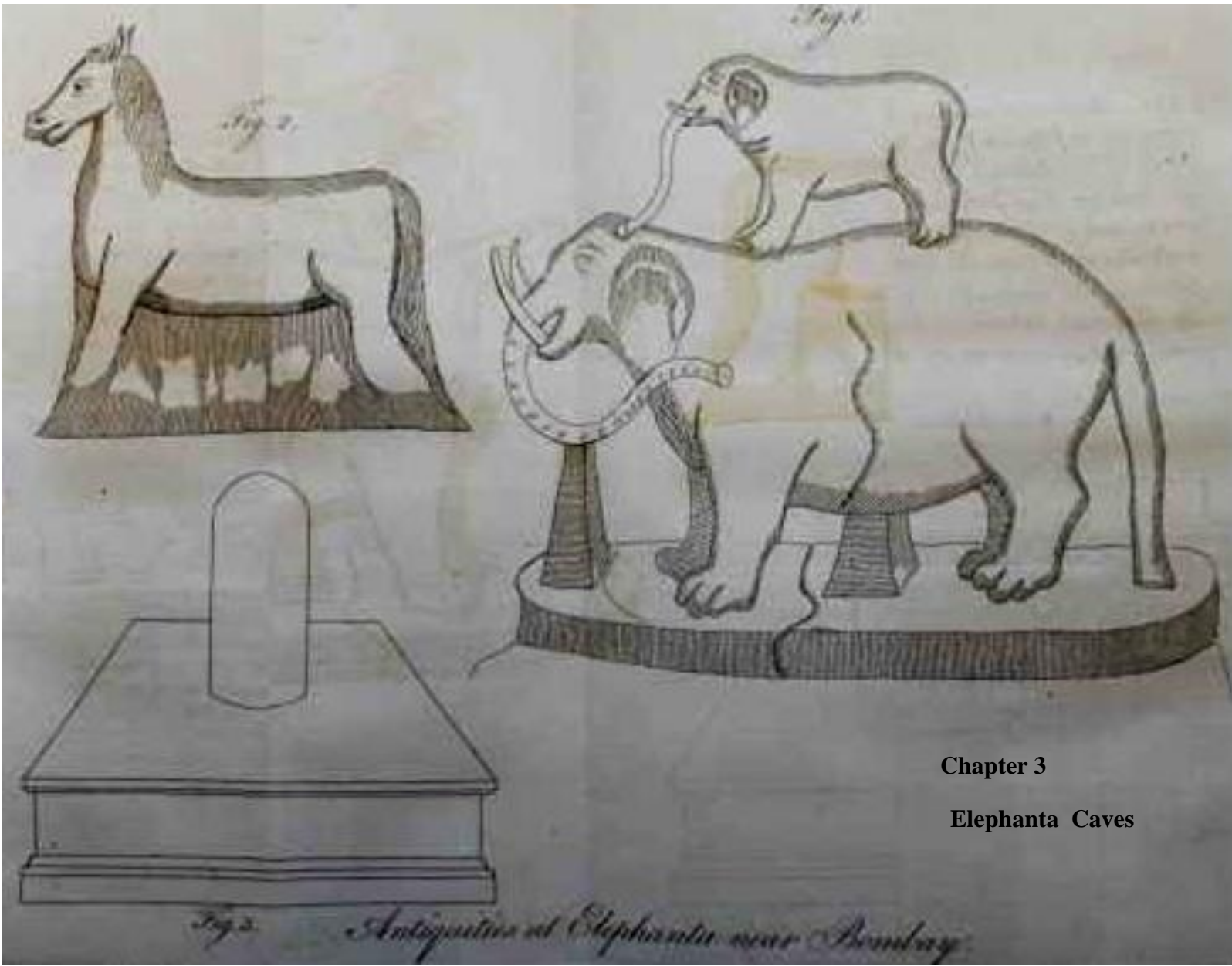


1. Dwarapala, 2. Gana, 3. Ayudhapurusha (?)

## Dwarapala



1. Dwarapala, 2. Kinnara with the lower body of a bird



Chapter 3  
Elephanta Caves

## Introduction:

Elephanta caves, one of the important *Śaiva* cave complex which are situated on the island near Mumbai. A ferry service is available from the Gateway of India to reach this island.

## Mystery of the Name:

The island of Elephanta (18°58'N, 72°58'E) is situated about 11 km East of Apollo Bunder<sup>36</sup>. The Fact is that there is a small village known as Gharapuri on the island therefore this island is locally known as Gharapuri. According to A.P. Jamkhedakar Gharapuri, which has its origins in a Sanskrit word—*Agrahārapuri*. An *agrahara* is a place where pandits practise their spiritual and religious

traditions<sup>37</sup>. The revenue of that particular area is assigned to them by the king. But it was not simply an *Agrahārapuri* as we would like to etymologise that word. It was also probably a royal seat. Evidences from Moreh (i.e. Mora Bunder) suggest that it may be the site of (Ghara) *Puri* the unknown sea-coast capital of the Mauryan rulers of the Konkan in the seventh century<sup>38</sup>. That *Puri* was a coast town appears from line 11 of the chalikyā inscription (634A.D.) at Aihole where *Puri* the goddess of the fortune of the western Ocean' is noticed as having been besieged by hundred of ships.

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<sup>36</sup>Dhavalika.M.K (2016).Cultural Heritage of Mumbai, Chhatrapati *Śiva* ji Maharaj Vastu Sangrahalaya (The Prince of Wales Museum), Mumbai, India, Page.111.

<sup>37</sup> <https://www.sahapedia.org/elephanta-caves-patronage-and-religious-affiliations>.

<sup>38</sup> Campbell, J M (2006, E-Book Edition).Thana District Gazetteer, Government of Maharashtra, Mumbai.





The island Gharapuri was called Elephanta by Portuguese because they found a large stone elephant standing near the old landing place on the south side of the island. This huge stone statue of an elephant measuring about 4.5 m long by 2.4 m high which can be seen now in the '*Veeramata Jijabai Bhonsale Udyan*' (formally known as 'Queen Victoria Garden'). Originally the statue of an elephant was located near the cave near the old landing place on the south side of the island, Portuguese tried to take away the statue from the original place, in a way they lost one statue of an elephant in the sea, but they were successful to bring one elephant statue on the mainland. Previously Portuguese made attempts to destroy this statue. And they were successful to destroy in the later period; this broken fragment of elephant was shifted to Mumbai by George Birdwood in 1864 and joined together in 1914<sup>39</sup>. Then finally this elephant shifted to Victoria garden. The reconstructed elephant is still standing there as a representative of Elephanta island.

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<sup>39</sup>Dhavalika.M.K (2016).Cultural Heritage of Mumbai, Chhatrapati Śiva ji Maharaj Vastu Sangrahalaya (The Prince of Wales Museum), Mumbai, India, Page.111.

### **Description of Elephanta Island**

The island consists of two hills separated by a narrow valley, gradually rising to the east until it reaches a height of almost 200m above the sea. For most of its area, this island is thickly wooded with palm, mango, tamarind, *karaunda* and other trees; its 7km of coastline is fringed with sprawling mangroves. These trees before the development of the city. As for the rocky fabric of the island itself, this is a form of basalt known as trap. About twelve hundred people inhabit three small villages on Elephanta Island. Their chief occupations are fishing, growing rice, rearing and cleaning boats; the tourist trade also provides many locals with work in the growing numbers of small restaurants and shops<sup>40</sup>.

### **Historical background:**

<sup>40</sup>Michell G, (2002). Elephanta, Indian Book House PVT LTD, Mumbai.

Elephanta was one of the most important commercial center and port of Satavahana and Vakataka Period. Evidence of Roman Amphorae from this island indicates Roman Ships coming here in 2<sup>nd</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> century CE.

After the decline of Sopara as a trade center and port, Elephanta emerged as one of the options for Sopara. Ancient name of Elephanta was most probably 'Puri', which was the capital of North Konkan.

#### **Earlier reference of the Elephanta:**

##### **Dom Joao de Castro<sup>41</sup>:**

He was the known first person who wrote about Elephanta in 1539, he was highly impressed by sculptures of Elephanta. He has also mentioned in his account (i.e Primeiro Roteiro DA Costa DA India) about the condition of the cave as well sculptural panels during the 15th century.

##### **Garcia d'Orta<sup>42</sup>:**



<sup>41</sup> Jain, (2011). The India They Saw ,Vol-3, New Delhi.

<sup>42</sup> Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, (1819). Asiatic society of Bombay, London.

He visited the cave during 1550, he described that the condition of caves was quite damaged by cattle in his account i.e “Coloquios DOS Simples e drogas he cousas medicinais DA India”.

**John huyghen van linschoten<sup>43</sup>:**

He visited Elephanta during 1579 and he reported the cave as deserted and ruined in his account i.e Itinerario.

**Gasparo Balbi<sup>44</sup>:**

He was an Italian jeweler merchant who is famous for his travel accounts of India and other Eastern Asian countries from 1579-88. His book ‘Voyage to the Oriental Indies’ was published in Venice in 1590. Balbi was first to propose that the caves at Elephanta were executed by Alexander the Great as a record in his deeds.

**Diego de coutto<sup>45</sup>:**

He visited the caves around the early 1600s; he gave a detailed description of the monuments in his account. He

mentioned Elephanta caves as “of the very remarkable and stupendous pagoda”.

**John fryer<sup>46</sup>:**

He was a surgeon. He visited the cave during 1672-1681. During his visit he noticed that the elephant sculpture had a young one on its back. Here he observes the square plan of the main cave and describes the figures as giants and blames the Portuguese for their defacement in his account i.e. “a new account of east- India and Persia”.

**J A Ovington<sup>47</sup>:**

He visited the cave around 1700s. He a chaplain with the East India Company, Surat, in his account “a voyage to Surat in the year 1689”, he discusses the pagoda or the main cave at the top of the hill, describing the sculptures within, and believes that the statues at Elephanta represented gigantic form of the first race of mortals.

**Captain Pykes<sup>48</sup>**

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<sup>43</sup> Linschoten, Jan Huygen van, (1563-1611). The voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies, London.

<sup>44</sup> Joseph Gerson Da Cunha, Joseph Gerson Cunha, (2004). The Origin of Bombay, Page 346-347, Asian educational service, New Delhi 2004.

<sup>45</sup> Campbell, J M (1882). Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, vol XIV. Government Central Press. Bombay.

<sup>46</sup> Meenakshi Jain, (2011). The India They Saw ,Vol-3, new Delhi.

<sup>47</sup> Ovington, J, (1929). A Voyageto Surat, London.

<sup>48</sup> Joseph Gerson Da Cunha, (2004). The Origin Of Bombay, Asian Education Services , New Delhi.

Pykes mentions a stone elephant on south-east side landing on the island. This elephant used to serve as a sea mark. Moving further towards main cave, there is a stone horse called as Alexander's horse. The measurement of the main cave was given as 104 feet square including all the side cut-offs. He takes the *Kalyānasundara-murtī* as the marriage scene of a Gento (Hindu) king. The number of pillars and pilasters were told to be 52. He takes the *Aṇdhakantaka-murtī* sculpture to be that of Solomon's wisdom. He mentions that there was no inscription to identify its builders, nor the present inhabitants throw any light on this. He suggests that this could be work of the Egyptian artists. About *Ganeśa* in the eastern chamber, Pykes mentions that it was told that he was the son of a tyrannical king. The king cut-off the head of his son, which on request from his mother, was joined by a holy sage. However as they did not find a human head so they took an elephant's head. After death of the king, the elephant headed prince rose to

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<sup>49</sup> Hermionede Almeida, (2005). Indian Renaissance: British Romantic Art and the Prospect of India, New York.

<sup>50</sup> George Valencia, (1809). Voyages and travels to India, London.

the throne and governed the kingdom. He married and his wife bore him a white baby elephant.

**James Forbes<sup>49</sup>:**

He was the writer with the East India Company when they arrived in Bombay in 1766. In his account 'oriental memoirs' he talks about his visit to the caves with an English artist who is rendered speechless by its beauty.

**George Valencia<sup>50</sup>:**

He visited Elephanta in 1802. In his account "voyages and travels to India", he praises the skillful execution of the stone sculptures at Elephanta.

**Sir William Ouseley<sup>51</sup>:**

He visited Elephanta in 1811. In his account "travels in various countries of the east" he describes how he climbed the head of *SadāŚiva* to ascertain if there was a fourth face.

**William Erskine<sup>52</sup>:**

<sup>51</sup> Berkson, Carmel, (1986). The caves at Aurangabad, Early Buddhist tantric Art in India, New York: Mapin, International Inc.

<sup>52</sup> Erskine, William, (1819). "Account of the cave-temple of Elephanta with a plan and drawings of the principal figures." Transactions of the literary society of Bombay, vol. I, London, 1819, 214.



He visited Elephanta in 1813. In his account “account of the cave –temple of Elephanta”, he mentioned the sculptural style and the remnants of paintings on the roof.

**Reginald Heber<sup>53</sup>:**

He was the first bishop of Calcutta. When he visited Elephanta in 1825, he was overwhelmed by the unexpected beauty of the caves and the island. In his account i.e “narrative of a journey through the upper provinces of India”, he mentions that the elephant has deteriorated and the young one on its back is no longer visible.

**John Wilson<sup>54</sup>:**

He was a Scottish missionary and scholar; he visited the cave in 1850. He has given a lecture on the religious excavations of western India. In this lecture he gave detailed description of the Elephanta cave.

**James Burgess<sup>55</sup>:**

He visited the cave around the mid-19th century. He provided detailed description of Elephanta in his accounts.

**James Campbell<sup>56</sup>:**

He was a civil servant; he visited the cave in the late 19th century. He described Elephanta cave in detail in his account “thana: places of interest”. He describes the celebration of the festival of *Śiva ratri* in these caves and presumes that they must have once been painted like those at Ajanta

**Richard Harris:**

He visited the cave around early 19th century; he published his account on Elephanta, “historical and descriptive guide to the rock cut caves of Elephanta” in 1905.

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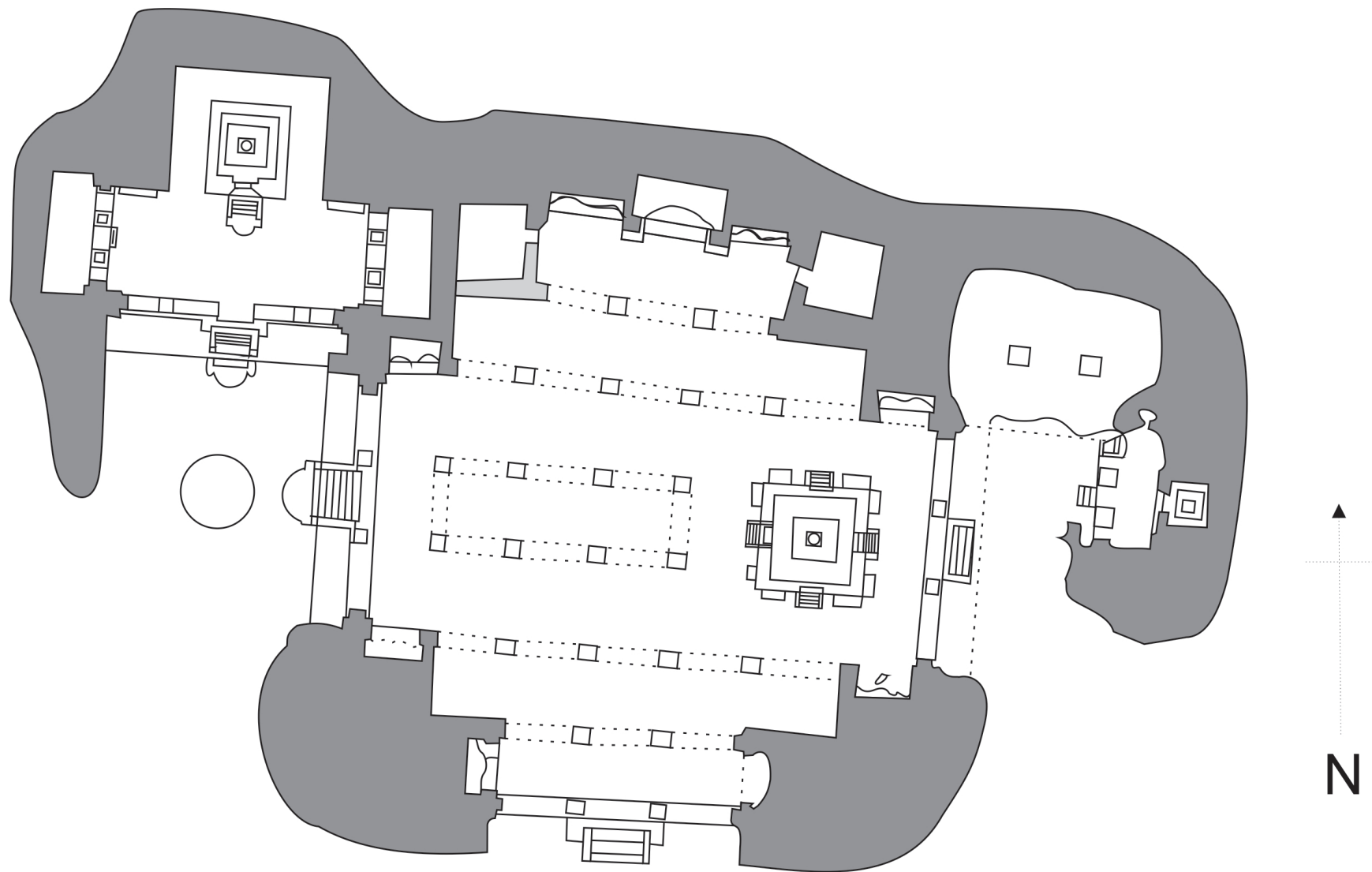
<sup>53</sup>Heber,R.,(1828). Narrative of a journey through the upper provinces of India, vol, II, 1828, 136, Philadelphia.

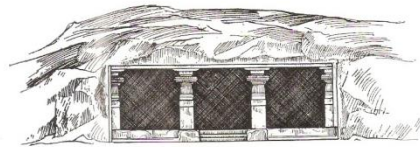
<sup>54</sup>John Wilson, (1866).The religious excavation of western India, Calcutta review ,vol .XLII. Calcutta.

<sup>55</sup>Fergusson, James and Burgess, James (1880).The Cave Temples of India, Munshiram Manoharlal. New Delhi. ISBN 8121502519.

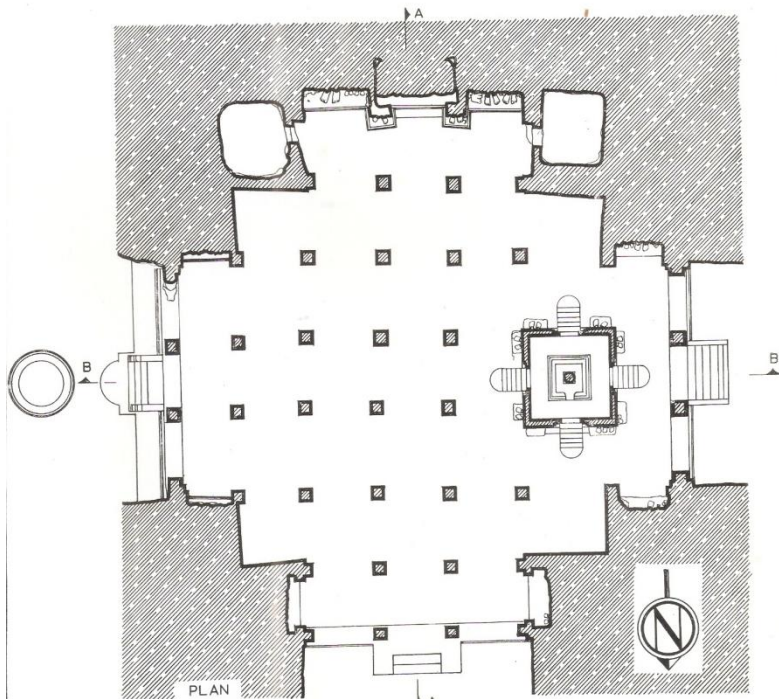
<sup>56</sup> Campbell, J M (1882). *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency vol XIV*. Government Central Press. Bombay.

**Plan of the Main Cave of Elephanta**





FRONT ELEVATION



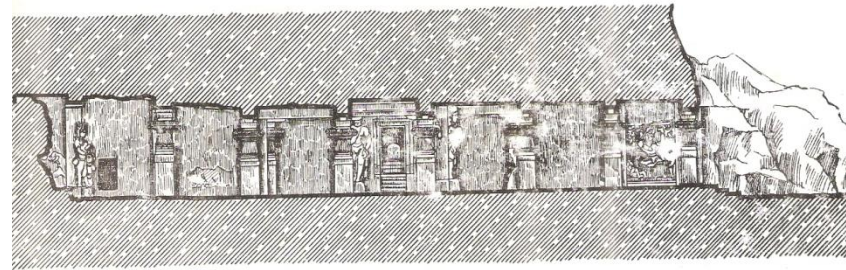
PLAN

# ELEPHANTA

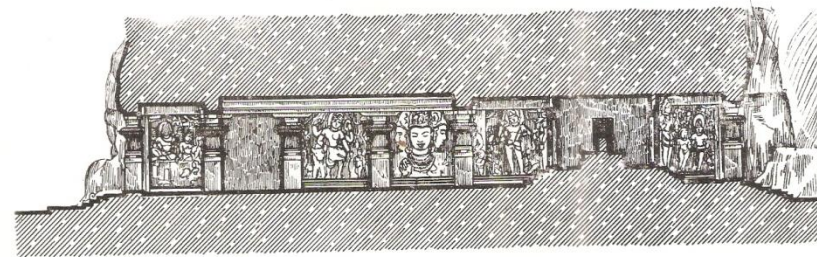
## MAIN CAVE TEMPLE - COMPLEX

SCALE OF 3 0 3 6 9 12 15 18 21 METRES

SCALE OF 10 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 FEET

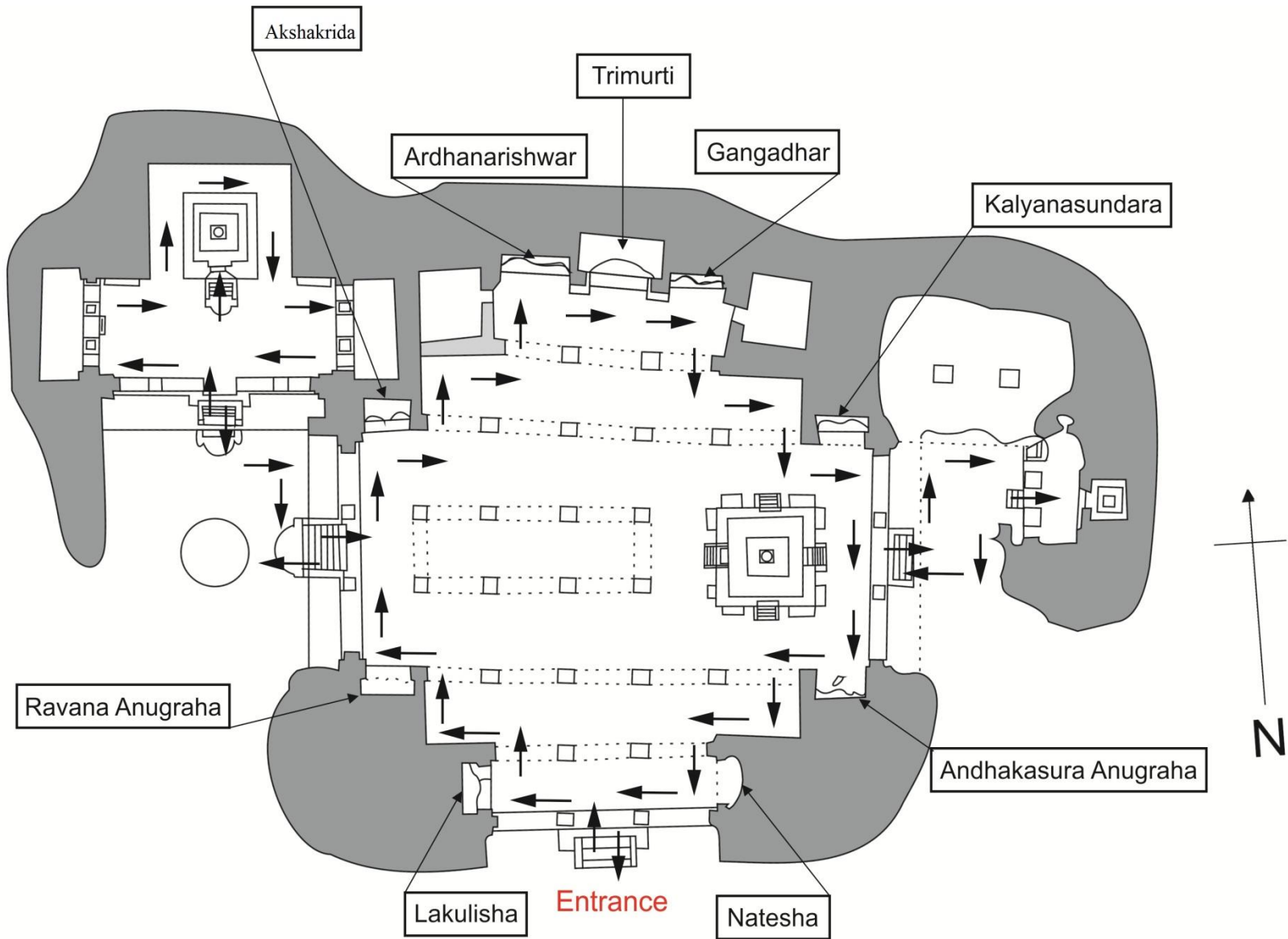


SECTION. A-A



(After SoundaraRajan, 1981)

Panel Location Plan- Main Caves



**Description of the cave:**

The caves at Elephanta were excavated in the mid 6<sup>th</sup> century CE after the excavation of Jogeshwari cave. There are seven rock cut caves at the Elephanta. All these caves scattered on two hills i.e western hill or gun hill (where most of the famous caves are located) and Eastern hill or Stupa hill (where 2 scattered caves and remains of a huge stupa are present, stupa can be dated to a Satavahana period)<sup>57</sup>.

**Main cave (cave no.1):**

Among all the seven caves at Elephanta, the main cave or cave no.1 is the most important cave. This cave is situated on the western hill of the island at an altitude of approximately 250 feet above sea level. It is hewn out of hard compact trap rock which has also been cut away on both sides to leave open areas so that there can be entrances from its east and west sides. However, the principal entrance faces the north. From the front entrance to the back, the cave measures about 130 feet, and its length from the east to the west entrance is the same. However, it does not occupy the

entire square of this area. The porticos on the three open sides are only approximately 16.4592 meter by 5.0292meter. Omitting these and the back aisle in front of three of the principal sculptured compartments, which have the same dimensions as each of the porticos; one may consider the body of the cave to be a square with sides of approximately 91 feet. The cave is supported by six rows of columns except at the corners; the uniformity is broken on the west side to make room for the shrine or sanctum, which occupies a space equal to that enclosed by four of the columns. The angles at the corners differ considerably from right angles, and the depth of the cave as well as its height varies in the east and west sides.<sup>58</sup>

**Pillars:**

Each of the porticos has two pillars and two pilasters in front. Neither the floor nor the roof is perfectly horizontal. The aisle at the back has a chamber at each end measuring 16 feet by 18 feet. The portico on the east side opens into a court, from which an ascent of a few steps towards the south leads into a smaller cave. At the other end of the great hall

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<sup>57</sup>Pandit suraj, (2013). Stories in Stone- Historic Caves of Mumbai, Mumbai.

<sup>58</sup> Pandit suraj, (2013). Stories in Stone- Historic Caves of Mumbai,Page no.86, Mumbai.

too, there is an open court with a water cistern on its south side. At the west side of this court is a small open chapel with a *liṅga* shrine at the back. The pillars, whose thick projecting cushion-shaped member is the principal feature of the capital. Imitations of wooden beams over the pillars run across the cave<sup>59</sup>.

### **Sculptural panel:**

At the main cave principle entrance is from north. After climbing a few steps and passing between the pair of columns in the middle of the portico, two sculpture panels are seen on the walls on either side, on the left *Śiva* as *Yogīśvara* and on the right *Natarāj* form of *Śiva* . When we enter actual body of the cave at the back wall of the cave in the southern wall three headed *Śiva* can be seen. This form of *Śiva* is popularly known as “*Sadāśiv*”. The panels on either side of *Sadaśiva* depicted *Śiva* in form of *ardhanārinateśvar* to the left and *Śiva* in the form of *gaṅgādhar Śiva* to the right. From these panels at the middle of the cave, free standing *liṅga* shrine is situated. Basically this cave has three entrance from north, west, and east. Like

the north, at the west also after climbing a few steps and passing between the pair of columns in the middle of the portico, two sculpture panels are seen on the walls on either side, on the left *Śiva* in the form of *Aṅdhakāsuravadh* and on the right *Kalyāṅsudaram* panel can be seen. At the east entrance on the left depicted *Rāvanānugraha* panel and on the right *Sāripāta* panel can be seen.

### **The *Sadāśiva***

At the south wall of the cave depicted three huge heads identified with them as *Sadaśiv*, one of the form of *Śiva*. Locally this figure is known as *Trimurtī* because of three faces can be seen, but is actually a representation of the five faces of *Śiva* . The devotee can see three faces with the fourth being implied, while the fifth is never carved because it transcends the sight of mortals. The face depicted at left is *Bhairava* (*Śiva* in the form of Destroyer). The central face identified as *Tatpuruśa* (*Śiva* in the form of protector) and the third face of the *Trimurtī* at right *Śiva* ’s face identified as *Vāmdeva* (*Śiva* in the form of preserver).In sculpture of *Trimurtī* at the site of *Bhairava* right hand can be seen at his

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<sup>59</sup> Pandit suraj, (2013). Stories in Stone- Historic Caves of Mumbai, Page no.86, Mumbai.



breast, while a cobra is twisted round the wrist with its hood expanded to look at his contemplative face that is sporting a grim smile. His lips are slightly parted and appear to hold his tongue, while at the corner of the mouth, a tusk projects downwards. The brow has an oval prominence in the centre, representing the third eye.

In the figure of *Tatpuruṣa*, important feature is elaborate head dress, depicted in meditative position, the eyelids and the lips are closed. *Vāmadeva*, the third face in *Trimurtī* is depicted as holding a lotus flower in his right hand, with the help of pearl pendants head-dress has been decorated. The benevolent aspect of *Śiva* is conveyed by the

beauty, gentleness, and elaborate decorations. Entire panel occupies a recess 10 ½ feet deep, and it is 21 feet 6 inches in width and rises from a base of approximately 2 feet 9 inches in height. Both side of the *Trimurtī* panel on a pilaster, two huge *dwārpalas* can be seen. The right *dwārpala* is 12 feet 9 inches in height and the *dwārapala* on the other side is 13 feet 6 inches in height. Right *dwārpala* is preserved in good condition. He has rest his left hand on the head of a dwarf demon, who is approximately 7 feet tall, and

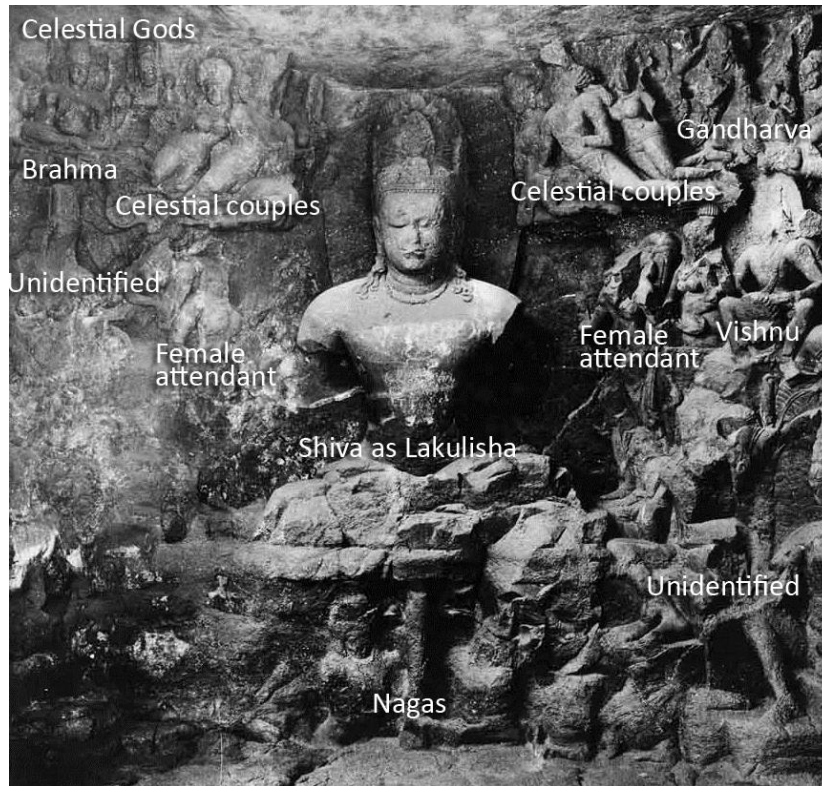


he wears a necklace and a folded belt across his stomach. He is most probably a personified weapon, i.e., an ‘*Ayudhapuruṣa*’. Left side *dwārapala* is also depicted in same position.

### *Śiva as Lakuliśa*

This panel is situated on visitor's left when entered through the present main entrance at north.

The panel contains a carving of *Śiva* as *Mahāyogi* or the Great Ascetic. This panel is identified as a panel of *lakuliśa*.



*Śiva*'s position closely resembles the Buddha's posture, and

moreover, most of the minor accessories are scarcely disguised copies. *Śiva* is seated in *padmāsana* posture, immersed deep into his meditation, hence termed as *Mahāyogī*. He is shown with two hands which are broken from shoulders down. The palms of his hands probably rested in his lap, between the upturned soles of the feet, as in most images of Buddha and the Jaina *Tirthankaras*. The stalk of the lotus forming the seat is upheld by two figures; this corresponds to the *Nāga*-canopied supporters of the *padmāsana* of Buddha. Of course, the attendants are different here, one of them being *Umā* or *Pārvatī*<sup>60</sup>. His (*lakuliśa*) legs are also broken, however from what is left it can be inferred that he is seated in *padmāsana* posture. *Brahma* and *Viśnu* are depicted on top corners of *lakuliśa* panel.

<sup>60</sup> Pandit suraj, (2013). Stories in Stone- Historic Caves of Mumbai, Page no.95, Mumbai.



### ***Rāvanānugraha***

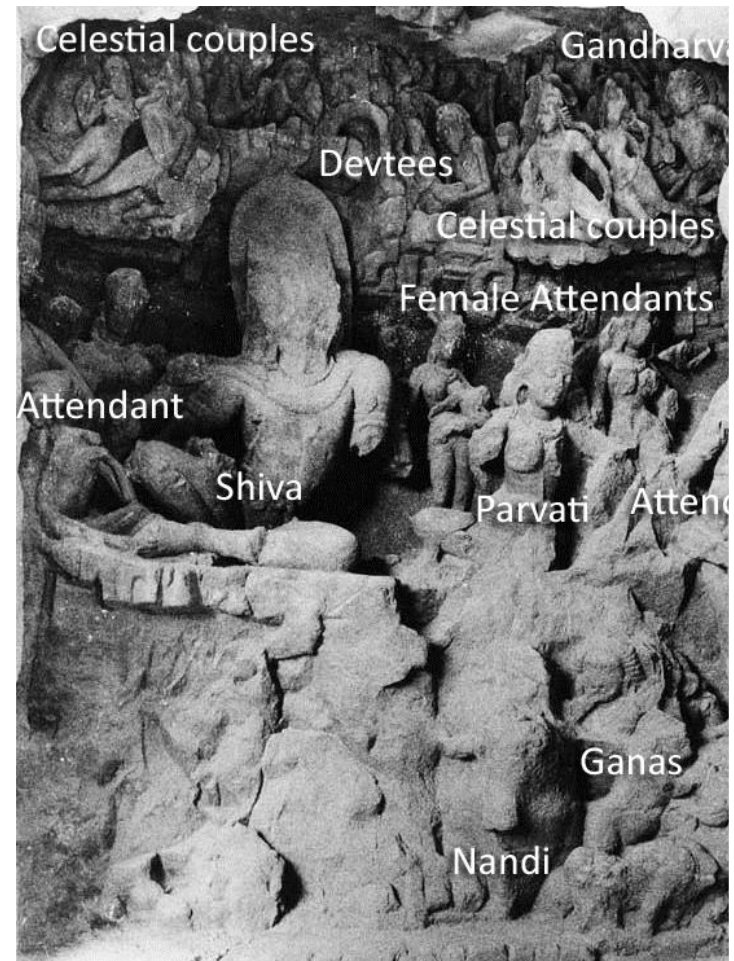
This panel is located on the north side of the eastern portico. This gigantic image relief represents what we know as *Rāvanānugraha-murtī* in Hindu iconography. According to a legend, *Pārvatī* and *Śiva* had a minor fight, which led to *Pārvatī* going away in anger. However, at the same time, *Rāvana* arrived at *Kailāsa* and in his arrogance, attempted to carry *Kailāsa* off to Lanka. When *Rāvana* was preparing to lift the mountain, it shook and swayed, frightening *Pārvatī* who immediately ran towards *Śiva* for help and hugged him tightly. This pleased *Śiva* and he blessed *Rāvana*. Another version has it that he raised his foot and pressed the mountain on *Rāvana*'s head to imprison him underneath. *Rāvana* propitiated *Śiva*, performed austerities, and finally won *Śiva*'s favor, blessings, and release from the burden. In this panel *Śiva* and *Pārvatī* are shown seated on *Kailāsa* Mountain. *Śiva* is shown with eight arms; all are broken now. *Pārvatī*'s torso only remains, she is shown seated on *Śiva*'s left. *Bhringī* is shown near *Śiva*'s feet. *Ganeśa* is standing on his left. *Viśnu* is shown riding over Garuda, above *Śiva*'s left shoulder. Below most is shown *Rāvana* with ten heads and twenty hands, all of which are



in very bad state of preservation at present. He is shown with his back to visitors with all his hands are lifted up in his effort to lift up the mountain<sup>61</sup>.

### *Aksakridā*

This is the next panel in clockwise direction of the above. *Śiva* and *Pārvatī* are shown seated on *Kailāśa* Mountain, playing game of dice. In this panel *Śiva* is shown with four arms, two of which are broken. He sits with one leg bent. *Pārvatī* is seated on his left, her two arms are broken. Above *Śiva* and *Pārvatī* are shown various houses, palaces which represent the residential layout of the *Kailāśa*. Above the ceilings of these structures are shown various figures. The right shoulder of *Pārvatī*, stands a female figure carrying a child astraddle on her left side. J Stevenson takes this child as *Ganeśa* and hence suggests that the theme of this relief is the birth of *Ganeśa*. At *Śiva*'s feet is shown *Bhriṅgī* in his skeleton form.



<sup>61</sup> Pandit suraj, (2013). Stories in Stone- Historic Caves of Mumbai, Page no.93, Mumbai.

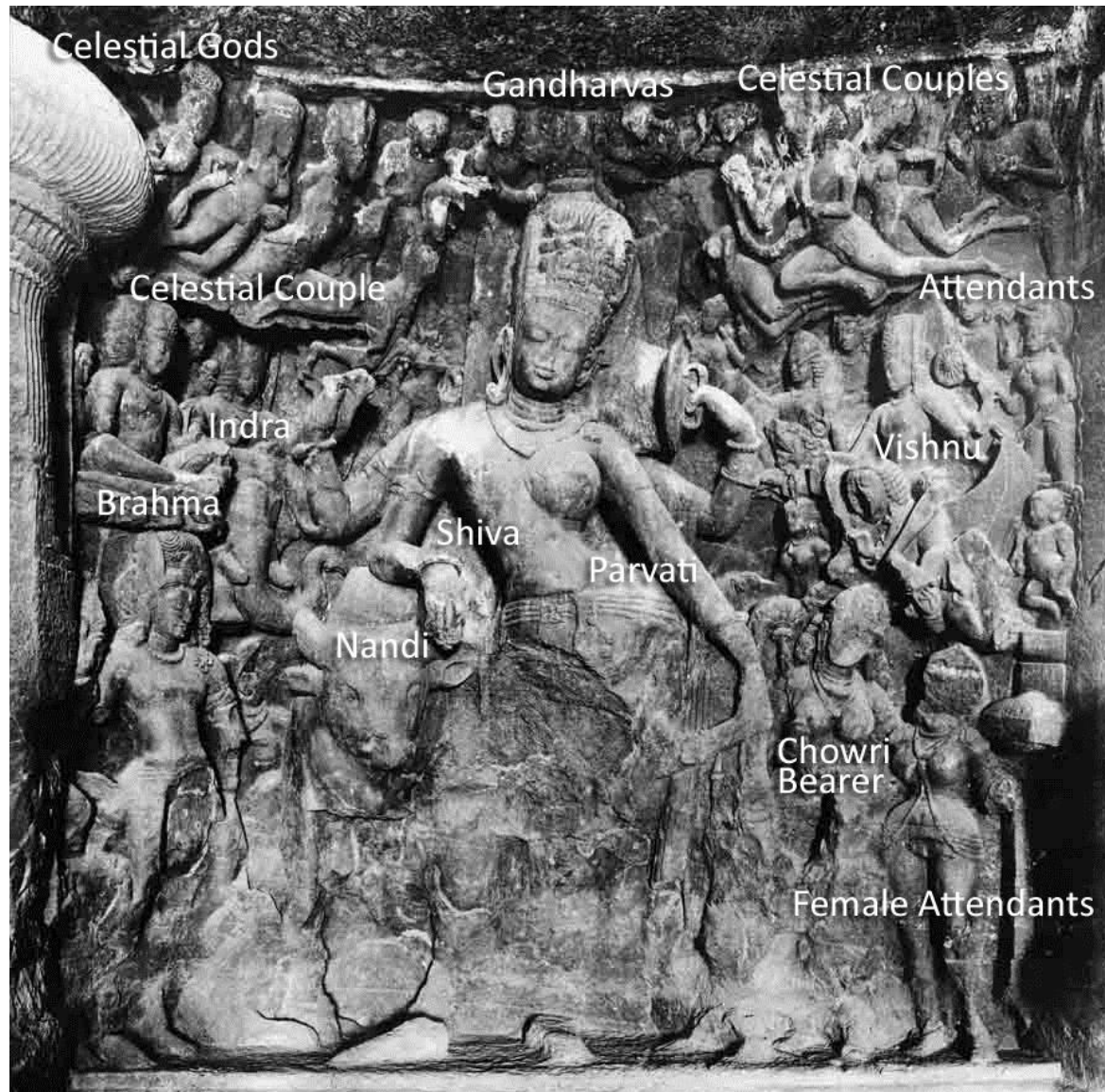
### *Ardhnareeśvara*

This panel is located on the east of the central *SadāŚiva* image. The theme is *Ardhnareeśvar*, *Śiva* shown with combined attributes of a male and female. The image of *Śiva* is 16 feet 9 inches' feet high, his right half is of male and left half is female. Even a glance at this figure is sufficient to reveal the beautiful way in which the two human sexes have been amalgamated in stone by the sculptor(s). The graceful and almost sensuous curving of the female side, broad exaggerated hips, full breasts, and lovely delicate left hand is balanced by the robust and almost rigid male form that conveys strength<sup>62</sup>. *Śiva* stands inclined over *Naṇḍi*. He has four hands, front right hand rests over *Naṇḍi*, back right hand

holds a snake, front left hand has feminine appearance and back left hand holds a mirror. *Śiva* 's left is shown *Varuna* on *makara*, *Indra* on *airāvāt* and *Viśnu* over *Garuda*. *Viśnu* is shown with four arms, one holding *chakra*. The other two arms are broken and one arm is resting over his knees. One female figure is holding a fly-whisk; another small female figure is holding a jewelry box for *Pārvatī* . On *Śiva* 's right is *Brahma*, shown seated on a *padmāsana* (lotus throne), which is supported by five geese. *Indra* riding over his elephant is shown between *Brahma* and *Śiva* . Below *Brahma* is a large male figure wearing high cap and holding a large trident. J Burgess mentions that he could be *Naṇḍi* or *Nārada* or some other personal attendant of *Śiva* .

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<sup>62</sup> Pandit suraj, (2013). Stories in Stone- Historic Caves of Mumbai,Page no.89, Mumbai.



### ***Gaṅgādhara***

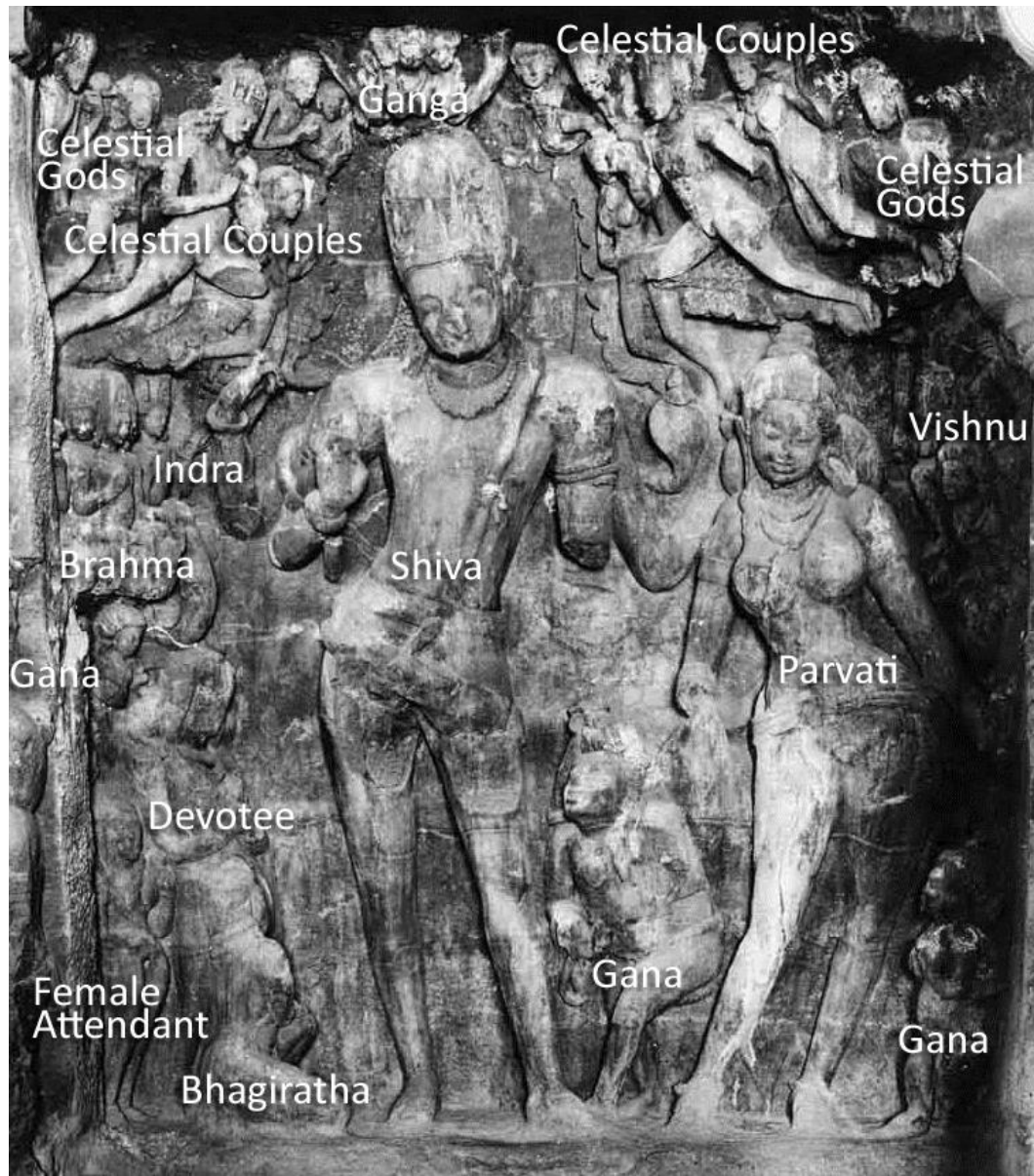
This compartment, 13 feet wide and 17 feet high with the base rising 2 feet 6 inches from the floor, is located on the west of the *SadaŚiva* panel. The two principal figures are *Śiva*, and on his left side is his consort *Śakti* or *Pārvatī*. This compartment depicts the *Śiva*'s role in the descent of *Gaṅga Tripathaga* from heaven, i.e., as *Gaṅgādhara* or the bearer of *Gaṅga*. The figure of *Śiva* is 16 feet high and shown with four hands, the two left ones are now broken. In one of his hand he holds a tress of his hair, and one hand is in *abhaya mudrā*, his other two hands are broken. It appears that his front right hand was touching the chin of *Pārvatī* who stands on his left. He is shown with a high headdress having three pointed plates rising out of the band. A crescent can be seen between them over each temple. A cup or shell rises from the crown, out of which a singular three-headed female figure can be seen; its arms are now broken. This has

been interpreted as representing the three aspects of *Gaṅga* through the three worlds—*Mandākinī*, *Bhāgirathi*, and *Bhogvathi*.

The figure of *Pārvatī* is about 12 feet 4 inches high<sup>63</sup>. Though the face of *Pārvatī* bears a charming countenance however *Śiva* touching her chin probably reflects the jealousy of her as *Gaṅga* is descending into the locks of *Śiva* and will reside there as her rival in love. The figure below *Brahma* who is kneeling on his knees identifies him with *Bhagiratha*, who is credited to bring *Gaṅga* on the earth. Though his figure is much broken however he is very well gelled into the whole theme of the panel. On *Śiva*'s right are *Brahma* and *Indra*. *Brahma* is seated over his lotus throne carried by five geese, while *Indra* is riding over his elephant, *Airāvat*. *Viśnu* over *Garuda* is on *Pārvatī*'s left.

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<sup>63</sup> Pandit suraj, (2013). Stories in Stone- Historic Caves of Mumbai, Page no.90, Mumbai.

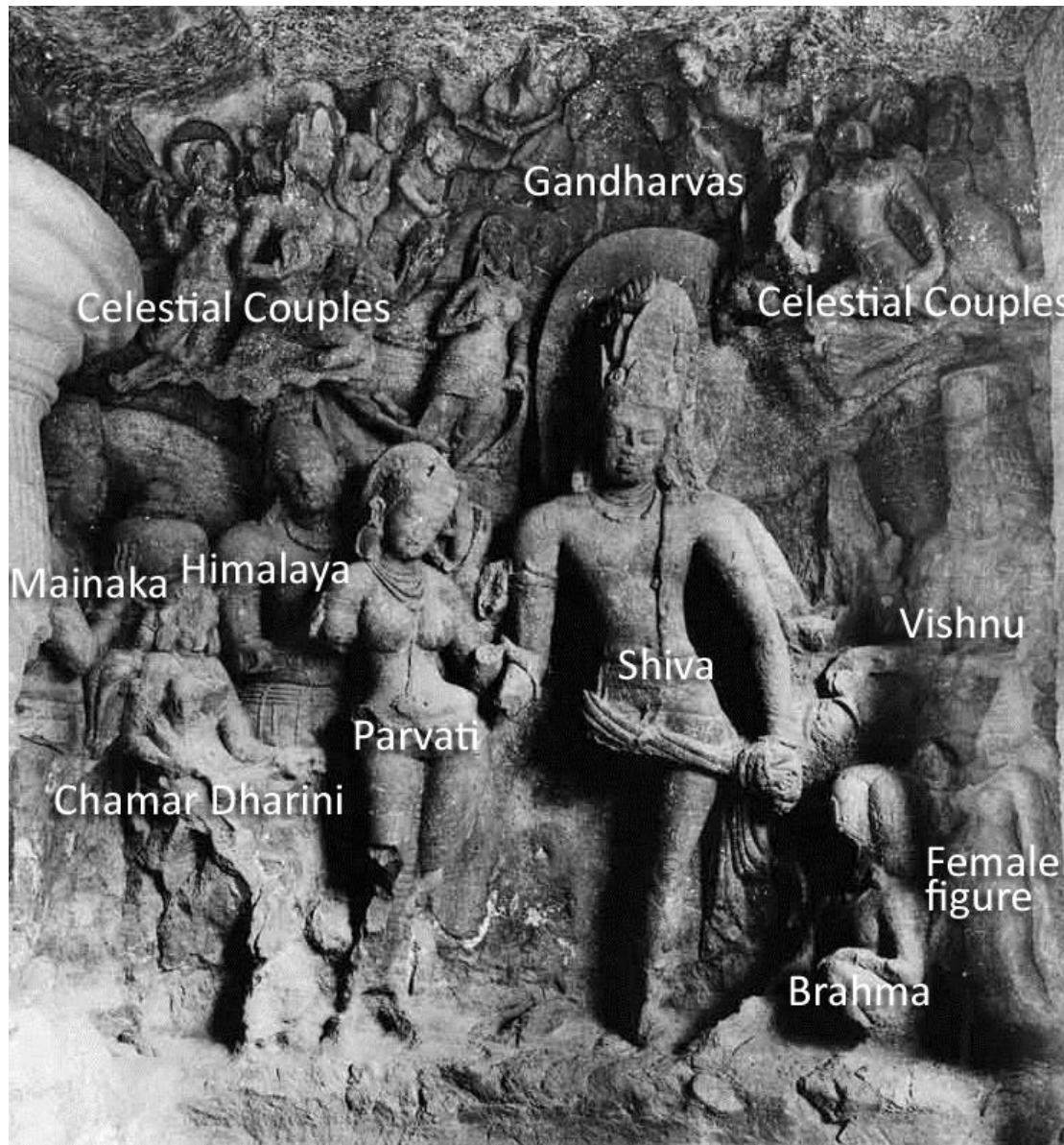


### ***Kalyānasuṇḍara-murtī***

This panel is located on the south side of the shrine to the west porch. The theme is the marriage between *Śiva* and *Pārvatī*. The figure of *Śiva* is 10 feet 10 inches high. The *Śiva* wears the usual high *mukuta* that has a kind of oval disc behind it, occupying the place of a nimbus or aureole. He is depicted with an almost human-like tenderness and calm disposition as he prepares to receive his bride. The young gods left hand is outstretched towards her, and he appears to be relaxed and sporting a slight smile. *Pārvatī* or

*Umā*—8 feet 6 inches high—stands on *Śiva*'s right-hand side, a position that a wife rarely occupies except on the day of her marriage. She is carved with unique grace and elegance, as befits a bride. Her hair has little curls under the broad jeweled fillet that binds the brow, and there is a small disc behind the head, which, here may be a part of the dress. She is depicted with heavy earrings and several necklaces, from one of which a string hangs between her breasts and ends in a tassel. A series of slight depressions between the thighs indicate the style and nature of the fabric. The sense of the occasion







is emphasized by the certain amount of sensuality. The figure of *Pārvatī* is quite shorter than that of *Śiva* , and she radiates in her prime youth. Behind her is standing her father, *Himavān*. A male figure back to *Himavān* could be *Maināka*, his son and the brother of *Pārvatī* . However, the remarkable feature is the way in which *Pārvatī* appears to move towards *Śiva* , an appropriately symbolic representation of the impending union. *Brahma* officiates the ceremony as a priest. *Viśnu* is present riding over his mount, *Garuda*. Behind *Pārvatī*'s right shoulder stands a female figure carrying a child on her left side; this is probably intended to represent a nurse bearing *Kārtikeya*, the war-god and the son of *Śiva* . Other figures of attendants fill up

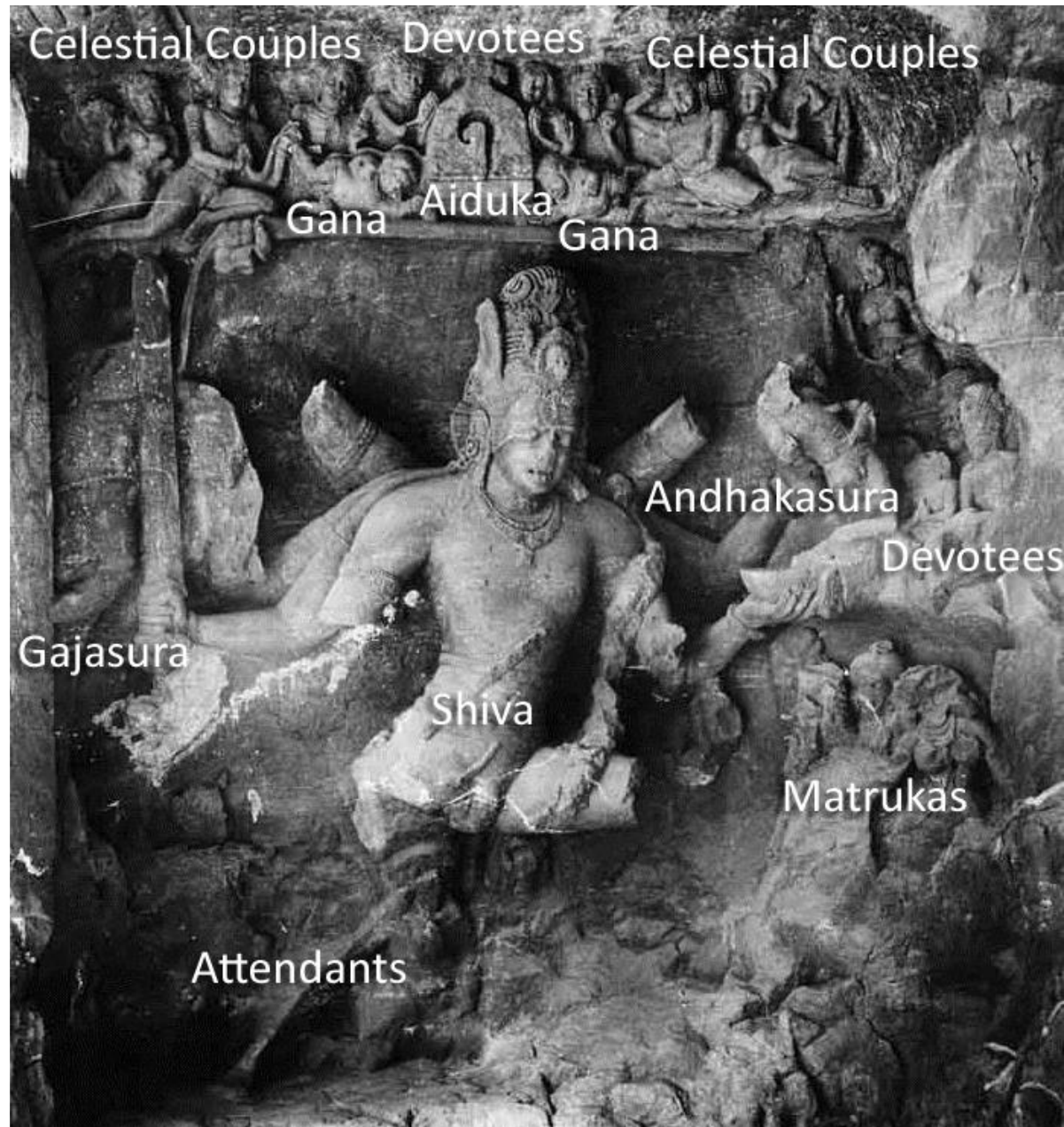
the rest of the compartment. The rock over the heads of *Śiva* and *Pārvatī* is carved into patterns resembling somewhat irregular frets on an uneven surface intended to represent the rocks of *Kailasa*. Hanging in the clouds on either side are the usual celestial attendants or *Gandharvas* and *Apsaras* rejoicing and scattering flowers<sup>64</sup>.

### ***AṇdhakasurAnugraha***

This panel faced *Kalyānasuṇḍara-murtī* and located on the north of the west end of the cave. The figure of *Śiva* stands 11.5 feet tall. *Śiva* is shown with eight arms and face filled with rage, swollen eyes, protruding tusks. This panel shows the cowering demon about

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<sup>64</sup> Pandit suraj, (2013). Stories in Stone- Historic Caves of Mumbai,Page no.91-93, Mumbai.



to be slashed by an enraged and incensed sword-wielding Śīva who is also holding a bowl in his other hand. Śīva 's rage is superbly portrayed by bared fangs or tusks projecting downwards, set lips, knotted eyebrows, large swollen eyes, bulging third eye, and overall posture of impending violence. Śīva 's headdress is high and is extensively carved with a skull and cobra over the forehead and the crescent on the right. A *mundamāla* or a rosary of human skulls has been hung over the left shoulder and across the thighs. A weapon seems to have placed in the waistcloth. He has been depicted with eight arms, but five are now broken; both the legs too are also broken. A small human body on his left is depicted as rendered immobile by a short spear held in the front left hand of the *Bhairava*, as in the *Daśavatāra* sculpture of the same scene. The second right hand wields a long sword with which he seems on the verge of slaying his victim; the third left hand holds a bell as if to intimate the moment when the fatal blow will be struck while the second right arm has the

bowl to receive his blood. A cobra is twisted around this arm. The third right hand holds up a human form by the legs; perhaps, this is the head of *Nilā*, the elephant friend of *Aṇḍhakāśura*. Unfortunately, as pointed out earlier, the remaining three arms are broken, and hence, details are not available<sup>65</sup>.

### *Natarajā*

This panel is situated on visitor's right side when entering from the main entrance at north. The compartment is 10 feet 9 inches wide and 11 feet 2 inches high. From inside the width is 13 feet 1 foot 2 inches high on a low base. Śīva is shown in '*Lalitām*' posture of cosmic dance. This dance posture is very regular in *Natārajā* images across India. The figure of Śīva in the center is about 10 feet 8 inches in height. It has eight arms, and nearly all are broken. The headdress is secured by a band. The graceful

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<sup>65</sup> Pandit suraj, (2013). Stories in Stone- Historic Caves of Mumbai, Page no.93, Mumbai.

eight-armed *Śiva* appears to be dancing the *Tāṇḍav*, the furious frenzied dance of destruction of the world. The dance posture here is the elegant and charming *Lalita*. A sensuous rhythm is obvious in this panel. On *Śiva*'s left is standing *Pārvatī*<sup>66</sup>. Above *Pārvatī* is seen *Viśnu* over *Garuda* and *Indrā* over elephant. On *Śiva*'s right, at his feet is *Bhrīṅgi* who is much defaced now.

### ***Sarvatobhadra Shrine***

While approaching the *Trimurtī*, the shrine or *garbhagriha* of the temple can be prominently seen on the right. This shrine can be entered by a door on each of the four sides, which consist of six steps; the floor level of the sanctuary is approximately 3 feet 8 inches above that of the temple. Eight gigantic *dwārapālas*, 14 feet 10 inches to 15 feet 2 inches in height, stand guard on each side of the four doors and they are attended by dwarfs; in this manner, all the four directions are guarded. The doors into the shrine have plain jambs with two plain fascias round them. Inside the doors, there are sockets of the doorposts both on the floor and in the roof. The chamber or sacellum is perfectly plain

inside and is approximately 19 ½ feet square in size. In the middle of the room, there is a base or *vedī* that is about 9 feet square and 3 feet high. A *liṅga*—cut from a stone of a harder and closer grain than that in which the cave is excavated—has been placed in the center and its lower end (2 feet 10 inches square) is fitted into a hole in the *vedī* or base. The upper portion is circular, of the same diameter, approximately 3 feet in height, and rounded above. The *śaluṅka* or top of the pedestal is somewhat hollowed towards the *liṅga* in order to receive the oil and ghee poured on it by the worshippers; this was meant to be carried off by a spout or *pranalikā* on the north side, but this is now broken. A flight of nine steps descend from the eastern side of the temple into a courtyard 55 feet in width, which had been open to the north; however, the entrance is now filled with earth and stones. A circular platform only 2 or 3 inches in height and 16 feet 3 inches in diameter is present in the middle of the court. This is present directly in front of the shrine in the temple to the south and was most probably the position of the *Nandi* or the great bull, which always is

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<sup>66</sup> Pandit suraj, (2013). Stories in Stone- Historic Caves of Mumbai, Page no.94, Mumbai.

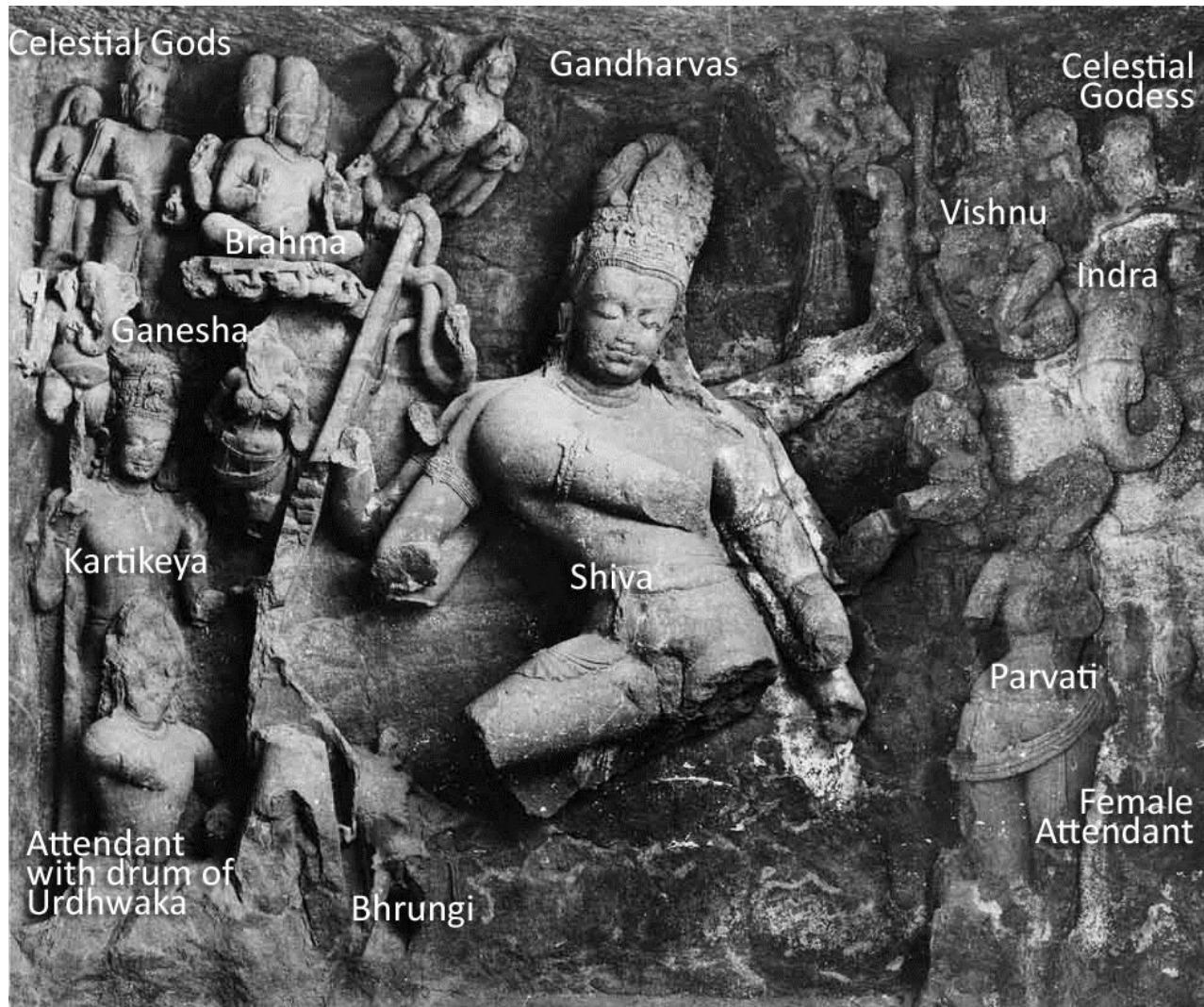
positioned facing the *liṅga* shrine in this manner, but no trace of it exists today<sup>67</sup>.

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<sup>67</sup> Pandit suraj, (2013). Stories in Stone- Historic Caves of Mumbai, Page no.97, Mumbai.

**Western Complex**

Exit through the western side takes visitors to an open courtyard measuring 9.2 m square. On south side of this cave is a water cistern of

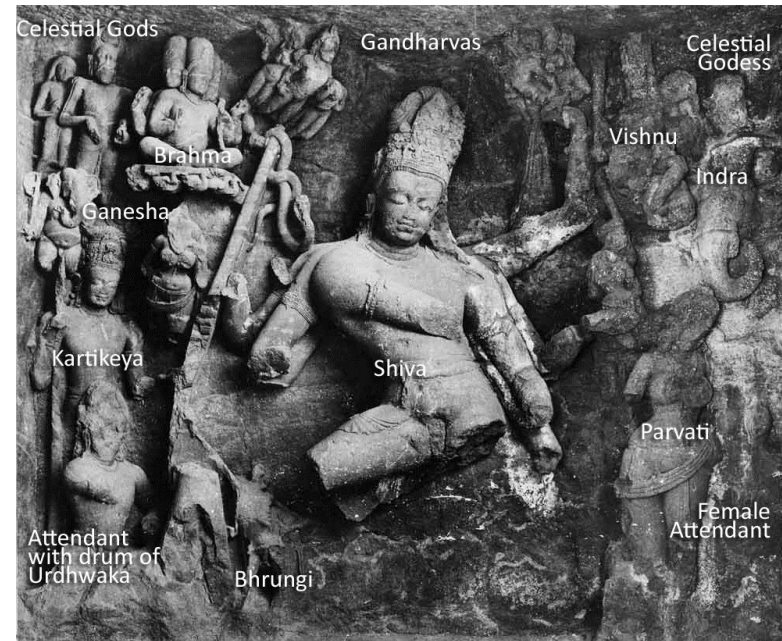
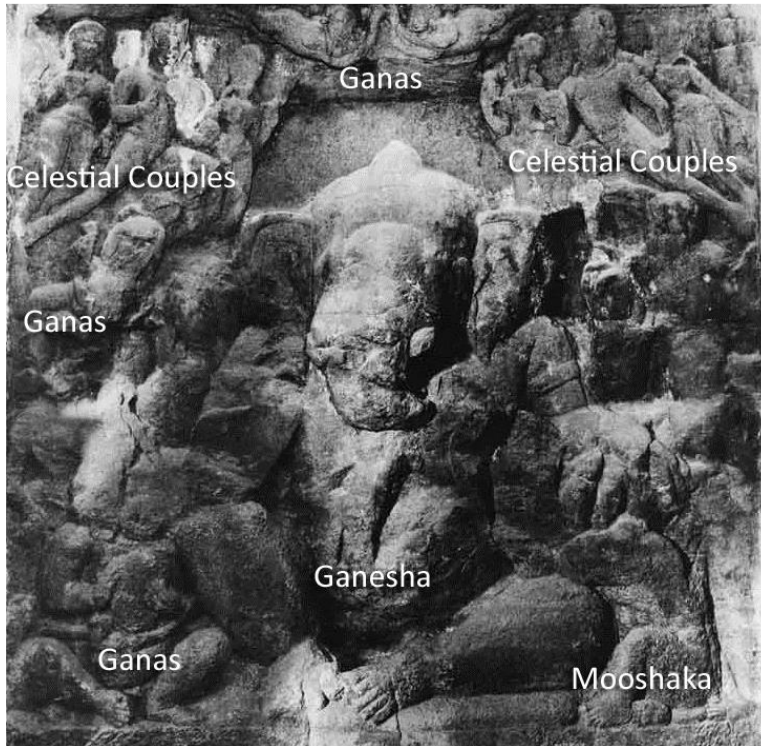


Its west side has a shrine inside which a *Śiva liṅga* is installed. This shrine is guarded by two gigantic *dwārpālas* on either side. Northern wall of the shrine has a sculpture of

considerable extent. Shrine on the west side is entered through two pillars and two pilaster supported in front. The hall is 27 feet wide and 13.5 feet deep and about 9 feet high.

*Śiva* as an ascetic. He is shown in a very similar attitude of

the main cave *Lakulīśa* sculpture.



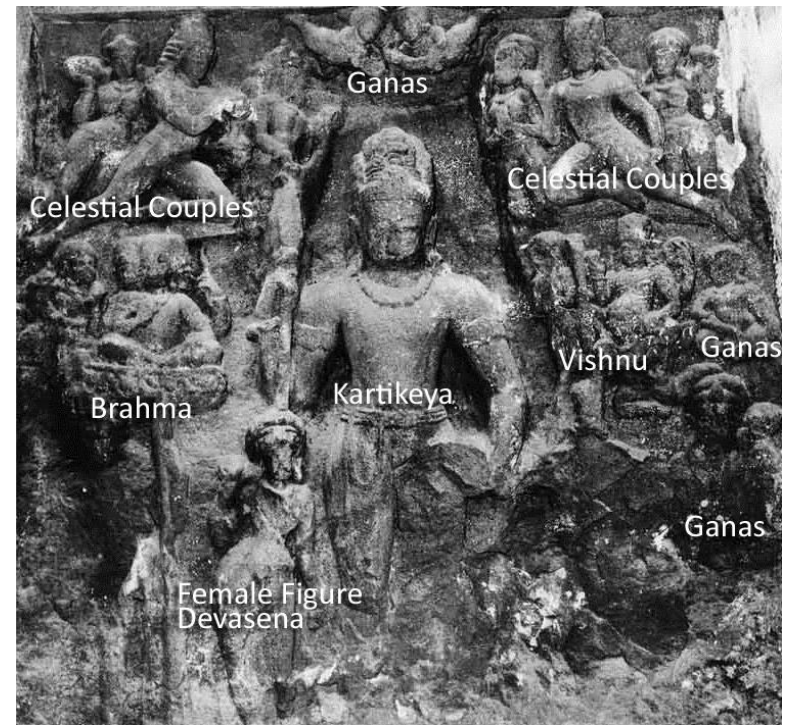
### Eastern Complex

The eastern exit of the main cave takes visitors to an open courtyard, 55 feet deep. The cave is entered through a portico supported on four columns and two pilasters, 50 feet in length and 18.5 feet high. All the pillars were broken except their bases and capital.

The present pillars are the reconstructed ones. This hall inside has shrines on its lateral sides and a *garbha-griha* in middle with circumambulatory path around the *garbha-griha*. The hall measures 58 feet 4 inches wide and 24 feet 2 inches deep. The *garbha-griha* is 13 feet 10 inches wide and 16 feet deep. A *Śiva-liṅga* is placed inside this *garbha-griha*. The entrance to this shrine is adorned by two statues of tigers. Two gigantic *dwārpālas* are provided on either side of the main door of the *garbha-griha*, however these are detached from the *garbha-griha* structure and beyond the circumambulatory path. One of the *dwārpāla* is indeed *Śiva* shown with four hands, holding a snake in one of his hands. The hall on east has two pillars and two pilasters for entrance. There are no sculptures inside.

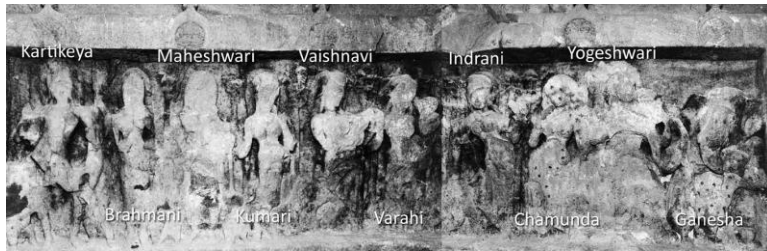
The shrine at the west of the cave is 10 feet 10 inches deep and 25 feet wide. The entrance is supported on two pillars and two pilasters.

The original pillars were long gone, the present ones are the reconstructed ones. Both its lateral sides and the back wall have sculptures. *Ganeśa* is present on the southern side, *Kārtikieya* is present on the northern wall. *Brahma* and *Viśnu* are present on top corners. The back wall is carved ten



figures depicting *Aṣṭa-mātrikas*. *Ganeśa* is shown at the extreme north and *Veerabhadra* on extreme south. In between these are eight *mātrikās* instead of regular seven. Each *mātrikā* is depicted with a child and her respective flag staff. These *mātrikās* are *Brāhmanī*, *Māheśvarī*, *Vaiśnavī*, *Kumārī*, *Indrānī*, *Vārāhī*, *Chāmundā* and *Yogeśvari*.





### Cave 2

This cave is situated close to the main cave. This cave is 109.5 feet long and Verandah supported by four pillars and two pilasters, which are square in section. Basically this is unfinished cave.

### Cave 3

This cave is approached from the north. This cave is cut deep longitudinally in its width. The verandah, 80 m wide and 35 m deep, is supported on six pillars and two pilasters, all reconstructed. There is a chamber on its north, supported on four octagonal pillars and two pilasters. The chamber is 11.9 m wide and 6.7 m deep. A male figure with six arms has been carved on the lintel of the finely carved doorway; it has animal on either side, inside is an altar<sup>68</sup>.

<sup>68</sup> Michell G, (2002). Eleohanta, Indian Book House PVT LTD, Mumbai.

### Cave 4

This cave is similar to cave 3 in plan and execution. The verandah is 15.2 m wide. The back wall has three cells and a shrine with *Śiva liṅga* inside. The door guardians of the shrine are long gone. On either side of the verandah is a chamber supported on two pillars and two pilasters. The chamber measures 4.6 m square.

### Cave 5

Basically this is unfinished cave. The verandah is 22.2 m wide and 8.2 m deep and is supported on four pillars and two pilasters. The back wall has three cells; the central one has a *Śiva liṅga* inside<sup>69</sup>.

### Cave 6

This is situated on the eastern hill across the ravine. It consists of three chambers made into a church by the Portuguese.

### Cave 7

<sup>69</sup> Michell G, (2002). Eleohanta, Indian Book House PVT LTD, Mumbai.

This is unfinished cave. There are remains of a brick built Buddhist stupa nearby which may belong to circa 2nd c B.C. Around it are 7 smaller stupas, which may be votive<sup>70</sup>.

### **Other Monuments**

The other hill, Stupa Hill, also has a small embankment and water tank most probably constructed in the Satavahana period itself. There is extensive evidence of Buddhist habitation and remains that are dated between 2nd and 6th century CE can be seen. Stylistically and architecturally, they closely resemble the Buddhist cave at Lonad, which is one of the early caves of the *Traikutaka* period and probably excavated during the reign of *Vyaghrasena*. It is highly probable that Elephanta Island known today for mid-6th century CE Brahmanical caves was once habituated by Buddhists<sup>71</sup>.

### **Inscription:**

Diogo de Couto was a famous Portuguese historian who traveled to India in 1559 and stayed for almost a decade.

Though he visited the island Elephanta in 1559, however his accounts were published only in 1603. Couto's accounts were made available by W K Fletcher<sup>72</sup>. Couto was the first one to mention about an inscription of Elephanta. He mentions that this stone plaque bore an inscription which no one could decipher in India hence it was sent to Portugal where it lost never was to forever. Diego de Coutto informs us that a stone bearing an inscription was removed from the gate of these caves and sent to the Portuguese king D John III when the governor of India failed to decipher that. Portuguese king also failed in his endeavor to decipher it. After that there is no reference made of this stone and no traces of it are found till now. Apart from Couto, Hector Macneil also mentions about inscription but he identified inscription as a Persian inscription during his visit in 1783.

### **Horse:**

There are traces of ancient habitation on the island of a very early period as is evident from the remains of a Buddhist stupa which is assigned to the second century BCE;

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<sup>70</sup> Michell G, (2002). Elephanta, Indian Book House PVT LTD, Mumbai.

<sup>71</sup> Pandit suraj, (2013). Stories in Stone- Historic Caves of Mumbai, Mumbai.

<sup>72</sup> Fletcher, W K (1844). Coutto's Decade VII, Book III, Chapter X, published in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Asiatic Society.

it is surrounded by smaller ones which may be votive stupas. The stupa is located on the eastern (stupa) hill, was opened by someone long ago and two sculptures were recovered from it. One of these was a *Yaksha* and the other a lion whereas other statues were also found but its whereabouts are not known. According to S. Gorakshkar<sup>73</sup>, the *Yaksha* betrays some *Gandhara* influence.<sup>74</sup> The discovery of lion is significant as elephant and horse had already been found<sup>75</sup>.

### **Exploration on Elephanta Island:**

A team of researchers had explored *Gharapuri* or Elephanta for archaeological findings in November 1992. The team included prominent researchers such as S.R.Rao, Sila Tripathi and A.S.Gaur under the banner of National Institute of Oceanography. They conducted explorations at three major sites. These sites were ancient ports of Island, namely Mourabandar, Shetbandar, Rajbandar. Explorations had been conducted in two parts first offshore and second onshore. Researchers found a range of archaeological

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<sup>73</sup> S.Gorakshkar, (1981-84). Sopara-Abode of buddhas seven supreme, JAS , Bombay, Vol.56-57, page 20.

<sup>74</sup> S.Gorakshkar, (1987). Kalidasa and the Mahāyogī at Gharapuri, Kusumānjālī . Dr. C. Shivarammurti Fel. Vol., page.145-48.

artifacts from pottery to metal coins. But all these artifacts belong to different time period, yet ancient ports too belong to three different time periods. Morabandar was maritime port during Satvahana period, Rajbandar served as busy port during Roman Period (1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> Century) while Shetbandar was port during Portuguese Colonial Period.

Morabandar is earliest port named after *Mauryas* of Konkan while at Rajbandar where a brick wharf was excavated by ASI is datable to 1<sup>st</sup> century AD which is now submerged under the water reservoir. According to researchers Rajbandar was a harbor and Morabandar was the habitational area because numerous pottery, coins, structural remains were noticed at Morabandar.

### **Coins:**

A number of circular and square shaped copper coins were found at Morabandar. On two lead coins three peaked hill on obverse and a wheel with 10 spokes on reverse are clearly visible. On one copper coin an inscription of *braāhmi*

<sup>75</sup>Dhavalika.M.K (2016).Cultural Heritage of Mumbai, Chhatrapati Śiva ji Maharaj Vastu Sangrahalaya (The Prince of Wales Museum), Mumbai, India.

character YA is visible. This coin may be of *Yajna Sri Sātkarni*, thus dates back to 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. During exploration, 24 coins were collected, 15 are of copper and 9 are of lead. According to paleographic features these coins belong to different time period. Another copper coin depicting “*Sri Kriśnaraja*” within dotted border below the name on reverse is couchant *Naṇḍi* facing left. These coins belong to Kalchuri dynasty which dates back to sixth and seventh century A.D

#### **Pottery:**

At Morabandar in intertidal zone rolled pottery was found while shreds of pottery which included bowl, dish, jar and plates of red ware was also collected. At Shetbandar, below the exposed wall as mentioned in table a thick deposit of pottery layer consisting of miniature bowls, spouts and jars were noticed. Here potteries are of thin section, unpainted and ill-fired. Numerous potteries from Morabandar and manufacturing unit from Rajbandar suggest that pottery was manufactured in the island itself. On basis of pottery, date may be attributed to pre-Gupta period.

#### **Other Artifacts:**

Stone pestle was found in vicinity of Morabandar. The brick size of Shetbandar structure suggests habitation during Gupta period. Some bricks collected from intertidal zone of Shetbandar belongs to Satvahana period. Extensive evidences of bustling town have found in intertidal zone of much earlier time period.

Name of Ports	Structural Remains
Morabandar	Small hamlet in north-eastern side; section of 5m in height found above high water markline
Rajbandar	A brick wharf submerged under water; the brick ruins of an ancient port town; a Buddhist sprawling ruins of brick-building
Shetbandar	A rock-cut well of 2.5 m in diameter is noticed; onshore region a brick wall of 15-20m in length and 1m in height with brick size of 30x20x7 cm

Main cave (Cave No.1) - Loose sculptures from cell-stores Elephanta, rock-cut caves



Face of Vishnu (?)



Female figure without head



Face of Vishnu (?)

Main cave (Cave No.1) - Loose sculptures from cell-stores Elephanta, rock-cut caves



Statuette of a dwarf, broken feet & a bracket



Sun's feet with shoes (?)

**Main cave (Cave No.1) - Loose sculptures from cell-stores Elephanta, rock-cut caves**



A torso, A female head and a broken hand with a bowl of laddus



Brahma



Main cave (Cave No.1) - Loose sculptures from cell-stores Elephanta, rock-cut caves



Female figure lower half



Female figure lower half



Bust of a four armed god

Main cave (Cave No.1) - Loose sculptures from cell-stores Elephanta, rock-cut caves



Mahishasuramardini



Garuda



Vishnu



Mandapeshwara Caves

### **Introduction to Mandapeshvara:**

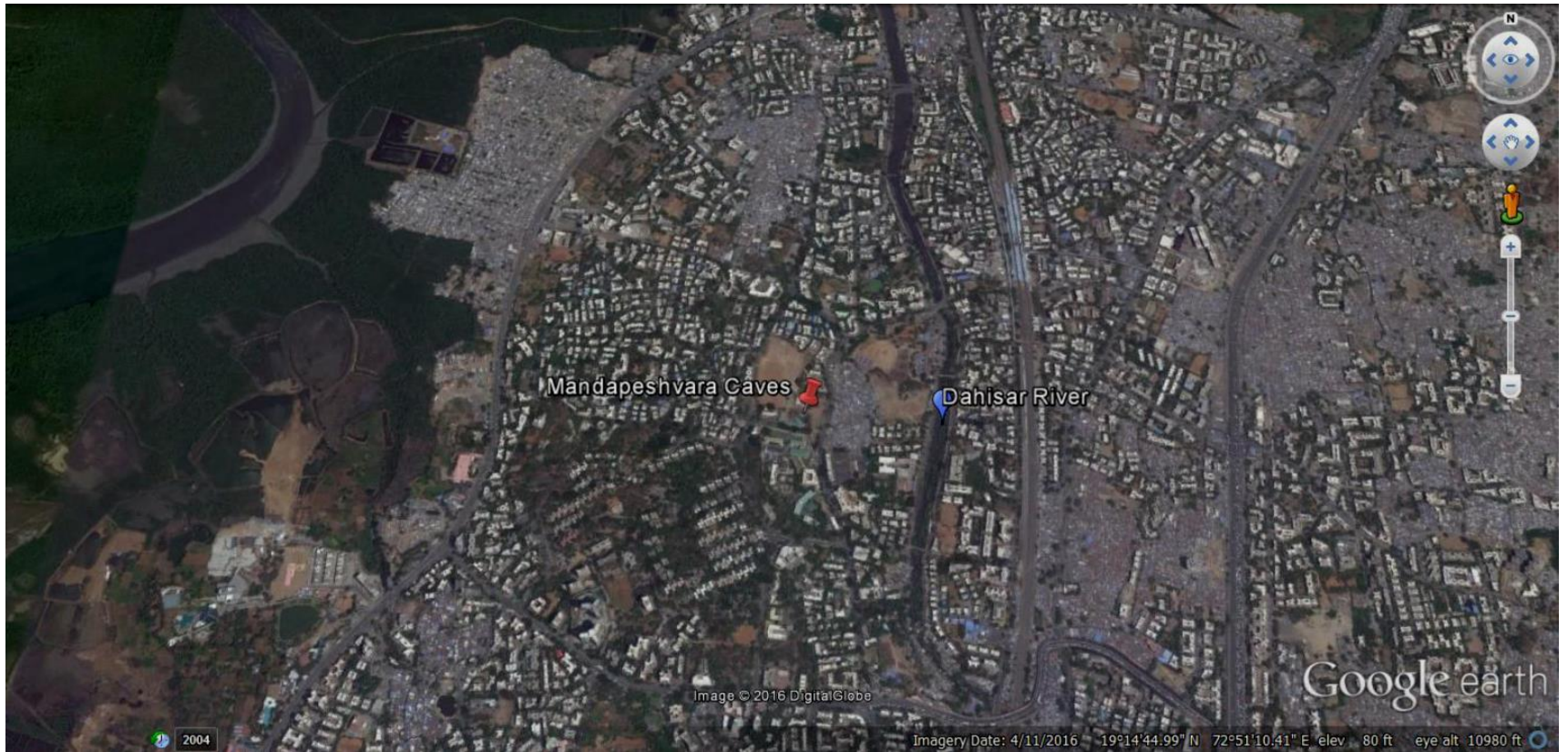
Mandapeshvara is a small Śaiva monument comprising of two caves. One is insignificant and unfinished, and other evinces the religious history of 1400 years. Apart from these two caves on the site, there is an attempt to excavate a cave in the south of the small cave.

The site is located not far from Dahisar River and was approachable through the fields along the river. The area is known as Mount Poinsur. There were numerous archaeological remains scattered on the plains between the river and the site, now occupied by slums. It is believed that there was a monolithic stupa found from the region; the whereabouts of the same are not known.

There were two Buddhist monasteries in the region, viz. Kanheri and Magathane. Both were influential, must have left a deep impact on the region. As it has been observed, Buddhist and *Pāśupata* monuments coexist in the region; Mandapeshvara is one of these examples.

### **The Name:**

During the colonial era, the Portuguese captured this ancient cave temple and destroyed cave sculptures. During this period, the cave was converted into Montpezier or Monpacet church and college, after retake of the region of the Maratha Empire cave temple was named as Mandapeshwar. Most



Location of the Cave

researchers consider that name Madapeshwar might be given by Marathas from the *mandala* type of cave architecture or Montpezier may be derived by ancient name Mandapeshwar.

While some historians consider Mount Poisor is abbreviation of Mandapeshwar itself.

### **Date of the Cave:**

On the basis of stylistic affiliation this cave has been dated to 2nd half of the 6th century CE. The earliest known *Śaiva (Pāśupata)* monastery was Jogeshwari. *Śaiva* caves at Elephanta can be dated to post Jogeshwari period. Mandapeshwara marks the last phase. Pillars, *Natarāja* sculpture and other architectural features suggest a later date of Mandapeshwara than Elephanta. Adjacent unfinished cave of the main shrine is a later addition, as there is an opening to the cave from the pillared verandah in the southern wall of the courtyard of the main cave. In short, both the caves can be dated to the second half of the 6th century CE.

By 6<sup>th</sup> century CE, Buddhist monasteries were enjoying the ownership of the natural resources in the region. Mandapeshwar was the *Śaiva* monastery claiming natural resources. There must have been a peaceful co-existence of the two religious traditions as no evidence of conflict is seen at least today. The region behind the hill up to *Eksar* village must have under direct influence of Mandapeshwara. It is quite possible that villages like *Shifali*, *Uttan* and *Gorai* have also been under the sphere of influence due to geographical

proximity and the easy mode of transport provided by Dahisar river. This is the region which came under direct influence of the Mount Poinsur Church during the Portuguese period. There is no evidence to know the exact relation between Madapeahwara, Jogeshwari and Elephanta.

In comparison with Elephanta and Jogeshwari this is a very small site. The architectural form of the main cave at Mandapeshwara resembles to the smaller caves at Jogeshwari (in southern court) and caves 3, 4 and 6 at Elephanta. Among these caves Mandapeshwara executes the most evolved architectural forms. This can be placed at the end of the series of above mentioned monuments in chronological order.

Mandapeshwara cave must have been a *Pāśupata* monastic settlement where two residential rooms are provided. It is interesting to see that one of the rooms is unfinished and an attempt was made to the other a livable structure. This might be the house of an *Achārya* or maybe a meditation cell for a *Sādhaka*. The function cannot be specified as no evidence for the same is preserved in the cave.

There are numerous alterations made in the structure in the Portuguese period. Main shrine was defunct and side porch (southern) was converted into an altar by removing pillars. As evinced from the old photographs a wall was erected to close the entrance of the elaborate defaced shrine of *Lakuliśa*. A passage was carved between the right cell and a porch. A small entrance was opened between the elaborate *Lakuliśa* shrine and the *Antarāla* of the main sanctum. There was a wall with typical Portuguese entrance and windows were erected in front of the cave.

### **Early references**

De Couto states (Da Asua VII. 245) that, when in 1538 the Franciscans received charge of the Kanheri and Mandapeshvara caves, and expelled the Yogis, they did their best to destroy the sculptures. About forty years later (1603) Couto wrote: 'In the island of Salsette was another pagoda called Manazaper, which is also cut out of solid rocks in which lived a Yogi, very famous among them called Ratemnar, who had with him fifty Jogis, whom the

inhabitants of those villages maintained. The priest Fre Antonio de Porto being told of this, went to him. But the Yogis of that island had so great a fear of him that no sooner did they see him, then they left the temple and went away. Only divine power, says De Couto, could have made these fifty men leave their temples and their lands, and flee before two poor sacks clothed friars. The priests entered the cave and turned it into a temple dedicated to N. S. de Piedade. The Franciscans afterwards established a college for the island of Salsette, for the education of the children of all converted to Christianity. King D. Joao granted this college all the revenue and property that had belonged to the pagoda<sup>76</sup>.

In 1695 GemelliCareri described it as Monopesser, an under-ground church once a rock-temple, on which had been built a Franciscan college and monastery. It was 100 spans long and thirty broad. The front was built, but the side walls were of rock; close by was another rock-cut pagoda<sup>77</sup>. It is believed that Garcia De Orta had lived here. Garcia de Orta was a Portuguese Renaissance Sephardi Jewish physician,herbali

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<sup>76</sup> Campbell, J M (1882).Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency vol XIV. Government Central Press. Bombay.

<sup>77</sup> Campbell, J M (1882).Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency vol XIV. Government Central Press. Bombay.



st and naturalist. He was a pioneer of tropical medicine, Pharmacognosy and ethnobotany, working mainly in Goa, then a Portuguese colony in India. Garcia de Orta used an experimental approach to the identification and use of herbal medicines rather than the traditional approach of using received knowledge. He was physician to BurhanNizam Shah I of the NizamShahi dynasty of Ahmadnagar, and concurrently to several successive Portuguese Viceroys and the governors of Goa. The King of Portugal through the Viceroy Dom Pedro Mascaren had granted a lifelong lease (on payment of a quit-rent) to Garcia da Orta for the Ilha da Boa Vida which became a part of Bombay. This was probably somewhere between September 1554 and June 1555. The only condition of the lease was that he had to improve the place. He had a manor house with a large garden. He probably maintained an excellent library here. This was the period when he believed to have a mango grove near Mount Poincur. He made some experiments with Mango at this place. Local people believe that this is the same Mango grove which is

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<sup>78</sup> Campbell, J M (2006, E-Book Edition)Thana District Gazzateer, Government of Maharashtra, Mumbai.

famous even today from I.C. and L.I.C. Colony located behind the hill of Mandapeshvar<sup>78</sup>.

According to tradition, Fr Antonio do Porto, a Franciscan missionary, was the founder of this Church in 1547. By October 1548, Fr Antonio do Porto and his companion Joao de Goa had baptized a number of people and founded a 'devout hermitage' at Mount Poincur<sup>79</sup>.

In October 1549, the Church had the description NossaSenhora da Piedade, i.e. Our Lady of Piety (the original name of our present Church).

During the time of Fr Antonio do Porto, the village of Mount Poincur was granted to the Franciscan by Governor George Cabral in the name of John III, King of Portugal, for the maintenance of their work. Soon the Franciscan bought the neighboring villages of Pare (Goregaon) and Arrangal around 1556–1559. Adjoining the Church, they also built a Royal College and Monastery in 1549, the ruins of which are still standing close to the present Church building. The College was established for the purpose of instructing those

<sup>79</sup> Campbell, J M (1882).Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency vol XIV. Government Central Press. Bombay.

wanting to embrace the faith and training for teaching the Gospel in the local language.

The 400 Christians baptized by Fr Antonio gradually grew in number. Around 1630 there were about 1500 parishioners in the villages of Mount Poincur, Dhainsa (Dahisar), Simpor, Canary (Kanheri) and Cassor. It was around this time that the name of the Church was changed to Our Lady of Immaculate Conception.

The Mandapeshwar caves had been used by the Franciscans as a crypt of the Church and later served as a chapel for the parishioners.

During the Maratha invasion of 1739, Mount Poincur was captured and the Franciscans dispersed. The Church, Friary and College were pillaged and left in ruins. The following 150 years saw the already damaged structure disintegrate into further ruin.

From 1739 to 1912 it appears that there was no resident Vicar of Mt Poincur. In 1888, through the efforts of the people of Bandra and under the guidance of the Dean of Thane, Fr Joao Braz Fernandes rebuilt the old parish Church and since then it has been functioning.

The Church had its own Vicar only from 1912 onwards and it underwent major repairs and renovations in 1912 and 1960. The Mandapeshwar caves were taken over by the Government of India in 1969 and designated as Protected Archaeological Monuments under the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI).

In the 1980's and 1990's, the parish started expanding, initially, gradually and then with increasing speed as people from the island city and southern suburbs started moving to Borivali, attracted by its peaceful surroundings and convenient public transport and other facilities. Over the last two decades till the current year, 2007, the parish has grown into one of Mumbai's largest with a vibrant involvement in liturgical and community activities. On the feast day at Mount Poincur, 8 December, people from all over Mumbai come in large numbers, following a tradition passed down over the centuries that has seen this Church as a center for pilgrimage.

#### **Description of the Cave:**

Mandapeshwar is the set of two caves both are in the east facing.



## Cave no .1

Cave no.1 is a main cave which acts as *garbhagruha* to this cave temple. At the entrance of cave no 1 on the left has a deep niche with a Christian cross carved above. During the Portuguese reign in Salsette this cross was made by forceful modification of precious temple masterpiece. And on the left side of the entrance just below the modified cross a deep niche with the underground water tank is provided. Similarly, the second water tank is just opposite to 1<sup>st</sup> one; at the wall along this tank has stone sculpture of unidentified goddess. There are some steps provided at the entry of cave no.1, these steps have broken sculptures of lions on both the sides. The significant and common feature of Hindu Architecture is *Chandraśila*, which is also carved at the entrance of this structure. The cave no 1 measures 66X40 feet and 12 feet in height. The open portico is supported on four pillars and two pilasters which measures 51X21 feet were chiseled during the Portuguese invasion. This cave consists of a hall which is in rectangular plan surrounded by cells, one on each side with central *garbhagruha* cell behind a central wall (exterior wall of *garbhagruha*) dividing hall and cell. When we enter the hall through the steps at the left

side we enter the cell no. 1 with the help of some steps which is located in the south part of the cave no.1

### a) Cell no. 1

The cell on the south has a huge relief panel depicting *Śiva* as *Natārajā* . This cell is separated by free standing pillars (the pillars are not existed) and pilasters from the main hall. In this panel, *Śiva* is shown in a dancing position depicted him in the center with various attendees on either side. This panel is the main attraction of the cave, in which large *śiva* is shown in Center with a dancing posture which is famous as *Natarāj* form of *Śiva* . The lower portion of the *Natarāja* is entirely damaged only few remains of feet are in existence. *Natarāja* depicted with the eight hands; four hands to each side. Hands are also in damaged condition. Due to the remains of the plaster facial features of the *Natarāja* are not clearly visible. *Jatamukuta* depicted as hair-dress on the head of the *Natarāja*. Three images of women's depicted at the lower corner i.e left side of *Natarāja*. Central figure of women is identified as *Pārvaṭī* and remaining two are attendants. A small figure of male attendant is also observed near the left foot of *Natarāja*. At the right side of the *Natarāja* one another male figure is shown which is

identified as *Brīngī*. Near the *Brīngī* there are some other attendants which are depicted with musical instruments. At the central part of panel, on the right side of *Natarāja* we can observe the sculpture of *Ganeś*. Apart from *Ganeś* we also observe in this panel Brahma and *Viśnu* at the both upper corners. Apart from the panel of *Natarāja* at the upper level of the panel, some celestial god and goddesses are depicted, which are identified as *gandharvas*. One small sculpture of *lakuliśa* is also observed here, *lakuliśa* is shown in seated position holding a *lakula* (rod). In this cell, pillars are totally vanished but pilasters still exist because of them we can understand the original nature of pillars. This pilaster contains *ghat*-shape capital, lower portion of pilasters in square form. Diamond, leaf, lotus chess pattern designs can be observed on these pilasters, apart from this decoration important feature noticed on these pilasters is medallions. A medallion has the couple in a circle which is identified as *Śiva -Pārvatī*. In this cell there is one window carved on the front wall of the *Nataraj* panel, which is projected outside of the cave.

a) Cell no. 2

Northern cell (cell no.2) of the back wall has two halls, separated by a row of two pillars out of which one pillar does not exist today. Pillars contain *Ghat* with lotus shape capital at the top. At the back wall of this cell there is one way to connect another small cell which is very simple, square in plan but unfinished cell. Apart from this small cell, the back wall of this cell has a relief panel which is much defaced by now. From what all is left out, K V Soundara Rajan conjectured that it was of *Lakuliśa* shown seated in the middle over a lotus whose stalk was held by two *nāgās* below. This lotus platform is very similar to Buddhist panels where Buddha is shown seated on the similar lotus seat. Four figures of devotees are carved which are seated in pairs with different postures of *Utkutika*, *Ardhaparyankasana*, *Sukhasana* or with both the legs dangling below the *Sula*. These figures are disciples of *Lakuliśa*, standing female figures identified as Ganga and Yamuna. *Vidhyadharas*, *gandharvas*, horse-riding figures with the horse prancing in the air, figures on back of *anjalihasta* and *ganas* are depicted in lower zone of upper part while in upper zone of upper part consists of *kinnaras* with human body and birds claw and

tail, *gandharvas*. *Dikpalas* such as *Yama* and *Indra* are on the north side while on southern side part is obliterated.

To the south, *brahma* figure is depicted with three head and two arm seated on lotus while to northern side four-armed *Viśnu* seated on *Garunda* which is in form of flying gana. Another hovering ganas and *vidyādhara* couple in a curved body posture are depicted on outer limit of cut-in outline of central figure.

In this cell apart from main entrance another way or door provided which connect to the *Antarāl* of *garbhagruha*, at door jambs of this entrance we can observe some pot holes which indicates wooden work. Through this entrance we enter to the *Antarāl* and then to the *garbhagruha*. Another micro significant feature of this cell is water channels, water poured for *Abhiśekha* is properly channeled outside of *garbhagruha* which leads to outside the main cave.

b) Cell no.3

Central cell of *garbhagruha* is in square shape with flat roof while walls of this cubical cell do not show any traces of sculptures but erected sculptures might have experienced a Portuguese church invasion. Outside of the

*garbhagruha*, portion of the *Antarāl* which contain two free standing pillars and pilasters, here on the outer wall of the *garbhagruha* we also observe some traces of the sculptures most probably sculptures of *dwārpalas* but these sculptures do not exist today. On the door of *garbhagruha* we can observe pillar *śākhā* while a circular pattern is carved at the roof of the *antarāl*. In *antarāl*, free standing pillars are erected along with other two pilasters which have pot shape capital with human sculptures and human animal riders.

c) Cell No.4

Next to the *Garbhagruha* is 4th cell with two halls, separated by a row of two pillars. At the back wall of this cell there is one way to connect another small cell which is very simple, square in plan but unfinished cell. There is also one another entrance which connects to the next cell.

d) Cell No.5

This cell consists of simple bench at the back wall and is separated by pillars and pilasters from main hall of the cave. From the hall we can enter in this cell through the steps which are located near the right pilaster. Pillars and pilasters have *Ghata*(bowl) shape capital with medallions.

## **Cave no. 2**

Cave no 2 also has an entrance from east. The entrance from the north is allowed through a hall which is supported on two pillars and two pilasters at the entrance. One of the pillars is no more intact except for its base.

## **Water tanks:**

Like any other rock cut architecture, this cave temple also has the facility of square water tanks at the entrance of the main cave.

## **Compilation and (re-) study of Epigraphical data**

This is a very recent inscription and cannot be referred to as graffiti. Line 9 refers to the site as Mandapeshwara while line 11 refers to the same as Mathapeshwar. The inscription refers to the donation given to the temple. The person who has given the donation to the temple was *Govinda*. Unfortunately no other details can be seen from these epigraphs.

The inscription should be in the 1850's, it is evident that the site was under worship as a *Śaiva* shrine. After battle of Bassein in 1739 between Portuguese and Maratha, latter

The inscription is engraved on the door jamb of the sanctum of Mandapeshwar cave. This is not deeply carved but visible even today. The language used in the inscription is *Marathi*, script used for engraving is Devanagari. There are total 11 lines written on prepared surface.

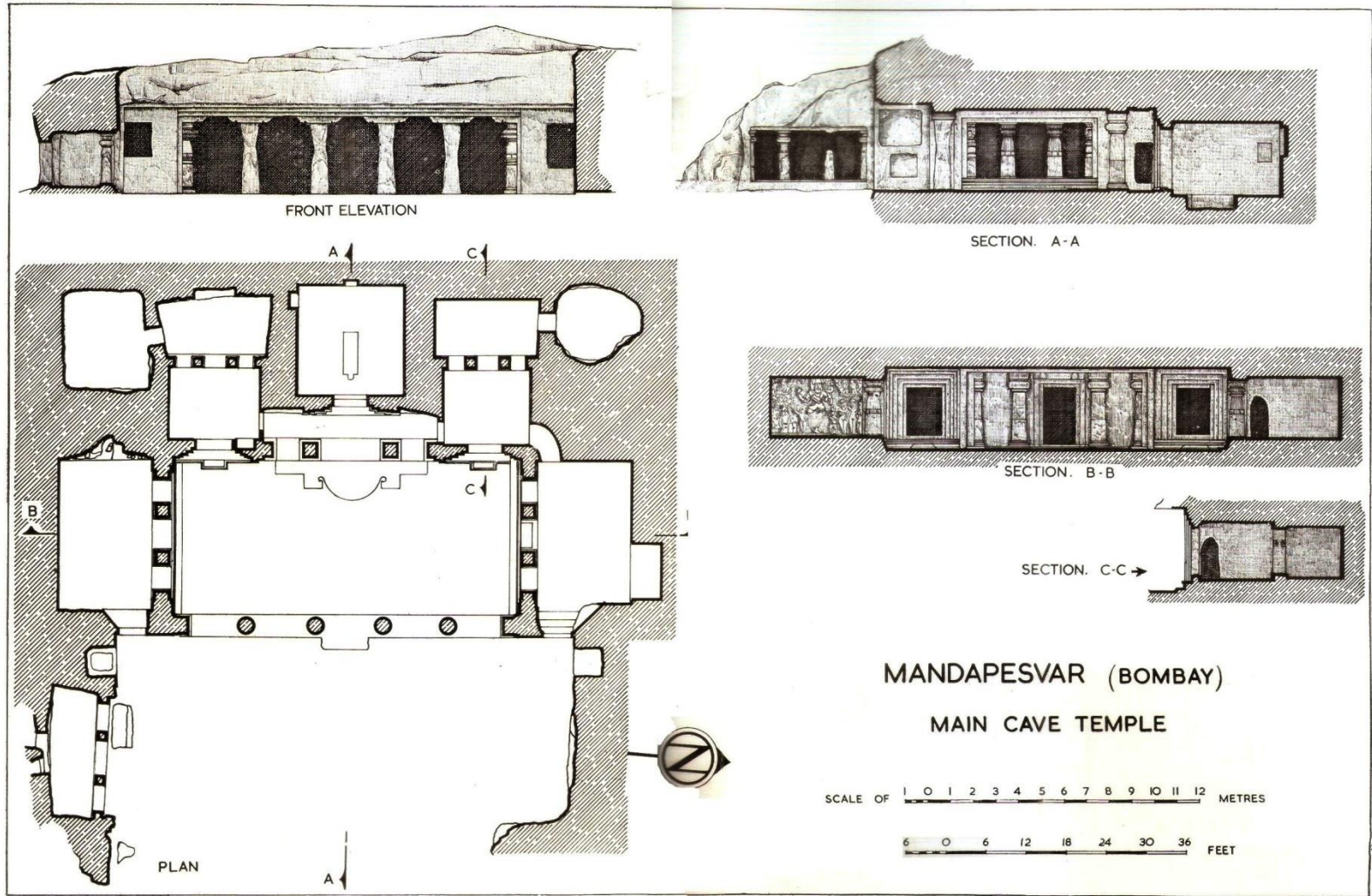
## **Date:**

The date is mentioned in the first two lines of this inscription, which refers to 6th day of the dark fortnight. The name of the month is the last. But the year mentioned is samvat 1911 which corresponds with 1854-55 CE.

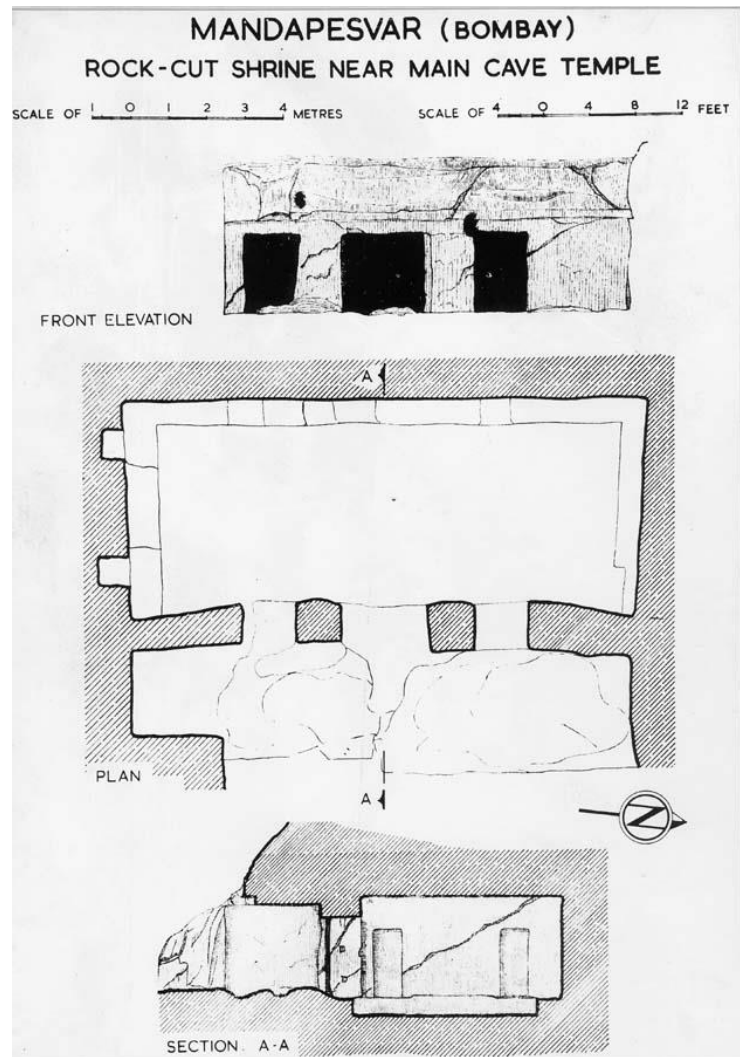
## **General Discussion:**

took over the charge of this region. This was destruction to the Christian settlement and revival of *Śaiva* tradition was initiated. This must be the popular *Śaiva* tradition and not necessarily the older *PāśupataŚaiva* tradition which was revived. The inscription suggests that even a century after revival of *Śaiva* tradition, the cave temple was under worship. Till the beginning of 20th century the tradition continued and the Christianity was revived by initiative taken by Christians from Bandra and Thane. The struggle for

the same is known to the history. This inscription plays a significant role in the local history of Mumbai.

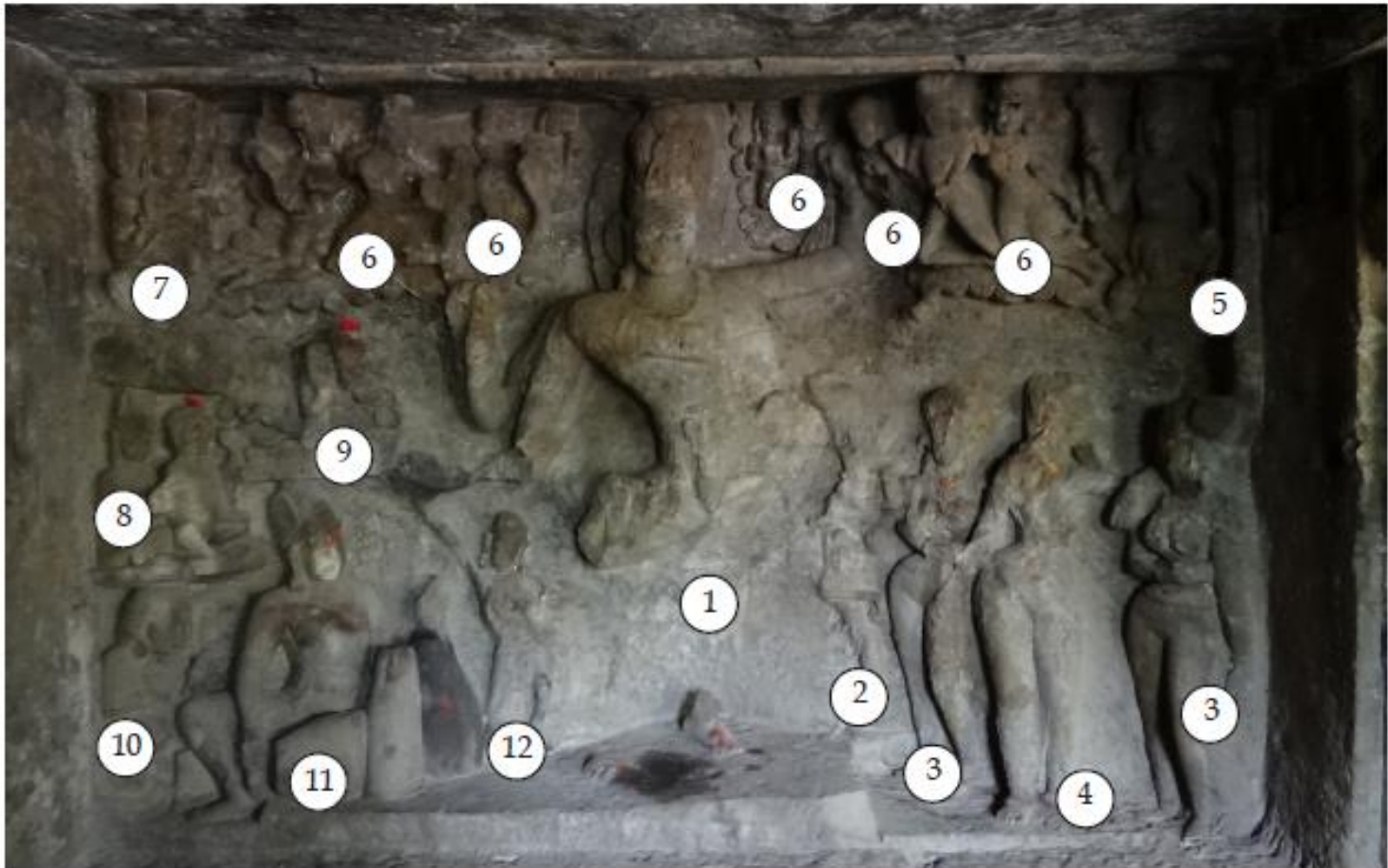


Plan & Elevation of Mandapeshwar Cave( After Sonderrajan, 1981)



**Plan & Elevation of Mandapeshwar Cave(      After Sonderrajan, 1981)**

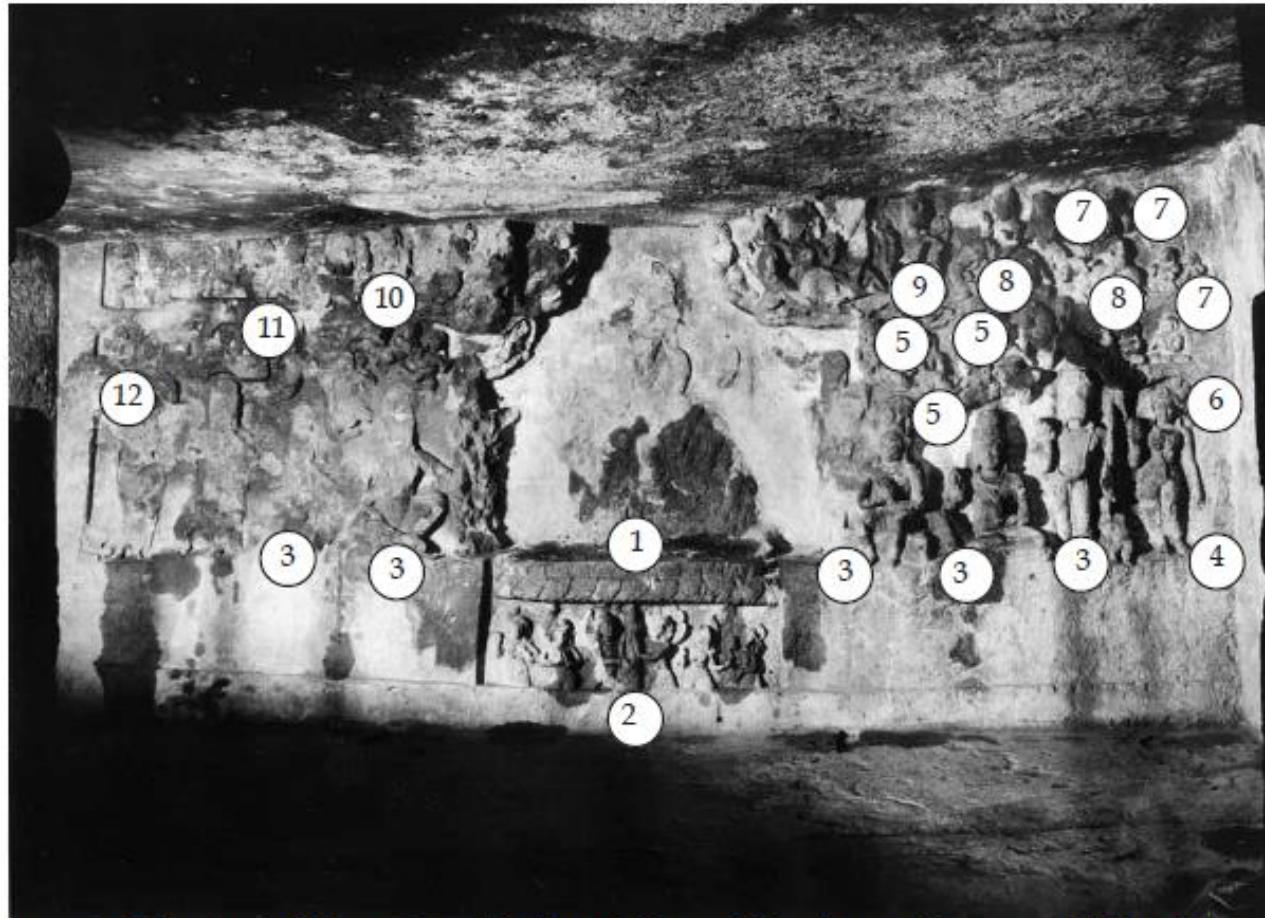




1. Nataraj, 2. Attendant , 3.Female Attendant 4. Parvati, 5. Vishanu with Garuda, 6. Vidyadaras,  
7. Bramha, 8. Ganas, 9. Ganesh with one gana, 10. Gana , 11. Drummer, 12. Bringi

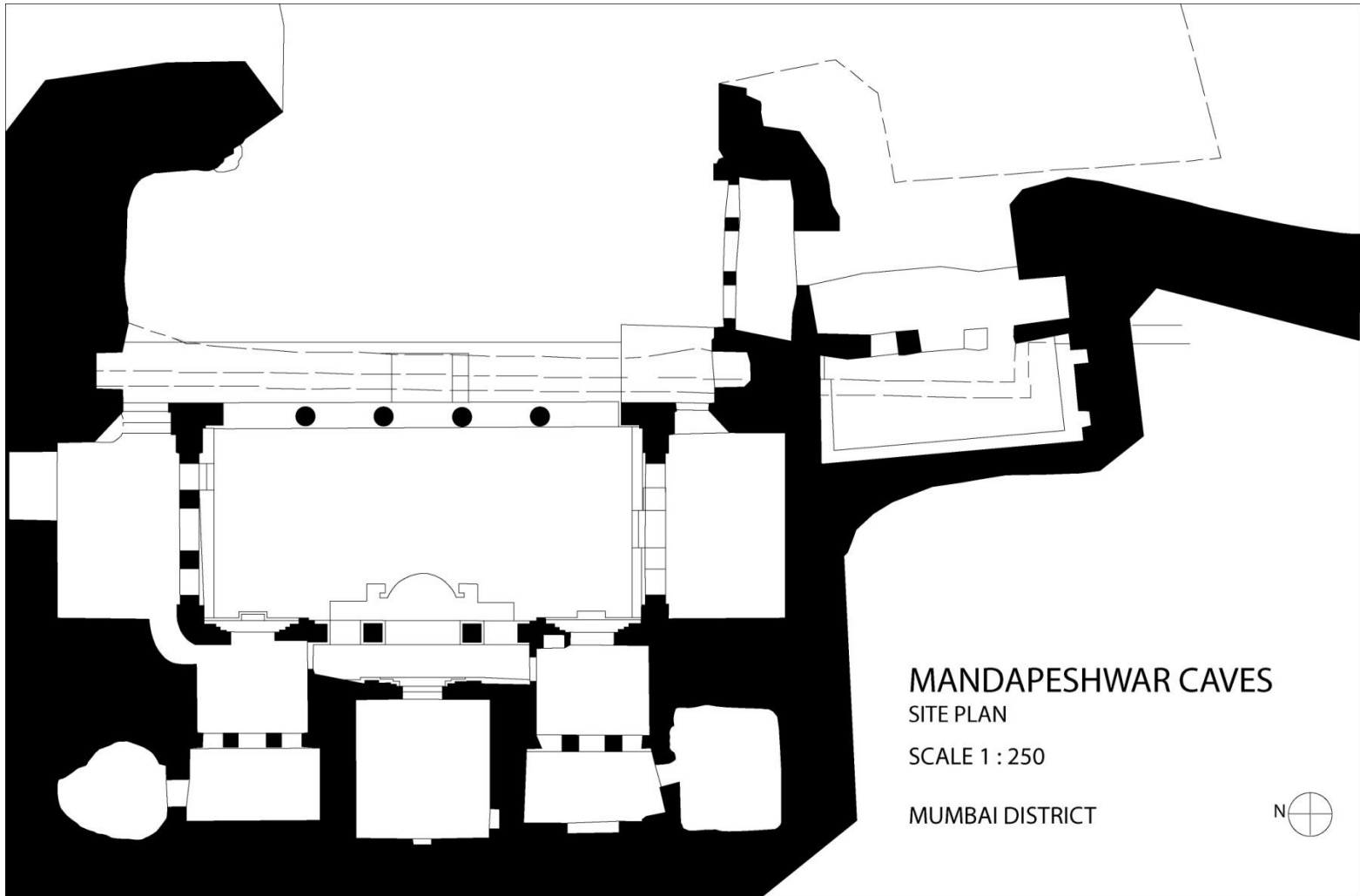
### Nataraj Panel



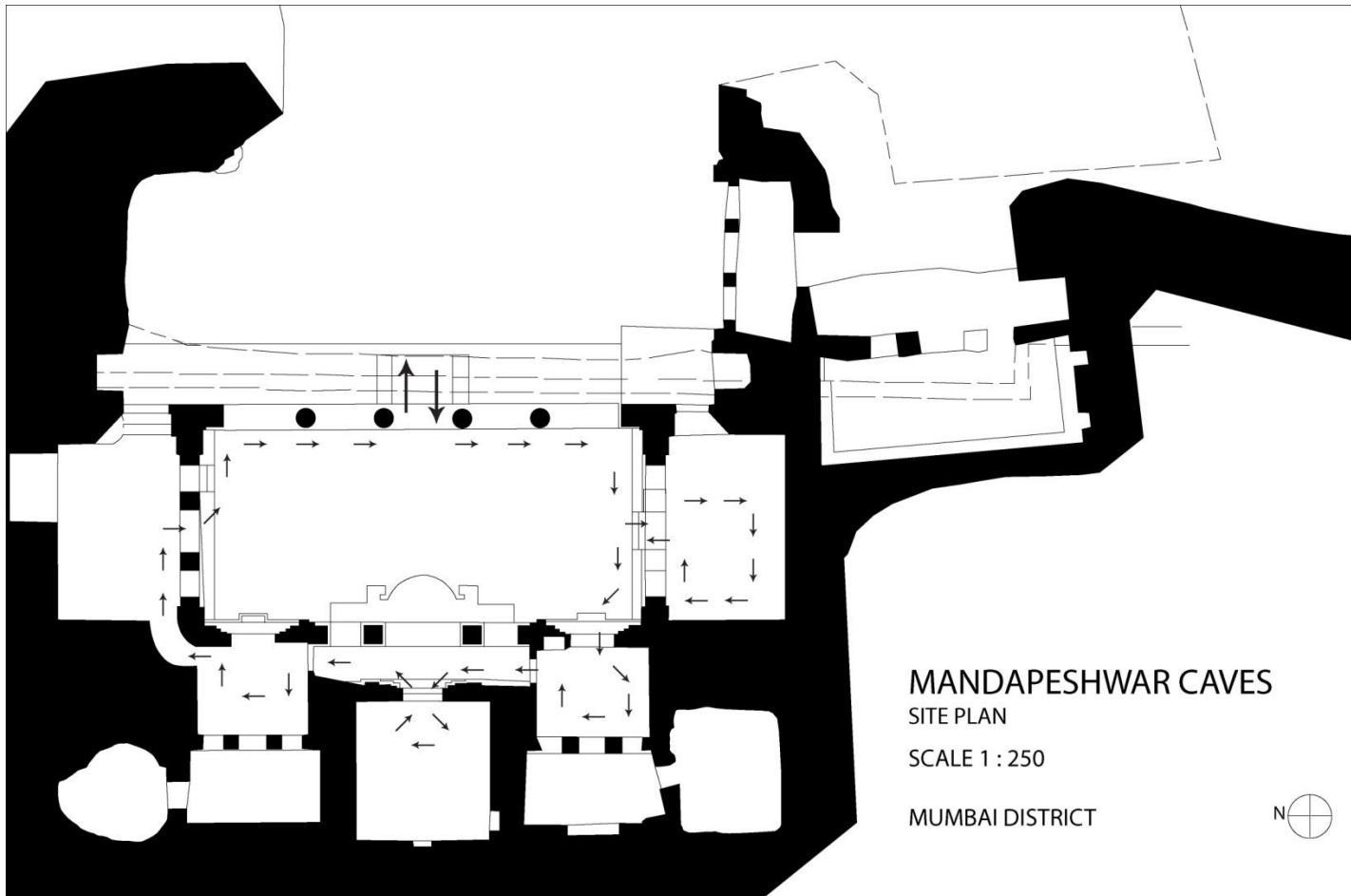


1. Lakulīśa (Padmasana), 2. Two hooded Nagas, Ganas, Two Pairs of Nagins, 3. Four figures of Devotees, 4. A Female figure: Ganga or Yamuna?, 5. Vidyadhara, Gandharvas and Horse riding figures, 6. Anjali-hasta Gana, 7. Kinnaras, Gandharvas, dikpalas etc. 8. Yama & Indra, 9. Vishnu, 10. Brahma, 11. Flying Gana, Ganas and Vidyadhara, 12. Chavari Bearers & Two Ganas

*Lakulīśa Panel*

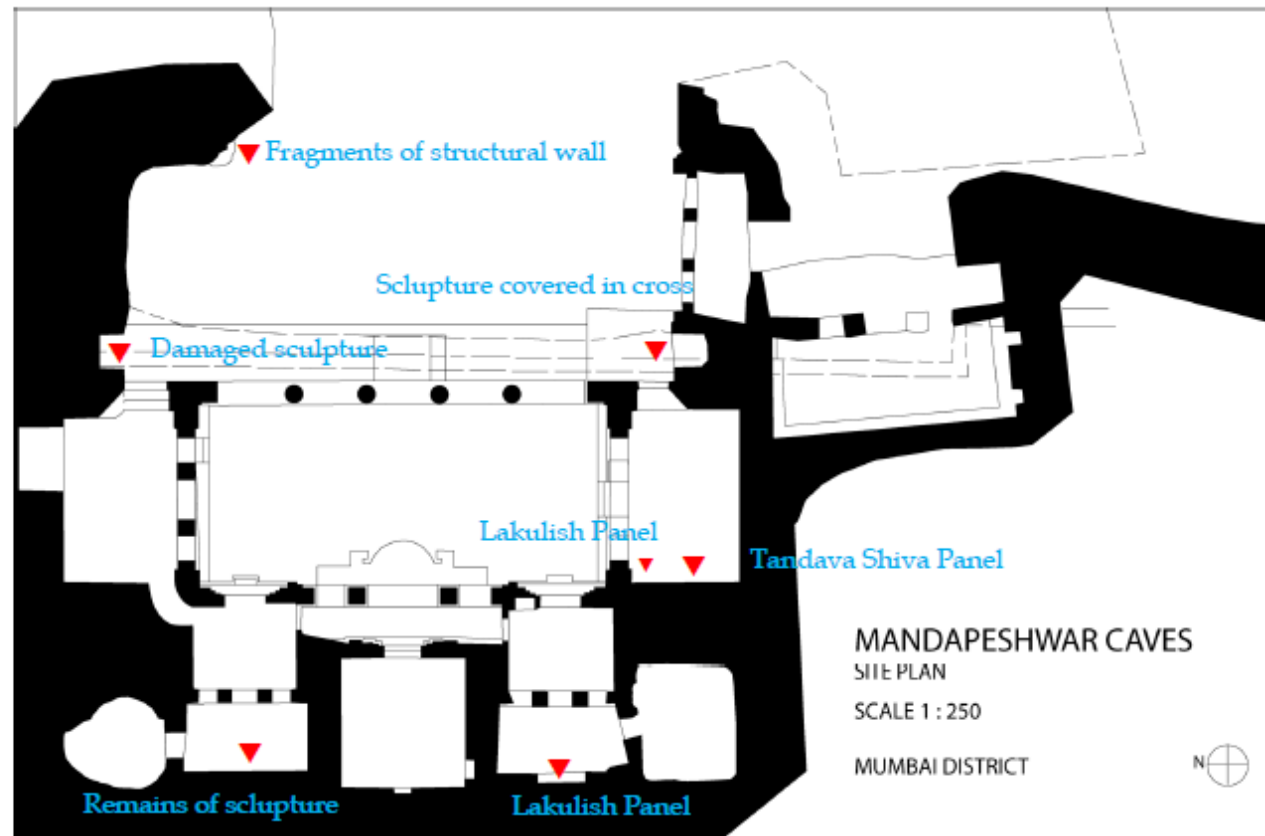


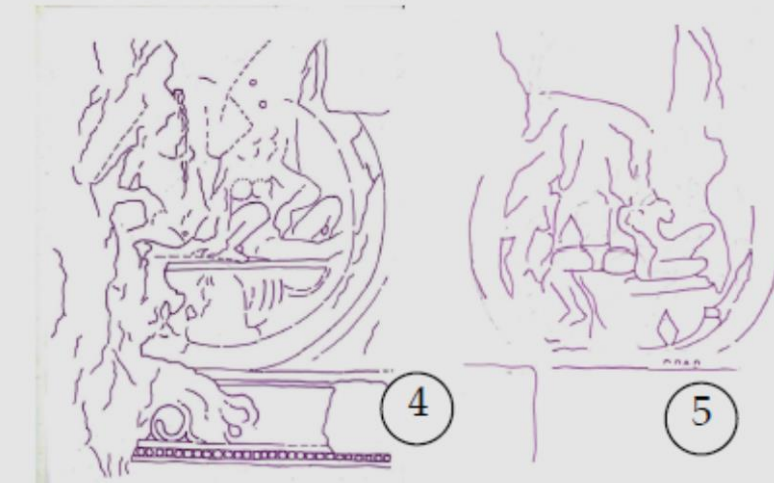
Plane



**Visitor Circulation Plan**

For Tourist on 'What To See' In The Cave Mandapeshawar :

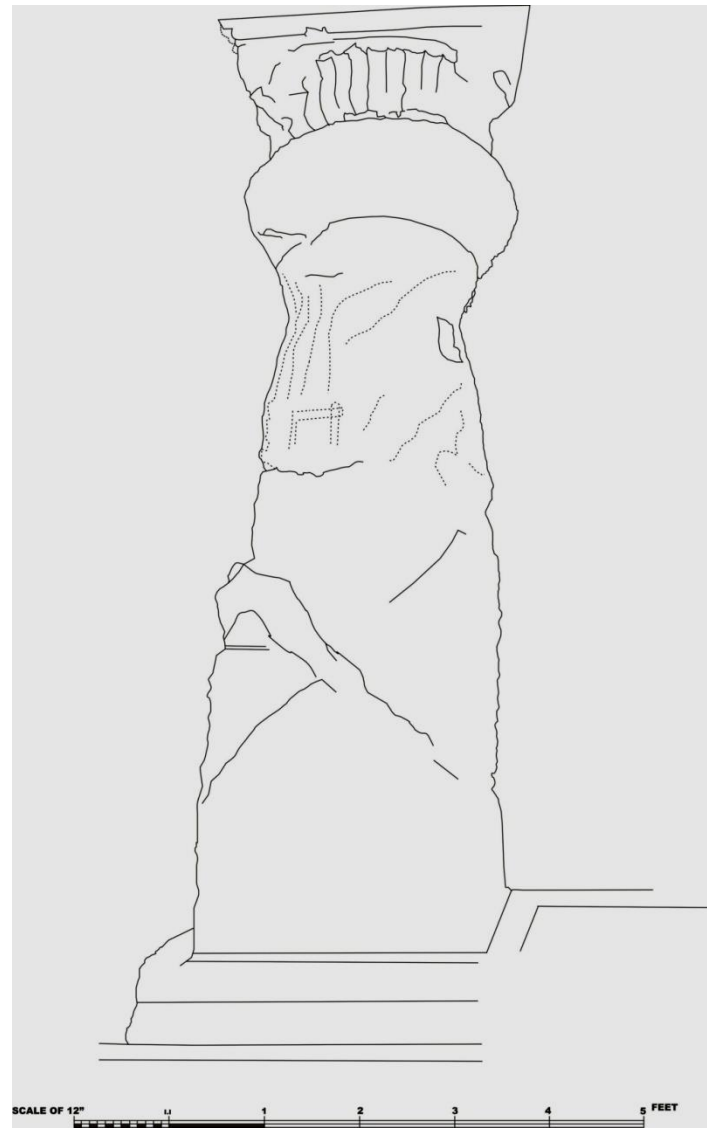
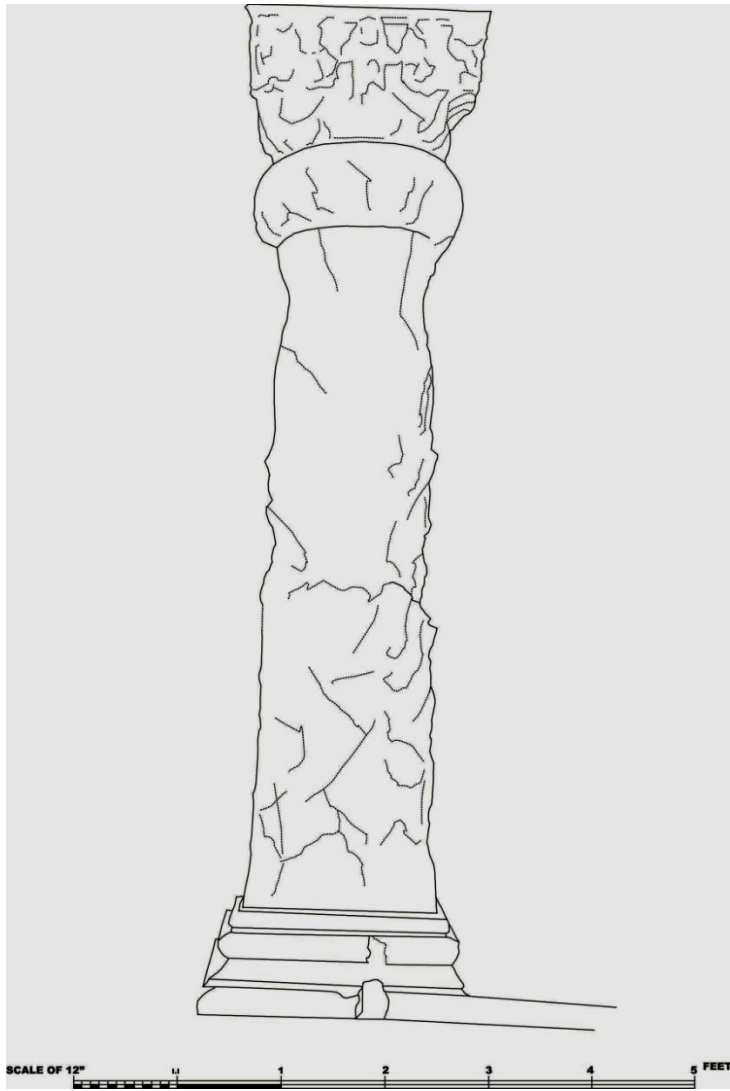




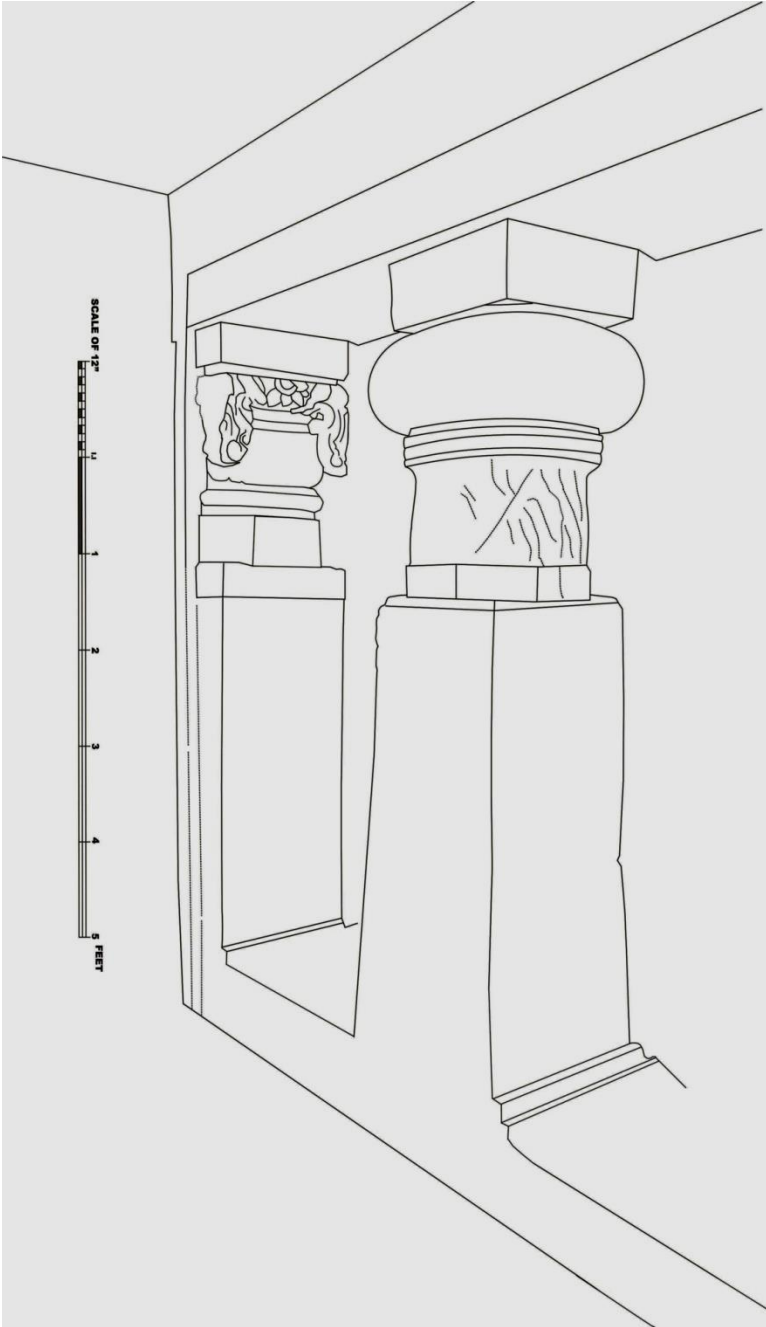
1. Kanheri Cave 53
2. Ajanta Cave 24
3. Aurangabad Cave 1
4. Mandapeshvara Cave 1
5. Mandapeshvara Cave 1

### Medallions

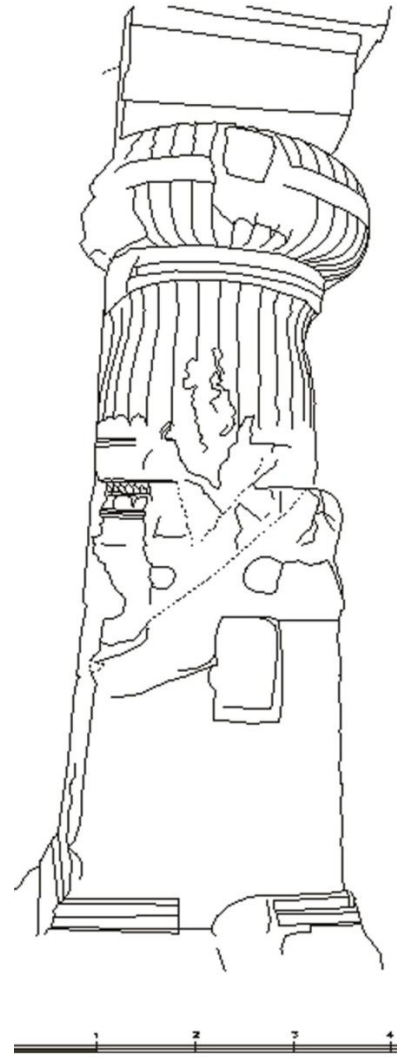
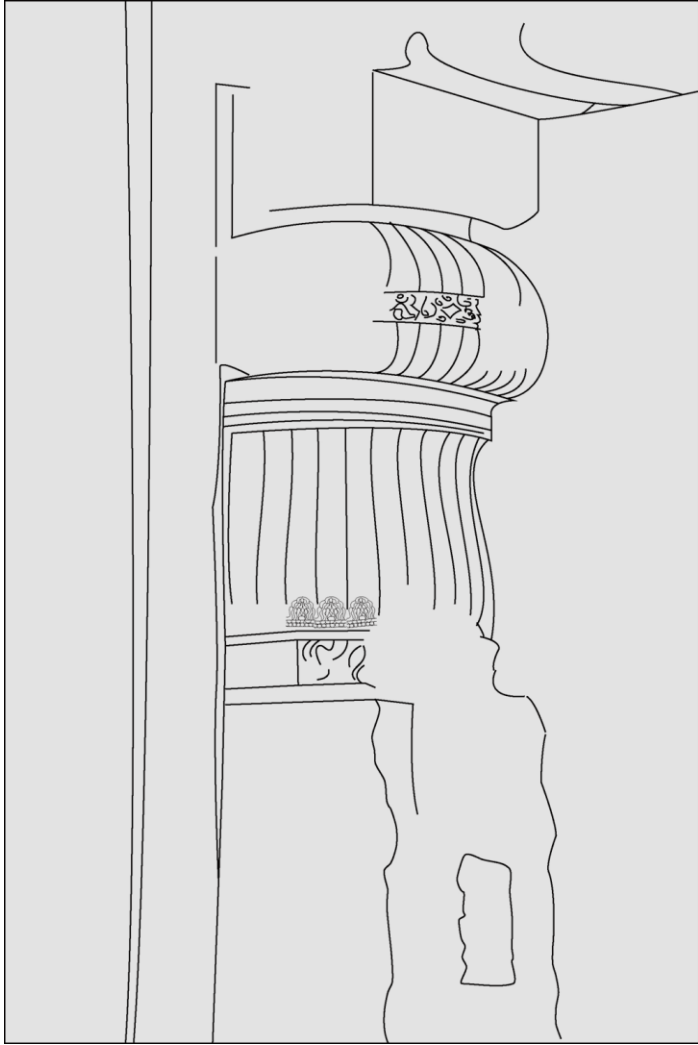
**Line Drawings of the Pillars**













**Photos of the Mandapeshwar Caves**























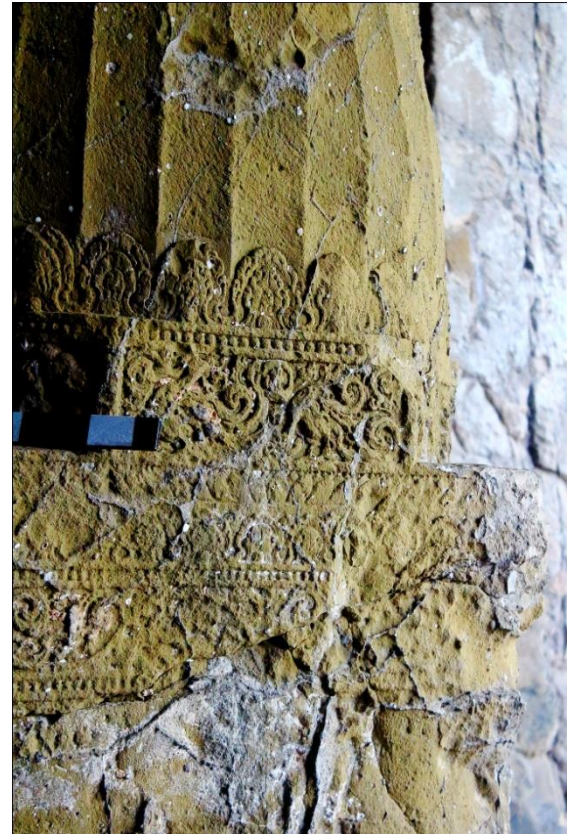


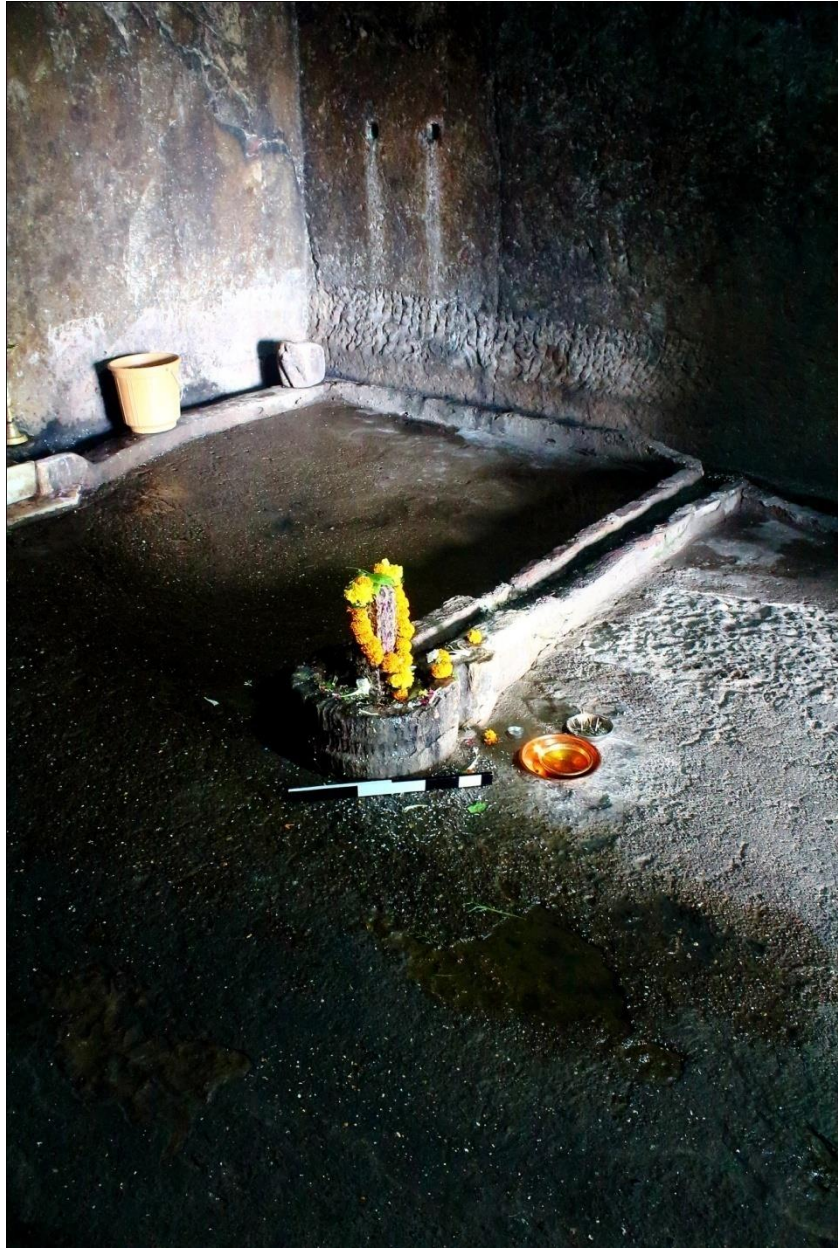




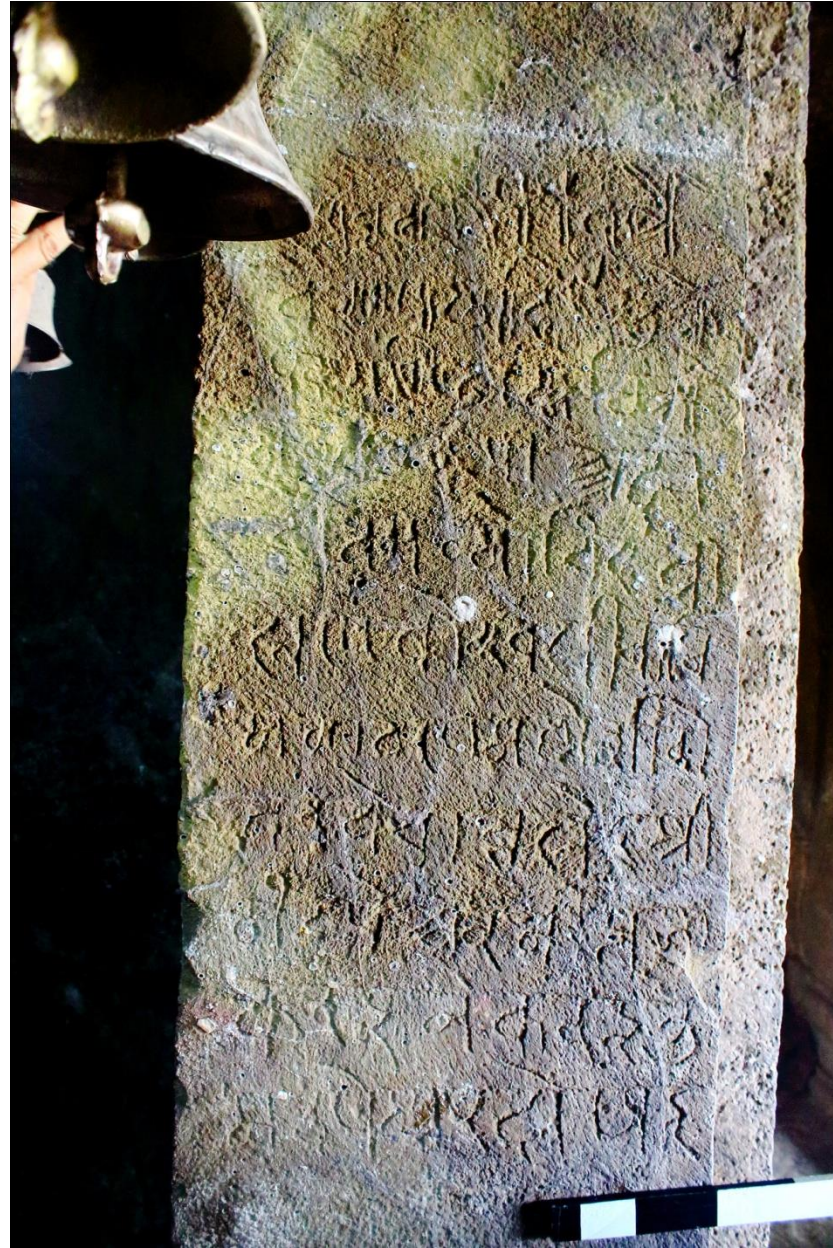






























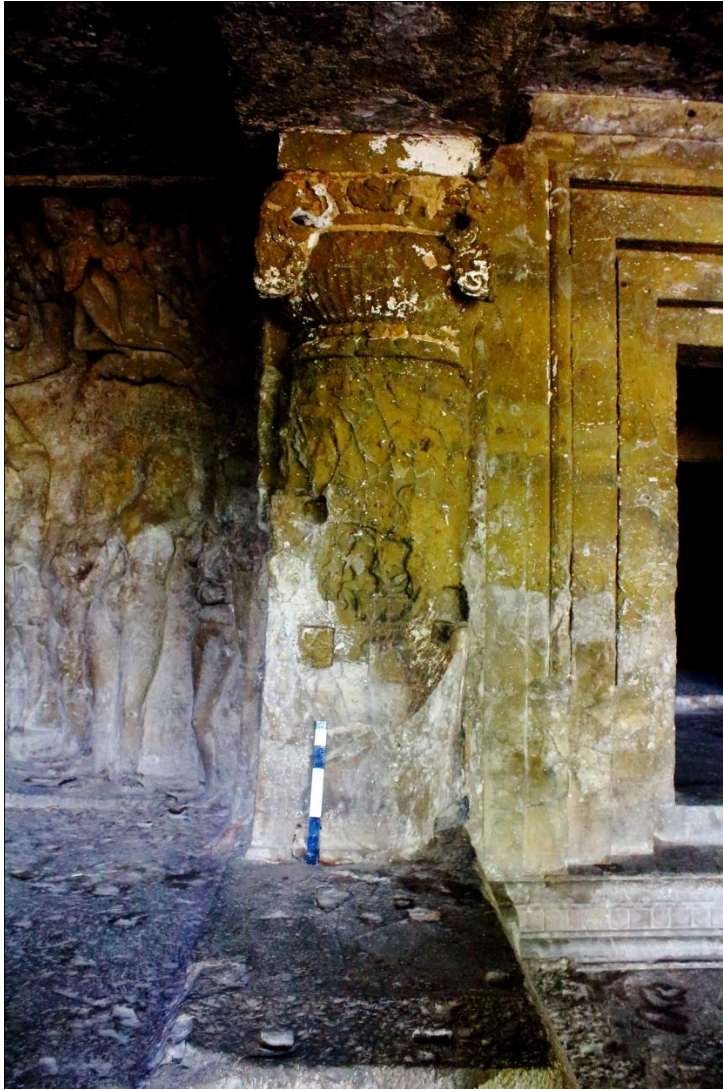


















## Appendix

The *Shaivite* caves are Hindu settlements that came to the fore after the decline of the Buddhist philosophy's dominant position. The caves at Mandapeshwar are located close to the IC colony in Borivali and adjacent to the St. Francis Church. The caves at Jogeshwari are within 'walking distance' from the Western Express Highway, being a distance of about half a kilometre from it along the Jogeshwari-Vikhroli link road. The Elephanta caves are located on an island known as Gharapuri, which is adjacent to Salsette. Today, the Elephanta caves can be accessed by ferry from the Gateway of India.

The Hindu, or rather, Shaivite, caves at Jogeshwari can be dated to the early to middle 6<sup>th</sup> century CE while the other Hindu cave excavations at Mandapeshwar and Elephanta occurred at a later date. Both the Mandapeshwar excavations and the Shaivite excavations at Elephanta (or Gharapuri, the earlier name) are believed to have occurred in the (second half of) 6<sup>th</sup> century CE. These caves continued to be inhabited up until the late period at least till 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup>

century CE wherein a few sculptures and structures were added.

The identity of the builders of the Brahmanical caves or *Pāśupat* Caves has been the subject of much speculation, and various theories have been proposed by historians. Many believe that the *Pāśupat* Caves excavations were contributed by the Shilaharas and Rashtrakutas from the 9<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> century CE, while many others attribute it to the Kalachuri dynasty in the late 5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> century CE. Indeed, it can be safely said that the *Pāśupat* Caves are "of unknown date and attribution"! And, in truth, no dynastic affiliation is known for the other *Shaiva* monuments in Mumbai as well.

Two important features can be discerned from this discussion. It appears that the Buddhist caves were excavated first. Buddhism emphasized the ideas of an ascetic life and monastic order, especially for the monks. The monks found it convenient to excavate caves, first as temporary rain shelters, and then as permanent houses, places of worship, and educational centres. Secondly, with the decline of

Buddhism and with the simultaneous revival of Hinduism, many of these caves were converted to Brahmanical caves, while many new caves were excavated. This is why you will find that, chronologically; the Brahmanical caves were excavated after the Buddhist caves.

### **Decline of Shaivism**

In the case of Shaivaites in the Mumbai region, the Portuguese invasion hastened the collapse. Armed with weapons and religious fanaticism, the Portuguese attempted to stamp their religious authority across the region. A few Portuguese records give us clear information and data regarding the forceful conversions of villages like Marol. The Portuguese invasion of Mumbai was also followed by various plagues that led to sudden falls in the population, thereby reducing the societal participation that is essential for sustaining such activities further. According to some scholars, the Portuguese used some of the sculptures at Elephanta for canon and gun practice; while this is debatable, it is well established that they attempted to haul the stone elephant, whose sight at the entrance inspired its renaming from Gharapuri, from the island and ferry it off to Portugal. In the Mandapeshwar caves, the Portuguese tried

to destroy the Shaivite images by attempting to convert them into holy crosses. After they realized that this was a tiring task indeed, they simply constructed a wall in front of the main cave to isolate the cave temple from society, and built a church on top of the Mandapeshwar hill.

There also appears to be many other internal factors behind the fall of *Shaivaite* centres. These religious centres could not compete with newly emerging sects that are known to us as *Nātha Samprādaya* and *Śakti* cult. Although there is no clear-cut evidence for the existence of *Nātha Sampradāya* in this region, village names like *Gorakhagaon* in *Sashti* Island support this hypothesis; this village is today known as Goregaon in the vicinity of Jogeshwari caves, surely not a coincidence. Another great example of such transitions can be observed at Ellora. The outer walls of the sanctum of the famous *Kailāśa* temple have later-period paintings of *Nātha siddhas*, and the story of *Chauranginath* is clear from one of the paintings.

Another major challenge was the *Śakti* cult, as pointed out earlier. This cult may have had its origins even earlier since it developed with the *Pāśupata* sect. All the *Pāśupata* cave temples in Mumbai give at least one shrine of

*Saptamātrikas*, the mother goddesses. During the phase of urban decay, this cult flourished under the tribes—the Kolis and the Agris. These tribes were strong followers of the mother goddesses. Perhaps this was the reason behind the emergence of goddesses like *Mumbādevi* and *Gaondevi*. At this juncture it is useful to recollect the example of the Jivadhani caves mentioned in the beginning and the shift it suffered from a Buddhist cave to the home of goddess Jivadhani, which is the family deity of many Koli and Agri families. In the following year, more or less every village came up with a shrine of a local, tribal mother goddess, many of which are still under worship in the modern temples of Mumbai as village protection deities. One such example is the *Devipāda* in Borivali. We know from old Archaeological reports that there was a small temple at *Devipāda* near the modern Western Express Highway. Today, in the process of urbanization, we have lost the monument but a small modern shrine of a mother goddess still exists there.

The migration of *Pathare Prabhus* in 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> century CE was a landmark in the development of this sect. Migrants brought their family goddesses along with them. They were mainly *Kanaka*, *Yogeshvari* or *Jogeshwari* and

*Kalika*. There is reference in the *Mahikāvatichi Bakhar* that the *Kotapāla* of *Pratāpabimba*, *Patavardhan Gangāji* was *Marāthā* of *Renuka Gotra* origins whose *Kuladevatā* was *Yogeshwari*. It is also interesting to note that *Gangāji* settled down in the region of *Jogeshwari* with the permission of the then king *Pratāpabimba*. This is the earliest evidence, which relates *Jogeshwari* to the *Shākti* cult. *Mahikāvatichi Bakhar* refers to the *Pāśupata Śaiva* center at *Jogeshwari* as *Yogeshwara* in its initial chapters but later at the end it is referred as *Yogeshwari*, obviously later day interpolations. Till today the place is known thus and *Pathare Prabhus* worship the deity in the main sanctum as goddess *Jogeshwari*. Similarly, *Kanheri* became *Kanaka* and *Mahākal* became *Mahakali*. Story has it that King *Bimba II* performed many rituals at these places.

As a result of these developments, Mumbai became a pilgrimage centre. This process had, of course, started long back in 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE. When a place, spot or a space becomes a pilgrimage centre, it crosses the boundaries of particular faiths. They become *Tirthas* which abet in the creation of *Sthala Mahātamyas*. The study of *Walukeśvara* (*Walkeśvara*), *Mumbādevi*, and *Surpur* (*Shurpāraka*) or

*Sopara* are pointers in this context. In the literary tradition, these are the places which are frequently referred for their sanctity, a sanctity given them by the creation of ever new myths that relate them to the *Rama*, *Durgā* and the *Buddha*.

The inevitable changes wrought by the inexorable movement of time finally took their toll on the two religious philosophies as well as the centres associated with them. The years rolled on, the decades went by, centuries passed, and the landscape changed, society changed, cultures changed,

kings changed, lives began and ended. The cave complexes, which had seen life teeming and thronging for centuries, became lonely unvisited places, enveloped by forest and visited by wild animals. But, today, they are rediscovered and alive and wait for you. They wait for you to visit them, to sit with them, to admire them, and to listen to them. For, they have many stories to tell<sup>80</sup>.

### **Archival Images of Elephanta Caves**

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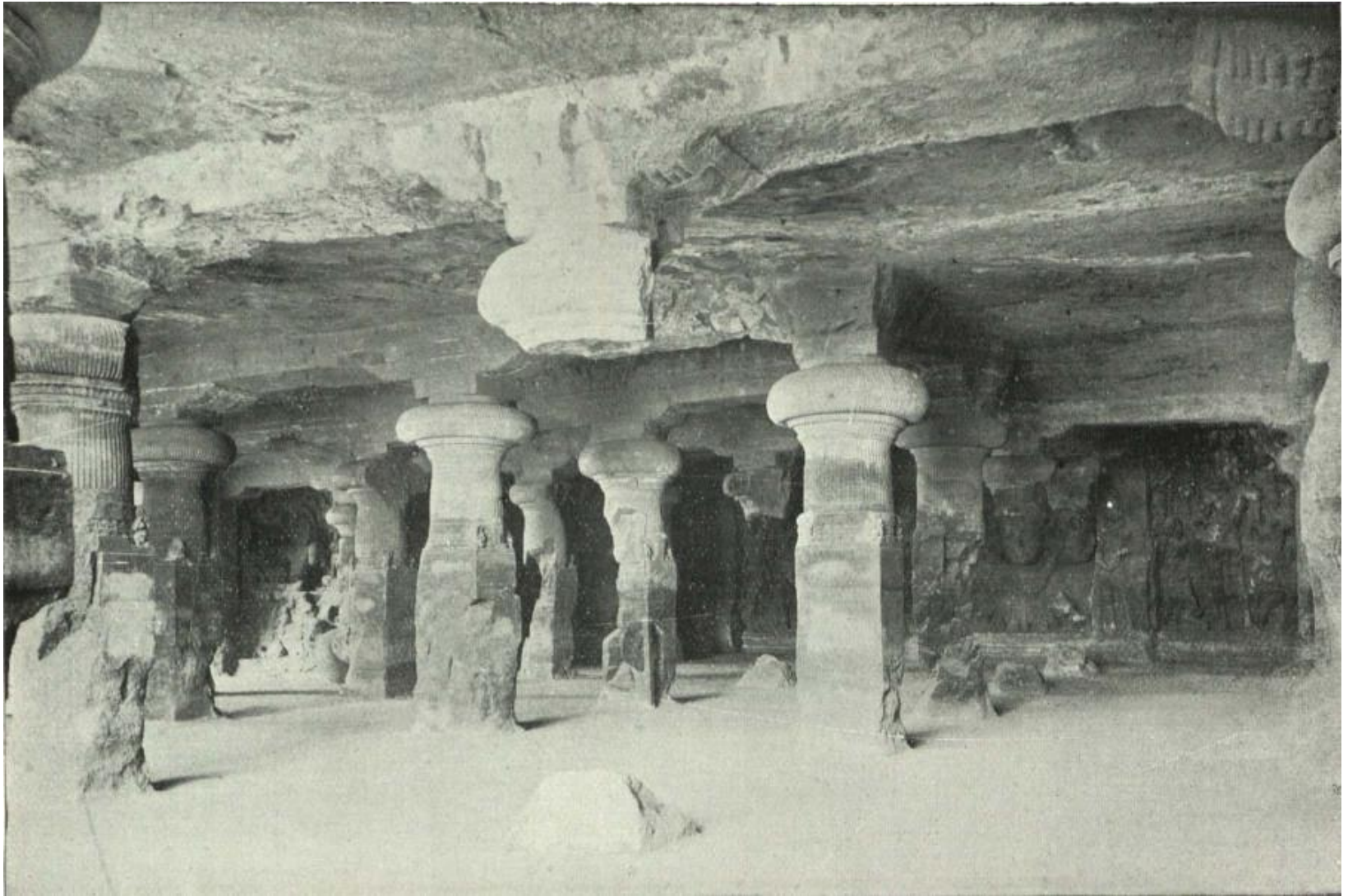
<sup>80</sup>Pandit suraj, (2013). Stories in Stone- Historic Caves of Mumbai, Mumbai page no. 103-109.



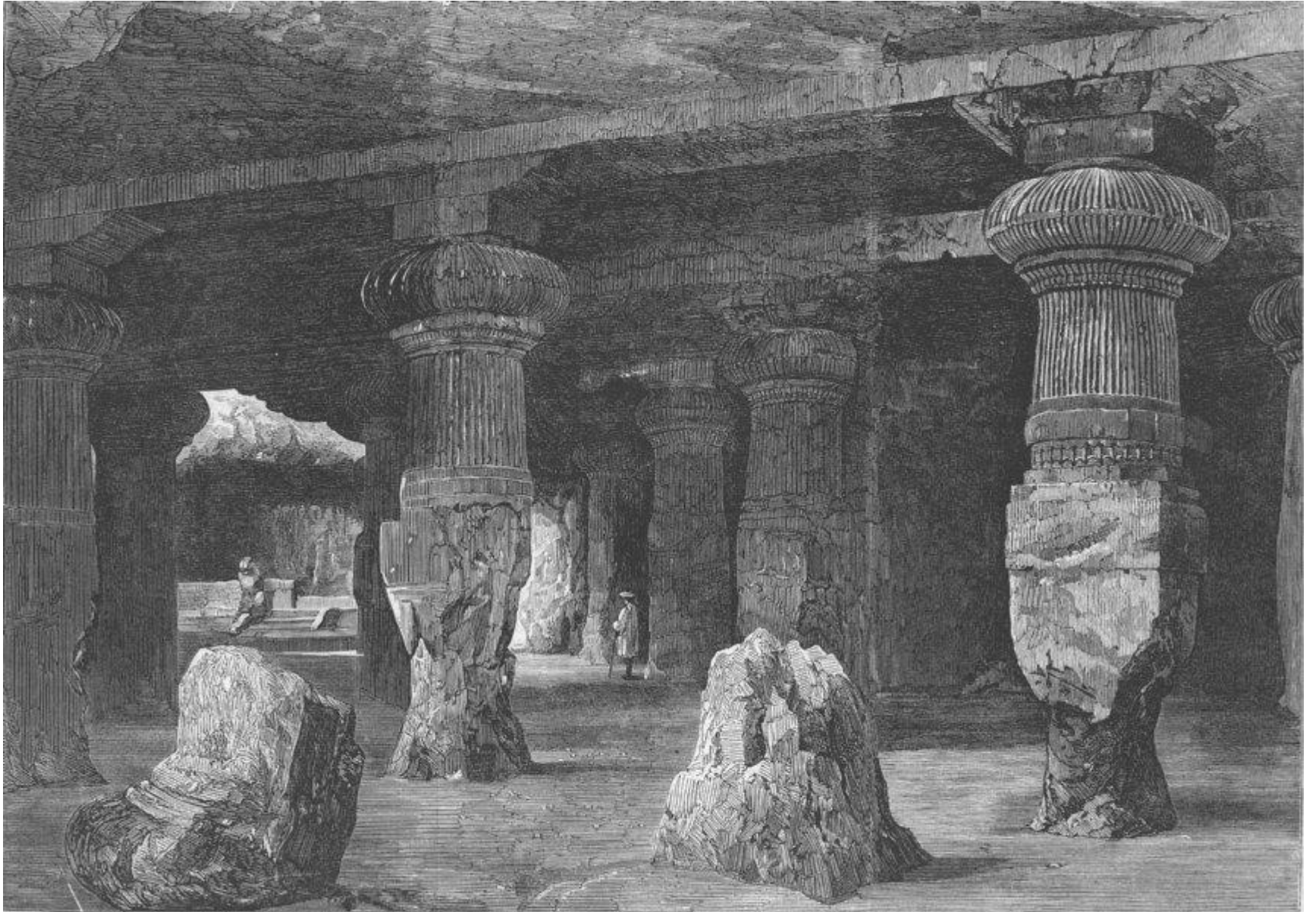








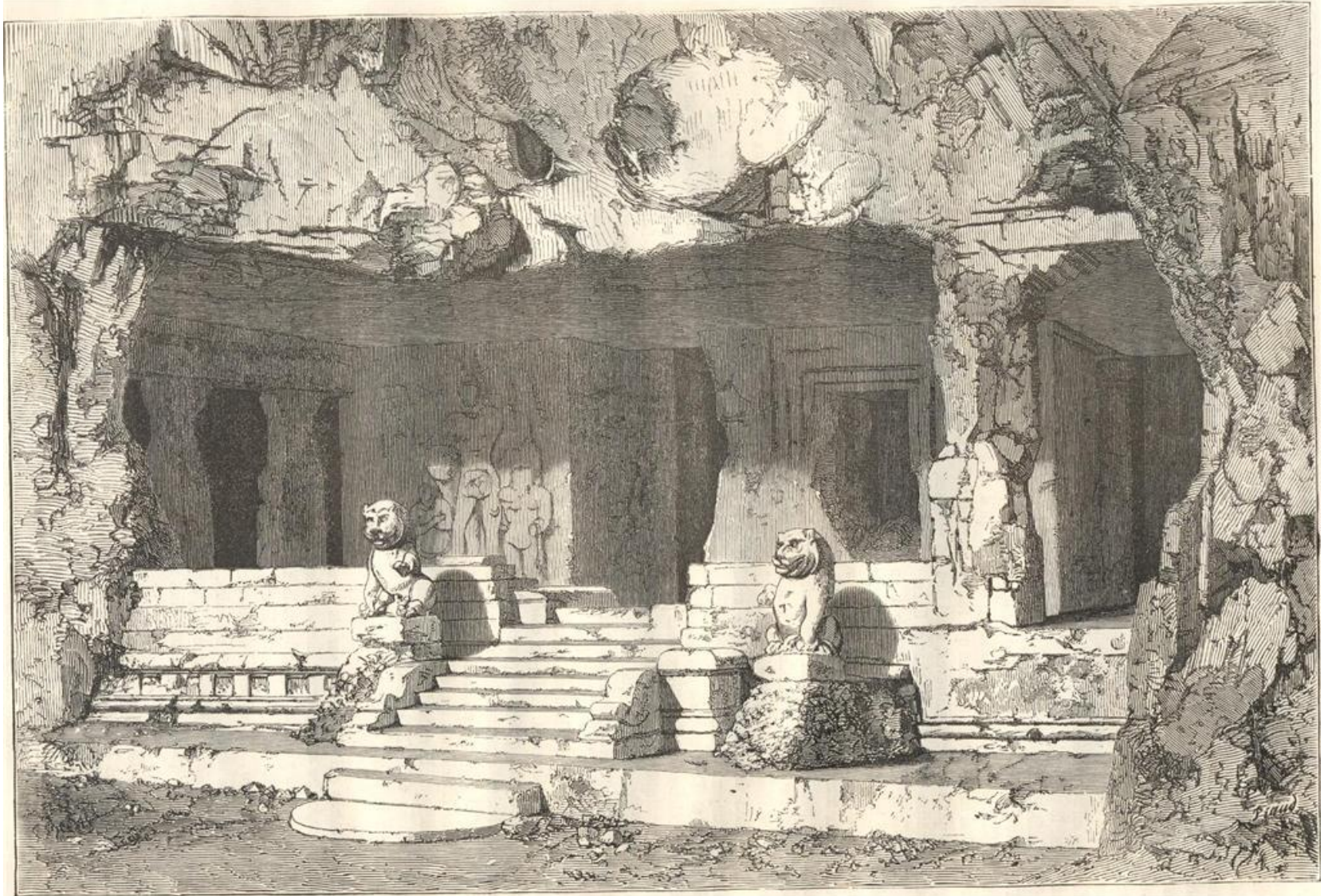




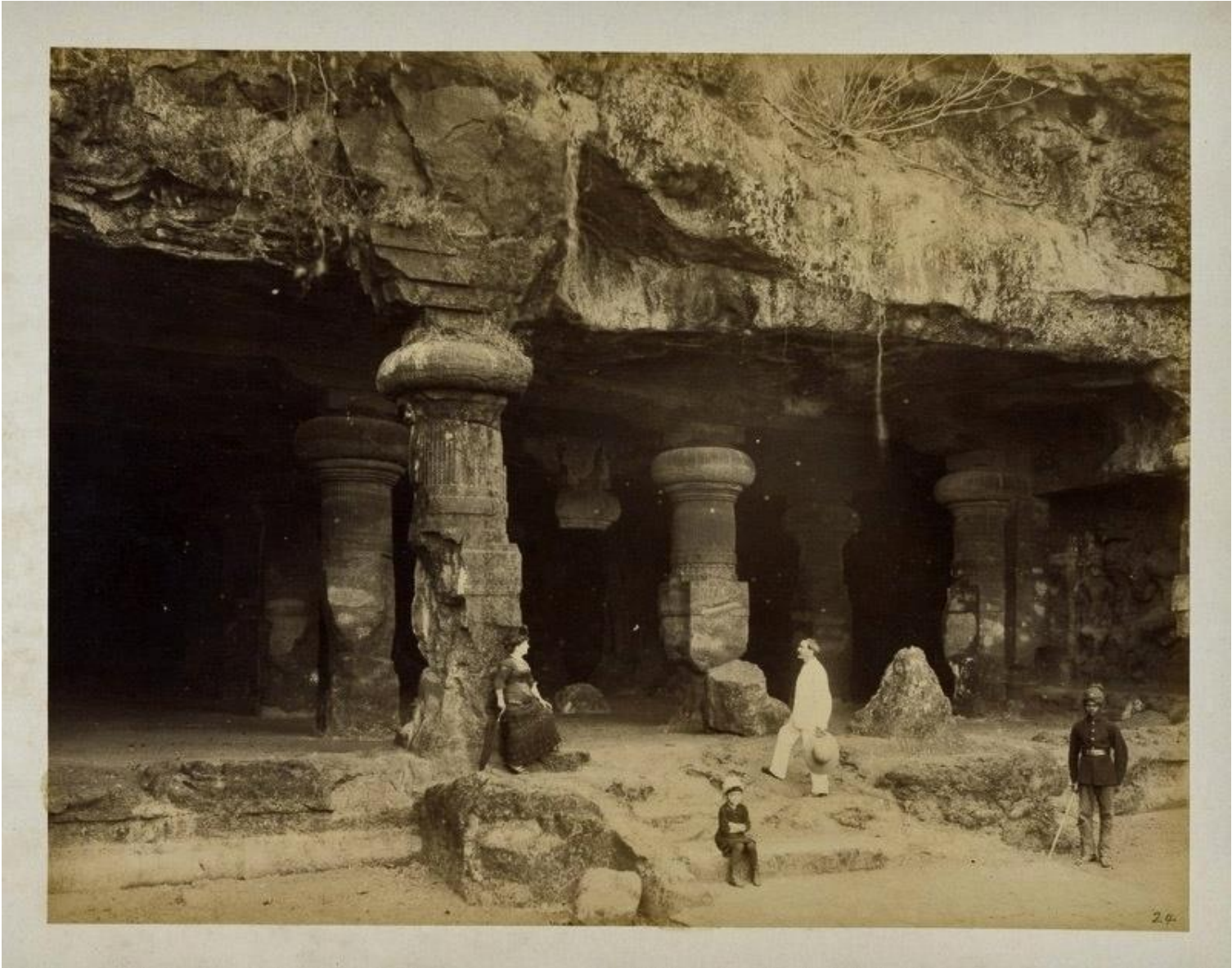
















**Archival Images of Mandapeshwar Caves**







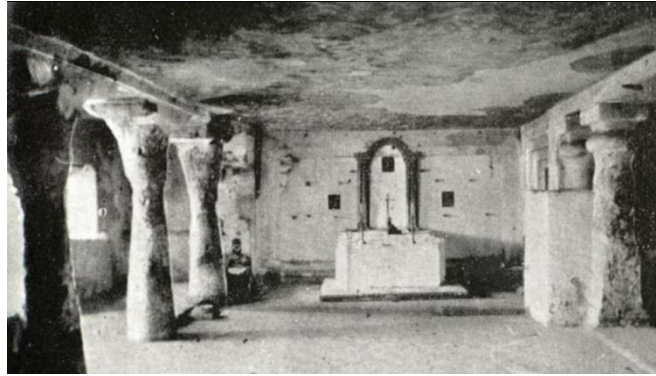
















**Section III**

**The Minor Caves**

Ambivali Caves







Location of the Cave

**Introduction:**

Ambivali Cave (Karjat taluka; 18° 25' N, 73° 15' E; RS. Neral, 16 m.) half a mile from the village of the same name near Jambrug and about sixteen miles north-east of Karjat, lies under and to the north of the hill fort of Kotaligad about 25 km north-west of Karjat. There is only one caveat this place, which is a lena. This is on the bank of a small branch of the river Ulhas. Ambivale is also on a trade route leading from Kalyan- Thana ports to the plateau above, just on the hilly terrain of the Kusur ghat. The cave overlooks the beautiful valley of the river below. Access to the cave being from a ghat sloping rock rising from the river edge, is a bit difficult. What town supported this monastery is not known definitely. But it is likely that a small settlement might have been there near the present village Ambivale itself, where sherd of red- polished ware are available.

The cave, which is a Buddhist work, according to Dr. Burgess between B. C. 250 and A. D. 100, is cut in a long low hill in a curve in the bank of a branch of the Ulhas. It is approached by a sloping rock, and overlooks the river from a height of about twenty feet.

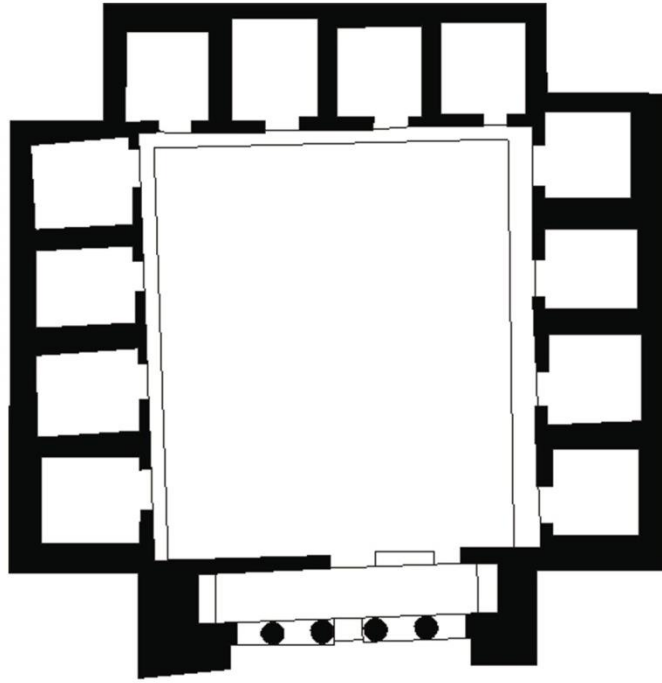
**Main cave:**


The lena here consists of a rectangular hall (12.8 m d, 11.9 m w, 3 m h) surrounded by twelve cells and a verandah in front (9.4 m l, 1.8 m d). The rectangular hall has a bench (about 60 cm w, 45 cm h) running along the three inner sides. Above this are the doorways (76 cm w, 1.67 m h) of the cells which are arranged to be four on each of the three inner sides. The cells vary from 1.8 to 2.1 m in length and 1.5 to 2 m in width. They do not have benches. There are two doorways leading from the verandah to the hall, one at the centre (about 90 cm b, 180 cm h) and another to the right (about 60 cm b, 1.5 m h).



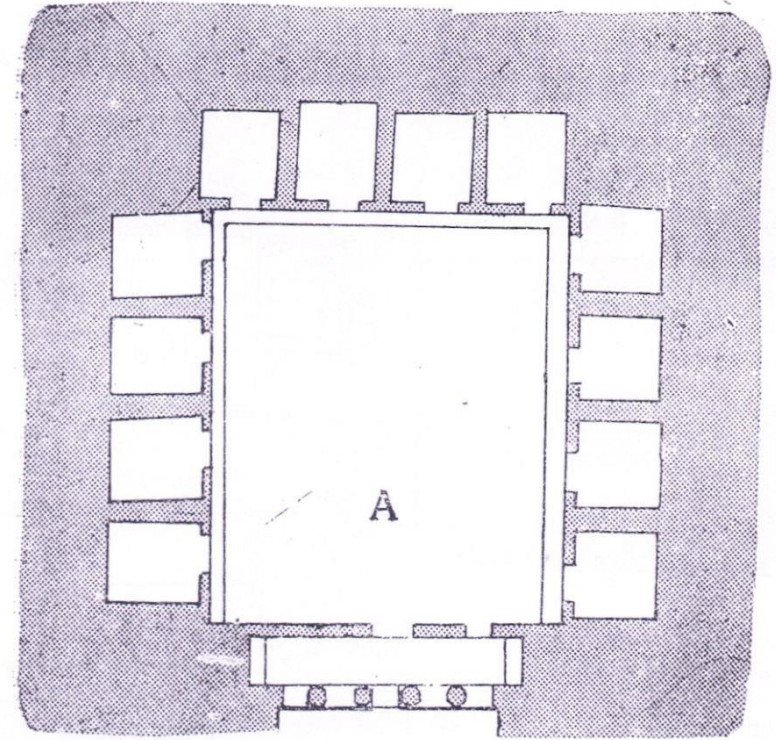
**Main cave**





Scale 1 : 250 

(After ASI)



 5 0 5 10 M

(After Nagaraju, 1981)

## Pillars:

From the hall a central and a right hand doorway lead into a verandah, thirty-one feet long by about five feet ten inches deep, its eaves supported by four pillars, and, at the ends, by three feet nine inches of return wall. Except at the central entrance, between each pair of pillars and the end pillars and pilasters, runs a low seat, backed by a parapet wall along the outer side.



Pillars

In other word the verandah has benches at the two ends and its roof is supported in front by a row of four pillars, two pilasters and two return walls (1.14 m b), on either side of the row of pillars.

On the either side of the central entrance facing the inner side is a low seat with sloping back running between the pair of pillars and the pilasters. On the outer side of the backed bench there were decorations of festoons and rosettes. They are much effaced now. The pillars have octagonal shaft, pot capitals, and grooved neck surmounted by inverted stepped pyramidal plates of successively increasing dimensions. The pillars rise from the low stone bench and do not have any base. The centre pillars are eight sided, but the side ones are sixteen sided.

Of the outer face of the wall enough remains to show that it was ornamented with festoons and rosettes in the style of Nasik Cave VI, The pillars of the same pattern as the Nasik pillars, pot capitals topped by flat roughly finished plates. The shafts that spring from the back of the stone bench have no bases. The central pair of pillars has eight-sided shafts; the remaining two are sixteen-sided. The doorways have been fitted with

carved doors with built basements, and on six cells at the back are some built basements on which figures are carved.



Pillar base

The cave has been changed into a Brahmanic temple, and was for some time in the past used by a devotee the smoke of whose fire has blackened the whole of the hall and the verandah. The second pillar of the verandah, to the left of the entrance, has a Pali inscription in one vertical line reading downwards. Some dim letters can also be traced on each of the central pair of pillars. The cave is not inhabited at present.

### Inscriptions:

There are five inscriptions at the place carved on the front pillars. All these show advanced developmental tendencies palaeographically. This too leads towards the contention of a late date for the cave.

#### 1. On one of the pillars of Veranda in the Vihara

घनप्रमाथ चपकप्रमाथ

#### 2. On the same pillar as above of the Veranda in the Vihara

चेत्यवेण प) ? (र) ? (य कहा) पण?)

#### 3. On the other pillar of the veranda in the Vihara

जीवशिव

#### 4. On the other pillar of the veranda in the Vihara

पुष्यशिव

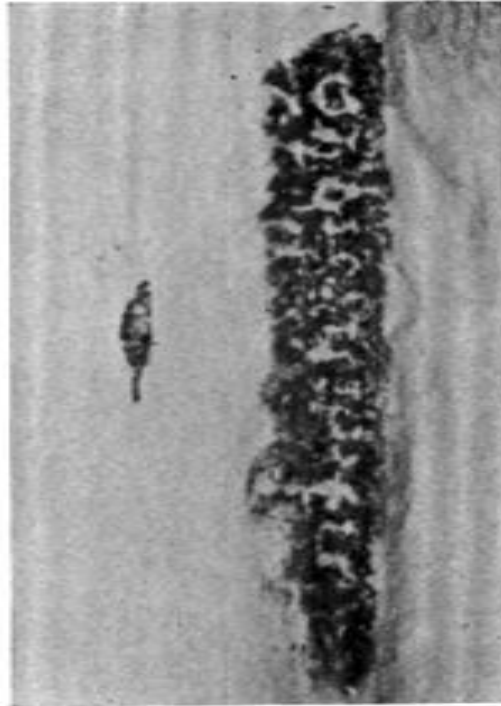
#### 5. On the other pillar of the veranda in the Vihara

गि) त्रि?) पुशिव

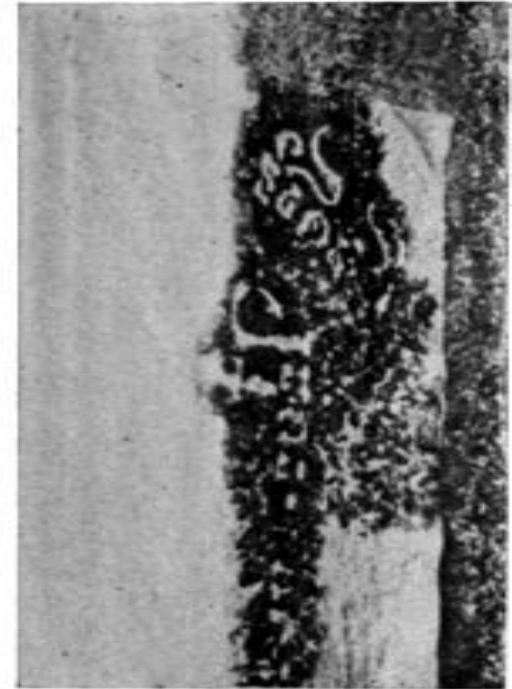
## AMBIVLE CAVE INSCRIPTIONS



Inscription A. Lüders No. 1669.



Inscription B.



Inscription C. Lüders No. 1070.

( Courtesy—Archaeological Survey of India. )

Inscriptions A; 1, B; 2, C; 3 (After M.G.Dixit, 1941

)

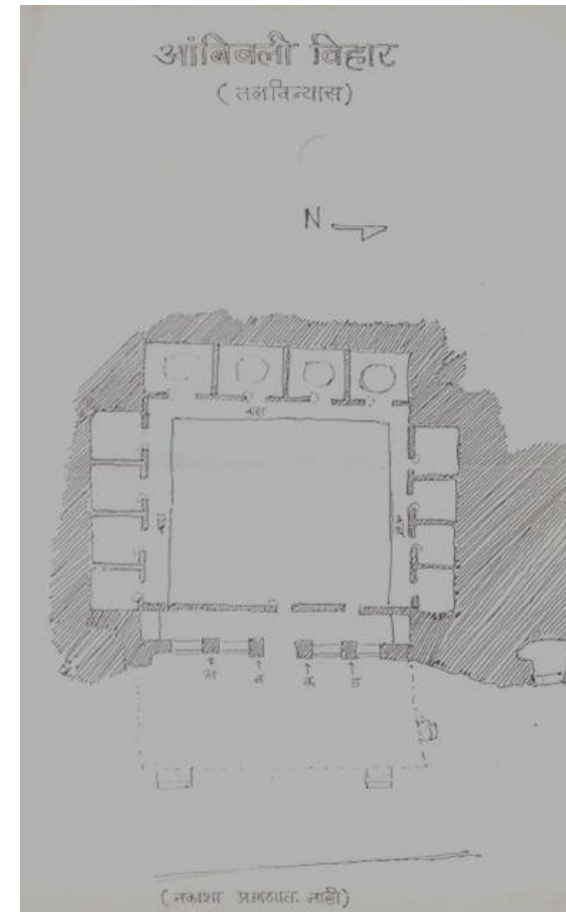


**Inscriptions D & E.**

**Inscriptions D; 4, E; 5 (After M.G.Dixit, 1941)**

### Interpretation:

The Ambivale caves resembles in many respects, Nasik 3, 10, etc., this lina does not have benches in cells. The absence of benches is a feature normally seen in Mahayana caves of the later period. The presence of the backed bench, decorated with festoons and the pillars here are somewhat of a peculiar shape ; the pots are almost of the same thickness as the shaft itself; the sixteen sided variety is also seen. In these features, the pillars appear to represent a stylistically transitional stage that became common in the monuments of the Mahayana period, as at Ajanta cave 11, 16, etc. So both architectural style and paleography indicate that this lina belongs to the transitional phase between the Hinayana and Mahayana architectural traditions. The cave may be assigned to about the early part of the 4<sup>th</sup> century A.D. The importance of the Ambivale lina lies in the fact that this provides evidence regarding the continuation of architectural tradition in the so called 'gap' period postulated between the Hinayana and Mahayana phases of rock- cut architecture.



(After State Dept of Archaeology, Government of Maharashtra)



# Lonad





## Lonad Caves

Lonad is a small village about 6 km from Kalyan and can be approached from Kalyan or Bhivandi. Cave is located in a hill opposite the village in the glen facing west, about 50 m. above the level of road. The cave faces south by west and has a verandah 14.40 m long X 3.00 m. wide with a hall, at the back admeasuring 13.50 m. long and 5.70 m. deep, entered by three doors. Opposite the principal entrance and cut in the rear wall of the hall is an unfinished shrine. Similarly, opposite the side entrances, in the back wall, a cell each was intended to be carved. The verandah has four pillars, square on plan, with a carved frieze on the architrave running across from north to south. The rock overhanging the frieze has fallen down, especially the portion of it over the two central pillars. The cave has a large court with central flight of steps leading into the verandah. The steps are prefaced by a semi-circular Chandra shila. The cave has moulded base. On either side of the court alongside

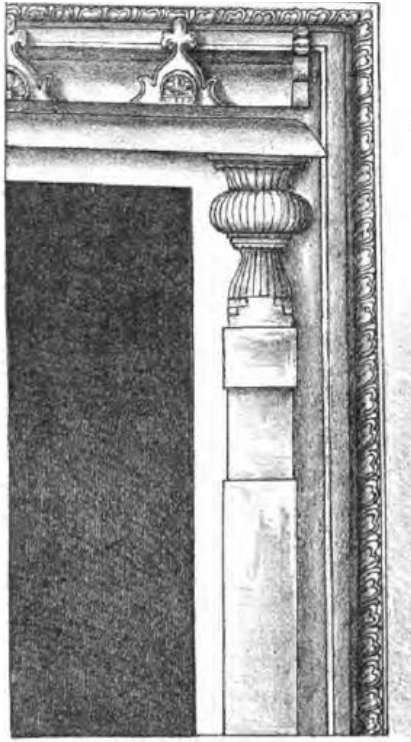
the plinth (base), there is a raised platform originally covered by a rock-roof; the one of the southern side contains a large sculptured relief while the other on the northern a rock-cut water-tank.

Lonad is the first specimen of the regional art in the Konkan in the so far available data. This cave can be dated between 480 and 495 AD

Main Cave







## Central Door

Burgess, 1871

### Sculptural Panels:

The long panel on the architrave is divided into several compartments, each separated by a pilaster, which

is usually square in section; but in the upper part of the shaft it carries a cushion capital. Unfortunately a part of a sculptured frieze has detached itself from the parent rock, especially above

the two central pillars while the remaining portion is badly weathered, in parts, so that the panels have to be carefully observed to piece together the incidents of the subject. In respect of the last three panels on the right side, it is clear that they formed independent subject, to which we shall come later.

Starting from the left end we find a youthful prince seated in *savyalalitasana* on a raised seat, conversing with a lady who is standing to his right. The portion-depicting group of persons to his proper left is very much worn out. The second panel shows an elephant walking along mounted by a *mahout* and an attendant. The elephant is escorted in front by an attendant who faces two persons marching forward as if to oppose the escort. In the third panel we find the elephant standing to the left. Close by his trunk stands a youthful prince (probably the same as seated person panel No.1 in Fig.9) in the act of giving a gift to a Brahmin who has stretched his right hand to receive the oblation of water to accept the gift. In his left hand he holds a characteristic umbrella. He is accompanied by two other persons including a child. The last described panel helps us to identify the story depicted in this frieze as that of prince Vessantara giving away the miraculous elephant to the Brahmin from the neighboring country in spite of the

opposition from elders of the city. The royal figure seems to be deliberating on some important matter with the courtiers who are in various attitudes: the nearest seated person is seen attentively listening to the words of one of the standing figures is begging the king with folded hands, the female chauri- eal<sup>1</sup> rer the king while those away from the him, both seated and standing, are shown in rapt attention; standing to the right of the royal figure shows bewilderment (*vismaya*) by placing her index finger on her lower lip. To our mind the scene depicts Vessantara's father assuring his subjects that he miraculous elephant to the Brahmin who was reported to have been dispatched by the adversary king. Will take appropriate decision of banishing his son for gre:iom fault in king. Such drastic action on the part of the king was very much necessary according to them, as the elephant symbolized and ensured the prosperity of the kingdom by his presence.

The next panel, which is also very much abraded, we can still see the chariot drawn by two horses with the caricature of a Brahmin in front asking, as the Jataka tale mentions, the gift of horses.

The next one where the pilaster separating the former is also indistinct shows in its middle, a prince depicted frontally. Close to him stand two other male figures followed by a mendicant perhaps Jujaka asking the prince the gift of his two sons to serve his ailing wife. Thereafter we see the two young children given away by Vessantara, following the mendicant.

The next panel is almost entirely lost, but a piece retrieved from the debris in the fore court shows two children being escorted by Jujaka, the Brahmin; and this may have formed part of this panel.

The next panel is also very indistinct and therefore of no use in the interpretation for the further incidents in the story, although from what is left of





**Hall**

635



the sculpture one wonders if it depicted the maltreatment meted out to the son and daughter of Vessantara by Jujata who is shown wielding a stick in hand.

The next panel which is also indistinct but probably depicts a court scene with seated and standing figures, one of the seated figure near the royal figure is in *yagapattasana* while the bent figure at the right end may be Jujaka receiving the gift. After a blank portion, where the frieze is completely disintegrated between the two pillars of the entrance and beyond it till we come across a panel over the bracket.

The next three panels probably depict incidents from another Jataka/s of which the first shows a court scene where a female, perhaps a princess, is shown in a

melancholy mood. The next panel shows two sequences: a king seated on *bhadrasana* and surrounded countries, seated and standing, while in the succeeding panel is a court scene.

The three succeeding panels forming the last three compartments of the frieze are somewhat clear. They are as follows: the first panel shows a lady lying on a couch with her right hand supporting reclining head, while other is placed across her abdomen. She is attended attended ended by a group of maids, two each, near her hand and feet. The weathered portion above originally has some standing female figures, as the breast lines of some of the figures would whole configuration reminds one of the familiar conception scenes, in this context that of maya.



I. LEFT PORTION OF THE FRIEZE.



**Sculptural panels**

Burgess, 1871

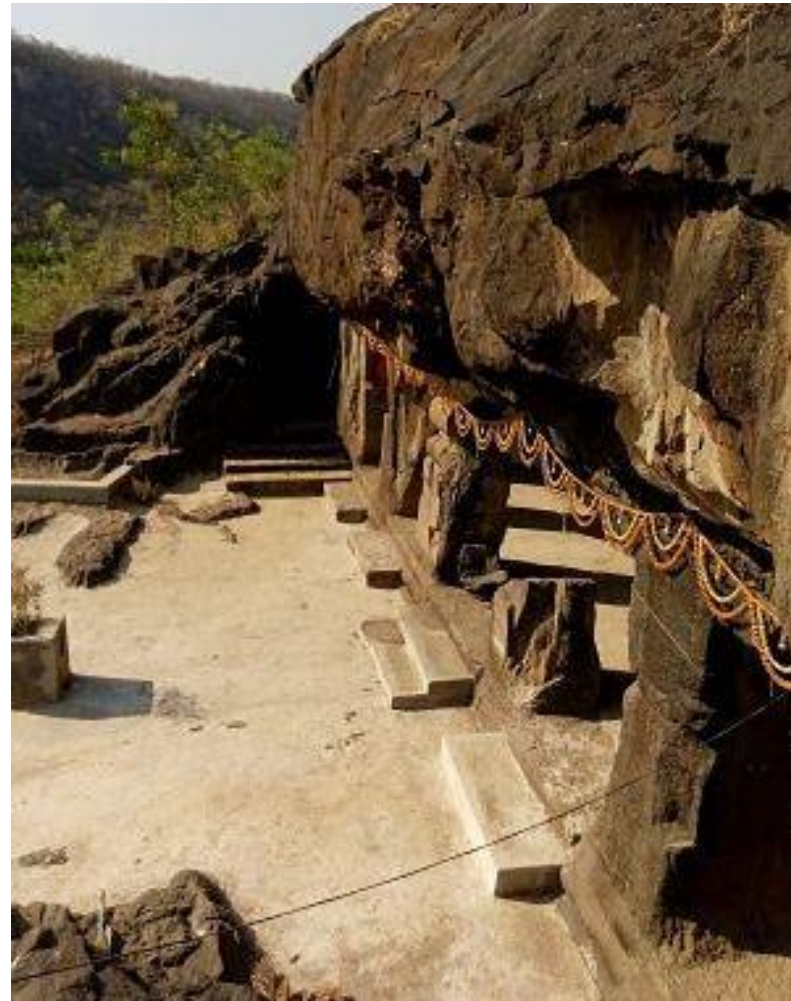
The next two panels depict Panchika and Hariti, as can be definitely recognized from the last panel in which Panchika and Hariti are shown seated frontally in *ardhaparyankasana* on raised seats, the former holding a child in her lap, together with another child near her seat, while the pot-bellied Panchika, attended to by two figures on either side, is shown holding in his left hand, placed on his knee, the money bag with mongoose head. The previous panel shows the 'conversion of Hariti' the wicked demi-goddess that in spite of her having 500 children of her own still used to devour children of the citizens of Rajagriha. In the first part of panel her conversion is shown in which

Buddha is depicted (head damaged) seated on a raised seat with Hariti, seated beside him and her children standing behind. In the other part of the young children are shown sporting and fighting.

Thus we see that the long frieze depicts

- (i) Vessantara Jataka,
- (ii) an unidentified Jataka,
- (iii) Conception of Maya, and
- (iv) The conversion of Hariti.

**Courtyard of the cave**







**Sculptures on Pillar Capital**

We now turn to the most magnificent and rather deeply sculptured panel from Lonad, carved on the right end wall of the portico. Although partly damaged on the outer side and the facial expressions obliterated due to weather it clearly shows a moving court scene depicting an elderly regal figure seated in *Maharajalilasana* on the high-cushioned seat, surrounded by attendants and courtiers. His left foot, which is dangling, is being shampooed by a young maid seated nearby. On either side and behind him are ten standing figures, mostly women, holding various garlands, Chauries, casks (*karandaka*) etc.; with three of them who are close by in *vismaya-mudra*. The royal figure is seated against a bolster with his left elbow resting on it. Close by stands in *tribhanga* a *pratihari*, who is holding the royal sword on her two hands. On either side also a pair of courtiers with wig-like curly headdress as if debating on a controversial subject. We feel that this subject is the depiction of a scene from Vessantara Jataka, where Vessantara's father is compelled to take the fateful decision to banish Vessantara, the maidens expressing their bewilderment at this decision. The whole stance of the king shows that he has taken this decision much against his will and the lady shampooing the foot is trying to lessen the misery of the king. The courtiers also are bewildered

and therefore discussing the pros and cons of the king's decision.

3. SCULPTURE TO THE RIGHT OF THE FAÇADE



Burgess, 1871





### **Lonad Temple:**

This temple was known as Rameshvara temple. It is a shiva shrine, but vary plain one compared with that at Ambarnatha. This has panchandaka type of super structure on the sanctum. Dr. Deglurkar suggests this is a Patala linga as the santum is placed blow the ground level.

The hall has fallen and most of the material has been cleared away, but scattered around, are a good many sculptured stones, some of them with very obscene representations. This temple can be stylistically dated to late 13<sup>th</sup> century CE.



**Lonad Temple**



## Inscription

There are two inscriptions recorded from the village:

- 1) Dated: 5<sup>th</sup> Nov. 1184 AD, in the reign of Shilahara King Aparaditya II. The land-grant from village Viharali is recorded in this inscription.
- 2) Dated: 24<sup>1</sup> Jan 1240 AD, in the reign of Shilahara King Keshideva. The land-grant of the villages Brahmapalli and Majasapalli is recorded in this inscription.



Burgess,1871

# Magathane



## Magathane

Magathane is a small habitation about four miles to the southwest of Kanheri, and is renowned for the several archaeological relics found here. Under its ancient name, Magathane, the place has been mentioned in one of the Kanheri cave inscriptions (Cave No. 21 at Kanheri dated to the 16th year of the king Yajñashri Satakarni)—a field from this village was given to monks of the Kanheri caves by one Aparenuka of Kalyan. The modern village Magathane has no pretension about its fame and is mostly inhabited by farmers and husbandmen who were converted to Christianity during the Portuguese regime in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

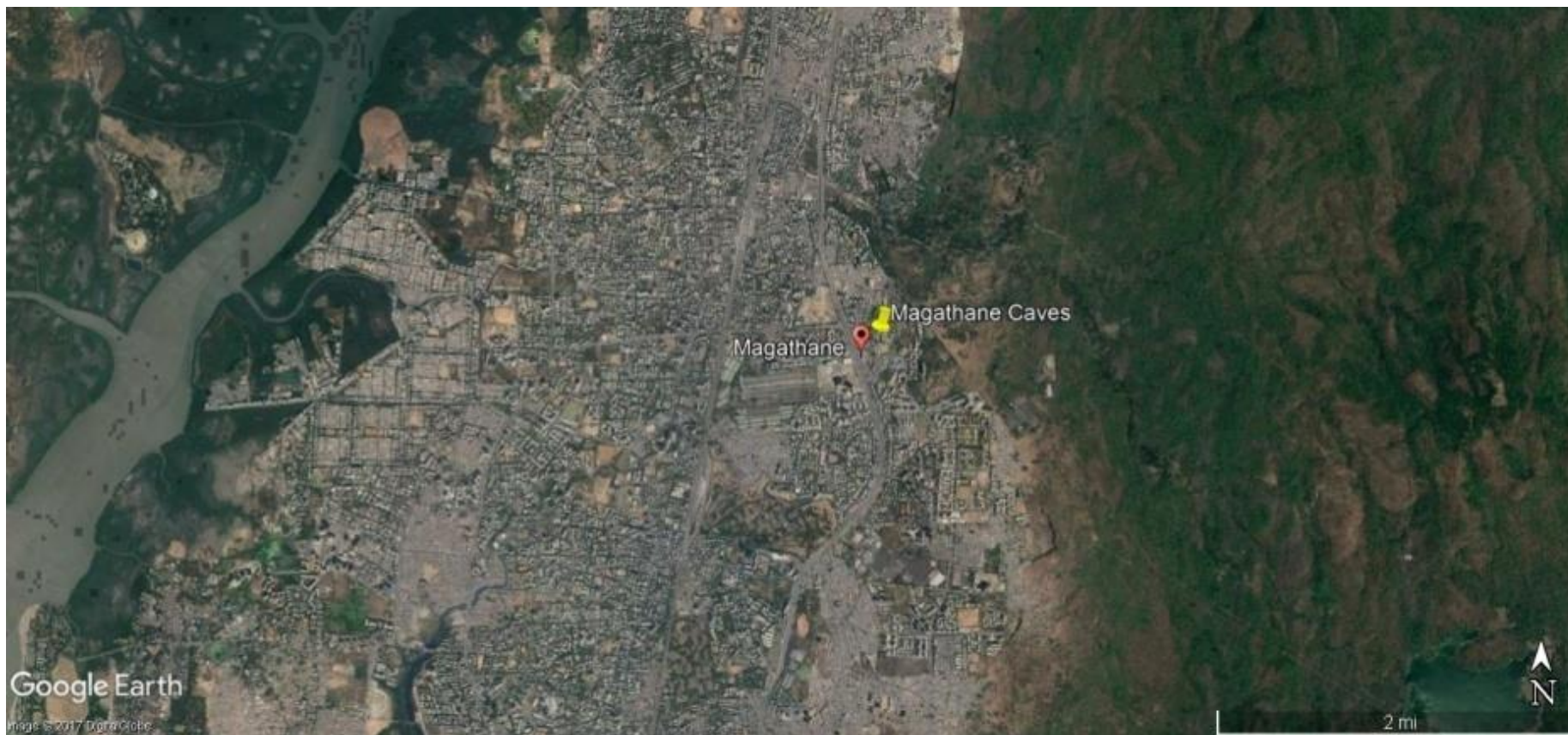
The village has now become part of the teeming metropolis Mumbai and lost its old identity. Today, what can be seen now are a big Bus Depot, a few factories, and a large slum! There are a few monolithic stupas scattered in the slum behind the Bus Depot. These monolithic stupas most probably mark the boundaries of the donated

field. These stupas are on the eastern side of the Western Express Highway and now are worshiped by the local people as Shiva *lingas*. A few caves are located on the western side of Western Express Highway in slum areas; they are in an advanced state of degeneration.<sup>81</sup>

The exterior of the main cave is highly disturbed but we can see a few traces of a sculptural frieze. This frieze gives us evidence of a few figures depicting some scenes from some story. Although the story cannot be identified from the style of the figures, the panel components are reminiscent of the frieze panels from Lonad caves. A very small part was remaining intact when the photo was taken, but, today, nothing can be observed from the remains. There are a few pillar remains below the frieze. With the assistance of the photographs, these pillars can be made out to be of the Elephanta type.

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<sup>81</sup>Pandi tsuraj, (2013). Stories in Stone- Historic Caves of Mumbai, Mumbai.



Location Of the cave

The number of flutings cannot be clearly made out because of the weathering. However, the most important feature is a fluted cushion capital resembling the pillars in Cave No. 12 (thin pillars of the same

type) and Cave No. 1 (large pillars of the same type) at Kanheri. The pillars at Magathane are smaller than those at Kanheri, but the curves of the pillars and the style of the cushion capital resemble the latter.

The basic difference between the two pillars is that the Kanheri pillars are more stylized and their fluted portion is at the centre and not in the upper half, as can be observed here. The Kanheri pillars are stylistically closer to those at Jogeshwari. Other details of the pillars at Magathane cannot be seen even in the photographs.

On the plan, the verandah of the cave was rectangular. The left end of the verandah had a cell, which has now been converted to a bathroom by the local people. The entire interior of the cave is disturbed and changed as a result of modern renovations by the residents. The verandah wall might have had windows but, today, it is impossible to make out anything. No old photographs are available for studying this part of the cave. There were a few pillars in the inner hall of the main cave, which do not exist today. Most probably, the pillars in the hall were similar to the outer ones.

Half the hall is a water tank and is not accessible. In the hall, we can see a fully developed ‘*makara*’ in the Ajanta style. This has all the elements of the developed *makara* motifs as *makaras*, *vyalas*, *hamsas*, and human figures. The ornamentation of the *makara* is very unique. The entire *makara* has a length of almost two meters. This *makara* places this cave mainly in the early 6<sup>th</sup> century CE. Note that

there are a few caves of the same period at Kanheri, for example, the unfinished but important caves Cave Nos. 12 and 1.<sup>82</sup>

We finish our survey of the stories narrated by excavated rocks at four Buddhist clusters. We know that Kanheri was definitely the most popular settlement, and the rest were probably satellite settlements, maybe managing the property (especially farmlands) held by Kanheri nearer the towns. The Thane Gazette describes Kanheri as a ‘labyrinth in the hill



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<sup>82</sup> Pandi tsuraj, (2013). Stories in Stone- Historic Caves of Mumbai, Mumbai.





whose end had never been traced'; such was the reputation for its vastness. A story goes that the Portuguese were told that this 'extended as far as Cambay' and they sent an expedition to explore the labyrinth. The party 'travelled through the caves for seven days without any interruption...' Finally, with shortage of food and water and with no sense of distance or direction, they returned using the guide ropes they had laid along the way.

Kanheri is in relatively good state of preservation today but Magathane site have seen severe degradation and encroachment, while the Jivadhani settlement exists only in literature currently.

*The main cave at Magathane is highly weathered and has been inhabited by a family for not less than a generation. They have modified the cave to a large extent. Two other caves have been converted into garbage pits by slum dwellers. Besides these structures, a few small square cells measuring from one square feet to two-and-a-half square feet can also be seen; they are also filled with debris and mud as well as garbage. Old photographs kept in the photo archives of the American Institute of Indian Studies, Gurgaon, provide more details about the site. In these photographs, a huge water tank can be observed in the open court of the cave. This tank was carved in stone and had neatly carved steps. Today, there is no*

*trace of this tank since it is filled with debris, but a depression that collects water during the rainy days can be seen. Unfortunately, no special architectural features are visible today. (Note: the discussion here is primarily based on the photographs kept in the photo archives of American Institute of Indian Studies, Gurgaon.)*

*One half of the hall in the main cave has a main shrine of the Buddha without any attendant; this shrine figure is*







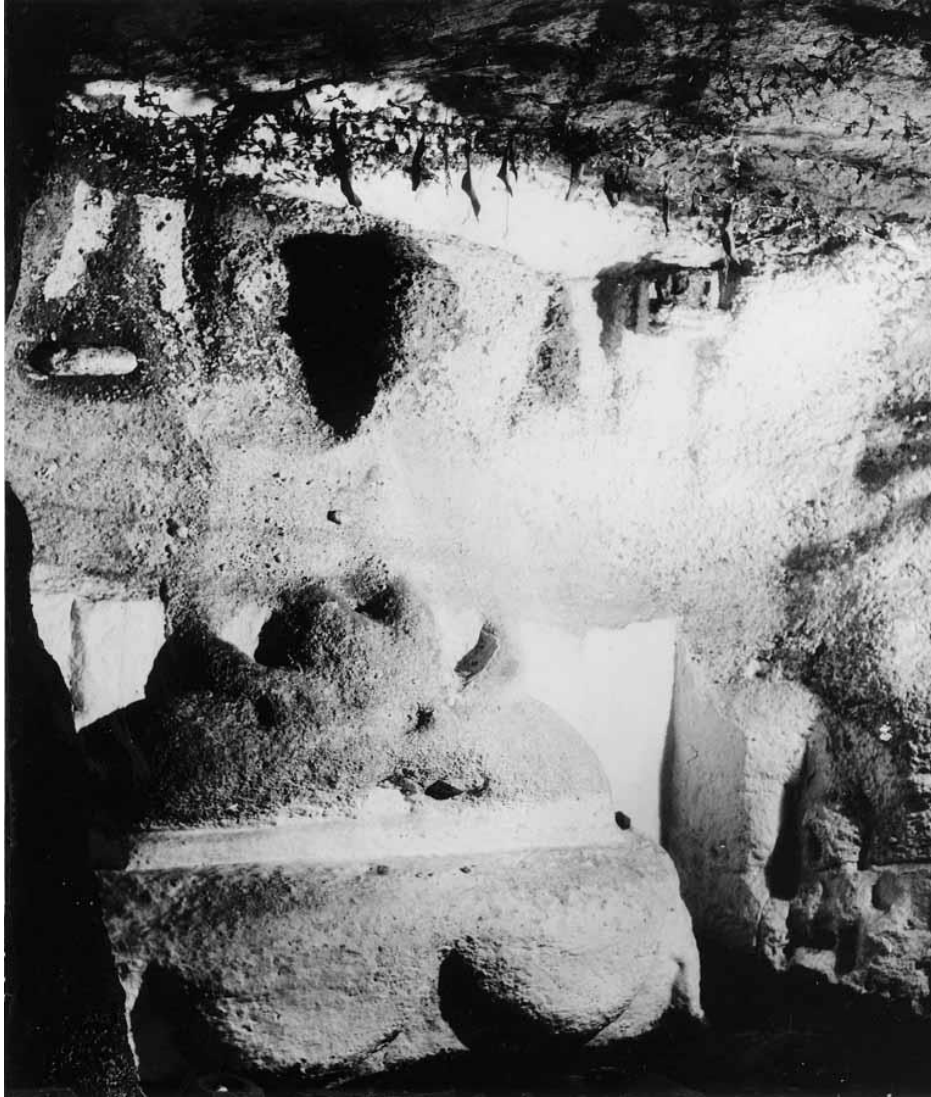
*locally known as the figure of Dharmaraja; an adjacent panel of the Dhyani Buddhas (?), where only five are visible, is also highly weathered and locally known as the panel of Pandavas. All the figures are highly weathered and covered with the either paint or 'Sindur'. The shrine is open and has a few miscellaneous intrusive figures of Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara (identifiable because of the lotus stalk held by the figure), Taras (the femininity of the figure can be made out), and a panel of five Buddhas. All these panels are locally known after the names of Pandavas, Draupadi, and Kunti. The Avalokiteshvara figure holding the lotus stalk is known as the figure of Arjuna with his Gandiva. This cave is locally known as the temple of Pandavas and Gayatri Devi.*

*Dr. M. G. Dixit has mentioned an agricultural land here, which is known today as 'Kanherichi Jaga' (Marathi), i.e. the place owned by Kanheri. It is quite interesting the record of a donation given to a monastery, Kanheri, in this instance way back in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE, still exists in this manner!<sup>83</sup>*

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<sup>83</sup> Pandi tsuraj, (2013). Stories in Stone- Historic Caves of Mumbai, Mumbai.







## MAGATHAN.

**Ma'ga'than**, about half a mile east of the Borivli station on the Baroda railway, is the site of the deserted village of Magathan. [In 1675 Fryer speaks of Magathan as a town and country seat, provided everywhere with churches. New Account, 73.] The village is held by a landlord or *khot*, and has been deserted for eight years. The sites of the houses may be seen on a rising ground overgrown with brushwood. All the remains seem to be modern, the ruins of cement-built houses. The Tulsi river, which runs about a mile to the north, is tidal to within a mile and a half of the village. At the foot of the mound, a little to the east, is a hole or quarry, apparently old. A little further, in a black round-topped mass of coarse rotten breccia, are cut the Magathan or Poinisar Caves, including a chapel cave on the south and a monastery cave on the north. To the north, in front of the monastery, is an open space surrounded by low rocks. The whole roof of the monastery has fallen in. The inside of the monastery shows that there has been a central hall, about twenty-five feet square and eight feet high, and two aisles on the east and west, with two plain pillars and two pilasters, the aisle twenty-five feet long and six feet deep. In the back wall are two plain cells about

five feet square and five high. The only carving is, on the north pilaster of the east veranda, a mark like a crescent or a pair of sharp horns. Through the wall of the monastery a passage leads into the chapel cave. The rock, which has worn into a rough surface like a pudding stone, has lost most of its carving. Enough remains to show that the work is late, perhaps of the sixth or seventh century. The image of Buddha can hardly be traced; it seems to have been seated. On the wall are the remains of some figures, one a seated Buddha. The pillars of the chapel veranda are cushion capitalled like those of Elephanta, probably older. To the south are other plain caves. To the east is a rock-cut cistern. Across the rice-fields, about 300 yards to the east, a flat surface of trap, about two feet above the level of the ground, has been hollowed into an underground cistern about forty yards into thirty, and ten feet deep. In the rock are two openings three feet five inches square. The rock between the two openings has fallen in. To the east the surface of the rock has been roughly hollowed into a trough. The village of Poinisar, after which the caves are sometimes named, lies about half a mile to the south.

*Buddhist Tombs.*

On the west bank of a double pond, about 200 yards north of the cistern, are two old Musalman tomb stones, rather finely carved with hanging chains. About 300 yards to the east, on a low mound covered with grass, *karand* bushes, and brab palms, are two Buddhist tombstones or *daghobas*. They are of dressed trap, about two feet three inches square at the foot, and rise, with moulding and flat bands, in a cone about three feet four long, about six feet round at the middle, and five near the top. On the top are traces of a broken *Tee*. To the west is a rough bush-covered mound of undressed stone, about three feet high, and nineteen feet by thirteen at the base. The tomb-stone or cone seems to have stood at the centre of this mound. Several big roughly dressed stones lie about. A yard or two to the north, hidden in thorn bushes and partly buried in the ground, stands a second tomb-stone of the same style and size as the first. The mound on which it stood seems to have been opened and searched. Some bricks are lying about. The age of the stone seems about the seventh or eighth century.

About forty yards east is a small burial mound, about four feet round and one foot high. Two hundred yards to the south-east, at the edge of the rice land, lying on the grass, is a big slab of trap, seven feet one inch high and one foot six inches broad. At the top it is carved into a

big funereal urn, with heavy ears, tied with a hanging bow of ribbon. Below are three belts of figures cut in the slab. The story begins with the lowest belt, the figure of a dead man. In the middle of the belt above is a woman, the widow of the man below, who, supported by another woman on the left, prepares to throw herself into the funeral fire. On the right is a band of musicians. The belt above is in Shiv's heaven or *kailas*, where the husband and wife meet. The carving probably belongs to the tenth century. About two hundred yards further, near a pond, is an old well where, in the hot weather, carved stones are said to be seen. On the bank is an old water trough hewn out of a block of trap. About a hundred yards east, near the west bank of the Dev pond, stands a modern temple to the village gods. Inside of the temple, to the left of the village god, is a burial stone or *daghoba*, about one foot five inches high and two feet ten inches round the middle. The *Tee* at the top has been broken and an oil cup set in its place. A bench of old dressed stone runs round the wall, and some old stones are built into the wall. These stones were taken from a slightly raised site, a few yards to the south, where lines of old stones and bricks still leave the outline of a Buddhist monastery. The outer walls were of stone and enclosed a space about fifty feet square, apparently with a central hall and rows of side and end cells with brick partitions, the cells about eight feet by six. About ten yards in front of



the village temple, is a stone finely carved with small umbrella-shaded *daghobas*. It probably belonged to a Buddhist temple of the sixth or seventh century. On the south bank of the Dev pond is a trap slab the upper face plain. About sixty yards to the south-east is an old well, seven feet across, of dressed stone neatly built in rings, the stones cut in different sizes, but most of them like bricks nine inches long by five broad and two thick. The well seems to be of the age of the Buddhist temple (7th century). A few yards to the east are two other holes, one apparently a well the other perhaps a bathing pool. Both are full of earth. At the south end of the steep bare knoll or rounded hill to the north of the Dev lake, perhaps about 200 feet above the level of the rice lands, is a brick burial mound about twenty-two feet round. It has been lately opened, either for its bricks or in search of treasure. From the burial mound the hill top rises to the north, a bare rock with a sprinkling of thorn bushes, apparently no signs of other burial mounds. The hill top has a fine view east up the wooded Tulsi valley, with the bush-crested spur of Kanheri on the horizon. Near the hill foot lies the green belt of brab palms, and to the west, beyond a stretch of rich rice lands and mango gardens, the watch-

tower and Cathedral of Mandapeshvar stand out from the trees. About half a mile northwest of this hill, under a small gnarled tamarind tree, near the Tulsi river, about a third of a mile north-east of the Borivli station, stands a big slab of trap five feet high and eighteen inches broad. The top is carved into a funereal urn, and there are two eight inch belts of carving below. In the lower belt, on the left, is an elephant with a dead man under it, and, on the right, three archers. In the upper belt, on the right, are foot archers, and, on the left, a mounted archer. It is a *paliaor* memorial stone of some chief who fell in battle, perhaps on the spot. The carving is probably of the eleventh or twelfth century. This stone is worshipped. The urn is brightened with red paint, and when the rice crop is carried a cock is offered to the stone and eaten by the owner of the field. A large plot of ground in which the stone stands is known as *Kanherichi jaga*. It seems to be the land which, an inscription in Kanheri cave 81 records, as given to the monastery by Aparenuka of Kalyan, about A.D. 177-196. It is a curious example of the great age of the names of some village fields.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Campbell J. M., 1882, (Reprint 2010), *Gazateer of Bombay, Thana Places of Interest*, Government of Maharashtra.

## Jivadan~ Virar



### **Jivadan- Virar**

Jivadan is a small hill situated about 3 kilometres east of Virar, a railway station on the Bombay- Baroda line, about 56 Kilometres north of Bombay city. The caves are located about 100 metres above the plain on the western scarp of the hill. A beautiful view of the vast stretch of the green fields and the Arabian Sea beyond is presented from here. The remains of Sopara are about 5 km away from the foot of the hill. The caves are in two groups, cut in the second and third scraps from the top respectively. They are reached by a flight of steps leading to the temple of Jivadanmata on the hill.

### **Jivdan Hill**

Jivdhan Hill, about 457.200 metres to 609.600 metres (1,500 to 2,000 feet) high and about a kilometre and a half east of the Virar railway station on the Western Railway, has on its top ruins of fortifications which are visible from the Virar railway station. There is an old road which goes winding from the hills surrounding the

main hill with very steep climbs. Now a new road is being laid with stone steps out of donations received from public and 811 steps have been laid till 1975.

Within the fortifications there are some ancient looking caves and water cisterns, most of which now have practically dried up. They are believed to be the work of the Pandavas. The hill is famous for the invisible Jivdhan goddess who is believed to have fled from a niche in one of the caves. Throughout the fair season people, especially barren women, from the surrounding villages, go to the caves to make offerings and invoke the blessings of the Goddess. Offerings of betel-nuts are dropped into a hole in the niche in which the offended deity is believed to reside.

A fair is held on the *Dasara* day which is attended by a thousand people. The fort is visited frequently. The temple of the Devi is completely renovated and there is a beautiful idol of the devi in white marble. There is also a temple





Location of the Cave

dedicated to Shri Krishna Bhagwan. The temple is under the management of a trust.<sup>85</sup>

### **First Group**

This consists of 7 excavations done in a line and almost adjacent to one another. The caves are numbered here from north to south.

### **Caves 1 and 2**

Both these are small cells measuring about 1.60 m square and 1.60 m high. They are placed adjacently, but the dividing wall between the two which is about 8 cms thick is partly broken. Both these have no front wall and are completely open. The cutting of the caves is neatly done with perfect right angles for corner and the walls had also been finely smoothed.<sup>86</sup>

### **Excavation 3**

Next to the cave 2 is this unfinished excavation, about 1.50 m deep and 1.50 m high. But the right and back parts have been left uncut.

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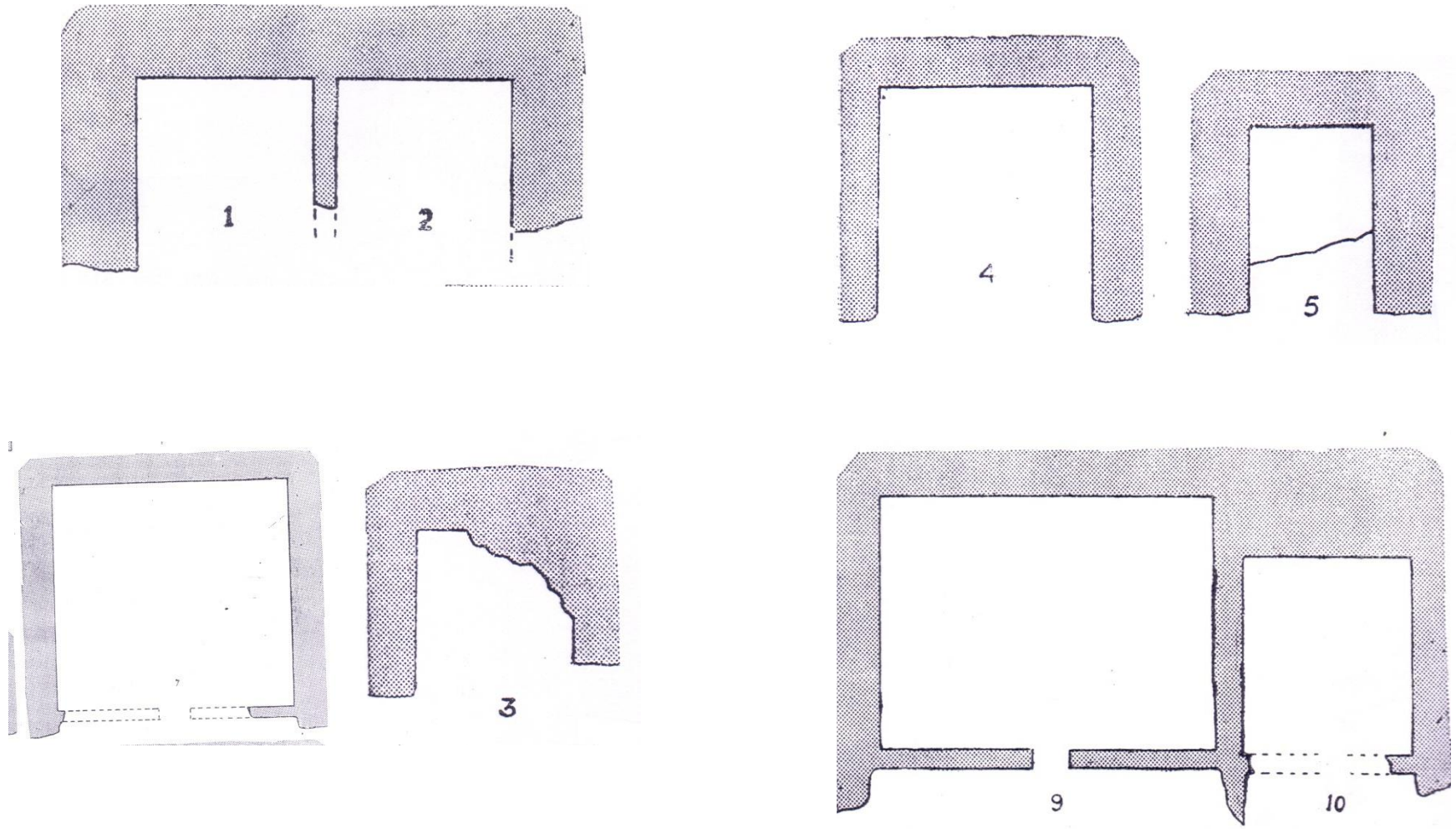
<sup>85</sup>Campbell, J M (2006, E-Book Edition)Thana District Gazzateer, Government of Maharashtra, Mumbai.

### **Cave 4**

This cave, now serving as the shrine of Jivdanimata, also appears to have been one of the caves like 1 and 2 with cubical dimensions each side measuring about 1. 70 m. But the walls are now covered with paint and roof and front part is now provided with a doorway.

### **Cave 5**

This is a small tunnel about 90 cm h and 90 cm wide going up in about 45° incline and reaching slightly a broader, space, where now an image is kept worshipped. The hewing is irregular and probably of recent date.



(After Nagraju. 1981)

### **Cave 7**

About 6 m beyond to the south of the above is a large cell about 6 m wide, 5.5 m deep and 2.1 m high. It appears there was a front wall to this but only part of it is now preserved to a length about 1.2 m on the right side. It is difficult to make out how long this wall projected and where the doorway was, as this portion has been built up in recent years. The interior however is remarkably well-cut with perfect right angles at corners and the wall are also dressed, almost looking like smoothed or polished surface.<sup>87</sup>

### **Second Group**

There are five excavations in this group all cut in lower scarp about 8 m below the first group. These are reached by a narrow footpath from the top of the hill (The numbering, from north to south, is continued from the above).

### **Excavation 8**

This is a small water cistern (about 1.1 m l; 0.90 m b, 0.90 m d) with its top open.

### **Cave 9**

This cave, situated about 6 m to the south of the above, is a large cell about 2.7 m long 3.8 m wide and 1.7 m high. There is a rectangular doorway in front about 1.5 m h and 0.5 m w. The whole of the interior is well made; the planes of the walls, floor and ceiling meet in exact right angles and it is so with the corners of the doorframe also (the lower part of the doorframe, however, is partly broken). The wall surfaces too had been well smoothed and this visible wherever the surface rock has not peeled off due to weathering. The facade of this cave is cut deeper into the scarp by about 15 cm, and is rectangular again about 3.8 m wide and 1.7 high and is made in such a way that the doorframe of the cell is equidistant from either side. The surface of this facade of this cave is also finely dressed.

### **Cave 10**

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<sup>87</sup> S. Nagraju, (1981). *Buddhist Architecture of Western India (c. 250 BC-AD 300)*, Agam Kala Prakashan, Delhi.



Adjacent to the above, separated only by a 25 cm wall, is this cell, a smaller one measuring 2.10 m l, 1.9 m b and about 1.5 to 1.6 m h (The floor is much disintegrated). Now the front is open but there is indication to show that there was a wall with a doorway in the Centre. This cave too had been executed neatly with perfection in making the corners and wall- ceiling joints. The fine smoothing of the walls too is noticeable wherever the surface has not Peeled off due to weathering.

### **Excavation 11**

This is an unfinished hewing showing an attempt to make a cell. The cutting done in different steps is still visible.

### **Excavation 12**

In front of the above is this excavation an open water cistern, with its top about 1.20 m wide 0.90 m long and 1.2 m deep, and the area slightly wider. The cistern is partly ruined now.

### **General Discussion**

Omitting cave 8 which appears to be a modern hewing and caves 3 and 11 which are unfinished, there are seven simple single celled

lenas and two podhis in this place. The single celled lenas too fall into two categories. Four are of Lena Type A i a, i.e. with open front, and three are of type A i b i.e. with a front doorway. The podhis are also of simple open top types (Type A i a). The excellent dressing, nearing polish, of the walls of the lenas is a noteworthy feature.

However, the architecturally unsophisticated nature of the caves in the group makes it difficult to consider this as a monastic establishment. Amongst these caves too the typologically simpler and possibly earlier variety of cave of A ia type appear to have come up first followed a little later by the cave of A i b type. This contention is possibly proved by the fact that whereas the cave of A i a type are all situated adjacently to one another as a single cluster, indicating that they may have been done together, the lenas of the latter type are removed from the former. If so, to start with in this place there appears to have been only four lenas of simple A i a type. These lenas are odd in size. Some of them are comparatively narrow or low to be used for comfortable living. They are not provided with stone beds. Despite the fact that the caves face west and are directly open to the hot sun and the gushing monsoon rain, they had not been provided with a door or any other arrangement to close the front. Another point of interest is the fact that even though this cave group is located nearby hundred

metre above the hill, no cistern is needed for storing water is to be seen near caves of A i a type. We feel that here are caves of a very early stage in which Buddhist monastic rock- cut architecture had not yet been systematized. The very simplicity of this group with A i a lenas is possibly indicative of its high antiquity. These could be the simplest form of rock- excavation which could be attempted in an area where the tradition was to begin afresh. The existence of the tradition of smothering the walls to a degree nearing polish, an item not seen in the majority of rock- cut caves of later date, is a strong point in favour of linking these technologically with the Mauryan caves elsewhere. Though, of course, the perfection in polish reached on sandstone by the Mauryan craftsmen can never be achieved on coarse grained trap of this area, the attempt to use the technique itself is of interest. Probably indicating the flow of that idea along with that of creating shelters for the Buddhist monks. Further these small caves with no provision for personal comfort, with not even the common stone beds, appear to belong to that early stage in the history of Buddhist monkhood, when the monks still followed the rigorous eremitic practices of aranyakas and paribbajakas according to which they were to resort to the caves during the vassa months only and were

not to aspire for any comfort in living. These small and simple creations could have certainly sufficed their needs. When the monks were to stay in vassa months only there would not be any need for water cisterns too, in a region like this where the rainfall is quite generous in that season.<sup>88</sup> This contention of a very early date for this group of caves at Jivadan- Virar looks quite plausible as the nearby Sopara is known, according to tradition, to have been one of the earliest cities in Western India to which Buddhism was first introduced; the Ashokan inscriptions from Sopara are well known. (could these caves be of Mauryan times?)

Typo- technologically these early caves at Jivadan- Virar can be considered as preceding or coeval with the single- celled Lena's with open front found in Junnar- Tuljalena, where too the caves are generally cubical in measurements and display good dressing nearing polish. There again, comparing those caves with a large number of others found in the same place, we have considered these as the earliest rock- cut architectural works of Western India. However, shortly afterwards when the craftsmen of the region were gradually becoming familiar with the rock medium, slightly better caves with a

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S. Nagraju, (1981). Buddhist Architecture of Western India (c. 250 BC-AD 300), Agam Kala Prakashan, Delhi.

front doorway (lena type A i b) were also made. These lenas at Jivadan- Virar (Caves 7, 9 and 10) could not have been far removed in date from the early series of A i a type. Except for the insertion of the front wall with a doorway, both retain the other features if making the corners perfectly at right angles and smoothing of the walls which we may note, are items absent in caves of later date. At this stage people could have realised the necessity of having some water-source near the cave themselves and two water cisterns have been made. it is interesting to note that these are also of very early type ( type A i a) with open top. Their storage capacity too is much less and

these could have served only for a few days in a year, perhaps during the dry intervals in the rainy season itself.<sup>89</sup>

### **Virar- Pandav lena**

About two miles east of Jivdhan, to the south of the village of Shrigaon, is an old Portuguese fort, and, about a mile to the north, the last of a row of waving hills, is Pandav Dungri, so called from a set of small caves which were cut away at the time of making the railway.



<sup>89</sup> S. S. Agastya, *Buddhist Architecture of Western India (c. 250 BC-AD 300)*, Agam Kala Prakashan, Delhi.

### **Dungi Cave**

belong to the 5th century. The 55 feet by 25 feet Dungi cave has 6 supporting pillars. It is carved out of a single rock and uses ancient stone carving process to flatten the roof and side walls. According to Ravindra Lad cave was used as a storage or octroi naka during or post the rule of the Ahira raj. "The cave must have also been a place to rest during nights for merchants traveling on foot to the adjacent docks of Panvel, Thane and others,".According to Salil "There are three compartments in the cave, which can be used to store good and cargo coming via ships. It looks suitable as a commercial center. It can also be a resting place for merchants,"

Ravindra Lad suggest that the caves were a link to the unknown port of Dounga mentioned in the texts of Ptolemy. The port

### **Chapter 3**

#### **Dungi Cave**

**Dungi** cave is located ahead of Dungi village that falls in the core region of the airport plan, Navi Mumbai. Ravindra Lad, Historian state that the caves were similar to the ones in Lonad. They must

was said to be an important center of commerce during the 2nd century. The researchers and Lad claim no inscriptions or idols were found in the cave that could symbolize that it was used as a temple. Even though, for the last 60-70 years, residents of the nearby hamlet of Waghavli Wada consider the cave to be the residence of local diety Keru Mata. The cave, earlier in a pathetic condition, was maintained by Damodar Ganpat M, a local villager, who converted it into a temple. "The cave had a lot of stagnated water and the floor was

covered with knee-deep mud. Initially, Damodar Ganpat M cleaned all of it. Later, with the help of donations, added the floors and got the walls painted. Three chambers of the cave are still full of water, which is clear and fit to drink," said Damodar. He even sent a letter to City and Industrial Development Corporation (CIDCO), appealing to save the caves, but there was no response.<sup>90</sup>

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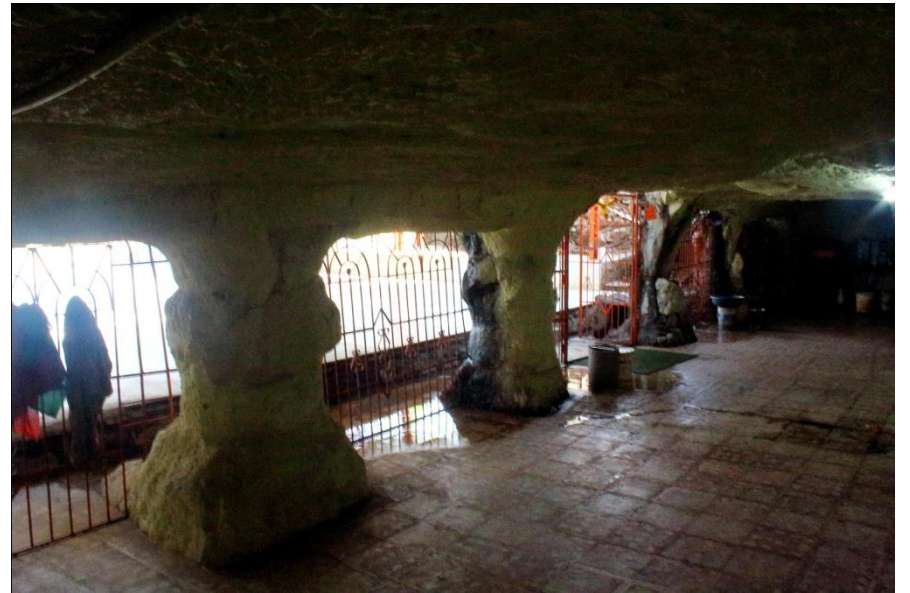
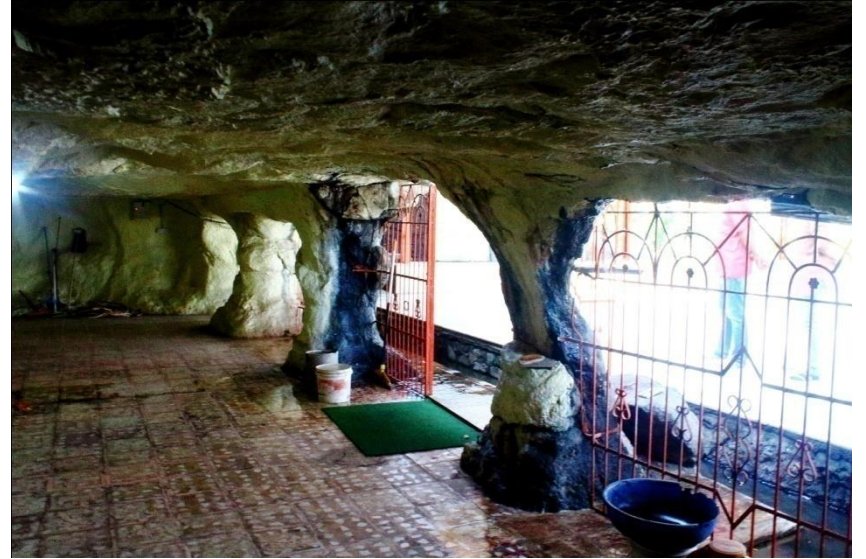
<sup>90</sup> <http://www.dnaindia.com/india/report-5th-century-caves-that-will-be-lost-due-to-navi-mumbai-airport-maybe-stored-in-digital-format-2235509>





Location Of the cave









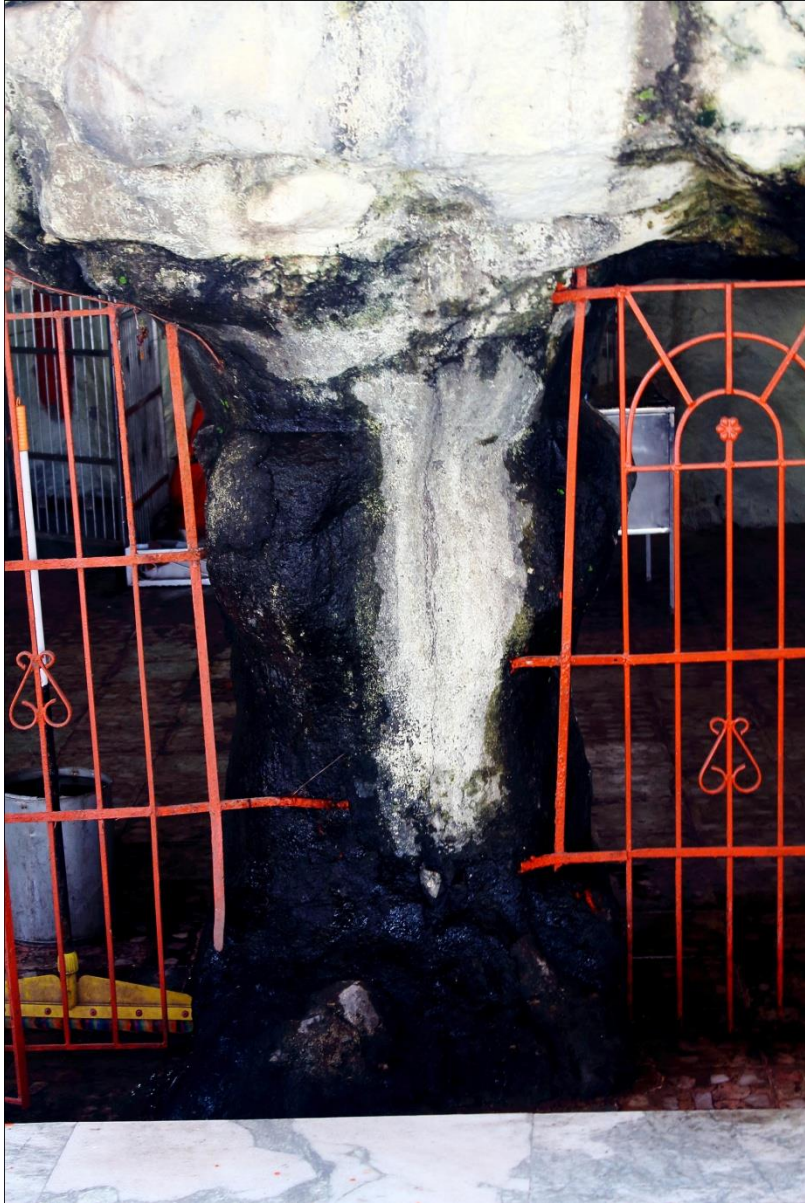


















# Baronda Cave

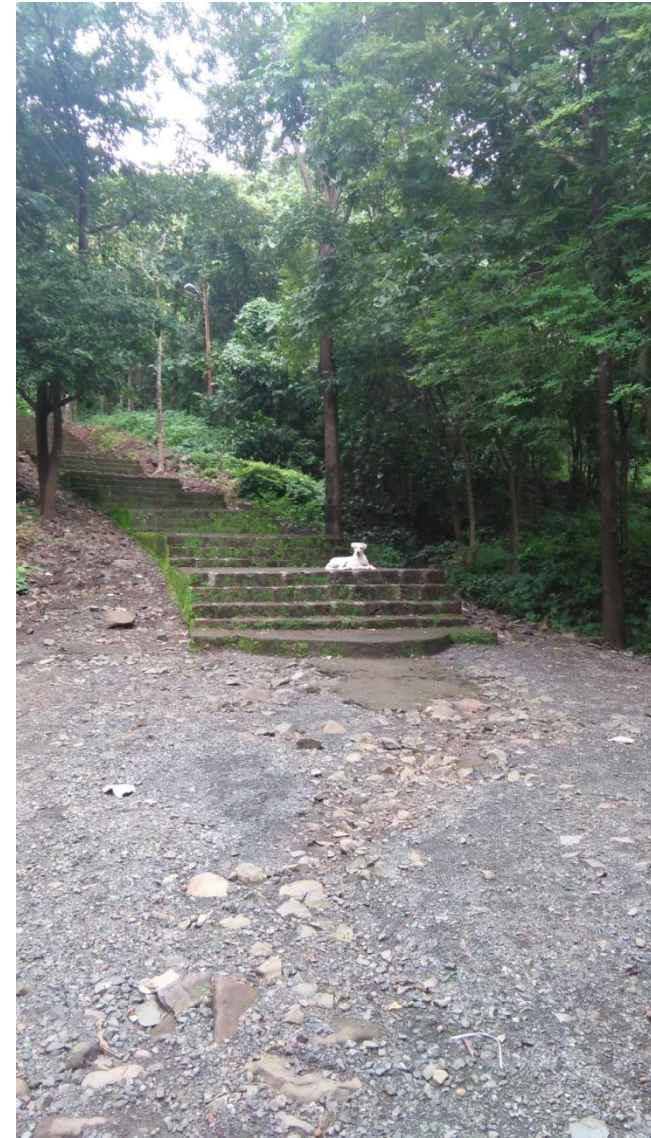


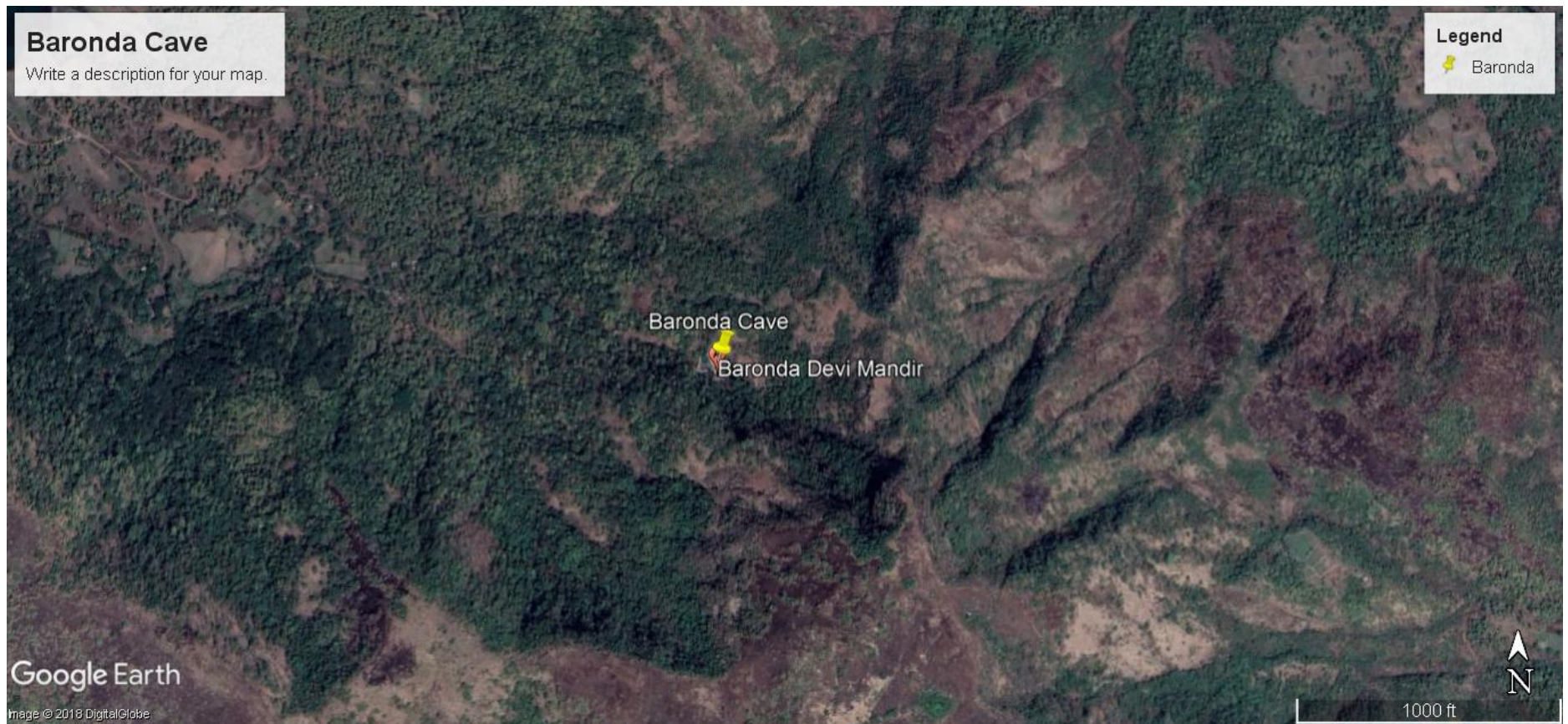


## **Baronda Cave**

Baronda cave 19.450121, 72.841176 situated in Virar. Which is dating back to approximately second century BC. Now days the cave, used as a temple .originally Baronda Devi cave is not an ancient temple but a buddhist rock-cut cave, which people are not aware of despite the structures inside the temple depict that it is a part of the Buddhist caves. according to the Buddhist text these caves are known as Vassavassa and were mainly used by the Buddhist monks

during the rainy season. The Baronda Devi temple was converted into a temple in the 19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> century. The caves have similar features as seen in the Jivdhani caves. They also have a renovated bench that can be dated back to similar period. The length of the caves is 533 cm (15 feet) while the width is 577 six feet after the renovation work was completed.





Location Of the cave

























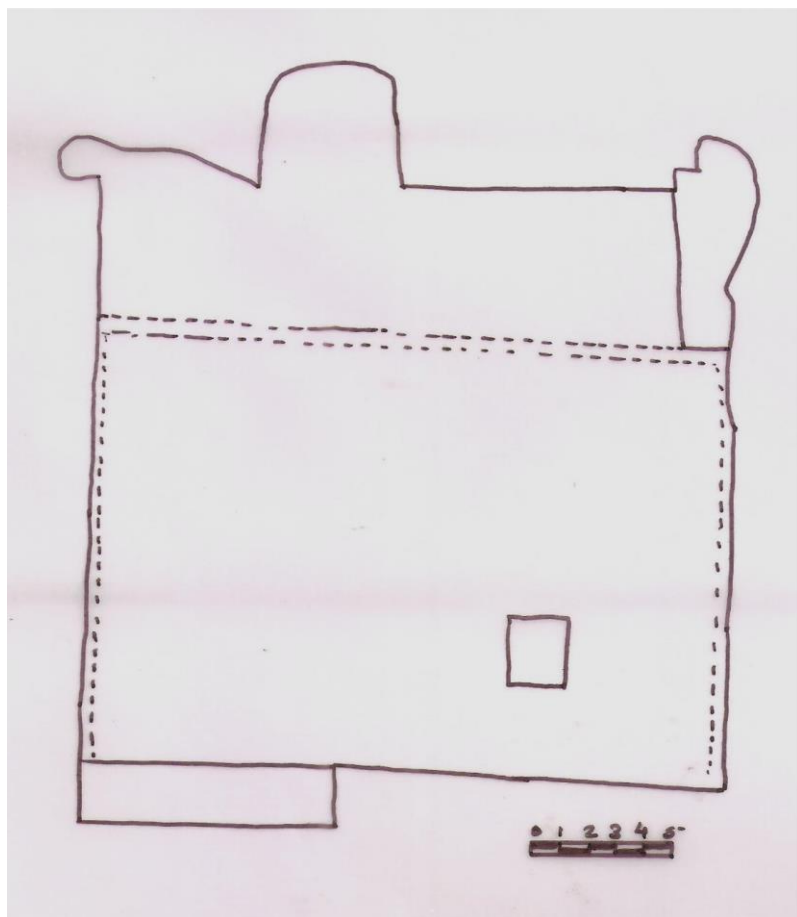












**Cave Plan**



## **Padan**

About eleven miles north of Bombay, eighteen miles south of Sopara, and three miles north-east of Goregaon station on the Baroda railway, is a small range of hills whose northern extremity, jutting out towards the deserted village of Akurli, goes by the name of Padana. The Marathi word Padana corresponds to the Gujarati Padana and to the Hindi Padava, and means a place of encampment. The name Padana has been given to this hill because during the rainy months the cattle from the neighbouring villages are taken to its dry flat top to save them from the mud and slime of the rice lands below.<sup>1</sup> Many similar places are called Padana. Padana hill is from 180 to 200 feet above the level of the surrounding rice lands. It rises with an easy slope from the west, but on the east ends in a sheer cliff. To the south it is connected with a range of small hills, and on the north falls gradually into the plain. The top measures about 350 feet from north to south. It is somewhat broader in the south, narrowing northwards

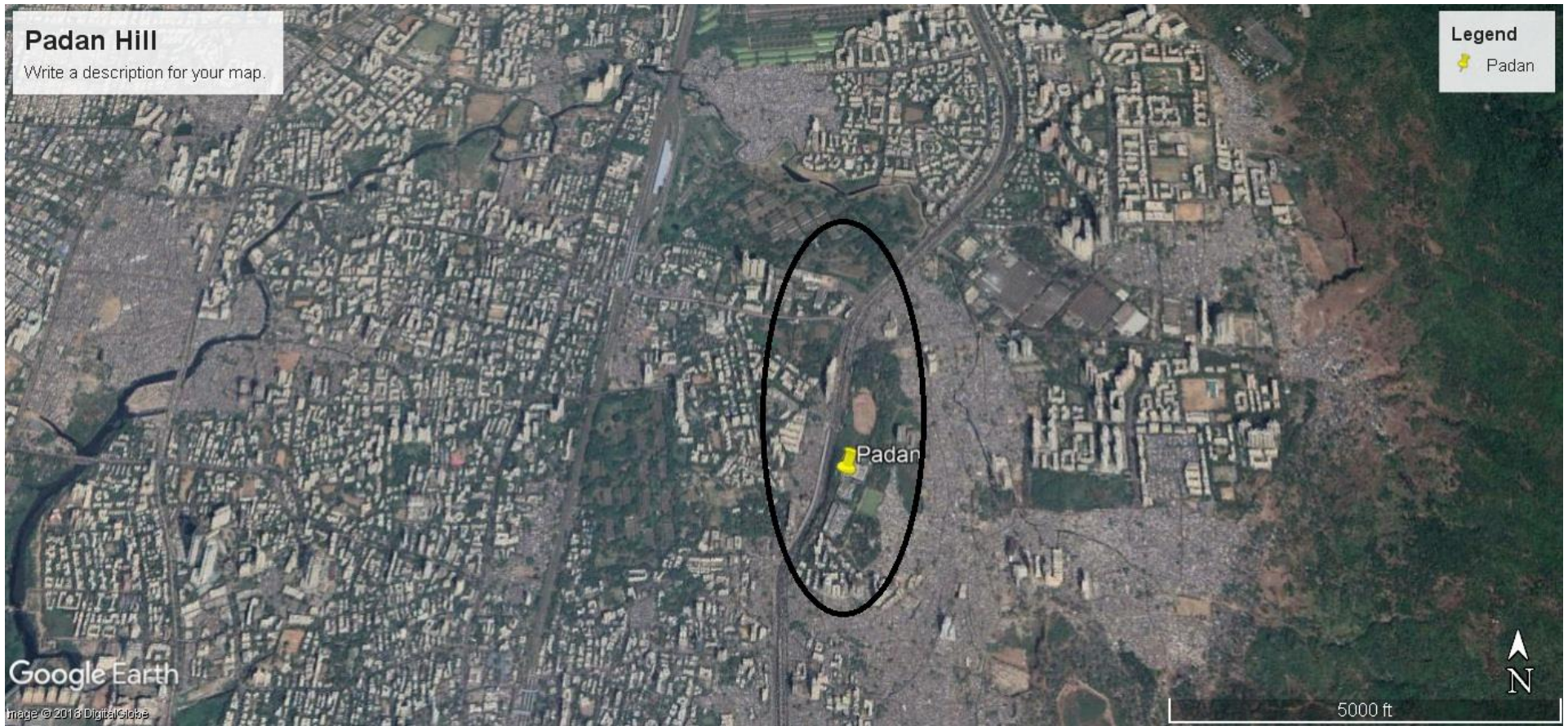
with a gradual downward slope. On the west much of the hill top is on a slightly higher level, like a raised platform. The hill lies six miles west of Kanheri, and the black cleft in which the Kanheri caves are cut can be clearly seen. There is no building on the top of the hill. On the south appears something like the foundation of a wall, and on the north is a circle of undressed stones. Neither of these are old foundations;

They are the sites of temporary huts erected during the rainy months by cattle keepers. At the base of the hill to the west is a pond with a broken dam which is almost dry in the fair season.<sup>1</sup>

The hill top contains the following objects of interest:—

- (1) A natural cave.
- (2) Symbols cut on the surface of the rock.
- (3) Inscriptions cut on the surface of the rock.

Cave.—The natural cave is almost in the middle of the hill top,



Location of the cave

near the western edge. Over it grows a stunted tamarind, and at the foot of the tree are some signs of stone work. The cave faces north. Its entrance is almost choked with earth, and it looks like the hole of some small animal. I learnt from the people of the neighborhood that Kathodis in search of porcupine quills sometimes make their way into the cave, and they say there is space inside for sitting. The outside of the cave favours the truth of this statement of the Kathodis. If the mouth were opened the cave might be found to contain some objects of interest.

Symbols.—There are eleven symbols carved in different parts of the hill top. (No. 1.) The footmarks of a cow and a calf are sixty feet east of the tamarind tree. The four feet of the cow with the hoofs marked are well cut in the rock, the cow facing north. The distance between the front and hind legs is two feet six inches. The forelegs are rather far apart, the distance between them being eight inches; the hind legs are closer together, only two inches apart. Each hoof is about three inches long and about the same in breadth. The calf faces the south, and from the position of its feet seems to be sucking the cow. The distance between its front and hind feet is one foot six inches. Each hoof measures an inch and a half long, and about the same in breadth. The distance between the two fore feet and between the two hind feet is about an inch.

(2) The chakra or Buddhist wheel is cut about fifteen feet south of the cow's feet. It has fifteen spokes and a double circle. The diameter of the wheel is 9½ inches.

(3) Seventeen feet east of the chakra or Buddhist wheel, and on the east edge of the hill are two pairs of human feet facing each other, one pair smaller than the other. These feet are not cut in the way feet are usually carved; they are either cut with shoes, champals, or perhaps the work is rough and unfinished. The larger pair faces west, each foot ten inches long by four inches broad. Facing it about two inches to the west is a smaller pair, each foot 8½ inches long by three inches broad. The people call these the footmarks of a husband and wife, navard-navarichefiye.

(4) About three feet south of the two pairs of footmarks is a small conch shell, nine inches long and six inches broad in the middle.

(5) About fifty feet south of the small conch shell is a pair of child's feet going from south to north. The left foot is in front, and the right behind, as if the child was crossing a slit in the rock. The two feet are ten inches apart; each foot is four inches long, with a breadth at the toes of 2½ inches. These feet are very well carved.

(6) Three feet west of the right or hind foot of the child is a large conch shell, one foot seven inches long and nine inches broad in the middle.

(7) a & b. About fourteen feet south of the large conch shell is a pair of large human footmarks^ each mark being one foot long by five inches broad. They are on the eastern edge of the hill, and are the marks of someone leaping out towards the east. The right foot is five feet and five inches in front of the left. They are both well carved. In front of the hind footmark is Inscription E in letters of the first century after Christ. By the side of the same footmark is Inscription F in letters of the second or third century after Christ. To the left of the front footmark is Inscription G in letters of about the second or the third century after Christ, and to the right is Inscription K, the well known Buddhist formula in letters of about the fifth or sixth century after Christ.

(8) The Buddhist Trident.—This symbol is about eight feet south of the large footmarks. To the (visitor's) right is Inscription H in letters of the first century after Christ, and below the symbol is Inscription I in letters of the second or third century after Christ. To the (visitor's) left is Inscription J in letters of about the second or third century after Christ. Except for the two ox-hoof marks this symbol much resembles what is generally known as the Buddhist trident, an emblem found in old Buddhist sculptures and coins. In dignity the so-called Buddhist trident comes next to the Dharmachakra and to the pentagonal symbol below both of which it is generally found. In one place in the Bhilsa

sculptures the trident is carved on the throne of Buddha as the principal object of worship. In other sculptures it appears in flags, in ornaments, and as an auspicious mark on the sole of Buddha's foot. Its meaning has not yet been settled. General Cunningham believes it to be a Dharma symbol, a monogram formed from the letters r, FT, sr, ff, which the later Tantrikas use to represent the five elements. To me the symbol seems to be derived from the face of an ox, much resembling the Greek sign for the constellation Taurus. The inscription by the side of this Padana symbol nandipam, Sk. Nagipadm, that is 'The symbol of the bull,' seems to tell in favour of the Bull Theory. The two ox-hoof marks in the symbol are perplexing. Bhagwanlal indraji suggested only one explanation. The symbol was originally intended to represent a bull's head, and was known as *NANDIPADAM*, that is, the bull symbol. In later times the word pada was supposed to mean foot not symbol, and ox-hoof marks were carved to explain the phrase nandi padam.

(9) Seven feet south-east of the trident are two jugs, one large the other small. The large jug is fourteen inches long, nine inches across, and five inches long in the neck. It much resembles the jugs found in old sculptures in the hands of monks and Bodhisattvas. The small jug is eight and a half inches long and five inches across. It has a neck

two and half inches long and a side spout two inches long. Both jugs appear to be made on the model of clay pots.

(10) Eighty-six feet north-west of the trident, on a higher level, is a jar eleven inches long, eight and a half inches across in the middle, and three inches long in the neck. In the middle of the jar is a square pattern with a point in the middle, probably for ornament. A bit on the side is lost.

(11) 190 feet south-west of the last jar, on a detached rock to the south, is a mirror with a round disc and a handle. The disc of the mirror is ten and a half inches across, and the handle seven inches long. It is like the metal mirrors used in Nepal at the present day, the disc being fitted into the handle in the same way. They are made of bell metal or of brass, with a specially large proportion of zinc. In Nepal metal mirrors are considered more suitable for religious purposes than looking glasses. There the mirrors which are held in front of a god after his worship is over are still made of metal, mostly of silver, and so is the mirror held up to the bridegroom when dressed in his marriage robes, a glass mirror being considered unlucky. Several old Nepal barbers even now use metal mirrors, a little different in shape from this Padana mirror. Among the eight auspicious things shown in

the Khandagiri and Girnar sculptures are mirrors resembling this mirror in shape.

### **Inscriptions**

There are in all eleven inscriptions, which bhagwanlal indraji have marked in letters A—K, to distinguish them from the symbols, which are marked in numbers. The inscriptions range from the first to the sixth century after Christ. All except two are carved in the old Prakrit used in Western India cave inscriptions.

### **Insertion A**

Inscription A is well cut in large well-preserved characters of about the first century after Christ. It is in one line, six feet long, and begins with the scastika mark.

Transcript

पवतस वासाअस आरामो अपरिलो

Sanskrit

पर्वतस्य वासाकस्याराम अपरास्थः

Translation.

The western seat of the Vasaka Mountain. \Note.—Vāsāk may be a corruption of Varshak, that is, for the rainy season; but bhagawanlal indraji suggested Vasaka is the original name of Padana hill. Aram properly means a pleasure seat or garden. Here I think it is used in the

sense of a pleasure seat, as having been a favourite seat of some ascetic who used to sit on the hill top enjoying the view across to the sea. If Aram meant a garden, something would have been added to say whether it was a gift, and if so by whom it was given. Again there is a mention in another inscription of an eastern Aram.

### Inscription B

Inscription B is about thirty feet south-east of inscription A. It is one foot ten inches long, and is written in two lines. The letters are well cut and well preserved of about the first century after Christ.

#### Transcript.

कौसिकयस उदओ आरामो च

#### Sanskrit.

कौशिकेयस्य उदय आरामश्च

Translation

And the eastern pleasure seat of Kosikaya. Note.—Kosikaya is Sanskrit Kausikeya, that is son of Kausikt. This inscription tells us that the eastern aram is of one Kosikaya. In Inscription A, a western aram is mentioned, as also the mountain where it is, but not the person to whom it belongs. Here the name of the person is also mentioned, while the cha 'and' at the end leaves no doubt that both aram are of Kosikaya.

### Inscription C

Inscription C, about twenty feet south of Inscription B, is of one line three feet four inches long. The letters are large, deeply cut and well preserved. From their form they appear to belong to the first century after Christ.

#### Transcript

पर्वतो अभुंतो सिध्वसति

Sanskrit

पर्वतोभ्यन्तः सिद्धवसतिः

Translation

The mountain, the residence of Siddhas (monks) all about.

### Inscription D

Inscription D, about fifteen feet west of Inscription C, is written in one short and one long crooked line, three feet long. The letters are very large but shallow, and appear from their form to be of about the first century after Christ. The ninth letter of line two is lost, and the tenth is doubtful. This makes it difficult to get any sense out of the inscription.



Transcript.

बम्हचारि  
विकराहि कुडबीका [णति?] कातो

Sanskrit.

ब्रह्मचारि  
विकरैः कुदुम्बिकाज्ञतिः कृता?

Translation.

A body of Brahmacharis gave an order to the husbandmen?

Note.—I can offer no suggestion as to the meaning of this inscription. Vikarahi may he also read Makarahi

### Inscription E

Inscription E is to the south of inscription D, in front of symbol 7a. It is a short writing of five large letters, which seem from their form to be of about the first century after Christ.

Transcript

सधमुसल

Note is, bhagawanlal indraji believe, a mistake for sidh- The inscription should therefore he read sidhmusal.

Sanskrit

सिद्धमुसलः

Translation

The sage Musala

Note.—Musala seems to be the name of the sage near whose foot mark the letters are carved.

### Inscription F

Inscription F is on the (visitor's) left of 7a. It is in Sanskrit and records the same name as E, in well-cut letters of about the second or third century after Christ.

Transcript

मुसलदत्त

Musaladatta

This is the same name as in Inscription E, omitting his title of siddha and adding the nominal datta.

### Inscription G

Inscription G is about nine inches to the (visitor's) right of symbol 7b. It is well-cut and well-preserved, and from the form of the letters appears to be of about the second or third century after Christ.

Transcript.

रामइक्रमो

Sanskrit.

रामविक्रमः

Translation

Step of Rama

Note.— Ikamo is probably for Sanskrit Vikramah, which means a footstep. Even to the present day, the Maharashtris interchange ? va for a as ela for vela (time), eda for veda (mad).

### **Inscription II.**

Inscription H is to the right of the Buddhist trident No. 8.

It is carved in well-cut, well-preserved letters of the first century after Christ,

#### **Transcript.**

नंदिपदं.

#### **Sanskrit.**

नंदिपदं

Translation.

The symbol (or residence) of Nandi,

### **Inscription I,**

Inscription I is below the trident It is well-cut and well-pre served in letters of the second or third century after Christ.

#### **Transcript.**

मुसलदत्त

Musaladatta.

Note.—The writer seems at first to have left out and added it below between J and W.

### **Inscription J**

Inscription J is to the (visitor's) left of the trident. It is wellcut in letters of the second or third century after Christ, and is well-preserved.

#### **Transcript.**

जिरासंधदत्त

Jirasandhadatta.

### **Inscription K**

Inscription K is to the (visitor's) left of 7b. It is in three lines. The letters are small and not deeply cut. They are of about the fifth or sixth century after Christ. The inscription is the well-known Buddhist formula, Ye Dharma Hetu, &c.

#### **Transcript.**

ये धर्मा हेतुप्रभवा हेतुस्तेषां  
तथागतो ह्यवदत् तेषां च यो निरो[ध]  
एवं वादी महाश्रवणः

Note.—In the formula as found on the pedestals of several images of Buddha at Buddha Gaya, the reading is dharm for dharma, hetum tesham for hetustesham and mahashramah for mahashravanah. The formula is differently interpreted by scholars. I translate it : The Tathugata (or similarly come, that is any of tho Buddhas) showed the

object of those (that is the previous Buddhas) who took birth for the sake of religion, he (that is any of the Buddhas) also told what they for bade. So spake (literally A thus-speaker is) the Great Sramana (Gautama). Almost all the seal impressions in dried clay found by Mr. West in Kanheri

Cave XIII. (Jour. B. IS. R. A. S. VI. 157, Plate VII., figs. 1—21) had this formula, with the reading vrtn-]- as at Padana. According to this reading- which is also found at the end of several Nepalese Buddhist manuscripts, the sense would be :

' The Tathagata (or similarly come, that is any of the Buddhas) has shown the cause of those merits which are the result of some cause ; he has also shown what prevents merit (from accruing). So spake (literally A thus-speaker is) the Great Sramana (Gautama). Compare Ariana Antiqua, 51 ; Jour. Beng. A. S.IV., 132.

### **Remarks**

The origin of these symbols and inscriptions on the Padana hill is its natural cavern, whose solitude and the beautiful view it commands, probably recommended it to some ascetic. People may have tried to preserve the memory of this ascetic by carving symbols and inscriptions, or some ascetic living on the hill may have tried to confer holiness upon it by connecting it with stories of some former sage.

The sage who lived on the hill, or, according to the second supposition, the imaginary sage for whom the story was got up, was probably Musala or Musaladatta, whose name is twice carved near footmark 7a (Inscriptions E and F) . This and the other footmark, 7b, are carved as if they were the feet of someone leaping off the east cliff towards Kanheri. These are I believe the chief symbols connected with the story. In the legend of the Sopara merchant Punna (Sk. Purna), translated from Buddhist manuscripts by the late M. Burnouf, it is said that when, at the request of Punna (Sk. Purna), Gautama came to Sopara, he visited several places in the neighbourhood. One of these places was the hill of Musalaka, on which lived a sage called Vakkali (Sk. Valkalin, or the bark-dress wearer). According to the story, the sage saw Buddha from afar, when he was coming from a hermitage of 500 Rishis, and on seeing Gautama the thought arose in his heart, ' Why should I not throw myself from the top of the hill ? ' He threw himself down, and Gautama caught him by his supernatural power and converted him. Bhagawanlal Indrajit have little doubt that the Musalaka hill of this story is our Padana hill, and that the footmarks (symbols 7a and 7b) are those of the Vakkali who leapt over the cliff. Vasaka, the name given in Inscription A, is probably the old name of the hill. The legend calls it the hill of Musalaka, from the sage who lived on it, and whose

name is carved on the top. Vakkali, the name given in the legend to the sage who lived on the hill, is a common noun, meaning the wearer of a dress made of bark. The question arises whether this Vakkali was Musala, or whether Musala was the sage, who, to confer holiness on the hill, had the symbols connected with the story of Vakkali carved on its top.

The legend does not explain this point. Bhagwanlal 55 incline to believe that Musala is the Vakkali, as his name 'the sage Musala' is carved near footmark 7a in one (E) of the oldest inscriptions, not as a donor, but as though he were the person whose footmark it is. Inscriptions F, G, and I, which are all of the same time and more than a century later than E, seem to show that an attempt was made to give a different colour to the story. Inscriptions F and I read 'Mu-Baladatta,' which may either mean 'given by Musala,' or may be an attempt to make Musal a purely Brahmanical name by adding datta. Inscription G, near footmark 7b, seems to imply an attempt to connect the mark with the story of Rama, the hero of the Ramayana. Inscription J, near the trident, which is of the same period, records the name of someone who does not seem to have any connection with Musala's story. Inscription K is very late, of about the fifth or sixth century. It is the well-known Buddhist formula, and was probably carved by some late Buddhist visitor of the Mahayana school. It

seems to have no connection with the other symbols. B, one of the two early inscriptions (1st century) runs, 'And the eastern pleasure seat of Kosikaya.' Kosikaya may be a family name meaning 'one of the Kausiki dynasty,' but it is more probably a -maternal name, meaning the son of Kausiki. It is possible that it may be Musala's own name, or the name of some sage connected with Musala. Inscription C 'The mountain the residence of sages all about,' is a mere exaggeration, an attempt to confer greatness on the hill. This practice is common. The Jainas say that thousands of their sages obtained absolution, rukti, on the Girnar and Satrunjaya hills. How the various symbols are connected with the story of Musalaka we have no means of knowing. Burnouf's legend gives us only the name of Musalaka, and allows us to draw an inference about the footmarks. To the other symbols it gives no clue. In the absence of materials I do not like to build on conjecture, but leave the matter to future research. This much seems pretty certain ; (1) that the old name of the Padana hill was Vasaka ; (2) that it was also called the hill of Musalaka, because a sage of that name lived on its top ; (3) that the Buddhists probably regarded it as holy, believing it to be the scene of the story of Musalaka, whom Gautama came to see and converted ; and (4) that as it was believed to have been the residence of many sages, people of the Brahmanical religion probably

regarded it as holy. From the inscriptions, the symbols and the legend of Punna (Sk. Purna) the history of the Padana antiquities may be thus summarised. As the legend of Purna mentions a Brahmanical sage, and as there is a natural cave on the hill top fit for the residence of an ascetic, it may be inferred that the hill was once the residence of a Brahmanical sage ; that some time later, about the first century after Christ, the footmarks and other symbols and the six inscriptions, A B, C, D, E and H were carved to connect the story of the sage with Buddha ; that about a century later an attempt was made to connect the hill and its symbols with the Brahmanical story of Rama ; and that in the sixth century Buddhists probably regarded the hill as holy, as some Buddhist of the Mahayana school carved on it the well-known Buddhist formula.

Note.—The special honour shown to Maitreya the Coming Buddha in the Sopara stupa suggests that Purna, the son of Maitrifiyanl, the glory of Sopara and the apostle of Buddhism in the Konkana (see above, p. 275, Burnouf's Introduction, 235—274,) may be, or may locally have been claimed to be, Maitreya or the Coming Buddha. Maitreya is not an admissible form of Maitrifiyaniputra, or son of Maitrayant ; but the similarity of the name favours the suggestion that Purna was locally believed to be the Coming Buddha. This belief finds support from the details of Purna's life preserved in M. Burnouf's Introduction to

Buddhism. This story of his life shows that Purna, the son of Maitrayant, rose to the highest rank. He became a Bodhisattva or potential Buddha, and is one of the first of Gautama's followers who will hold the office Buddha (Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi, 122, 123). The high honour in which he was held is shown by the fact that Hiwen Thsang found a stupa of Purnamaitrayani at Mathura, which was said to have been built by Asoka (Julien's Memoirs I. 208). At the same time there are several difficulties in the way of the suggestion that the honour done to Maitreya in the Sopara stupa is connected with a desire to show respect to Purna. Purna's title as Buddha is Dharmaprabhāsa (Le Lotus, 123), not Maitreya. It is stated (Burnouf's Introduction, 55, 102,) that the former name of Maitreya was Ajita, or the Unconquered, and that he was a Brahmana, not like Purna, the son of a merchant. Further in the introduction to the Lotus of the Good Law

(Burnouf II. 1, 2) among the beings who gather to hear Gautama's teaching, Purnamaitrayanlputra appears as an Arhat and Maitreya appears as a Bodhisattva Mahasattva.

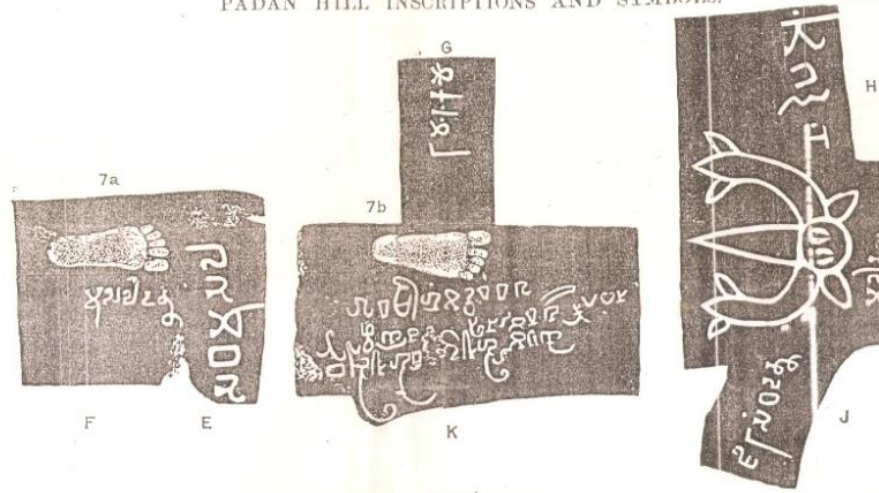
Since the above was written, Dr. Burgess has stated in the Indian Antiquary for August 1882 (Vol. XL, p. 236,) that Maitreya is often confounded with Dharmaprabhasa. Dr. Burgess does not give the authority for this statement.

If it is correct it greatly increases the probability that the prominent position given to Maitreya among the images that surround the relics was due to the belief that Purna, the apostle of Sopara, is the Coming Buddha.— (j. M. Campbell.)



PADAN HILL INSCRIPTIONS AND SYMBOLS.

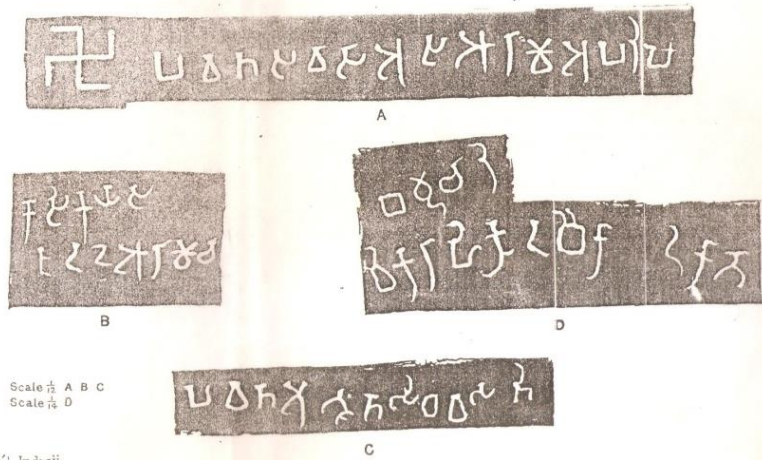
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PADAN HILL INSCRIPTIONS.

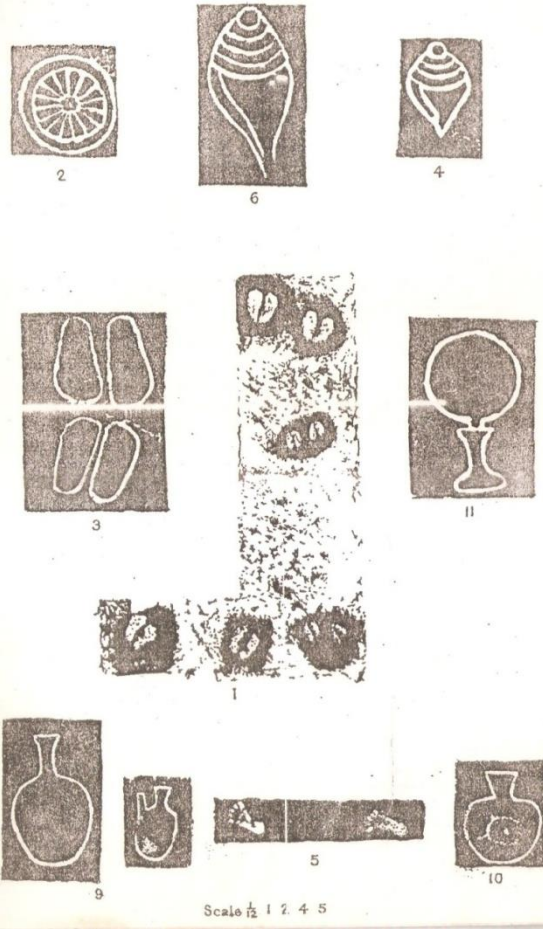
Plate II.



121 10-2-11

PADAN HILL SYMBOLS.

Plate



AFTER BHAGAVANLAL INDRAJI, 1892



**Current condition of Padan Hill**

## ‘Padan Inscriptions: Some New Observations’

**Suraj A. Pandit, Prachi Moghe**

Padan is the lost site in Mumbai. The site was first reported by Pt. Bhagwanlal Indraji in his report on Sopara and Padan.<sup>91</sup> The site has been described by Pt. B. Indraji as follows,

“About eleven miles north of Bombay, and three miles north-east of Goregaon station on the Baroda railway, is a small range of hills whose northern extremity, jutting towards the deserted village of Akurli, goes by the name of PADAN. The Marathi word Padan corresponds to the Gujarati Padan and to the Hindi Padav, and means a place of encampment. The name Padan has been given to this hill, because during the rainy months the cattle from the neighbouring villages are taken to its dry flat top to save them from the mud and slime of the rice lands below. Many similar places are called Padan.

Padan hill is from 180 to 200 feet above the level of the surrounding fields. It rises with an easy

slope from the west, while on the east it is a sheer precipice. To the south it is connected with a range of small hills, and on the north it ends with a gradual slope. The surface of the top measures about 350 feet from north to south. It is somewhat broader in the south, narrowing northwards with a gradual downward slope. On the west much of the hill-top is on a higher level, like a raised platform. The hill lies five or six miles west of Kanheri, and the black cleft in which the Kanheri caves are cut can be clearly seen.

There is no building on the top of the hill. On the south appears something like the foundation of a wall, and on the north is a circular row of undressed stones. Neither of these are foundations of buildings; they are the sites of temporary huts erected during the rainy months by cattle-keepers. At the base of the hill to the west is a pond with a broken dam, which is almost dry in the fair season.”

Present location of the site was difficult to identify due to change in landscape and rise in urban

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<sup>91</sup> Indraji Bhagwanlal, 1882, *Antiquarian Remains at Sopara and Padan*, Education Society's Press, Mumbai.

activities in Mumbai. Topo-sheet of 1942 does not give us any area call Padan in the map. Distance of the site given by Indrajai is from Goregaon. An article by K. R. U. Todd has a map of microlith sites in Mumbai.<sup>92</sup> The map gives us the location of Padan hill where Todd had found some microlithic tools of the early period. Todds description of the site is interesting and give us some further clue in study. The description is as follows:

“On Padan hill at Kandivli, the microlithic horizon is overlaid by a sterile layer of black sand which, in its turn is capped by a pottery-layer of Early Buddhist Age. A small bas-relief of a deity was excavated from this layer.” Todd dates these microliths to c500 BC.<sup>93</sup> This article help us to place the site of Padan in modern geographical context.

The survey of the region has proven that the site is located near Kandivli Western Express highway. It was in the vicinity of a deserted village ‘Akurli’.<sup>94</sup> As authors understand that the present hill

known as ‘Bandongari’ near ‘Samata Nagar Police Station’ is he Padan hill. The hill is covered today with large number of buildings and the northern side of the hill is occupied by ‘Sports Authority of India’. It was supposed to be the large hill cut during the construction of Western Express Highway. Today Times of India press is located on the hill. The proximity to the ‘Gorakshak Mandal’ to the site confirms the location. It is also interesting to note that the part of the site of Padan was owned by the ‘Gorakshak Mandal’ till the recent past. Major portion of the site has been destroyed and now there are no traces of any of the inscriptions or symbols described by Indrajai or microlith site reported by Todd. Thus we have to totally relay upon the description given by Pt. Bahagwanlal Indrajai.

The report by Indrajai talks about the total 12 symbols on this hill. 1. Gopadma, 2. Chakra, 3, 7 (a and b). Footprints, 4,5 and 6. Conch shell, 8. The

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<sup>92</sup> 1984 (reprint), The Microlithic Industries of Mumbai, Ancient India number 6, 1950, ASI, Delhi. P. 5.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid*, P. 9.

<sup>94</sup> Campbell J. M., 1882, Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency, Thana, Places of Interest. The village Akurli has been described under the description of the village Goregaon.

Buddhist Trident, 9. Two Jugs (pots), 10. Jar, 11. Mirror with the round dick and handle, 12 Swastika.

#### Discussion on Symbols

These symbols are associated with some inscriptions. These are total 11 in numbers. The reading given by Indrajī tally with the impressions published by him. The reading is as follows:

1. पवतस वासाअस आरामो अपरिलो
2. कोसिकयस ऊदओ आरामो च
3. पवतो अभुंतो सिधवसति
4. बम्हचारि वि[म?]कराहि कुडबीका [णति?] दकातो
5. सधमुसल
6. मुसलदत्त
7. रामङ्कमो
8. नंदिपअं

9. मुसलदत्त

10. जिरासंघदत्त

11. ये धम्मर्मा हेतुप्रभवा हेतुस्तेषां तथागतो हयवदत् तेषां च यो निरो[ध] एवं वादी महाश्रवणः

The first inscription is accompanied by swastika symbol. This symbol is seen in numerous Buddhist inscriptions. The inscription begins with this symbol. This is a left armed Swastik. There are no symbols associated with inscriptions 2, 3, and 4. Inscriptions 5, 6, 7 and 11 are engraved next to the footprints. Inscriptions 8, 9, 10 are engraved next to the Buddhist trident. Other symbols do not have any inscription associated with them.

#### Chronology:

There is no plan or any there details of the cave are available to us. Due to which it is very difficult to say anything about the date of this cave. Todd suggests



this can be dated to 200 BC.<sup>95</sup> Though this is so there is no concrete evidence on the basis of which any date can be assigned. Inscriptions do not contain any date. Only paleographic dating of these inscriptions can help us to put these archaeological remains in chronological context.

Paleographically inscriptions 1 to 5 and 8 can be dated to 1<sup>st</sup> century CE. 6 and 7, 9 and 10 can be dated to 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century CE, and inscription 11 can be dated to 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> century CE. It is difficult to assign any date to these symbols but they may be of the early date.

#### Discussion:

Inscription shade some light on three phases in the development of local culture at Padan. Indrajai summarizes his observations as follows:

“As the legend of Purna mentions a Brahmanical sage, and as there is a natural cave on the hill top fit for the residence of an ascetic, it may be inferred that the hill was once the residence of a Brahmanical sage; that some time later, about the first century after Christ, the footmarks and other symbols and

six inscriptions, A, B, C, D, E and H were carved to connect the story of the sage with Buddha; that about a century later an attempt was made to connect the hill and its symbols with the Brahmanical story of Rama; and that in the sixth century Buddhist probably regarded the hill as holy, as some Buddhist of the Mahayana school carved on it the well-known Buddhist formula.”

It is interesting to see that one of the inscriptions near a foot print make reference to ‘Rama’. The creation myth of Konkan is associated with ‘Bhargava Rama’ which is also popularly known as Parashurama. One of the Nasik inscription give us the reference of Ramakunda at Sopara, the later legend confirms that this was associated with Parashurama and not the Dasharathi Rama. It is believed that Parashurama had created Konkan by pushing the sea behind. His arrow marked the boundary for the newly created land and seas had to give that land to Rama. There are numerous places shown from where this arrow was thrown. Though there is no evidence, this can be suggested that the footprint might have some with this legend, though not historically

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<sup>95</sup> *Ibid*, P. 9.

but culturally. Indrajī suggests that the inscriptions referring to Musala and the symbols of footprints may have the early date than the inscription referring to Rama.<sup>96</sup> It is quite possible that this is a cultural memory which has been transformed in to the form of inscription in the later period. One cannot forget the present name of the hill i.e. '*Bandongari*' in this context.

#### Discussion on Kaushikya.

These three phases, as suggested by Indrajī indicate the transformation from Brahmanical to Buddhist. It is interesting to note that the authorship of '*Divyavadana*' is assigned to Sarvastivadin-s. Purna plays an important role even in the Mahasanghika Vinaya.<sup>97</sup> Sarvastivadin-ā were supposed to be very influential in the region from 2<sup>nd</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> century CE.<sup>98</sup> Thus one can say that the entire transition from Brahmanical to Buddhist must have taken place under the initiative of Sarvastivadin-s. Kanheri expanded at Magathane by having its own religious satellite settlement in second century CE.<sup>99</sup> The

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<sup>96</sup> *Op. site*. P. 47-48.

<sup>97</sup> Tattelman J., 2001, *The Glorious Deeds of Purna*, Motilal Banarasidas, Delhi.

site of donated agricultural field in 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE and the later period monastery at Magathane is hardly 5 km away from the site.

There must have been the cult of Purna as suggested by literary and archaeological sources. It is interesting to note that there is a donation recorded at Kanheri in one of the inscriptions, given by Purnaka. He had given the donation of a Tadaga. Dr. Shobhana Gokhale suggests that he might have been from Sopara.<sup>100</sup> Though there is no such reference seen in inscription, name of the donor is Purnaka and not Purna. It is not necessary that she should belong to Sopara, as his name suggests, he must have belong to the cult of 'Purna', which must be very popular in the region.

#### Observations:

1. Site initially was a Brahmanical site occupied by ascetics.
2. They probably belong to the Pashupata Sect.

<sup>98</sup> Pandit S. A., 2015, p. 380-402.

<sup>99</sup> Pandit S. A., 2003, p. 465 – 480.

<sup>100</sup> Gokhale S., 1991, *Kanheri Inscriptions*, DCPRI, Pune, P. 86.

3. The site was converted to Buddhism from Brahmanical affiliation after the conversion of masses in the region.
4. The process was initiated by most probably Sarvastivadin-s.
5. The cult of Purna which was popular in region must have been instrumental in the process of conversion of the site.
6. The story of Parashurama was probably associated with the hill as suggested by inscription as well as the modern name.

*Indian Heritage Research and Management: Dr. Agam Prasad Felicitation*, Agam Kala Prakashan, Delhi.

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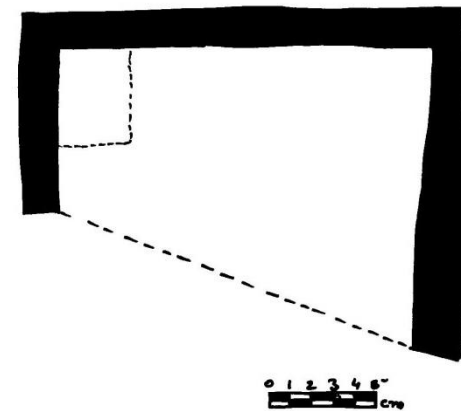
## **Kothaligad Fort**

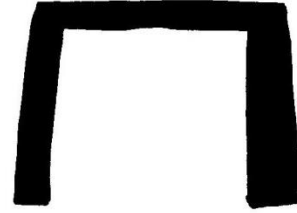
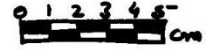
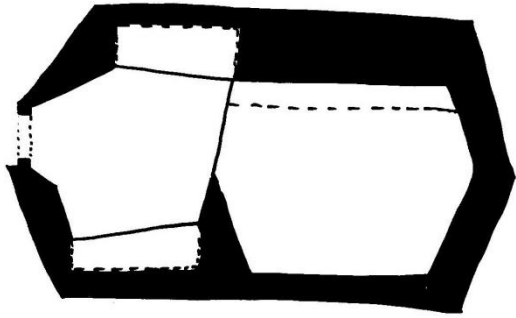
Kotaligad Fort, about 160 yards long by sixty wide, is in Peth village fourteen miles north-east of Karjat and twelve east of Neral. The village of Peth stands on a high but not extensive tableland, a projecting tongue of the Sahyadris, out of which rises a towering rock in shape like Funnel Hill. The fort is built on the top of this funnel. The ascent to the tableland is exceedingly steep, and, in many places, exposed to fire from the fort guns. The upper fort guards the Kaulacha and Nakinda passes, and commands a view of the Kulambi pass, though too far off to defend it. It is so difficult of access that a few men could hold it against any force. Below the rock are a small redoubt, a gateway, and some works in poor repair. There are one or two water cisterns.

In November 1817 the fort was taken for the Peshwa by a chief named Bapurao Lambia. But a month later (December 30) it was retaken by Captain Brooks without loss. [Asiatic Journal, VI. 96; Nairne's Konkan, 113.] In 1862 it was in good order and had available supplies of food and water. According to the

latest information (Nov. 1880) there are three walls and gateways to the fort, and a steep staircase cut out of the rock and in places tunnelled through it. Near the top is an old cave with fine pillars like those at Pulu Sonale. Some old guns about five feet long, and a fine bronze mortar and iron cannon balls lie about the lower fort.

## **Plans of Caves at Kothaligad**





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## Glossary

### A

- **Abhaya mudra:** Hand gesture of assurance or protection.
- **Achalalinga :** This would mainly signify a rock-cut linga on its own pitha, both of which are immovable. Achalalinga thus is not necessarily svayambhulinga.
- **Adhishthana:** Moulding basement (the base of a Hindu temple).
- **Aedicule:** Ornamental pilastered niche to house a sacred image.
- **Agni:** The god of fire and guardian of the south-east point of compass.
- **Aisle:** Side passage running parallel to the nave of a temple and separated from it by columns.
- **Alindra :** The deliberately left perambulatory space between the double walls of the sanctum, both the walls usually carrying elevational features on their respective exterior. It has a relationship to the thickness of the cella wall and cella width.
- **Amlaka:** Nyrobolan fruit; crowing member of Latina, Nagara temple.
- **Anarpita:** With detached hara (South India).
- **Anda:** Meaning an egg. The approximately hemispherical dome of a stupa, especially an early Bhuddist stupa in India. It represents the sky enclosing the world mountain, as well as the fertile container, or egg, for the seed contained within it, usually represented by a relic.  
OR Burial mound at the centre of a stupa, usually in the form of a solid dome or generally bell-shaped
- **Anjali-mudra:** Attitude of offering.
- **Antrala:** Space in front of sanctum door, vestibule.
- **Apadana:** Columned hypostyle hall, usually square in plan, with a portico to one or more sides
- **Apsara:** Heavenly nymph.

- **Apsaras:** Heavenly nymph.
- **Apse:** Semi circular domed or vaulted space, especially at one end of a basilica space
- **Apsidal** In the shape of an apse.
- **Arca-griha:** Image-chamber in a Buddhist shrine
- **Ardhamandapa** : The antechamber immediately adjoining the garbhagriha; essentially forming the entrance framework for the main shrine; known as antarala in the north especially in sandhara temples; generally rectangular transversely and leading immediately to the mahamandapa in the southern temples; in early forms, however, both in the north and in the south, the temple unit contains only cella and ardhmandapa, which in such cases would be called the mukhamandapa, or when very narrow, a praggriva.
- **Asana patta:** Seat side coming between the vedika and the sloping parapet.
- **Asana:** seat or throne; the leg positions or sitting postures assumed by deities and religious practitioners.
- **Astadikpalas** : the eight protective, directional deities; the regents of the regions of the sky.
- **Astaparivaradevata** : the eight parivara, or retinue, deities attending the main god of a shrine. Usually placed in surrounding circuits, corridors, or shrines of a temple. The number varies according to some systems.
- **Avatara:** An incarnation

## B

- **Bhadra:** Central off set (wall division).
- **Bhairava:** The terrific form of Shiva
- **Brahma:** The first deity of Hindu trinity.
- **Brahmani:** The shakti or female counterpart of Brahma.

## C

- **Chaitya:** Object that acts as the focus for worship; the term is sometimes used by itself for the hall housing the chaitya (chaitya-griha) or for a barrel-vaulted window motif based on that hall-type (chaitya-gavaksa).
- **Chakra:** Wheel, discus, the emblems of Vishnu.
- **Chandrasila:** Moon stone, semi-circular or half-moon shaped step before a shrine.
- **Chandrika:** Architectural member between amalaka and crowing.
- **Chauri:** Fly-whisk.
- **Chaya stambha:** "Shade-pillar"; a type of hero stone (viragal).
- **Chitra:** Generally meaning a picture or engraving, but in architectural texts intended essentially to mean a sculpture in the round.
- **Chitra:** Ornament, image, picture.

## D

- **Dagaba:** A Singhalese form of stupa, or relic chamber.
- **Darpan:** Mirror, circular decorative motif.
- **Deva:** A god.
- **Devi:** A goddess.
- **Dikpalas:** Eight guardians of the directions.

- **Dravida :** One of the three major divisions of temple styles often used in Silpa texts, the other two being Nagara and Vesara; it is essentially restricted in texts to designate the octagonal diagonistic sikhara feature, but has considerably more component features, for identifying a temple as Dravida in a clinching way.
- **Durga:** A name of Parvati.
- **Dvarapala:** Door keeper.
- **Dvaratorana:** An arch (torana) surrounding a doorway (dvara).

## G

- **Gada:** Club or a mace carried by Vishnu.
- **Gaja:** Elephant.
- **Gaja-Lakshmi:** The goddess of Lakshmi as represented with two elephants, one on either side of her, pouring water upon her head from vessels in their trunks.
- **Gana:** Shiva's attendant generally represented as pot-bellied.
- **Ganesh:** Elephant-headed god of wisdom and son of Shiva and Parvati.
- **Garbha-gariha:** Womb house – sanctum. Garuda: Vishnu vehicle, mythical bird.
- **Gauripatta:** Base of phallus of Shiva with a projected panel for draining out the water used for anointing the phallus (Lingam).
- **Gavaksha :** Pierced window-openings for ventilation and light.
- **Ghanta:** Bell.
- **Griva:** Neck; recess between the shikhara and crowing amalaka.

## H

- **Harmika:** The balcony railing of an early Buddhist stupa in India, which encloses the yasti, and signifies the palace of heaven atop the world mountain. Its use is derived from the ancient Vedic practice of enclosing a sacred tree with a fence.

## J

- **Jadya kumbha:** A distinctive padma-like moulding of the jagati or adhishtana.
- **Jagati:** Plinth, platform; basal moulding of adhishtana.
- **Jangha:** Wall, wall frieze; elevation between vedibandha and shikhara.
- **Jata-mukuta:** Crown of matted locks.

## I

- **Indra:** The Lord of gods and guardian of east.
- **Indrani:** The sakti, the female counterpart of Indra.

## K

- **Kalasha:** Pitcher; tours moulding, also pot-like finial of the spire of a temple.
- **Kali:** The terrific form of female goddess.
- **Kama:** Love or desire; also Hindu God of love, cupid.
- **Kamandalu:** Water vessel



- **Kapota:** Roll-cornice.
- **Kartikeya:** Son of Shiva, a Hindu god of war.
- **Kati:** Waist; wall (early synonyms for jangha).
- **Kuberi:** The sakti, the female counterpart of Kubera.
- **Kumara:** Atlas; bharaputraka.
- **Kumbha:** Pot; vedibandha moulding.
- **Kunda:** A pitcher; a bowl-shaped vessel; a reservoir.

## L

- **Lalatabimba :** This represents a small ritual carved tablet located in the centre of the lintel of the cella door. It is popularly taken as a cognizance of the religious affiliation of the deity within, but could indeed be a merely auspicious 300 Glossary of Technical Terms common motif, employed more on a regional pattern than anything else. The usual lalatabimba devatas are Gajalakshmi, Ganesa, Garuda, Lakulisa, Anantasayi etc.
- **Linga :** Originally meaning a mere symbol or a formal criterion, having the same sense as chinha, later appropriated to Saivite usage and taking the form of a vertical shaft of stone either plain or faceted. It is also relieved with figure work in the earliest instances. In such a case, it is called a mukhalinga and may have a single mukha or five mukhas. These are mounted directly on the square base and thus vertically support the originally iconic character of Siva turned into the symbolic pillar form subsequently.

## M

- **Mahamandapa:** Large enclosed hall in front of the main shrine.

- **Makara:** Mount of river goddess Ganga, a crocodile-shaped reptile, a sea monster.
- **Makara-torana:** Torana arch emanating from makaras
- **Mala:** Garland; decorative band.
- **Mandapa:** Hall, generally with columns.
- **Mithuna:** Auspicious couple
- **Mudras:** Gestures.

## N

**Nandi:** Shiva's bull Natraja: Dancing form of Shiva.

## P

- **Padma:** Lotus
- **Padmasana:** Sitting on lotus.
- **Patra:** Leaf Patta: Band, register
- **Pitha:** Pedestal, platform
- **Pradakshinapatha:** Circumbulatory path.
- **Prakriti:** Primeval matter.
- **Pattika :** Heavy oblong-sectioned topmost moulding of the adhishtana in the southern temples, the other parts being kantha, kumuda, padma or jagati and upana. It projects over the kantha. In Tamil texts called 'agrapattiyal'.
- **Pindi or Griha pindi :** The coping slab, single usually, that seals the superstructure below the griva level; also stands for the wall immediately surrounding the main deity in the cella.

- **Prakara :** The wall erected around the main temple unit, leaving open space around for perambulation of the deity as well as the devotee. It is intended as a measure of protection as mentioned in the texts and employed mainly in the south.

## S

- **Salabhanjika:** Lady sporting with a tree.
- **Samgharama:** A monastery.
- **Sandhara:** A temple with an andharika or covered inner ambulatory around garbhagariha.
- **Siva:** "Auspicious." One of the principal Hindu gods; god of destruction. He may appear in many forms, both peaceful and angry. His characteristic vahana is the bull Nandi; he has many attributes, but one of the most important is the trident. In temples dedicated to him, a linga is usually placed as the central votive object in the shrine rather than an anthropomorphic image of him.
- **Stambha:** A pillar; frequently a free-standing pillar. Also known as a lath.
- **Stupa:** A crest or summit. In Jainism and Buddhism, an architectural term denoting a dome-shaped or rounded structure that contains the relic of a Buddha, a great teacher, or some other honored individual, and is thus, generally considered to be a type of sepulchral monument. It may be made in a miniature or votive form, but even its smaller versions often contain relics. A stupa is a type of caitya.
- **Stupi :** The topmost ritual part of a temple elevation. It includes generally the kalasa and the finial proper.

## T

- **Torana:** An arch; a portal; or a gateway. The heaven of thirty-three Vedic gods, situated above Mount Meru; it is presided over by Indra/Sakra. The early wooden forms, with sculpted uprights and slightly curved open scroll-type cross-pieces decorated with reliefs, influenced the forms of later stone toranas.

## V

- **Vajrasana:** "Vajra-seat." The seat of enlightenment under the bodhi tree. Also, the seat, or altar, presently beneath the bodhi tree at Bodhi Gaya is known as vajrasana. The term also refers to a throne or seat that has a vajra upon it or to padmasana, the sitting posture. Some authorities, however, contend that there are differences between the vajrasana, vajraparyankasana, and padmasana postures.
- **Vedi :** Represents a parapetting mainly divided into a series of pilasters and intended to provide an outer walling over the plinth. In the north, it additionally serves the purpose of having a kakshasana and a chatushki borne over dwarf pillars forming open balconies in the sabhamandapa of the temples.
- **Vedika:** A railing enclosing a sacred caitya, or a spot or object of veneration.
- **Vihara:** A monastery; may be either free-standing or rock-cut.
- **Yasti:** A mast rising from the crown of a stupa's dome (anda), signifying the world-axis, extending from earth to heaven. The mast is a support for chattras, or symbolic parasols, which are usually found in groups of three in early Buddhist stupas, signifying Buddha, Dharma (the law), and Sangha (the community of monks).
- **Yoni :** Generally taken as meaning Avudayar (Tamil) or the pindika or the pitha in mediaeval usage, in relation to the word linga, particularly when such a pitha is circular and with a water chute projection on the northern side. But its originally meaning in the Sipa texts is that of a specific ritual orientation of the main image and its platform to be fixed according to Ayadi shadvarga formula, yoni itself being one of the shadvargas, the others being aya, vyaya, tithi, etc.

