

# UDAYAGIRI & KHANDAGIRI

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BY  
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# UDAYAGIRI & KHANDAGIRI

## GENERAL INFORMATION

**T**HE TWIN HILLS, UDAYAGIRI AND KHANDAGIRI (LAT.  $20^{\circ} 16' N.$ ; LONG.  $85^{\circ} 47' E.$ ) in District Puri, Orissa, are situated at a distance of 6 km. (as the crow flies) to the west of the Bhubaneswar Railway-station on the South-eastern Railway. Connected with Bhubaneswar and the New Capital of Orissa by a good motorable road, they are approachable by any conveyance, including the bus. Apart from the accommodation available at Bhubaneswar and the New Capital, there is a small Inspection Bungalow at the foot of the hills, with limited accommodation and convenience, for the occupation of which permission of the Sub-Divisional Officer, Khurda (District Puri), is needed.

The two hills, rising abruptly amidst a wide expanse of arid lateritic soil, are separated from each other by a narrow defile through which passes the modern road from Bhubaneswar to Chandka. Though the whole range is shown in the maps under the general name Khandagiri ("broken hill"), the north-eastern hill bears a separate local name, Udayagiri ("hill of the sunrise"). The crest of Khandagiri, on which is situated a modern Jaina temple, is 37.5 m. high, 3.96 m. higher than that of Udayagiri. The substance of the rock is coarse-grained sandstone of a varied texture, mostly soft, porous and incohering, easy to excavate but unsuitable for finished carving. The stone being brittle, the caves have fallen an easy prey to the

inclemencies of weather. It seems that leakage was noticed in some of the caves immediately after their excavation or shortly thereafter. Great care was taken to expose its sources, and channels, with provision for covering with stone slabs, were cut into the walls and floors, so that rain-water could flow out easily without affecting the cave and its resident. The colour of the stone has different shades of yellow, mauve and grey.

The secluded situation of the hills—not far from the ancient capital<sup>1</sup> of Kalinga, where the monks could easily go on their missionary or begging rounds, and not too near it to disturb the tranquility necessary for their meditation and religious practices—was probably responsible for the selection of the site for the rock-cut monastic retreats of the Jainas. The hills are not associated with any Jaina Tirthaṅkaras, in record or legend.

All the important caves have distinctive local names prefixed to *gumphā* (local word for cave), having, however, no historical significance. At the same time, there is a great confusion in nomenclature in different books, which indicates that the names have been varying from time to time. It has, therefore, been thought fit to number the caves and also to indicate their current and usually-accepted local names, wherever available. The unimportant caves have been left unnumbered. The visitor is advised to see the caves and other monuments by following the inspection-path indicated on the map (pl. XIX).

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<sup>1</sup>It is in all likelihood represented by present Sisupalgarh, 9 km. to the south-east of Khandagiri.

## INTRODUCTION

ONE OF THE EARLIEST GROUPS OF JAINA ROCK-CUT shelters, the caves of Udayagiri and Khandagiri command a unique position in eastern India in the fields of history, rock-cut architecture, art and religion.

### HISTORY

The records, found incised on the walls of some of these caves, furnish the supreme evidence of the existence of a powerful dynasty, the Chetis (Chedis). They reveal that some time in the first century B.C. or slightly earlier, the rulers of the Cheti dynasty, who called themselves Mahāmeghavāhanas, came into power in Kalinga. Of the rulers of the dynasty, only the names of Khāravela and Kūdepasīrī (or Vakradeva), together with that of a prince, Vaḍukha, are known from the inscriptions in the Udayagiri caves, though their mutual relationship is not known. While Kūdepasīrī and Vaḍukha are known only as the donors of two of the cells of the lower storey of Cave 9 (Mañchapurī) of Udayagiri, many details are available about Khāravela from his famous inscription engraved on the brow of the rock over Cave 14 (Hāthīgumphā) of the same hill. The inscription, in seventeen lines, is largely defaced and indistinct, with the result that its full text cannot be made out and its interpretation is not always above doubt. But the following facts seem to be well-established.

The third king of his dynasty, Khāravela was a powerful ruler. As a prince, he acquired great proficiency in games and received good education. He

was installed as *yuvarāja* (crown prince) when he was sixteen and succeeded to the throne when he was twenty-five. Almost immediately thereafter he launched Kalinga on an ambitious career of conquest, leading expeditions far and wide. In the second year of his rule he led his troops to the west without caring for the Sātavāhana king Sātakarṇi and reached the river Kṛishṇā, where he threatened the city of Asika. In his fourth year he captured the capital of a prince named Vidyādhara and subdued the Rāshṭrikas and Bhojakas in the north Deccan. Four years later, he stormed Gorathagiri (Barabar hills, District Gaya) and harassed the ruler of Rājagṛiha (Rajgir, District Nalanda). A Yavana (Indo-Greek) king is said to have fled to Mathurā out of fear. In his eleventh year he destroyed the city of Pithuḍa (Masulipatam region) and next year threatened the rulers of Uttarāpatha (north India) and defeated King Bahasatimita of Magadha (south Bihar). He brought back with him booty from Aṅga (east Bihar) and Magadha, including a Jaina cult object (*Kalinga-ḥina*), which had been taken away long ago by Nanda, the ruler of Magadha. Next he snatched treasures from the Pāṇḍyan king in the extreme south. Thus, the brunt of Khāravela's sword was felt throughout a large part of India.

Khāravela was as great in peace as in war. In the first year of his rule he rebuilt the gates and walls of Kalinganagara, his capital, which had been devastated by a cyclone. In the fifth year he enlarged a canal, said to have been excavated by a Nanda king three hundred years ago. In the Kumāri-parvata (Udayagiri-

Khandagiri) he excavated, in the thirteenth year, caves for Jaina ascetics and erected at an enormous cost, on the *prāgbhāra* in the neighbourhood of the monastic retreats, a certain structure with hundreds of stones collected from different quarries and pillars with core of cat's eye gem. No doubt Khāravela was a ruler of great accomplishments.

In spite of his claiming an eclectic attitude by honouring all sects and repairing temples of all gods, Khāravela was undoubtedly a Jaina and espoused with great zeal the cause of his faith, which appeared to have been the state religion of Kalinga and which had received a set-back not only when the Nandas of Magadha (fourth century B.C.) carried away the *Jina* of Kalinga, probably as a trophy, but also with Buddhism gaining foothold under the Mauryan king Aśoka (*circa* 273-36 B.C.) when he annexed Kalinga to his empire.

It is obvious that during the rule of the Mahā-meghavāhanas the hills were honeycombed with caves. The activities of Kūdepasirī and Vaḍukha have been mentioned above (p. 3). In addition, Khāravela's chief queen is known to have been the donor of the upper storey of Cave 9 (Svargapurī) of Udayagiri. It is also almost certain that the majority of the caves originated during this period. At the same time, an earlier origin of the Jaina establishment on the hills is not entirely ruled out. It is also not unlikely that the *Kalinga-Jina* removed by the Nanda king and re-covered by Khāravela (p. 4) had its original enshrinement on the hills and was reinstalled here by Khāravela.

After the fall of the Mahāmeghavāhana dynasty, Jainism is not known to have enjoyed royal patronage, but the religion doubtless continued to have its stronghold on the hills, despite the political vicissitudes through which the country passed. The rise of the Lakuliṣa-Pāśupata sect, which transformed Bhubaneswar into a Śaiva centre and the growing influence of which was ultimately responsible for the decline of Buddhism in that city and its surroundings, hardly affected this Jaina centre, which, inscriptions show, continued to be inhabited under the Bhaumas and their successors, the Somavamśis. However, during the rule of the latter, Khandagiri, called Kumāraparvata in an inscription of the fifth year of Udyotakesarī (eleventh century) in Cave 11, acquired greater prominence,<sup>1</sup> and a few of the old cells were converted into sanctuaries by the carving of reliefs of Tīrthaṅkaras and the *śāsana-devīs* on the walls. This period also saw the construction of structural temples, suggested not only by the above-mentioned inscription recording the setting up of the images of twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras, but also by the discovery of a large number of nude chlorite images of different Tīrthaṅkaras and enormous numbers of architectural fragments lying in some areas on the hill (p. 69). The prolonged Digambara association of the Khandagiri caves during the reign of the Gaṅgas and their successors, the Gajapatis, is proved by the crude reliefs of the Tīrthaṅkaras on the walls of Cave 9 (Trisūla-

<sup>1</sup>The absence of any inscription or sculpture in the Udayagiri caves of a period later than that of the Bhaumas indicates that this hill became rather insignificant by this time.



gumphā) of Khandagiri, which are not earlier in date than the fifteenth century and may be even later. Evidence regarding the cells being tenanted in this period by the monastic fraternities is, however, lacking.

The period thereafter is blank in the history of Khandagiri till the construction of the temple on the crest (p. 71). Stirling, who noticed the temple in 1825, noted it as 'a neat stone temple of modern construction'. He does not make any mention of Jaina monks living in the caves, though the place was 'frequented by the Jain or Parwār merchants of Cuttack, who assemble here in numbers, once every year, to hold a festival of their religion'. It is thus evident that the Jaina occupation of the hill was continuous, if with occasional breaks, from even before the time of Khāravēla down to the present day.

## ARCHITECTURE

The caves of Udayagiri and Khandagiri, called *leṇa* or *lena* in the inscriptions, are essentially dwelling retreats of the Jaina ascetics. There are radical differences between the general plans of this group and of the far-famed Buddhist rock-cut monasteries of the Deccan. The latter consist of a congregation-hall surrounded by cells often on three sides and with a verandah or porch on the fourth. But here the hall has been entirely dispensed with: probably the very nature of the religion did not call for it. The cells here open either directly into the verandah or the open space in front. Another peculiarity of the group is the

entire absence of a rock-cut sanctuary, which is an indispensable concomitant of a rock-cut Buddhist establishment. The Jaina monks apparently substituted it by a structural one. In later periods, however, some of the dwelling cells were converted into shrines with minor alterations, such as increasing the height of the chamber by the excavation of the floor to a deeper depth and providing greater space by the removal of not only the partition-walls between contiguous cells but those dividing the verandah.

Not laid out on a preconceived plan, the monastic retreats were excavated at different heights. The excavators saved both labour and expense by following the configuration of the rock and connecting different caves, wherever necessary, by rock-cut steps, some of which exist even now. There is a predilection towards excavation near the top of the ledge or boulder, probably to lessen the load over the caves, the rock being of a brittle variety.

Meant for Jaina recluses, who are unparalleled for the rigour of their asceticism and extreme self-mortification, the caves provided little amenities. The height of most of the caves, including even the exceptionally large one like Cave 1 (Rāṇī-gumphā) of Udayagiri, does not allow a man to stand erect; the remaining ones are slightly more than man-high. Some of the cells are so narrow that one cannot even stretch oneself. The cells are essentially dormitories, an inference substantiated by a sloping rise of the floor at the rear end to serve the purpose of a pillow. This inclination of the floor extends from one end to the other; evidently

each cell was tenanted by a number of monks. The needs of the residents must have been very few indeed: the walls of the cells were not even provided with niches.<sup>1</sup> To keep scriptures and articles of bare necessity, shelves were often cut across the walls of the verandah. The cells are austere plain, but their façades and brackets, in important instances, are embellished with carvings. The varied treatment of the cut-out brackets is specially noteworthy.

A fully-developed monastery would consist of one or more cells fronted by a common verandah, the latter having, in important instances like Caves 1 (Rāñī-gumphā), 9 (Mañchapurī and Svargapurī) and 10 (Gaṇeśa-gumphā) of Udayagiri and Cave 3 (Ananta-gumphā) of Khandagiri, a levelled ground for courtyard in front. The cells may be ranged on one, two or three sides of the verandah. There is no departure from this general arrangement, even in the double-storeyed caves. What distinguishes Cave 1 is the addition of two more wings, each in its turn containing a suite of cells with a verandah. The upper storey in most cases does not rest immediately above the lower but recedes back. This device was due either to the desire to relieve the lower storey of the load of the upper, or to the slope of the rock-face which did not allow enough front space for the upper storey to be perched directly over the lower, or to both.

Coming to the technical details, one cannot but be struck by the similarity between these rock-cut caves

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<sup>1</sup>The niches that may be seen in a few caves are of a later period.

and the present-day *kachchā* houses of eastern India. The excavators evidently attempted to simulate in live rock structural houses with which they were familiar, so that the features peculiar to such structures were reproduced even if they were not required for stability: thus, the ceilings of the cells are often arched and convex like that of a hut; the roofs of the verandah, supported on non-functional architraves, resting on pillars exactly as in a hut with bamboo or wooden posts, are mostly lower than those of the cells; the floors of the verandah are at a level lower than those of the cells; the strength of the architraves is seemingly secured by brackets; the roofs of the verandah project outward in the form of eaves, the inner sides of the latter being curved as in a thatched or tiled hut to break the flow of rain-water; the door-jambs sometimes incline inwards, which is inappropriate in masonry or rock.

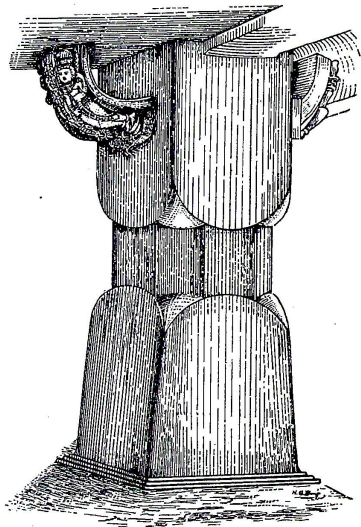
The number of doors varies from one to four, according to the size of the cells. The doorways are invariably small. Even in cells high enough for a man to stand erect, one has to crawl to enter. The jambs, in some cases, slope inwards, causing the opening slightly wider at the base than at the top, a feature common in many caves of an early date, including the ones at Barabar (District Gaya). The doors have grooves, cut all around their outer frames, probably to receive movable wooden shutters. Additional holes for hinges at the threshold and the lintel, in a few cases, suggest single doors. Unlike most Buddhist cells, the caves of Udayagiri and Khandagiri are adequately lighted, which is due not only to their general layout but also to the profusion of door-openings. In

some rare instances there are windows as well. That the walls of the caves were at one time plastered is indicated by patches of shell-lime plaster even now extant here and there.

The caves can be divided into two broad categories—one plain without a pillared verandah and the other with a regular pillared verandah. Whether this division has any chronological significance or not is difficult to decide, though, on general grounds, some caves of the first category might have been earlier than those of the latter. The former are small, mostly open in the front, and without any architectural pretensions; in a few cases, as in Cave 12 (Bāgh-gumphā) of Udayagiri, the cell-top itself projects to form a verandah. In the majority of the caves open in the front, a horizontal chase runs above the opening. Whether it is meant to direct rain-water outside the cells or to receive some wooden adjunct is not known. The date of this group is difficult to determine in the absence of any epigraphic evidence.

The interval of time between individual caves of the second category cannot be reckoned in centuries, taking the architectural features as the criterion. Architectonically they form a homogenous group, without evincing any appreciable process of development. They are all characterized by a benched verandah; their pillars and pilasters are broadly of the same design—generally square below and above and octagonal in the middle, the corners of the square chamfered with the resultant formation of half-medallions at the points of transition (see fig., p. 12); they have a comparable arrangement of the decoration of the façades with pilasters, arches,

railings and mouldings simulating the roofs of structures. None of them bespeaks a different age or different architecture-tradition. Their architectural features, combined with the palaeographic evidence of the inscriptions



*A typical verandah-pillar (after Cave 3 of Khandagiri)*

they bear, suggest a date of the first century B.C. for all caves of this category, with a probable extension into the next century.

There is an impression that the caves of Khandagiri, with three exceptions (Caves 1, 2 and 3) are of a later date, the ground being that the other caves on the hill contain medieval sculptures and inscriptions. But all these reliefs and inscriptions are later additions on the faces of the already-existing caves, which, to judge from the architectural features, originated at the same time as the Udayagiri ones. All that is indicated is that they continued to be in use till later times than the Udayagiri ones.

As there is no river flowing by the side of the caves, a few reservoirs, some of them stepped (*vāpī*), were cut into the rock to hold rain-water. Such reservoirs exist on both the hills: on Udayagiri, two of them, called Hāthi-nisuni and Lalitā-kunḍa, can be seen respectively to the east and north-east of Cave 10 (Gaṇeśa-gumphā); on Khandagiri there are two, Ākāśa-gaṅgā and Rādhā-kunḍa, besides two tiny ones, Śyāma-kunḍa and Gupta-gaṅgā.

Of the monuments which are not rock-cut but are structural, the most noteworthy is an apsidal temple, with the available portion built of large laterite blocks on the crest of Udayagiri, which is not only the first apsidal structure discovered in east India but is also one of the early specimens of such structures throughout the country.

At least one Jaina temple identified through its collapsed fragments was built on Khandagiri in medieval times. Its architectural members indicate that it was built in the contemporary Orissan style.

## ART

Although conforming to the common denominator of the art-tradition of Madhyadeśa,<sup>1</sup> as illustrated in the reliefs of Bharhut (District Satna), Bodh-Gaya (District Gaya) and Sanchi (District Raisen), the sculptured friezes of Udayagiri and Khandagiri have a distinct place of their own in early Indian art. The facial features of many of the figures have a provincial look. The workmanship of the carvings is by no means uniform, but, taken as a whole, the execution displays a decided advance on the work of Bharhut (second century B.C.).

The friezes on the façade of the main wing of the upper storey of Cave 1 (Rāṇī-gumphā) of Udayagiri compare favourably with the reliefs of the gateways of Sanchi, with which they are more or less contemporaneous, and have hardly anything that savours of the archaic traits of Bharhut. The artist is no longer labouring under the law of frontality and lack of perspective but has attained sufficient mastery over form and skill in depicting figures in every position—front, back and side. The faces are shown in full or in three-quarter and half

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<sup>1</sup>Almost all the decorative patterns on the façades, pillars and pilasters are present in the reliefs of Bharhut, pointing thereby to one common source. This, coupled with the use of such west-Asian motifs like honeysuckles, merlons and winged animals, which had an all-India distribution in this period, precludes the possibility of an independent development of these caves. The designs of pillars and pilasters also point towards the same conclusion. In the patterns there is hardly anything which is specifically Jaina, for the same motifs are used not only by the early Buddhists but also by the followers of the Brahmanical faith.



profiles. The poses of the figures are easy and natural, their movement vivacious and elastic and emotions, like agony, pleasure, fear, determination and mental tension, tolerably well-expressed. The composition is fairly coherent and effective; the different figures bear relationship with one another. The reliefs have also matured into depth, displaying a considerable plasticity of form and naturalism of modelling. Slender figures of men and women are marked by a suavity of outline.

The reliefs on the other caves, Caves 5 (Jayā-Vijayā-gumphā), 9 (Mañchapurī and Svargapurī) and 10 (Gaṇeśa-gumphā) of Udayagiri and Caves 2 and 3 (Tātowā-gumphā and Ananta-gumphā) of Khandagiri, and even those on the lower storey of Cave 1 (Rāṇi-gumphā) of Udayagiri, however, do not attain this standard. They are relatively crude and inferior in dramatic vigour and plastic treatment of figures. The figures are less elastic, modelling more coarse and grouping less coherent. This inequality in workmanship becomes glaring when one compares the abduction scene in Cave 10 (Gaṇeśa-gumphā) of Udayagiri with the identical scene on the upper storey of Cave 1 of the same hill. The difference in style may be due to either varied authorship or interval of time which enabled the artist, improving through experience, to attain mastery in carving, though the interval could not have been appreciable.

## RELIGION

As the caves were excavated for the residence of Jaina monks, it is reasonable to expect that their

architecture and art would yield substantial information about contemporary religious beliefs and practices. That, however, is not the case: while the architecture of the caves only attests to the rigours of Jaina ascetic life, there is no early relief which can definitely be regarded as indisputably illustrating Jaina religious mythology.

But, even from the scanty evidence, it is clear that Jainism, as practised in those days in this part of the country, did not involve the worship of images, for not a single Jaina Tīrthaṅkara appears in the original carvings on the caves. In the absence of any early image it is difficult to identify the *Jina* of Kaliṅga, mentioned in the inscription of Khāravela (p. 4), with the image of a Tīrthaṅkara. On the other hand, it appears that the worship of symbols was in vogue at that time among the Jainas of this centre as among the Buddhists. Cave 5 (Jayā-Vijayāgumphā) of Udayagiri and Cave 3 (Ananta-gumphā) of Khandagiri, for example, depict a tree being worshipped by devotees with floral offerings. Again, Cave 9 (Mañchapurī) of Udayagiri shows an unidentifiable symbol being worshipped, probably by a royal family. On the back wall of Cave 3 (Ananta-gumphā) of the other hill appears a *nandipada* on a pedestal flanked on either side by a set of three symbols, a triangle-headed one (*bhadrāsana* ? or *sthāpanā* ?), *śrīvatsa* and *svastika*, without forming part of any scene, all of which are also represented on the Jaina *āyāgaṇas* from Mathurā. These symbols are regarded by the Jainas as of good omen and form four of the eight auspicious objects (*aṣṭa-maṅgalas*) often worshipped by the Jainas.

Reference has been made above (p. 13) to the apsidal structure on Udayagiri. What cult-object was enshrined in this religious edifice is difficult to say, but it is not unlikely, in the light of the above evidence, that it was a symbol and not an anthropomorphic icon of a Tirthaṅkara.

When, however, in medieval times some cells of Khandagiri were reconditioned to serve as sanctuaries (pp. 58 ff.), we find here, as in other parts of the country, a developed Jaina iconism consisting of images of Tirthaṅkaras and their *śāsana-devīs*.

## SOCIAL LIFE

The early reliefs are the only peep-hole affording an inkling into the life that existed when they were carved. Contemporary dress and ornaments are faithfully portrayed. The chief drapery, as in the reliefs of Bharhut, consisted of a *dhotī* or *sāḍī*, often diaphanous in the case of women, tied by a waist-band, with folds of the ends hanging in front. Both men and women usually were without any garment to cover the part of the body above the waist, but scarves were used on ceremonial occasions. Men used to wear a turban, the rich often with crest-jewels. Veils, covering the head but not the face, were sometimes worn by women. The coiffure of women was varied and often bedecked with ornaments. In contrast to the scantiness of dress, ornaments were profuse. Both women and men of rank were decorated with ornaments—ear-ornaments, necklaces and bangles—women having girdles, anklets and head-ornaments in addition. The

ear-ornaments were of two kinds: rings and studs, the latter very heavy and necessitating large perforations of the ear-lobes.

Furniture, like the bedstead, stool, table and seat, utensils like the bowl, plate, pitcher and *ghaṭa*, umbrellas, fans, toilet-trays and caskets are depicted.

Only one relief (p. 23) gives an idea about a double-storeyed house (pl. VII A), though there are some representations of pillared halls and ridged roofs with pinnacles. The houses were fenced with railings, of which we get a good many representations.

The reliefs also delineate the lighter side of life, like music, dance, sporting in the lotus-lakes and even *amour*. Dancing seems to have been the monopoly of women and the orchestra was also often formed of women. Four different kinds of musical instruments, the flute, harp, *mṛidaṅga* and *dhakkā* (varieties of the drum), are portrayed. Among outdoor games, only the hunting of deer with the bow and arrow and of lion with the spear and shield and fighting the elephant with cudgels are depicted. Fighting and duel also occur, the chief weapons of war being the bow and arrow, shield and long sword, the last portrayed both naked and sheathed. The sentries are armed with a staff or spear besides a sword.

The king himself led the army, which consisted of the infantry, cavalry and elephant-force. A four-horse chariot is shown once, but not in a war-scene. In his campaigns the king was invariably accompanied by two attendants, one holding an umbrella and the other a banner, both insignia of royalty. After the victorious end of a campaign the king used to have been received at his

capital with great ceremony, women bathing him with water poured out of pitchers.

The position of women seems to have been exalted. They appeared in public and accompanied their husbands to religious performances and festivals. Some of them were fully accomplished, knowing even elephant-driving. When need arose, they even fought animals and men.



## THE UDAYAGIRI MONUMENTS

**A**CCCESS TO THE MONUMENTS ON THE UDAYAGIRI HILL (pl. I) is provided by flights of steps and an imposing ancient ramp<sup>1</sup> rising gradually from the foot of the hill and reaching the high terrace in front of Cave 14 (Hāthī-gumphā). On reaching the lowest terrace, the visitor will turn to his right and, proceeding with the hill to his left, reach Cave 1.

### CAVE 1 (RĀṆĪ-GUMPHĀ)<sup>2</sup>

Cave 1 (pl. II) is the largest and most beautiful of the Udayagiri-Khandagiri caves. Excavated on an ambitious scale on three sides of a quadrangle, it is now shorn of its pristine grandeur due to the collapse of the pillared verandah of the lower storey of the main wing, exposing the sculptured façade to the inclemencies of weather with the resultant obliteration.

The monastery is double-storeyed; the upper storey, however, is not immediately above the lower one but recedes a few metres away into the rocky mass, leaving the top of the verandah and cells of the lower one to form an open terrace. The cave is not of great significance

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<sup>1</sup>The débris edging the ramp and the retaining wall of the terrace yielded a few fragments of carved railings and the upper part of a female figure sculptured in the round, all of sandstone and of the first century B.C.

<sup>2</sup>The name Rāṇī-gumphā (variously called Rāṇī-naur or Rāṇī Hansapura), 'queen's cave', is due to the popular belief that the cave was occupied by the queen of Lalāṭendukesarī.

architecturally, its importance being due more to its sculpture. In fact, it holds a unique place amidst the contemporary rock-cut caves by virtue of its lavishly-sculptured friezes.

*The lower storey*

RIGHT WING.—It consists of a single cell with three entrances and a pillared verandah with a bench at the rear end. On the walls flanking the terminal pilasters of the verandah are carved two *dvāra-pālas* (sentries). The left figure is better preserved; it wears a loin-cloth, heavy ear-ornaments, bangles and a necklace, holds a spear in its right hand and has a sheathed sword suspended from a strap on his left shoulder. The pillars have disappeared, leaving remnants of their stepped and octagonal bases; the capitals each consist of six animals, bulls on the left and lions on the right—two seated back-to-back on the front and the rear and one each on the other faces. The pilasters, also over stepped bases, are divided into five sections, of which the basal, central and terminal ones are square and the intermediate ones are rendered octagonal by chamfering the corners of the square. Their capitals consist of three animals, horses on the left and elephants on the right, resting on a corbelled abacus above a bell-shaped lotus. The verandah has a shelf on each side.

The entrances to the cell are embellished with side-pilasters crowned by animals (the bull and winged lion being recognizable) on a corbelled abacus. Over them there are arches (*torāṇa*) relieved with motifs like the

honeysuckle, lotus or creeper, issuing from the mouths of animals, and crowned by a *śrīvatsa* in the central and *nandipada* in the side ones. The lower ends of the arches are connected by a railing. In the two full and two half spandrils are represented four scenes. The first scene (pl. III A), beginning with the left, depicts a pious couple standing reverentially with folded hands, flanked by a dwarf under a tree on the left and a woman holding a tray of offerings in her left hand and a *karaṇḍa*-like object (casket ?) in her right. In the next compartment are three personages—one male and two female—with folded hands in an attitude of devotion, seated on a bench and flanked on the right by a woman holding a tray and on the left by another holding a vase (?). To judge from the umbrella over him, the man appears to be a king. The ornaments of the women consist of heavy ear-studs, rows of bangles, heavy anklets and *hānsulī*-like necklace. A concert accompanied by dance forms the theme of the third. The female dancer with two braids of hair (one containing a flower), partly covered with a flowing veil, is seen within a pillared pavilion, the roof of which is relieved with stepped merlons. The orchestra is formed by four female instrumental performers—one playing on a *mṛidaṅga*, the second on a *dhakkā*, the third on a harp and the fourth on a flute. One of the ends of the flute is in the form of the forepart of a lion. In the fourth scene is a man with folded hands evidently proceeding towards a place of worship, accompanied by a boyish figure and two females holding a tray of offerings and a vase.

LEFT WING.—The wing has three cells, distributed on the three sides of a verandah, one having a window in



addition to the usual door. The pillars have completely disappeared. The pilasters are similar to those of the right wing. The figures of the sentries are greatly weather-worn.

MAIN WING.—It consists of four cells—three on the rear side of the verandah and the fourth on the right. The roof of the verandah, together with the pillars, six in number, has disappeared. While the central rear cell has three doorways, the side ones have two each. The cell on the right side of the verandah has only one door. The doorways are embellished, like those of the right wing, with pilasters and arches, the latter connected with one other by railings supported by the bracket-figures of *yakshas* and *yakshīs*. Extending over the whole length of the arches are reliefs in nine compartments. The first scene (pl. VII A) from the left depicts a double-storeyed structure with a barrel-vaulted roof crowned by a row of finials. The upper storey has only one entrance, through which a person is looking out: there is a balustraded open balcony round it, on which a woman is standing. The lower storey has two doors, each with a female figure. On the left side of the structure is a mango-tree. In the second scene, which is almost effaced, only the outlines of three figures riding on an animal and another figure with a sword can with difficulty be made out. In the third compartment is discernible the figure of a royal personage under an umbrella, seated on an animal and accompanied by his attendants, one of whom holds a water-pot (?) suspended on a stick and by a horseman in front. The theme of the fourth scene is a group of men, some of them seated on elephants. In the fifth occurs a

royal personage with two followers behind, one holding an umbrella and another a sword, on the left and four figures on the right, of which two are in a reverential attitude with folded hands. The central one stands with his left hand akimbo and right placed on his chest. In the sixth scene are visible only three standing figures, of which one is a king, as suggested by the umbrella over him. The seventh depicts a gathering around a king; some of the persons are with folded hands. One of the troupe holds a sword. On the extreme left of the eighth compartment (pl. III B) is a royal figure with two attendants behind him, one of them holding the umbrella over him, and another, in front, standing with folded hands; beyond the last are two standing women, one carrying a tray and another offering a flower (?), and two kneeling figures, one of them with flowing fillets round the head—a Greek feature. Of the latter group the front one is holding the feet, as a token of submission, of a person who seems to be snatching at the head-dress of the former and the rear one has his hands folded. Both of them seem to have alighted from the caparisoned horse standing on the extreme right. By the side of the horse are three more figures with folded hands. Like the two kneeling figures they too do not wear turbans and are probably followers of the latter.

The ninth scene indicates the reception of a king, apparently on his return from a victorious campaign. On the left is the king standing below an umbrella held aslant by an attendant. Two of his warrior-followers carry long swords over their shoulders. On the right, carved on the wall adjoining the pilaster, are six figures,

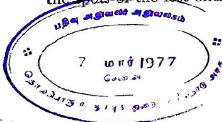
four women and two turbaned men, the latter with outstretched welcoming hands. Three of the women carry pitchers on their heads, the fourth, in kneeling posture, being in the attitude of pouring out the contents of her pitcher.

The whole series apparently celebrates the victorious march of a *digvijayī* king, starting from his capital, where people gaze at his departure from their houses, and returning thereto after passing through various lands. Are these reliefs inspired by the achievements of King Khāravēla?

At the angles where the right and left wings meet the main wing are two small guard-rooms, the right one with two doors. The outer faces of these rooms are lavishly decorated: the upper portions of both represent hills with springs and trees laden with mangoes and other fruits, wild animals, some in natural caves, birds, monkeys and other denizens of the forest; on the lower portions are depicted lotus-pools, in which are sporting elephants (pl. IV). The pilasters flanking the doors have *ghaṭa*-bases placed on stepped pedestals and are crowned by winged addorsed animals, from which spring the arches, relieved with floral motifs, with a *nandipāda* finial.

### *The upper storey*

The upper storey is better preserved, though here too the front portion of the verandah along with the pillars has disappeared. Out of the nine pillars, which now support the verandah, seven are modern, erected at the spots of the lost ones. The original pillars, to judge



from the pilasters, were square below and at the top and octagonal in the middle. Each pillar had two bracket-figures, one facing the court and the other the cells. At least one bracket was detachable; its sockets exist on the pillar and the roof.

There are altogether six cells—one each in the left and right wings and four in the rear.

MAIN WING.—All the four cells are provided with two doorways each, flanked by two pilasters, from which springs a carved arch (*torāṇa*). In the triangular portions above these arches are variously *śrīvatsa*, *nandipada*, snake and lotus—all auspicious Jaina symbols. The shafts of the pilasters are similar to the verandah-pillars, their capitals formed by a set of two winged addorsed animals, of which the horse, bull (?), lion and elephant are recognizable. The arches are relieved with flowers, including the honeysuckle, lotus and creepers of various designs; in one case, animals are hotly chased by boys, this motif occurring in one of the early paintings of Ajanta<sup>1</sup> and in the reliefs of Amaravati<sup>2</sup> as well. The arches are connected with one another by railings, supported at intervals by dwarfish figures bent under the weight. The spaces between the arches above the railings are utilized for a long frieze, divided into nine compartments. The reliefs apparently depict some legends, the satisfactory interpretation of which has not yet been arrived at, though different explanations have been sug-

<sup>1</sup>G. Yazdani, *Ajanta*, pt. III (Oxford, 1946), pls. XVII (b), XIX and XX (a).

<sup>2</sup>D. Barrett, *Sculptures from Amaravati in the British Museum* (London, 1954), pl. XXXVIII.

gested. From the *vidyādhara* flying in haste, with offerings of garlands and flowers, which marks the beginning and end of the frieze, it appears that they may represent some episodes from Jaina mythology, though there is hardly anything which savours of the Jaina faith, its mundane character being indeed too pronounced. The scenes seem to be independent of one another.

The frieze begins with a flying *vidyādhara* (pl. V A) wearing an elaborate turban, a *dhoti* with plaits dangling in front, a floating scarf, *kuṇḍalas*, a necklace and bangles and holding in his outstretched left hand a tray of flowers and a roll of garlands and in his right stalks of a lotus and three buds, intended for offerings. The modelling of the figure, specially in the lower portion, is supple.

In the second is depicted a highly-animated scene (pl. V C), laid in a forest, as is indeed suggested by a flowering tree on the right, by the side of a hill with a natural cave containing a lion, carved at the left end. At the foot of the hill is a lotus-lake in which is a herd of three wild elephants, one of them confronting a party of one man and ten women. The story seems to be as follows. A party, having come to a lotus-lake for sporting, meets a herd of elephants, whose favourite resort it was. The consternation and panic created by this unexpected encounter are delineated forcefully. Three of the party—the man along with two women—are bravely trying to repulse the attack and also to drive the elephants away with whatever objects they could procure the man holding a staff-like object with both hands, the first woman, with dishevelled hair, throwing a ring-like object, which may even be her anklet (two such objects are already

sticking to the body of the front elephant) and the second holding a twig. Some, more timid, are running pell-mell, trying to drag others, including one of the fighting women, with them. One of the women is helping another who has dropped down. The women in the farthest right corner are crowding together with their arms round one another's neck out of fear.

The next scene (pl. VI A) also is laid in wild surrounding near a hill. On the extreme left is a pair of monkeys within a natural cave, apparently afraid of a hissing serpent moving towards them. Immediately after this is a rock-cut cave, in front of which is a man with his head resting on the palm of his left hand reclining against the lap of a woman keeping watch; the latter's right hand is placed on the man's shoulder. Beyond them a woman, leading by her hand a stooping warrior armed with a sword and a shield, advances towards the cave. Next is encountered a violent combat between a man and a woman with a hanging braid, both armed with swords and shields. The sheath of the sword is attached to the girdle of the woman. Near her feet is an animal. The scene ends with the defeat and forcible seizure of the woman: the assailant bodily carries off the woman, still holding in her left hand the shield, her outstretched right hand pointing towards some object. Near the finial of the arch are two lions. The story seems to have been popular at that time, as it is repeated without any material variation in Cave 10 (p. 41).

The next scene (pl. VI B) is faintly reminiscent of the story of Dushyanta's first meeting with Śakuntalā. On the left are shown three attendants, one holding an

umbrella and a fly-whisk, the second a staff-like object (or sword) and the third a water-pot suspended from a rod carried over his left shoulder, and a groom by the side of a caparisoned horse, from which has just alighted a royal personage. The king, decked in elaborate bejewelled head-dress, necklace, bangles and heavy earrings, has a sword in scabbard hanging by his left side and is aiming his bow towards a fleeing winged deer, followed by two fawns. The scene is laid in the woods, as indicated by a flowering tree between the king and the deer. In the trail of the deer the king, who is next depicted as standing with his bow at rest and his right hand in *abhaya* attitude, meets a woman, perched on the fork of a tree (*asoka* ?) with her extended right hand evidently dissuading him from killing the deer, which now lies at the foot of the tree.

The next scene (pl. V B), partly effaced, centres round the performance of a dance accompanied by music, the spectators to which is a seated royal couple. The queen is depicted on the left with five attendants—three behind her—one holding an umbrella over her head, the second waving a fan, the third carrying a casket (?) in her right hand and a flower in her left, the fourth, below the queen, holding a bowl and the fifth, in front, holding a tray of garlands. In the centre three women are dancing and three others are seated on the ground—one playing on a harp with plectrum, another beating cymbals and the third, with a *mṛdaṅga* in front, clapping hands. The figure of the king, seated on the extreme right, with his right hand held against his chest, is mostly damaged; below him is an attendant seated

with folded hands by the side of a conical *karaṇḍa*-like vase.

The sixth scene is completely obliterated.

The seventh depicts an amorous scene, a couple repeated three times.

The eighth, greatly damaged, is indistinct. The outlines of elephants on the right and the feet of two men on the left can only be made out.

The ninth ends with a flying figure, holding a garland in his right hand and a tray of flowers in his left.

The verandah is guarded at each of the corners by a figure carved in high relief against the front side of the pilaster. The one on the right side is pot-bellied, wears a *dhotī*, bangles and a necklace and rides a lion. The other on the left is badly damaged, but the animal which it bestrides looks like a bull.

RIGHT WING.—It consists of a single cell preceded by a benched verandah with the roof supported on a pillar (of modern restoration) and two pilasters. The guard carved on the left pilaster (pl. VII B) is a kilted foreigner in boots covering the leg to the middle of the calf and a fillet on the forehead. His right hand akimbo rests on his thigh, and a sheathed sword hangs from his left side. The corresponding figure on the right pilaster is in Indian garb, bare-footed and clad in a *dhotī*. Its right hand is placed on its chest and a sheathed sword hangs from his left forearm by means of a strap.

LEFT WING.—The cell is not in front of the benched verandah but to its left. It is lighted by a small window. The narrow verandah had two pilasters but no pillar.



As already noted (p. 15), the workmanship of the friezes of this storey is superior to that of the lower.

### CAVE 2 (BĀJĀGHARA-GUMPHĀ)

Retracing his steps towards the entrance the visitor comes to Cave 2, past a few dilapidated caves. It consists of two independent cells having separate verandahs. The front wall of the left cell is completely gone; so are the bench and the left pilaster. The top of the extant pilaster is relieved with a pair of animals, with the heads of the bird, standing back-to-back. Of the two pairs of animals on the pillar, one is winged.

The condition of the right cell, with its front wall knocked off, is no better. Its pilasters are intact, but the pillar is gone. The architrave is now supported on two modern pillars. The floor is also modern. The bracket of the right pilaster is relieved with an elephant.

### CAVE 3 (CHHOṬA-HĀTHĪ-GUMPHĀ)<sup>1</sup>

Cave 3, immediately to the left of Cave 2, at a higher level, is a small cell with a low ceiling. It has no verandah. The entrance-opening was originally provided with a single wooden door, of which the holes for the hinges exist below and above.

The façade of the cave is remarkable for the masterly carving of six vigorous elephants, three on either side of the arch (pl. VIII A), the latter decorated with lotuses and plants and pointed at the top. The younger elephants are bringing flowers with their trunks for depositing on

<sup>1</sup>The name is due to the elephants carved on the façade.

the top of the arch. On the extreme right is a mango-tree. Below the elephants is a three-barred railing, the uprights of which are relieved with half-medallions. The pilasters on either side of the sloping doorway are crowned by winged animals.

The carvings were originally coated with chocolate colour. The painted design on the tympanum is now faded. There was a short one-lined dedicatory inscription on the tympanum, of which the last three letters (*sa lenari*) can alone be made out.

#### CAVE 4 (ALAKĀPURĪ-GUMPHĀ)

Adjoining Cave 3, Cave 4 consists of two spacious cells, with convex ceilings, one above the other.

As a result of ruthless quarrying, the lower cell has been rendered destitute of its front wall and verandah and presents a bare appearance. The floors of the cell and the verandah have been dug down to a depth of more than a metre. Three small pits, one oblong and deeper, probably for storing water, and the others round and shallow, probably for keeping pitchers, may be seen on the left side of the original floor.

The extant pilaster of the verandah has on the top two winged horses galloping back-to-back.

The upper cell is approached by a flight of steps, originally rock-cut, in front of Cave 5. The major portion of the pillars of the benched verandah is of modern construction. Of the two extant inner brackets, one is relieved with a royal elephant flanked by attending ones, one holding an umbrella and the other fanning with a

fly-whisk, above floral bands bordered at the top by a bead-and-reel motif; the other bracket has a lion holding a prey in its mouth. Two sides of the tops of the pillars are relieved with pairs of winged animals, some of them human- and some bird-headed. The left pilaster has near its top a man carrying a woman with his left hand and holding the trunk of an elephant with his right. The corresponding place in the right pilaster depicts an elephant entwined by a serpent (*nāga-pāśa*).

The cell is entered by three doorways. The wall between the first and second doorways has fallen down. The raised portion of the floor has been chiselled off.

On the right of this cell is a smaller one with a closed verandah, entered from the side.

### CAVE 5 (JAYĀ-VIJAYĀ-GUMPHĀ)

This two-celled monastery, with a benched verandah in front, is contiguous to the upper cell of Cave 4. Its pillar is modern, built at the spot of the old one. The front sides of the left and right pilasters are occupied respectively by a male and female figure. The former, clad in a *dhotī* and a scarf, is badly damaged. The bracket above its head is relieved with a lion. The sparsely-draped female (pl. X A) is tall and slender and wears heavy ear-ornaments, bangles and a girdle. With her coiffure decorated with a flower and a leaf, she fondles a parrot perched on her fingers. The bracket above her has taken the form of a *śālabhañjikā* climbing a tree.

The cells have one door each. Both of them are decorated, as usual, with pilasters crowned by addorsed

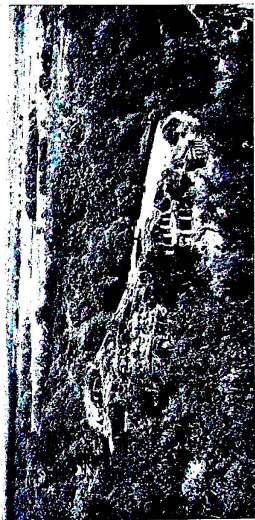
winged animals, four of which are single-horned. Connected by a three-barred railing, the arches are relieved—one with lotuses alternating with honeysuckles and the other with a creeper, both issuing from the mouths of *makaras*. The space between the arches depicts a sacred tree (*pīpal* ?) within a railing, being worshipped by a couple on either side. Both the men are with folded hands, while their consorts, with scarves on, carry trays of flowers and garlands. The high sanctity of the tree is shown by an umbrella over it and two banners by its sides. The perspective rendering of the railing is noteworthy. A flying figure holding a tray of flowers may be seen at the outer ends of the arches. The left one has in its right hand the stalks of three buds.

Below this cave is an austere plain cell with a spacious entrance and a fairly high arched ceiling. Note the two holes near the base of the ceiling, probably to take the ends of a stick for hanging clothes.

Above also are two badly-damaged cells, open in front. The roof of the verandah of the left cell was originally supported by laterite pillars, the fragment of one of which is still to be seen.

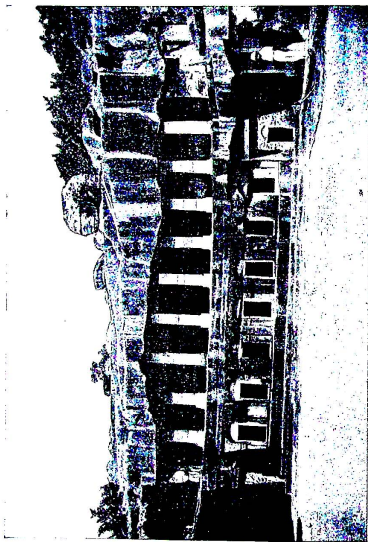
### CAVE 6 (PANASA-GUMPHĀ)

Beyond the steps, beside Cave 5, is a tiny scooping. Immediately after this is Cave 6, now open on the front. Large-scale quarrying has brought the original floor down to a depth of more than a metre. The name is due to the *panasa* (*Artocarpus integrifolia*) tree in front.



*The Udayagiri hill. See p. 20*

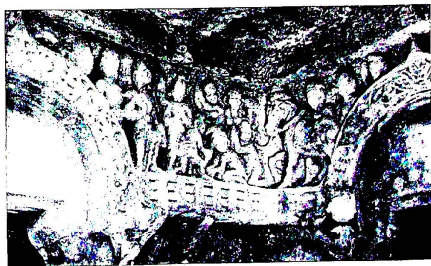
PLATE II



*Udayagiri, Cave 1: general view. See p. 20*



A. Udayagiri, Cave 1, lower storey, right wing: friezes on the back wall of the verandah. See p. 22



B. Udayagiri, Cave 1, lower storey, main wing: a frieze on the back wall of the verandah. See p. 24



*Udayagiri, Cave 1, lower storey: florid composition on the outer wall of the left guard-room. See p. 25*





A



C

*Udayagiri, Cave I, upper storey, main wing: friezes on the back wall of the verandah.  
See pp. 27 and 29*

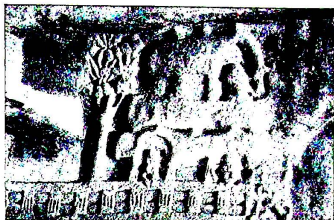
B



A



B



A. *Udayagiri, Cave 1, lower storey, main wing:  
a double-storeyed structure. See p. 23*



B. *Udayagiri, Cave 1, upper storey:  
a foreign guard. See p. 30*

## PLATE VIII



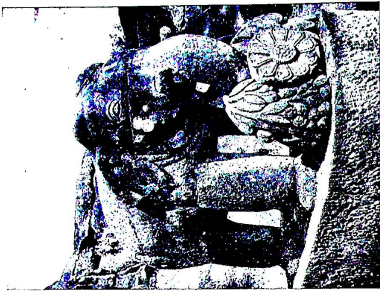
A. Udayagiri, Cave 3: elephants on the façade. See p. 31



B. Udayagiri, Cave 9, lower storey: worship of a Jain symbol. See p. 37



*Udayagiri, Cave 10: general view. See p. 39*



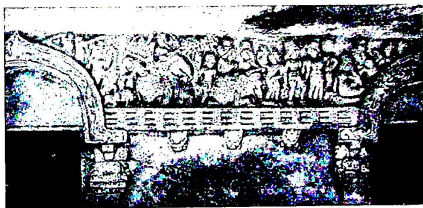
B. Udayagiri, Cave 10: an elephant in front of the cave. See p. 40



A. Udayagiri, Cave 5: a female figure on a pilaster. See p. 33



A



B

*Udayagiri, Cave 10: friezes on the back wall of the verandah. See p. 41*

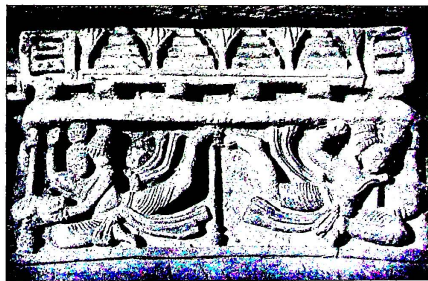


*Udayagiri: the apsidal structure. See p. 43*





A. Udayagiri, Cave 12: the façade. See p. 45



B. Khandagiri, Cave 3: vidyādhara scattering flowers. See p. 55



A. Khandagiri, Cave 3: Gaja-Lakshmi. See p. 55



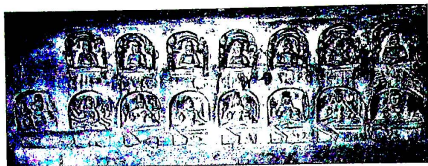
B. Khandagiri, Cave 3: worship of a sacred tree. See p. 55



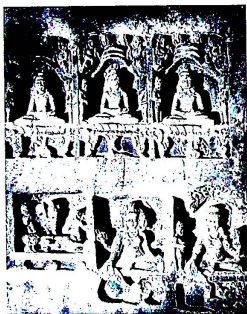
A. *Khandagiri, Cave 3: Sūrya (?)*. See p. 54



B. *Khandagiri, Cave 3: a bracket*.  
See p. 56



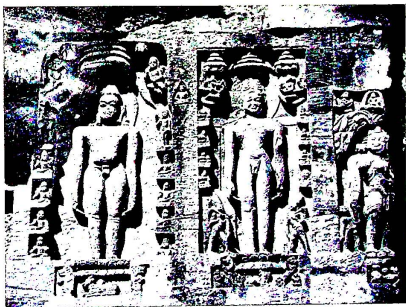
A. Khandagiri, Cave 7: Tirthaṅkaras and śāsana-devīs on the back wall of the cell. See p. 60



B. Khandagiri, Cave 8: Munisuvrata, Naminātha and Neminātha with their śāsana-devīs. See p. 64



A. Khandagiri, Cave 9: a chlorite image of Rishabhanātha. See p. 66



B. Khandagiri, Cave 10: reliefs of Rishabhanātha and Āmrā. See p. 67



*Khoudagiri: the Jain temple. See p. 71*

## CAVE 7 (TĪHĀKURĀṆĪ-GUMPHĀ)

Further to the left is Cave 7, with two storeys. The lower cell is comparatively spacious and high, with a convex ceiling. The benched verandah has a pillar of the usual type. The inner bracket, which is better preserved, has a pair of winged animals, galloping with their backs turned to each other. The tops of the pillar and pilasters are relieved with addorsed *makaras* and winged animals, some having the heads of birds.

The upper cell, approached by a flight of modern steps, is a smaller one, preceded by a closed benched verandah with a semicircular opening. Its floor has the usual pillow-like inclination. The verandah has no pillar.

## CAVE 8 (PĀTĀLAPURĪ-GUMPHĀ)

Cave 8, next to Cave 7, consists of four dwelling cells, two at the back and one on either side of the benched verandah. There were originally two pilasters and three pillars, of which the central one has ceased to exist. The tops of the pillars are relieved with crude representations of winged animals standing back-to-back. The only extant bracket depicts a man, armed with a spear and a shield, fighting a lion.

The cells are high enough for a man to stand erect. Their ceiling is arched. The back cells now form one room with the fall of the partition-wall. The façade of the cells is devoid of carvings. The walls between the door-openings of the back cells are of modern construction. The walls of the back cells have, below the ceiling,

holes at regular intervals, probably to receive the ends of the rods of the partition-screens.

### CAVE 9 (MAÑCHAPURĪ AND SVARGAPURĪ)

Beyond Cave 8 and past a quarried cave, the visitor will find Cave 9 to his right. This is a double-storeyed cave, the lower one called Mañchapurī and the upper Svargapurī. The cells of the upper storey do not rest immediately above the lower. This storey is to be reached by the ramp.

#### *The lower storey*

The lower storey consists of four cells in two wings. The main wing has three cells, one of them being on the right side of the benched verandah. The ceiling of the back cells is slightly arched. Both the wings are guarded by armed *dvāra-pālas*, carved in high relief, against the front faces of the pilasters. The figure of the left door-keeper of the main wing is the best-preserved of the four: wearing a turban, *dhotī*, scarf and heavy ear-ornaments, it stands bare-footed with its right hand placed on the chest and left on the waist, the long sword in a scabbard hanging by its left side. The major portions of the four pillars are modern reconstructions after the original ones. The outer brackets are all gone; the two central inner brackets are shaped in the form of a pair of cavaliers and the remaining two are each relieved with the figure of a woman.

All the doorways are framed with pilasters, having *ghaṭa*-bases above stepped pedestals and capitals



consisting of addorsed animals, and semicircular arches, crowned either by a *śrīvatsa* or *nandipada*. The arches are relieved with floral motifs and in one case a creeper containing in alternate compartments animals and chasing boys. Below the arches are the representations of beams.

The space between the second and the third doorways contains an important but badly damaged relief, the subject of which is no doubt the worship of some Jaina religious symbol (pl. VIII B). In the centre on a high pedestal rests the object of worship, obliterated beyond recognition, under an umbrella (?). The pedestal is flanked on either side by a kneeling figure, also blurred. The assemblage on the right is a group of four standing votaries with folded hands, who evidently came there on an elephant depicted on the further right. The second figure from the left, wearing a turreted crown, may stand for a king. The arrangement of his scarf is distinct from that of the others. All are in long *dhotīs*, scarves and heavy *kuṇḍalas*. Above the figures is suggested the aerial region by the symbol of the sun; two flying *gandharvas* are seen carrying celestial musical instruments and a flying *vidyādhara*, in the extreme right corner, hastens towards the object of worship in the attitude of scattering flowers from a tray held in his left hand. Below the figures is a projected two-barred railing supported on bracket-figures and beams, suggesting the venue as a balcony. A similar assemblage must have existed on the left side of the pedestal, but it is now thoroughly obliterated, only the feet of the flying *vidyādhara* being preserved.

The remaining space between the arches is relieved with a three-barred railing above, the posts of which have a half medallion above and below, and the representation of the roof, supported by bracket-figures, below. On this roof-line, between the third and the fourth arches, is an inscription recording the dedication of the cave by a king of the Mahāmeghavāhana family of Kalinga, whose name has been read as Kūdepasīrī or Vakradeva. While it is not known whether he was a predecessor or successor of King Khāravela, it may reasonably be thought that the royal figure in the assemblage described above depicts that king. A similar dedicatory inscription of a prince (*kumāra*), named Vaḍukha, who was either a brother or a son of Kūdepasīrī, occurs on the roof-line of the façade of the cell to the right side of the verandah. The name of the donor of the left cell, who also probably belonged to the royal family, is lost and only two letters (*sa le*) of this damaged inscription are now extant on its façade.

The right wing consists of a single cell and a verandah supported on two pilasters and a single pillar, the base-portion of which is alone old; it is shorn of ornaments.

In front of the courtyard has recently been exposed a ruined cave, which seems to be earlier than Cave 9.

### *The upper storey*

Approachable by the terrace to be negotiated by the ramp, the upper storey consists of a long back cell with a low ceiling and three doors, a smaller side-cell

with one entrance and a benched verandah in front. The last has lost the greater part of its roof and also the two pillars which supported it. The doorways are decorated with pilasters crowned by winged animals (horse and deer being recognizable) and arches, filled with floral patterns and creepers issuing from the mouths of *makaras*. The arches are connected by the representation of a roof, with bracket-figures below and finials above. Though comparatively unadorned, the cave is important for the three-lined inscription that it bears on the façade between the second and third arches, recording the dedication of the cave by the chief queen of King Khāravēla.

The cave is further distinguished for the open terrace edged with a parapet, the latter relieved on its outer face with a three-barred railing crowned by an architrave. At the base of the railing is depicted a procession of elephants and other animals, below which is a recess. The uprights of the railing are relieved with half-medallions containing half-lotuses above and below and full medallions with flowers in the centre. These carvings are almost effaced now. The post-holes abutting the parapet suggest the existence once of a wooden superstructure over the terrace.

### CAVE 10 (GAṆEŚA-GUMPHĀ)

Reaching the terrace the visitor will turn right to see Cave 10 (pl. IX), which lies a few metres away.

The popular name of the cave is in consequence of the figure of Gaṇeśa, carved on the back of its right cell.

The cave consists of two dwelling cells with low ceilings and a benched verandah in front. The verandah had originally five pillars of the usual type, but the two right ones were knocked off, probably deliberately, at the time when the relief of Gaṇeśa was carved on the wall, the intention being apparently to provide more space in front of the right cell, then converted into some sort of a sanctuary. The two detached elephants, each holding branches of a mango-tree over a lotus (pl. X B), flanking the approach of this chamber were probably added in this period.

On the front face of the left pilaster is carved in high relief a standing turbaned guard, clad in a *dhōṭī* and a scarf, and ornamented with *kuṇḍalas*, his right hand holding a spear and left akimbo on the chest. Above his head, carved against the bracket is a recumbent bull. The brackets of all the pillars are intact, but the outer ones are weather-worn. They are relieved with standing figures, each with one, either male or female, holding flowers, spouted vessel, trays and others. The sides of the brackets are relieved with flowers including honeysuckles. The shelf of the verandah is carved with a railing; so also is the lowest portion of the back wall of the verandah between the pilasters.

Each cell has two door-openings with sloping jambs and the usual decorations in the form of pilasters with capitals consisting of a pair of addorsed animals (deer, bull, horse and lion) seated on a corbelled abacus and a stepped base, and arches filled with flowers and creepers, issuing from the mouths of *makaras*, with *nandipada* or *śrīvatsa* in the top centre. The crowns

of the outer edges of the arches are distinctly pointed.

The spaces between the first and second doorways on the one hand and the third and fourth on the other are relieved with two scenes, each above a railing supported by three squattish pot-bellied male and female figures. The remaining spaces between the left wall of the verandah and the first doorway, between the second and third doorways and between the fourth doorway and the right wall have the representations of a barrel-shaped roof of a structure, crowned by finials against a background of railing and supported by squattish figures.

The left scene (pl. XI A), as already mentioned (p. 28), is a replica of the abduction-scene carved on the façade of the upper storey of Cave 1 (Rāñī-gumphā). At the entrance of an artificial cave, by the side of a tree, is a man lying on a bed with his head resting on his right hand. A woman sits watching him near his feet with her right hand placed on his left thigh. Near the bed are his sword and shield. Next is seen a woman leading a man, walking with a stoop, towards the first pair, followed by the duel between a man and a woman, each armed with a shield and a sword. The scene ends with the man carrying off the vanquished woman.

The second scene (pl. XI B), probably unconnected with the first, recalls the popular story of the elopement of Vāsavadattā, princess of Ujjayinī, with King Udayana of Kauśāmbī in the company of Vasantaka. In the extreme left is a party of kilted soldiers, armed with swords and shields, hotly pursuing three persons, mounted on

the back of an elephant. One of the elephant-riders is a woman, who is in the rôle of a mahout, holding the elephant-goad in her right hand and a harp (?) in her left; the middle figure, dressed in a kilt, who seems to be the chief man, is shooting arrows at the pursuers, and the hindermost, apparently a companion, is tempting the pursuers by showering coins at them from a bag. One of the kilted soldiers is prostrate on the ground, possibly to collect the coins. Between the first episode and the second, which depicts the dismounting of the three persons from the kneeling elephant, is a tree, indicative of the wood where the scene took place. Next, the archer, no longer in kilt, leads the other two, the woman carrying a bunch of mangoes in her right hand and with her left hand resting on the shoulder of the archer and the companion, with the money-bag placed on his right shoulder. Lastly, the woman is in a half-reclining posture on a bed, slightly disconsolate, and the man with folded hands is trying to console her. The companion holding the bow of his master and the money-bag now on his left shoulder is on the extreme right. The story of Udayana and Vāsavadattā is found not only in Buddhist and Brahmanical literature but in Jaina works as well.

The floors of the cells are raised in the rear end. In the partition-wall between the two cells there is a small window-opening. The left cell has a crude late representation of a Tirthaṅkara seated in *yoga-mudrā*. In the right cell is the figure of Gaṇeśa, holding a bowl of *laḍḍukas*, hatchet, radish and rosary and seated in *mahārājalīlā* on a footed seat, below which is depicted his mount mouse. To the right of Gaṇeśa is a five-lined record, in charac-

ters of the eighth-ninth century, of a physician Bhīmaṭa, son of Nannaṭa, incised in the reign of the Bhauma king Śāntikara. Another inscription of the same Bhīmaṭa occurs on the wall of a cave excavated in the Dhauli hill.

### THE APSIDAL STRUCTURE

Proceeding to the top of the hill by a pathway to the right, the visitor will reach the ruins of an apsidal structure (pl. XII) exposed in 1958.

The ruins consist of an apsidal structure built of laterite slabs, within which, towards the apse-end, is a circular wall. Partly below the latter are remnants of an earlier oblong structure. Large patches of laterite pavement exist within the apsidal structure. The outer edges of some of the stones of the circular wall rest on this paving which, however, is not traceable within the circular wall. The oblong space in front of the circular wall is enclosed by walls, raised on the paved surface within the framework of the apsidal structure, to form an oblong chamber. In the middle of the three walls of this chamber is an opening, presumably for doors. As the circular wall had been reduced to a single course when excavated, it is difficult to determine its exact nature and use. However, the plan of the entire complex is so similar to the Buddhist *chaitya-grihas* with their apse, nave and side-aisles that it is very likely that the circular wall formed the sanctum or apse and the oblong chamber the hall or nave. On the same analogy, the space between their outer walls and inner edge of the outer apsidal wall could have been used as circumambulatory side aisles.

In the northern corner of the apsidal wall is a rock-cut drain, to take off water from the circular structure. There are several post-poles at fairly regular intervals in the bed-rock around the outer wall of the apsidal structure. Towards the base of the apsidal wall are two arc-like buttress-walls built of three rows of laterite blocks placed on edge and supporting one another. They were presumably intended to sustain the deep depression-filling and its overlying flag-stones below the corner walls of the oblong wall.

The complex of structures was no doubt a Jaina religious edifice and provided the monks residing in the caves with the place of worship.

It may be significant that just below the structure, on the ledge of the rock, occurs Cave 14 (Hāthi-gumphā, p. 46), containing the inscription of Khāravela (p. 3), wherein, among other things, he recounted his activities on the hill, including the excavation of caves and construction of a certain stone edifice on the *prāgbhāra* of the hill.

### CAVE 11 (JAMBEŚVARA-GUMPHĀ)

Situated to the right of the foot-path descending down the hill from the west, the cave is a low cell with two plain door-openings preceded by a benched verandah, which is supported on a pillar and two pilasters, their brackets being plain.

Incised on the façade above the right door is an inscription recording that it was the cave of Nākiya, wife of Mahāmadā.



To the north-west of the cave, at a lower level, is a small cave open in front.

### CAVE 12 (BĀGH-GUMPHĀ)

To the south-east of Cave 11 is a small cave, Bāgh-gumphā, so called on account of its front capriciously shaped into the semblance of the head of a tiger with the distended upper jaw, full of teeth, forming the roof of the verandah and the gullet forming the entrance-opening (pl. XIII A).

The door-jambs slope inwards and are flanked by pilasters with *ghaṭa*-bases above stepped pedestals and with capitals, each consisting of a pair of crouching elephants, seated back-to-back on a stepped abacus above a bell-shaped lotus. Over the door is a plain arch, pointed at the top of the outer edge, with a railing on both sides. On the right ceiling of the verandah is the representation of a lizard, while on the outer wall, to the right of the arch, is an inscription in two lines, with a triangle-headed symbol within a railing at the beginning and a *svastika* at the end. The inscription states that the cave was of the town-judge Sabhūti.

### CAVE 13 (SARPA-GUMPHĀ)

On the way back to the terrace which the visitor left to see Cave 10 and to the left of the steps is a detached boulder in which are excavated two tiny caves, the upper one, facing east, called Sarpa-gumphā on account of the head of a three-hooded snake carved on the

façade of the narrow verandah. It is now without any approach.

There are two short inscriptions in the cave, respectively above the doorway and on the left jamb. The former mentions two persons Chūlakama and Koṭhājī and the latter labels the cave as 'the gift (*pasādo*, Sanskrit *prasāda*) of Kaṁma and Halakhiṇā'.

#### CAVE 14 (HĀTHĪ-GUMPHĀ)

At the back of the terrace is a large natural cavern of an irregular shape, enlarged by human hands for some sort of a shelter for occasional assemblage, as shown by chiselling and finishing at the back and side walls and platforms on the left. On the walls are scratched a few names, some in Gupta characters.

On the brow of the rock above the cavern is the famous inscription of King Khāravela (p. 3).

Architecturally, the rock-shelter is insignificant, its whole interest and importance lying in the inscription.

The masonry-shed was built in 1902 in order to protect the inscription from the effect of weather.

Adjoining the cave, at different levels, is a number of oblong excavations, mostly open in front, without any verandahs, pillars or carvings. Some of them are called Pavanāri or Pavana-gumphā.

#### CAVE 15 (DHANAGHARA-GUMPHĀ)

A few metres to the right of Cave 14, approached by steps is a long cell, with a low ceiling, three doorways

and a benched verandah, with two pillars and two pilasters. In front of the left pilaster is a turbaned guard, clad in a *dhotī* and scarf, with both hands resting on a long staff. The bracket over him is relieved with an elephant. The corresponding bracket on the right pilaster contains the forepart of a lion. The outer brackets of the pillars are badly damaged; the inner ones are relieved with honeysuckles alternating with lotuses. The doorways are without flanking pilasters, though there are capitals, consisting of a pair of addorsed animals on a corbelled abacus above a bell-shaped lotus. From the capitals spring plain arches, their outer edges being pointed at the top. The spaces between the arches are filled, in the same way as in other similar caves, with roof-shaped mouldings supported by bracket-figures and crowned by a two-barred railing.

To the left of this cave is a small oblong excavation open in front.

Slightly higher up, near the top of the hill, is a damaged cave.

#### CAVE 16 (HARIDĀSA-GUMPHĀ)

From Cave 12 a flight of steps descends towards a group of three caves, of which the easternmost is called Haridāsa, after the name of a *sādhū* who occupied it some time in the last century.

It is a spacious high chamber, with a slightly curved ceiling, preceded by a benched verandah with two pilasters and a pillar. The cell has three slanting doorways. The cave is devoid of carvings.

The inscription on the façade declares the cave to be the gift (*pasāto*) of Chūlakama and Koṭhājī, who are also mentioned in the inscription above the doorway of Cave 13 (p. 46).

### CAVE 17 (JAGANNĀTHA-GUMPHĀ)

To the left of Cave 16 is Cave 17, Jagannāthagumphā, so named from a late drawing (no longer existing) of that god on the inner wall. It is a spacious rock-cut chamber, longest in the Udayagiri hill, with four entrances preceded by a benched verandah with three pillars and two pilasters. The central pillar passes through four, eight, sixteen, eight and four sides, with the arrises chamfered so as to achieve the effect of half-medallions. The tops of the pillars and pilasters are relieved with a variety of motifs—deer seated back-to-back, winged hybrid figure with the tail of a *makara* and forepart of a single-horned animal, another with the head of a bird and the body of an animal, fish, bird, flowers and plants on a *ghaṭa*. The inner brackets are lost. Four of the outer brackets are preserved: one has the figure of a seated *gana* supporting the superstructure with his left hand, another a *vidyādhara* holding a tray of flowers, the third a winged *kinnara* holding a garland and the fourth a standing *gana*, in the attitude of supporting the superstructure, with a crane by its side.

There are three niches for keeping lamps, two in the walls of the chamber and one in a verandah-pillar. They are probably later additions. The cell was plastered at one time.

As in many caves, the eaves are curved.

## CAVE 18 (RASUI-GUMPHĀ)

Adjoining Cave 17, is Cave 18, the local name being due to its conversion into a kitchen when the painting of Jagannātha in Cave 17 was in worship. It is a small dwelling cell with a narrow pillarless verandah.

## THE KHANDAGIRI MONUMENTS

COMING DOWN TO THE MAIN ROAD BY A FLIGHT OF steps in front of Cave 17, and going up the road for about 15 metres, the visitor will find a track to his left leading to the top of the Khandagiri hill. Following this track for a few metres, the first cave on the hill will be encountered.

### CAVE 1 (TĀTOWĀ-GUMPHĀ NO. 1)

Cave 1, the first of the two known as Tātowā-gumphā, from the figures of parrots carved on the arches of their doorways, consists of a low cell, with two doorways, fronted by a benched verandah. The ceiling of the verandah is supported on a pillar, octagonal in the middle and square below and above, with the characteristic chamfering of the corners and two pilasters. On the inner face of the pillar is a bracket, relieved with lotuses, honeysuckles and rosettes. Guarding the entrance to the cave and standing in front of the pilasters are two sentries, clad in *dhotīs* and scarves and armed with swords. The side-walls of the verandah each have a shelf. The floor of the verandah is at a much lower level than that of the cell. The eaves projecting over the verandah have fallen away.

Entrance to the cell is provided by two doorways flanked by pilasters crowned by a pair of addorsed animals, bulls in the case of the right doorway and lions in the left. From the top of the capitals spring the semi-circular arches (*makara-toraṇa*), one relieved with a creeper and the other with lotuses alternating with

honeysuckles, issuing from the mouths of a *makara*. The spaces between the arches and side-walls have patterns simulating the barrel-shaped roof supported on brackets and crowned by a row of finials carved against a background of railing-motif. Similarly-roofed structures are common in the reliefs of Bharhut.

Between the two arches is a short one-lined inscription calling the cave that of Kusuma, an inhabitant (?) of Pādamulika.

### CAVE 2 (TĀTOWĀ-GUMPHĀ NO. 2)

A flight of modern steps built on the right side of Cave 1 will lead to Cave 2. Though similar to Cave 1, this cave is more spacious and its decoration more elaborate. The ceiling is comparatively high and is curved. There are three doorways ornamented with arches and pilasters. The shafts of the pilasters are octagonal above and square below, resting on carved *ghaṭas*, the latter placed on stepped bases; over the bell-shaped lotus are neckings, cables and, in one instance, the bead-and-reel, above which are the abaci crowned by the capitals consisting of animals—a pair of spirited lions amidst trees on the left doorway, a set of four elephants on the middle and a pair of life-like bulls on the right. The arches are decorated with a series of honeysuckles with a lotus at the top (on the left), lotus alternating with plants (in the middle) and vine (on the right) and have on either side doves and parrots on the right and middle arches and a pair of deer on the left. Crowned by a *nandipada* the arches have on the underside ribs reproducing the rafters of the wooden prototypes.

The semicircular space below the arches and above the door-openings are filled with a honeysuckle in the central and a garland with a lotus and lotus-buds in the side ones. Like Cave 1, the façade of the cell is relieved with the barrel-shaped roof with pinnacles, flanked, however, by a lion on the left and an elephant on the right; the railing-motif occurs here below the roof-line.

A major portion of the two pillars supporting the ceiling of the verandah is of modern restoration. Projecting from the pillars and pilasters and supporting the ceiling are cut-out brackets relieved with a variety of motifs; the inner brackets are better preserved and contain (i) honeysuckle alternating with lotus in the two outermost ones, (ii) a *danseuse* in the company of a musician playing on a stringed instrument under a tree and (iii) a female devotee holding a tray of flowers in her left hand and the stalk of a flower in her right, in the two middle ones. The coiffure, dress and ornaments of these archaic figures are specially noteworthy.

On the back wall of the cell are painted in red pigment on a thin plaster letters of the Indian alphabet in Brāhmī characters of the first century B.C. and A.D. Some of the letters occur repeatedly. Presumably one of the recluses attempted to improve his writing by practising on the wall.

### CAVE 3 (ANANTA-GUMPHĀ)

Farther ascending by the same flight of steps, the visitor will find Cave 3, called Ananta-gumphā after the figures of twin serpents on the door-arches. Similar on



plan to the preceding, it is one of the most important caves on the Khandagiri hill, on account of its reliefs. The general disposition of the reliefs is more or less identical with those of Cave 2 and some of the caves of Udayagiri, but the motifs in some cases are unique. The long cell has a convex ceiling and is of a sufficient height to admit a man standing. The floor of the verandah, which was originally lower, has been raised to the top-level of the bench by masonry.

On the back-wall of the cell is carved a *nandipada* on a stepped pedestal flanked on either side by a set of three symbols—a triangle-headed symbol on a stepped pedestal, a *śrīvatsa* also on a stepped pedestal and a *svastika*, regarded by the Jainas as auspicious. In medieval times the image of a Tirthaṅkara was carved below the right hand *śrīvatsa* and *svastika* but was left unfinished.

The interest of the cave lies in the sculptured façade of the cell, the beauty of which is, however, substantially undermined by the damage to the wall (done deliberately, as suggested by chisel-marks) between the first and the second doorways, together with parts of the tympana over them. All the four doorways are flanked by pilasters, from the capital of which spring the arches, the latter crowned by either a *śrīvatsa* or a *nandipada*. The pilasters have *ghaṭa*-bases resting on stepped pedestals and have capitals consisting of a set of animals, bulls and lions recognizable in two sets, resting on an abacus above an inverted bell-shaped lotus. The *ghaṭa* is also decorated with lotus-petals. What, however, distinguishes these pilasters from others is the ornamentation of the shafts, differing in each pair—vertical rows of the

bead-and-reel in the first, the diamond-shaped *jālī*-pattern in the second, spiral flutings alternating with a vertical line of the bead-and-reel in the third and flowers between compartments in the fourth, all between half-lotus medallions below and above. The faces of the arches, which have on the underside representations of beams, are embellished with carvings. The two central ones depict a running frieze with boys chasing animals including lions and bulls. The first arch contains rosettes within loops of garlands and the fourth a procession of twelve geese, with spread wings, in two groups proceeding from opposite sides, each holding in its bill the stalk of either a lotus-bud or a blue lotus as if to offer it to the sacred tree depicted below the arch.

The motifs on the tympana are also different in each case. The first depicts the flattened front view of a royal elephant attended by a smaller one on each side (the right one missing) holding the stalks of a lotus and buds. On the second tympanum is carved the figure of a turbaned royal personage, wearing heavy *kuṇḍalas*, a necklace and bangles, under an umbrella, with a female figure holding a fly-whisk on either side and driving a chariot drawn by four spirited horses (pl. XV A). Above them are the representations of the moon, surrounded by stars, and the sun—which symbolize the stellar world. The left hand of the figure is placed on the waist and the right on his chest. The figure has generally been identified with Sūrya.<sup>1</sup> A demonish pot-bellied dwarf holding

<sup>1</sup>The quadriga is drawn here in the manner of an analogous relief on an early railing-post of Bodh-Gaya. In the latter composition, however, the attending females may definitely be identified

a spouted water-pot in his left hand and a banner (?) in his right hand stands at the right end of the relief near the right wheel of the chariot.

The next tympanum (pl. XIV A) shows Śrī or Lakshmī in the lotus-lake with stalks of full-blown lotuses entwining round her arms and being bathed with water from pitchers held by two elephants standing on lotuses on her sides. A pair of birds is seen pecking at the seed-vessels of the lotuses.<sup>1</sup> The fourth tympanum (pl. XIV B) depicts a sacred tree (which may be a *pīpal*), within a railing under an umbrella, being worshipped by a woman offering a lotus and a man with folded hands with two dwarfish figures bringing a tray of offerings and spouted jars. The perspective rendering of the railing is noteworthy. The tree may be the *kevala*-tree of a Tīrthaṅkara.

The spaces between the arches are relieved with semi-divine beings flying in haste (pl. XIII B), from

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with Ushā and Pratyushā on account of their shooting arrows. The present composition has a greater affinity with that on a pillar found at Lala Bhagat (District Kanpur), ascribable to the second century A.D.

<sup>1</sup>The Jainas regard Gaja-Lakshmī as auspicious. The motif forms one of the fourteen dreams seen by Trīśālā, mother of Mahāvīra when the latter was transferred to her womb from that of Devānandā. However, Gaja-Lakshmī, symbolizing prosperity, is as much a Jaina motif as Buddhist and Brahmanical. It frequently occurs not only on the early relief of Bharhut, Bodh-Gaya and Sanchi, but is also a common symbol on early coins and seals. Even foreign rulers of India adopted it on their coins. It continued to be in use till later periods, for it occurs in the centre of the lintel of the temples, specially in Orissa, irrespective of their cult-association.

pillared halls with barrel-vaulted roofs, with garlands and trays of flowers and garlands towards the arches containing the objects of worship. The one on the extreme left almost snatches away in his haste a garland from the tray borne on the head of a fierce-looking dwarfish *gana* with long ears. Above them and extending along the entire length of the verandah and continuing along the side-walls runs a railing interrupted only at those places where there are groups of stepped merlons, each alternating with a blue lotus. The latter motif occurs on the railings of Bharhut in an identical form.

The inner bracket of the left pilaster has a dwarf supporting an elephant, the latter carrying two figures, one of them with a banner. Its counterpart on the right contains an elephant above a lotus. The three inner brackets of the pillars have two women with folded hands separated by a floral band made up of stylized honeysuckles and lotuses (pl. XV B). The corresponding outer brackets are relieved with pot-bellied demonish *ganās*, with long ears, in the attitude of supporting the superstructure. Both the outer brackets of the pilasters depict cavaliers, the left one above a lotus.

The inscription on the outer side of the architrave between the left pilaster and the first pillar of the verandah calls the cave that of the monks of Dohada (?).

The space in front of the cave has been levelled to form a spacious courtyard.

The foot-path on the right side of the cave leads first to the Deva-sabhā and next to the Jaina temple on the top of the hill, but the route recommended here is different.

## CAVE 4 (TENTULI-GUMPHĀ)

Retracing his steps to Cave 2, the visitor will take the track to the right and continuing to encircle the hill will first meet a nameless cave, open on the front, with its floor dug to a considerable depth at a later period.

Immediately beyond this, at a slightly higher level, to the right of a rock-cut flight of steps, is Cave 4, named after a tamarind tree which once stood near it. It consists of a single small dwelling cell with two entrances and a benched verandah with a pillar of the usual type. The pilasters, flanking the doors, have plain *ghaṭa*-bases resting on a stepped pyramid, shafts ribbed in the middle, square otherwise, and crowning elements each consisting of a bell-shaped lotus capped by a square abacus, on which rest a pair of crouchant elephants (in the left pair of pilasters) and lions (in the right). The arches above the pilasters are plain and has a pointed finial at the top. The inner bracket of the pillar is relieved with the figure of a woman carrying a lotus-bud in both of her hands and the outer with a trotting elephant. The delineation of the elephants, as in most of the caves, is strikingly naturalistic. The pilasters are unfinished and only the outlines of the octagons are drawn.

## CAVE 5 (KHAṆḌAGIRI-GUMPHĀ)

Next to Cave 4, Cave 5 is called Khaṇḍagiri, from the cracks (*khaṇḍa*) in it, in front of which is a modern flight of steps descending to the main road. It consists of two plain cells, one above the other, both badly

damaged. To its right, on the left side of the steps, are two more dilapidated cells, again one above the other: the lower one is more a niche than a cave; the upper one has a small window. Over the top of the latter once stood a structure, as socket-holes for receiving the bases of the posts are still existing.

### CAVE 6 (DHYĀNA-GHARA, DHYĀNA-GUMPHĀ OR SHELL-CAVE)

To the south of Cave 5 are four caves almost in one row facing an artificial terrace. The first of them, Cave 6, is called Dhyāna-ghara or Dhyāna-gumphā, 'the house or cave of meditation'; the alternative name, Shell-cave, is derived from an inscription in shell-characters engraved on the left wall. Originally a cell with a verandah having two pillars, it has now been turned into a spacious room with the front side open due to the deliberate removal (chisel-marks are there) of the front wall and also the fall of two pillars of the verandah. The architrave above the pillars of the verandah is extant. The floor was originally at a higher level. The sloping caves are distinguished by the existence of four rock-cut handle-like contrivances.

### CAVE 7 (NAVAMUNI-GUMPHĀ)

Next to Cave 6 is Cave 7. Its popular name is due to the figures of nine (*nava*) Tirthaṅkaras (*munis*), excluding the smaller figure of Chandraprabha, carved on the back and right walls. In the group Pārśvanātha occurs

twice, probably on account of his greater importance. Originally the cave consisted of two residential cells (as suggested by the pillow-like slope of the original floor-level) with a common verandah in front. Later on it was converted into a sanctuary by excavating the floor to a deeper depth and carving the figures of Tirthaṅkaras. With the removal of the partition-wall between the two cells and also the front walls separating the cells from verandah (which was deliberately done to provide more space for the place of worship), it became a spacious chamber, open on the front side. Both the pillars of the verandah have disappeared, leaving scanty traces of their top below the architrave. The cave was at one time plastered with shell-lime, patches of the plaster still surviving at many places. The two masonry pillars and also the floor with the raised portion at the back are modern constructions. Like Cave 6, the eaves of this cave are provided with four handle-like perforations.

There are altogether five inscriptions, one mentioning *śrāvakiruvi* below the figure of Pārśvanātha on the right wall of the right cell, three on the remnant of the partition-wall and the fifth, the largest and in three lines, on the inner side of the architrave of the verandah. The last is the most important, as it records the work of Śubhachandra, disciple of Kulachandra, who was an *āchārya* (teacher) of the Deśi-gaṇa derived from the Graha-kula belonging to the Ārya-saṃgha, in the eighteenth regnal year of Udyotakesari, who belonged to the Somavarṃśī dynasty and ruled over Orissā in the eleventh century. Of three inscriptions on the partition-wall, one again mentions the same Śubhachandra and the other

two the names of two students (*chhātra*), Vijo and Śrīdhara.

As stated above, on the back wall of what was originally the right cell are carved in high relief seven Tīrthaṅkaras (pl. XVI A), Ṛishabhanātha, Ajitanātha, Sambhavanātha, Abhinandana, Vāsupūjya, Pārśvanātha and Neminātha, all seated cross-legged with both soles visible (*yoga-mudrā*) within niches rounded at the top. Over their heads are the canopies of three-tiered umbrellas flanked by a pair of hands playing on cymbals. On either side of Tīrthaṅkaras stand fly-whisk-bearers with meagre loin-cloth. Though the figures are greatly weathered, partly on account of the coarse-grained texture and brittle nature of the stone, they display considerable workmanship. The varied treatment of the coiffure is specially noteworthy; some of them have their *jaṭās* tied and folded on their heads and others have them arranged in the shape of a cone, while Neminātha has his spiral curls arranged in a top-knot like that of Buddha. None of them has any halo behind them nor any *śrīvatsa*-mark on the chest.

Below the figures of Tīrthaṅkaras are their *śāsana-devīs*, Chakreśvarī, Rohiṇī, Prajñapti, Vajraśṛīṅkhalā, Gāndhārī, Padmāvatī and Āmrā, executed in medium relief. Bedecked in sparse but elegant ornaments, they are clad in *sāḍīs* and short diaphanous scarves placed obliquely on their chests and left shoulders. Preceded by the figure of Gaṇeśa, seated in *mahārājalīlā* and holding a bowl of sweet-balls (to which his trunk is applied), a hatchet (*paraśu*), a rosary and a radish, the seven *śāsana-devīs* are reminiscent of the Brahmanical *sapta-mātrikās*.



The grouping may not be accidental, as most of them evince characteristics which are not available in the Jaina texts but which appear in their Brahmanical prototypes, of which a good many sculptures exist at Bhubaneswar. With their attributes and mounts they disclose unmistakably the assimilation of the Brahmanical deities into the Jaina pantheon.

On the right wall are two reliefs, one of Pārśva-nātha and the other Ṛishabhanātha, both seated in *yogāsana* on a lotus flanked by fly-whisk-bearers. Pārśva-nātha, seated under a seven-hooded canopy, is distinguished for his bejewelled *jaṭā-mukuta*. On either side of the canopy is a flying figure holding a garland. Beneath the lotus-seat is a *ghaṭa* flanked by a *nāga*-figure. Below this relief is the inscription reading *śrāvākiruvi*. Ṛishabhanātha has a halo round his head. Below his seat is his cognizance, bull. The relief is unfinished and may not be contemporary with the main group.

On the left wall is carved a small figure of Chandra-prabha seated on a lotus, below which is the representation of the moon. His spiral curls are arranged in a top-knot.

### CAVE 8 (BĀRABHUJĪ-GUMPHĀ)

Adjoining Cave 7, beyond a rock-cut stairway, is Cave 8, Bārabhujī-gumphā, so called from two twelve-armed (*bāra-bhuji*) figures of *śāsana-devīs* carved on the side-walls of the verandah. It is a long chamber, with a convex ceiling, preceded by a pillared verandah. The cell was originally a dormitory, as proved by the pillow-like inclination of the floor. When it was, like Cave 7,

converted into a sanctuary by carving the images, it was felt necessary to increase its height, and this was achieved by scooping out the floor to a greater depth. The back bench together with the dividing walls between the three doorways was also removed in this period. The two concrete piers and the flooring are modern. At one time the entire chamber was coated with plaster of shell-lime.

Two modern pillars have taken the place of the missing old ones, of which the tops can still be seen, with a bracket relieved with two honeysuckles alternating with lotuses. The missing pillars, on the analogy of the pilasters, were square below and above and octagonal in the middle. Accommodated in the left wall of the verandah is a shelf. The roof of the verandah projects in front to form the eaves.

There are altogether twenty-five figures of Tīrthaṅkaras on the walls of the cell, distributed on all three walls, Pārśvanātha being repeated twice.<sup>1</sup> Of the

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<sup>1</sup>The names of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras are given below, together with those of the *vāhana* and *sāsana-devī* of each within brackets: (1) Rishabhanātha (bull, Chakreśvarī); (2) Ajitanātha (elephant, Rohiṇī); (3) Sambhavanātha (horse, Prajñapti); (4) Abhinandana (monkey, Vajraśṛiṅkhalā); (5) Sumatinātha (curlew, Purushadattā); (6) Padmaprabha (lotus, Manovegā); (7) Supārśvanātha (*svastika*, Kālī); (8) Chandraprabha (moon, Jvālāmālīnī or Jvālīnī); (9) Suvidhinātha or Pushpadanta (alligator, Mahākālī); (10) Śīṭalanātha (*śrīvatsa*, Mānavī); (11) Śreyāṁśanātha (rhinoceros, Gaurī); (12) Vāsupūjya (buffalo, Gāndhārī); (13) Vimalanātha (boar, Vairoṭī); (14) Anantanātha (falcon, Anantamatī); (15) Dharmanātha (thunderbolt, Mānasī); (16) Śāntinātha (deer, Mahāmānasī); (17) Kunthunātha (goat, Jayā or Vijayā); (18) Aranātha

two figures of Pārśvanātha, one is in its usual position in the series; the other occupies the first place on the back wall. The latter is larger in size than the rest and is shown stripped of all raiments, standing in *kāyotsarga* pose, with its long hands hanging by its sides, on a double-petalled lotus under the seven-hooded canopy of a serpent. Above its head are a three-tiered umbrella, cymbals beaten by hands and flying figures holding garlands. On his either side is a three-hooded *nāga* seated with folded hands and a standing fly-whisk-bearer, one above the other. The figure of his *śāsana-devī* is absent. Pārśvanātha occupies the position of the *mūla-nāyaka* (chief lord) of the cave.

The remaining Tirthaṅkaras are seated cross-legged with their feet resting on thighs (*yogāsana*) on double-petalled lotuses supported on lions, in *yoga-mudrā* beneath the trees under which they attained their *kevala-jñāna* (supreme knowledge); above their heads is a three-tiered umbrella, one of the eight *pratihāryas*. Flanked on either side by an attendant holding a fly-whisk, all, except Pārśvanātha, have a halo round their heads. Celestial music is indicated by cymbals played by the hands of invisible persons; near them are two flying figures holding garlands. The general appearance of all these figures is the same as if they have been cast in the same mould: but for their distinctive *lāñchhanas* (emblems) carved below their lotus-seats, they would have passed

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(*nandyāvarta* or fish, Tārā); (19) Mallinātha (pitcher, Aparājitā); (20) Munisuvrata (tortoise, Bahurūpiṇī); (21) Naminātha (blue lotus, Chāmuṇḍā); (22) Neminātha (conch-shell, Āmrā); (23) Pārśvanātha (snake, Padmāvatī); and (24) Mahāvīra (lion, Siddhāyikā).

as the same Tīrthaṅkara. The *lāñchhanas*, it may be noted, do not always tally with those prescribed in the canons. The *śrīvatsa*-mark is absent on the chests of the Tīrthaṅkaras.

Beneath the Tīrthaṅkaras are, in separate compartments, their respective *śāsana-devīs*, all seated in *ardha-paryāṅkāśana* except Mahāmānasī, who is seated cross-legged, and Bahurūpiṇī, who is lying (pl. XVI B). Twenty of them sit on legged seats, and four—the fourth, sixteenth, twenty-second and twenty-third—on lotuses, below which are their animal-mounts. All, except Bahurūpiṇī and Padmāvati who has a canopy of snake, have haloes behind their heads. Draped in *sāḍis*, they are all decked in usual ornaments like bangles, necklaces, ear-ornaments, girdles and *jaṭā-mukūṭas*.

On the left wall of the verandah is a twelve-armed figure of Chakreśvarī wearing a *sāḍi* held by a girdle, bangles, armlets, a necklace, an *upavīta*, anklets, *kuṇḍalas* and a *mukūṭa* and seated in *lalitāsana* on a double-petalled lotus, below which are Garuḍa and a devotee with a water-pot in between. One of her right hands is *varada*, the second holds a sword and the third a disc. Of her left hands, one is held against her chest and three carry a shield, a bell and a disc. The remaining attributes are damaged. The relief was originally painted; traces of black lines on a darkish red background are discernible at places. Above her head is her Jina Ṛishabhanātha with a bull below.

On the right wall of the verandah is a twelve-armed figure of Rohiṇī seated with her bull below, in the same pose as Chakreśvarī. Among the attributes, *vara*, banner, *aṅkuśa* and disc in the right hands and *śaṅkha*(?), water-pot,

twig or *tridaṇḍaka* and disc in the left are recognizable. Above her head is her Jina Ajitanātha with an elephant.

### CAVE 9 (TRISŪLA-GUMPHĀ, SATBAKHRĀ OR MAHĀVĪRA-GUMPHĀ)

Adjacent to Cave 8, this cave, like the two preceding ones, was originally a dwelling cell with three doorways and a verandah having two pillars and pilasters of the usual type and two shelves at either end, but had its walls between the doorways removed and floor lowered at the time of its conversion to a sanctuary, which, to judge from the workmanship of the reliefs, took place last in the series. Both the pillars of the verandah are modern and so also are the concrete ones supporting the remnant of the partition between the doorways. Patches of old plaster may still be seen adhering to the walls and pilasters at places.

Ranged along the three sides of the chamber are the reliefs of twenty-four robeless Tīrthaṅkaras of crude workmanship. Stylistically they are much later than those in Cave 8 and do not seem to date earlier than the fifteenth century. Pārśvanātha, instead of being placed before Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth Tīrthaṅkara, occupies a roughly central place on the back wall.

Of the Tīrthaṅkaras, eight—Rishabhanātha, Ajitanātha, Śītalānātha, Pārśvanātha, Vāsupūjya, Vimalānātha, Śreyāṁśanātha and Mahāvīra—are standing in *kāyotsarga* pose. That they were regarded as the more important in the group is suggested by their height being larger than those of the seated ones, the latter more or

less of a uniform size. The figure of Rishabhanātha, the first Tīrthaṅkara, is the largest in the group. The seated figures are poised in *yoga-mudrā* on lotuses resting on *siṃhāsana*. All of them have fly-whisk-bearers, the standing ones further distinguished by the addition of two *nāga* devotees. Over most of the figures are the representations of the top of a *pidhā-deul*.

The three chlorite images of Rishabhanātha which are installed on the masonry altar at the rear end of the chamber did not originally belong to this cave, but found their way after the extinction of the place of their initial enshrinement, probably a structural temple.<sup>1</sup> All of them stand robeless in *kāyotsarga* pose on a double-petalled lotus, below which are their *lāñchhana*, bull. On either side of their legs is a standing fly-whisk-bearer draped in a *dhotī* and decked in ornaments and above are flying figures holding garlands and hands playing on cymbals and drums. The head of the smallest of the three, now mutilated, has a halo with a finely-carved border. The back slabs of the other two are distinguished by the figures of eight *grahas*, Sūrya holding the stalks of two full-bloomed lotuses, Chandra, Maṅgala, Budha, Bṛihaspati, Śukra and Śani, each having a vase in its left hand and Rāhu, represented by its head only, carrying the moon. The largest (pl. XVII A) of the three has a trefoil arch behind its head. The facial expression of the figures is highly pleasing; so also is the youthful modelling of the body. Particularly noteworthy is their coiffure where the artist has lavished all his skill. The *śrīvatsa*-

<sup>1</sup>When Beglar visited the cave in the seventies of the last century, the images existed in their present position.

mark is absent in all cases. The figures, to judge from the workmanship, are the work of the eleventh-twelfth century A. D.

On the top of this cave is an oblong masonry structure with its roof and crowning elements fashioned after a temple of the *pidhā* order. It was probably built in a comparatively recent period, when the three images were installed inside by the Jainas, who also added a structural pillared verandah to the cave, removed in the first decade of the present century.

### CAVE 10

Proceeding southward, the visitor will find to his right traces of caves, now completely destroyed by large-scale quarrying which has extensively disturbed this part of the hill and removed the vestiges of many a cave. Three reliefs (pl. XVII B), two of Rishabhanātha and one of Āmrā, the *śāsana-devī* of Neminātha, may be seen carved against the back wall of one of these extinct caves. The reliefs, perched at a height of about 5 m., are now inaccessible, the original level of the hill having been considerably lowered by quarrying. But for the scanty remnant of the partition-wall, on which also was a relief, the prior existence of a cave here would never have been suspected. Both the figures of Rishabhanātha are robeless and stand in *kāyotsarga* pose on a double-petalled lotus supported by a pair of lions with a bull below. On their sides are eight *grahas* and two fly-whisk-bearers. Above their heads are three-tiered umbrellas flanked by cymbals and drums played by hands, below which are flying figures holding garlands. Both wear the *jaṭā-mukūṭa*,

but in different fashions. The left half of Āmrā is partly destroyed. Standing under a mango-tree, above which is her Jina approached by a flying figure, and clad and decked in a *sāḍī*, a girdle, bangles, armlets and *kuṇḍalas*, she stands in a captivating *tribhaṅga* (three-flexioned) pose on a double-petalled lotus, below which is a lion. Her facial expression and coiffure are remarkable. Near her right palm stands a boy.

### CAVE 11 (LALĀTENDUKESARĪ-GUMPHĀ)

Immediately after Cave 10, at a re-entering angle of the face of rock, is a cave locally called the Lalā-tendukesarī-gumphā. This cave has fared no better than the preceding one. Originally it consisted of two cells preceded by a pillared verandah. The pillars, partition-wall and the major portion of the floor, together with the rock beneath, have been quarried away, so that the cave is now inaccessible. The surviving pilasters are of the usual type. On the back and left walls of the left cell are carved two figures of Ṛishabhanātha and three of Pārśvanātha, all standing in *kāyotsarga* with their usual paraphernalia. The right cell has three figures, two of Pārśvanātha and one of Ṛishabhanātha, in the same pose. On its back wall above an empty niche (which might have contained a detached image) and also above Ṛishabhanātha is a damaged inscription, in five lines, dated in the fifth regnal year of the Somavamśī king Udyotakesarī, recording the restoration of a decayed *vāpī* (step-well) and decayed temples (?) on the Kumāra hill (present Khandagiri) and also the setting up of the



images of twenty-four Tirthaṅkaras there. The *vāpī* referred to in the inscription is probably the Ākāśa-gaṅgā, a rock-cut stepped pool situated close to this cave and originally connected with it by a flight of steps, of which seven have escaped the hands of stone-cutters. Due to the quarrying operations the pool is now at a level higher than the foot-path and is only approachable from the top. From the inscription it is not clear whether the images of the twenty-four Tirthaṅkaras were installed in structural temples or were mere reliefs on the walls of a cave. At the same time, the find of detached images, coupled with a large number of architectural members of masonry temples, including *āmalakas* and *khapuris*, that lie a little further south near the fork of the foot-path, proves the existence of structural temples near the cave.

#### CAVES 12-15 AND OTHER MINOR MONUMENTS

From the fork bifurcates a second track going up, first to the Ākāśa-gaṅgā and next to the Jaina temple on the crest of the hill. The undermentioned monuments along the main track beyond this point are unimportant, and the visitor may omit them and proceed to the Jaina temple (p. 70) *via* the Ākāśa-gaṅgā.

Following the main track for a short distance one will encounter a small rock-cut pool, called the Rādhā-kunḍa; at its south-western corner is the remnant of a dwelling cave (Cave 12) consisting of two cells, with the floor raised, as usual, at the rear end. Beyond this is another cave (Cave 13) with two long dwelling cells, the front portion of which, together with the partition, has

fallen. In front of the cells is a benched and four-pillared verandah, in ruins.

A flight of steps from the left side of the Rādhā-kunḍa leads up to a barren ledge. About 100 metres from this place is a natural cavern with a depression in the middle of the floor containing water and provided with a modern masonry entrance. It is locally known as the Śyāma-kunḍa.

A few metres to the south-west, at a lower level, is a long dwelling cave, Cave 14, locally called the Ekādaśī-gumphā, open in front. Its roof is supported by a modern masonry pillar. Traces of its plaster with bands in red pigment still linger on the side-walls.

Circling round the hill for some distance, a small cave, Cave 15, open in front, is visible on the west side, near the foot of the hill. The floor of the cell, which faces west, has the usual pillow-like inclination.

To the north-east of the last, at a higher level, is a long natural tunnel. At the rear end is a small pool of water, locally known as the Gupta-gaṅgā. To its left are three low natural caverns slightly improved by the human hand. The walls of the central one, the best of the three, have been made smooth by chiselling.

### THE JAINA TEMPLE AND DEVA-SABHĀ

Taking the right uphill track<sup>1</sup> and then turning right, past the Ākāśa-gaṅgā, the visitor reaches the

<sup>1</sup>Besides this, there are four other routes leading to the temple: (i) a track from Cave 3 (Ananta-gumphā), (ii) the rock-cut flight of steps on the right side of Cave 5 (Khaṇḍagiri-gumphā), (iii) a similar but steeper flight of steps by the side of Cave 8 (Bārabhuji-gumphā) and (iv) a track ascending from the Śyāma-kunḍa.

terraced crest of the hill, crowned by a temple (pl. XVIII), dedicated to Rishabhanātha. The main image, made of white marble, is of recent installation, enshrined only about forty years back, but the temple, consisting of a *deul* and *jagamohana*, both of the *pidhā* order with pyramidal roofs, is older.<sup>1</sup>

The temple was most probably built on the site of an earlier shrine, a presumption substantiated not only by Kittoe's notice, in 1837, of the vestiges of earlier structures at the site, but also by the existence on the terrace near the temple of more than a hundred monolithic miniature shrines, most of them having at one of their faces the figure of a Tīrthaṅkara. Like the votive *stūpas* they were evidently dedicated by pious devotees near the main sanctum. Their importance lies in their furnishing an idea, although rough, about the general appearance of the extinct temple, which must have been of the *rekha* order. This terrace with the monoliths is called the Deva-sabhā, 'the assembly of the gods'.

Being picturesquely situated at the highest point of the hill, the temple affords a panoramic view of the environs, including the temple-town of Bhubaneswar

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<sup>1</sup>According to Rajendralala Mitra, the temple was built in the first quarter of the nineteenth century by Manju Chowdhury and his nephew Bhavani Dadu of Cuttack. Kittoe, who visited the place in 1837, says, 'There is a Jaina temple of modern construction, it having been built during the Maharatta rule'. Stirling, who noticed the caves for the first time in 1825, simply notes the temple as of modern construction. The original image, according to Stirling, was of Pārśvanātha, but Rajendralala Mitra mentions it as Mahāvīra.

and the Dhauli hill. Otherwise, it has no architectural merit, its only importance lying in its containing a large number of old Jaina images.

Inside the sanctum, on the altar are marshalled on both sides of the main image sixteen small chlorite sculptures and one sandstone image of Rishabhanātha besides a damaged *chaturmukha*, all much earlier than the temple itself. The chlorite images include three of Rishabhanātha, two of Śāntinātha, one each of Sumatinātha and Āmrā and three slabs containing groups of Tirthaṅkaras, all robeless. Most of the sculptures are of fine workmanship.

In the right niche is a standing chlorite image of nude Rishabhanātha of a comparatively large size. On its back slab is carved the whole group of twenty-four Tirthaṅkaras. In the left niche is a seated *yaksha* couple, above whom is their Jina with the cognizance, the wheel.

In the *jagamohana* are four old images of Tirthaṅkaras of which two are Pārśvanātha and one Rishabhanātha.

Five more images of robeless Tirthaṅkaras, one of them in chlorite, may be seen in a small temple on the back side of the main one.

All these images have been collected from the hill and its neighbourhood.<sup>1</sup>

The colossal image of Pārśvanātha, in black marble, which is enshrined in the marble hall near the entrance, is modern, being installed in 1950.

<sup>1</sup>According to Stirling, 'all around, and in the neighbourhood of which (i.e. the stone temple), are strewn a quantity of images of the Nirvāṇas, or naked figures worshipped by the Jain sect, executed chiefly in the grey chlorite slate rock'.

Leaving the temple-compound by its back door, the visitor may descend by rock-cut steps to a spot beside Cave 5 and thence reach the main road by the flight of modern steps.

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