

The Ghatotkacha Cave Inscription

edited by

Mahamahopadhyaya V. V. Mirashi, M.A.

with a

Note on Ghatotkacha Cave Temples

by

P. Sreenivasachar,

M.A., Ph.D. (London).



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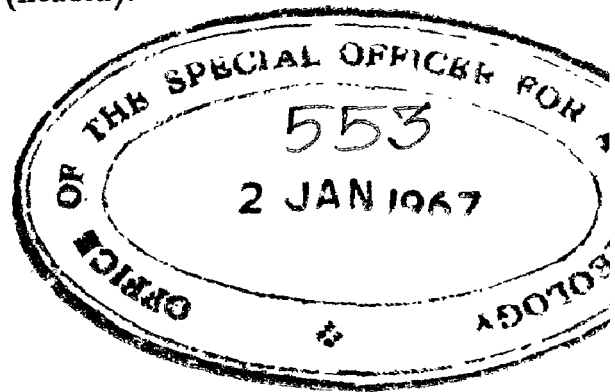
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INTRODUCTION

Impressions of the two inscriptions in the Ghaṭotkacha Cave were supplied some time ago to Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. V. V. Mirashi, Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Nagpur University, for being edited in the Hyderabad Archæological Series. The larger of these is incised in box-headed characters of the same type as those of the inscriptions in Caves XVI and XVII at Ajañṭā. This was originally a long record like those at Ajañṭā, but is now much defaced especially in its lower portion. Now only eighteen lines are extant and even of these the last eight lines have only a few words legible in each. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. It contains the genealogy of the hereditary ministers of the Vākāṭaka kings who ruled in the Deccan from the third to the close of the fifth century A.C. The extant portion of the inscription carries the genealogy from Yajñapati, the progenitor of the family, to Varāhadeva, the minister of Harishēṇa, the last Vākāṭaka ruler of the Vatsagulma Branch. The inscription in Cave XVI at Ajañṭā also was incised during the reign of Devasena's son Harishēṇa, by Hastibhoja's son Varāhadeva. Line 13 of the present inscription mentions one Devarāja who is identical with the Vākāṭaka king Devasena mentioned before in line 10. Pandit Bhagwanlal Indrajī identified him with the homonymous minister of an Aśmaka king mentioned in the inscription in Cave XXVI at Ajañṭā.

The other inscription which is carved over the figure of the Buddha on one of the pillars of the Cave contains the well-known Buddhist creed *ye dharmā hetu-prabhavā*, etc. It is incised in much later characters of about the eighth century A.C. The creed may be translated as follows :—

Of those things which spring from a cause
The cause has been told by Tathāgata ;
And their suppression likewise
The Great Sramaṇa has revealed.

Prof. Mirashi to whom the larger inscription has been assigned for editing has already edited the inscriptions in Caves XVI and XVII at Ajañṭā.

P. SREENIVASACHAR.

GHATOTKACHA CAVE TEMPLES

These caves are near the village of Jañjāla about 10 miles West of Ajañṭā and 4 miles S.W. of Galvāḍa ¹ in Aurangabad district. They are situated in a deep gorge.

Two caves still remain fairly intact and traces of one more are yet to be seen. Except for the portion in which the larger cave has been excavated the rock seems to have been quite unsatisfactory ; and that explains why a larger number of cave temples were not constructed here.

The small cave, evidently a Vihāra, has become considerably damaged. The front of the cave shows that the two pillars and pilasters, which originally must have existed, have now been almost entirely destroyed. The bracket of one pillar and pilaster only now remains, and in the middle compartment of the pillars is a representation of four deer with a common head as in Cave I at Ajañṭā.

The general style of workmanship suggests that this cave is contemporary with the other larger cave, the age of which can be determined accurately on the basis of the inscriptions found in it.

The Second Cave is a large Vihāra somewhat irregular in shape but measuring about 79 feet wide and 78 feet deep. It faces south-west with a front verandah, all of which has been destroyed—even the stumps of the original pillars having disappeared. At the northern end of the verandah in the back wall is an inscription in Gupta characters cut in small well-formed letters.

1. Not far from this village of Galvāḍa there is a Brahmanical Cave of no particular architectural merit. It consists of a small group of crude excavations with some figure sculpture in it, most of it badly worn out. The figures of Ganēsa, Bhairava, Narasimha and Sapta-Mātrkas can still be made out. But the general style of workmanship shows them to be the work of later times by artists of very mediocre capacity.

At either side of the verandah is a small chapel similar to those in Caves XXIV and XXV at Ajaṅṭā. Each chapel has two pillars between pilasters supporting its front; and behind each is a cell.

There are three doors in the wall leading from the verandah into the main Hall of the Cave, the one in the centre being beautifully carved in the style of the contemporary caves at Ajaṅṭā, the two others being at the ends. Two more openings were still required, as windows, to light up the vast Hall inside: and these are well placed between the side doors and the central door. The windows and the side doors are all ornamented with the *Caitya-vātāyana* containing figures of the Buddha with globular forms on the finials. The carving on the central door is well done, but shows patterns different from those found on similar doors at Ajaṅṭā. The female figures on the upper corners of the doorway stand on bears instead of *makaras* (as at Ajaṅṭā) and do not bear the least trace of semblance to the River Goddesses or *Vṛkṣas*.

The plan of the Vihāra shows a close resemblance to Caves VI and XVI at Ajaṅṭā, with twenty pillars placed in four rows to the sides of a large square in the centre leaving aisles all round. The front aisle is somewhat larger than the width of the cave having been extended sideways. In the expansion on the right there is a *dagoba*, in half relief, on the wall, and on the other two walls a number of figures of the Buddha in standing and seated poses. All these are in bas-relief cut into the wall. Burgess thinks they are "possibly of later date than the excavations."

On each side wall are doors leading into cells, seven on the left and five on the right. The middle cell on each side (that is, the fourth on the left and the third on the right) was evidently meant to be a chapel and is larger than the other adjacent cells with two pillars in front. The one on the left has an inner cell and is very similar (except in size)

to the shrines and the two side chapels situated at the back of the cave.

The shrine is actually situated beyond the ante-chamber cut out in the middle of the back wall of the cave with two pillars in front separating it from the back aisle.

The shrine contains a figure of the Buddha in the *dhyān-āsana*, with his hands in the *dharma-cakra-mudra*. The gigantic figures of the *chauri-bearers* on either side of the Buddha are well carved as also the *vidyādharas* at the top corners floating in the clouds bearing garlands for the Buddha. In front of the *siṃh-āsana* on which the Buddha is seated is the *dharma-cakra* with couchant deer and kneeling figures on each side. The two devotees adjacent to the deer are in entire-relief—the other figures are in bas-relief—and strongly remind one of similar figures in Aurangabad Caves.

Mention has already been made of the chapels on either side of the main shrine, each with two pillars in front and an inner cell. The chapel on the left has the commencement of a second cell in the left hand wall.

The pillars are well executed, the middle two pillars on each side and the corner pillars being of one pattern and the rest (*i.e.*, the remaining two pillars on each side being of a different pattern). There are pilasters on the side walls in line with the front and back rows of pillars, those behind being richly carved and the front left side one bearing a figure of the Buddha with an inscription over it giving the formal Buddhist creed.

The central and corner pillars have square bases changing into octagonal, sixteen-sided and then 32 fluted shapes, returning through the sixteen and eight-sided forms to the square under the plain bracket capitals. The remaining pillars have octagonal shafts, square heads and brackets.

The age of the Cave may be determined to be slightly anterior to Cave No. XVI at Ajanṭā, on the basis of the general architectural style and the sculpture in it; but Mahamahopadhyaya Mirashi is of opinion that it is contemporary.

P. SREENIVASACHAR.

THE GHAṬOTKACHA CAVE INSCRIPTION

This inscription was first published with an English translation, but without any facsimile plate, by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji in the *Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India* (Archæological Survey of Western India) (1881), pp. 88 f¹. He gave a fairly correct transcript of the text and pointed out that Hastibhoja, mentioned in line 10 was probably a minister of the Vākāṭaka king Devasena. He further identified Devarāja mentioned in line 13 with the homonymous minister of a king of Aśmaka, mentioned in line 11 of the inscription in Cave XXVI at Ajañṭā, and on the basis of this identification, conjectured that the Ghaṭotkacha cave was of a somewhat later date than the Ajañṭā caves XVI, XVII and XXVI². The inscription was next edited with a lithograph and an English translation by Dr. G. Bühler in the *Archæological Survey of Western India*, Vol. IV (1883), pp. 138 f. and Pl. LX. The lithograph was prepared from an estampage taken by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, and appears to have been somewhat worked up by hand. Dr. Bühler's transcript and translation differed in some points from those of Pandit Bhagwanlal. He declared himself against the identification of Devarāja with the Aśmaka minister of the same name, proposed by Pandit Bhagwanlal, and apparently took Devarāja to be Indra, the lord of gods.³ Dr. Bühler further pointed out that this ministerial family belonged to

1. The Ghaṭotkacha cave where the inscription is incised was first brought to notice by Captain Rose and described by Surgeon W. H. Bradley, but the present inscription does not appear to have been deciphered before 1881. Dr. Burgess called it an inscription of Aśmaka princes, evidently relying on the account given by Pandit Bhagwanlal.

2. Bhagwanlal gave the following genealogy of Devarāja :—Hastibhoja, (his son) Varāhadeva, (his son) Bhavirāja, and (his son) Devarāja. According to him, Devarāja was the great-grandson of Hastibhoja and grandson of Varāhadeva. The Ajañṭā caves XVI and XVII were excavated during the reign of the Vākāṭaka king Harishaṇa whose minister was Varāhadeva. Cave XXVI was excavated by a Buddhist Bhikshu in honour of Bhavirāja, a minister of the king of Aśmaka.

3. As shown below, Devarāja in l. 13 is none other than the Vākāṭaka king Devasena.

the Vallūras which, he thought, was apparently a sub-division of the Malabar Brāhmaṇas⁴. The transcripts of Bhagwanlal and Bühler have led to certain misconceptions regarding the original home of this family. So I have now undertaken a revised edition of this inscription from estampages specially prepared for this purpose by the Archæological Department of the Hyderabad State.

The present inscription is incised on the left end of the back wall of the verandah of what is known as the **Ghaṭotkacha Cave** at Gulwādā, 11 miles west from Ajaṇṭā. It seems to have originally consisted of twenty-two lines,⁵ but the last four lines are now almost completely defaced. Of the remaining eighteen lines, again, only the first ten can be read more or less completely, but a major portion of the next eight lines on the right-hand side is now irrecoverably lost owing to the decay of the stone on which they were engraved. This inscription is, however, the only record which gives a complete genealogy of Varāhadeva, the minister of the Vākāṭaka king Harিশेṇa and this circumstance invests it with considerable importance. I have tried to decipher it as much as was possible in its present defaced condition.

The inscription seems to have originally covered a space, 4' broad by 2' 4" high. The **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets, generally resembling those of the Vākāṭaka inscriptions in Caves XVI and XVII at Ajaṇṭā. The only peculiarities that call for notice are as follows :—The medial ū (long) is denoted by two horizontal strokes added to the vertical on the right in some cases and on the left in others; see *gurūṇām* in l. 1 and *Vallūra-* in l. 3. In the case of *bhū*, on the other hand, the vowel is indicated by turning the vertical upwards to the right and adding a horizontal stroke to it; see *babhūva*, l. 9; *t* is unlooped, while *n*

4. This view rests on the reading *Malaya* in l. 7 which, as shown below, is extremely doubtful. See, below, p. 16, n. 15.

5. The estampages previously supplied to me showed only eighteen lines, but the facsimile in *A.S.W.I.*, Vol. IV, Pl. LX, which is fuller, shows traces of an *akshara* here and there in four more lines. Fresh estampages, recently sent to me clearly show that the record consisted originally of twenty-two lines.

and *ṇ* show a loop ; *y* is tripartite except when it is subscript ; the vertical stroke of *l* is invariably turned sharply to the left ; a final consonant is indicated by its small size and a horizontal line at the top ; see *tasmāt*, l. 9. The sign for the *jihvāmūlīya* occurs in ll. 5 and 9 and that for the *upadhmānīya* in ll. 4, 5 and 10.

The **language** is Sanskrit, and the whole record is metrically composed. Each line of it contains one verse. The metres used in the extant portion are *Indravajrā*, *Upajāti*, *Āryā*, *Pushpitāgrā* and *Vasantatilakā*.⁶ The record is composed in a simple and graceful style, generally free from solecisms. The only form which calls for notice is *āsa*, which, contrary to Pāṇini, II.4.52, is used in l. 5 as an independent verb of the perfect tense.⁷ The **orthography** shows the usual peculiarities of the reduplication of a consonant after *r* and the use of the guttural nasal for *anusvāra* ; see *vaṅśo*, l. 3 and *vaṅśajāsu*, l. 6.

The **object** of the inscription was apparently to record the excavation of the *Vihāra* cave by a **minister** of the **Vākātakas**, whose name is unfortunately not preserved completely, but who, as shown below, was **Varāhadeva**, the son of **Hastibhoja**. The record opens with a verse in praise of the Buddha who is described as the sage among sages and the teacher among teachers, who was a store of marvels. The second verse describes *Dharma* and *Gaṇa* (or *Saṅgha*), the other two members of the Buddhist trinity. With verse 3 begins the genealogy of the ministerial family. There is, we are told, a great race of excellent Brāhmaṇas called **Vallūras** who are well-known in the south (v. 3). In it was born **Yajñapati**, who in learning resembled the great primeval sages Bhṛigu, Atri, Garga and Angiras (v. 4). His son was **Deva** who was

6. Bühler who missed some of the *aksharas* in lines 13—18, thought that the metre of the inscription was *Upajāti* throughout. This is incorrect ; for as he admitted, the readings in these lines do not fit the metre. The metre which is *Upajāti* up to v. 12 with the single exception of v. 3 (which is in *Indravajrā*) changes from v. 13.

7. Kālidāsa, who flourished slightly earlier, uses *āsa* as an independent verb in his *Kumārasāmbhava*, Canto I, v. 35. For an attempt to justify the form, see Vāmana's *Kāvyaśāstrakārasūtra-vṛitti*, V. 2. 27.

a capable, learned and active statesman, on account of whom the whole kingdom together with the king performed their respective religious duties (v. 5). His son was **Soma** who took wives of the Kshatriya as well as the Brāhmaṇa caste.⁸ From the Kshatriya wife he obtained a handsome son named **Ravi** who, possessing marks of royalty on his person, established his authority over the whole territory (v. 7). From other wives of the Brāhmaṇa caste, Soma obtained sons learned in the Vedas, whose habitation **Vallūra** was even then (*i.e.*, at the time of the inscription) well-known in the south (v. 8.).

Ravi, who, as stated before, was born of a Kshatriya wife of Soma, had a son named **Pravara**. The latter's son was **Srī-Rāma** who had a son named **Kīrti**. Kīrti's son was **Hastibhoja** (v. 9). Hastibhoja distinguished himself by his ability during the reign of the **Vākāṭaka king Devasena** (v. 10). The next two verses (vv. 11-12) which eulogised Hastibhoja are unfortunately very much mutilated. Verse 13 commences with *atha* which indicates the introduction of a new subject.⁹ It mentions a son of Devarāja, named Harishena. He is plainly identical with Devasena's son Harishena, the great Vākāṭaka king who had an extensive empire extending from Avanti (Ujjain) in the north to Kuntala in the south and from Trikūṭa in the west to Andhra in the east, as stated in the inscription in Cave XVI at Ajaṅṭā.¹⁰ Bhagwanlal and Bühler who could not decipher the two words *Devarāja-sūnur* = *Harisheno* missed completely the historical information given by this verse.¹¹ The former identified this Devarāja with a minister of an Āsmaka king¹² while the latter thought that Devarāja

8. Such *anuloma* marriages were allowed by ancient Smritis. Cf. *Manusmṛiti*, III, 13. For a similar historical instance, see the Jodhpur inscription of Pratihāra Bāuka, which in v. 7 mentions that the Brāhmaṇa Harichandra married wives of Brāhmaṇa and Kshatriya castes. From the former he had Brāhmaṇa sons and from the latter 'drinkers of wine' (*i.e.*, Kshatriyas). *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 95.

9. In the Vākāṭaka inscription in Cave XVI at Ajaṅṭā also, *atha* is used in verse 17 to mark a change in the subject of description. See *Hyderabad Archæological Series*, No. 14, p. 11.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

11. Bhagwanlal read *atha Devarāja* and Bühler *atha devarājasya* in the beginning of v. 13. Plate LX in *A.S.W.I.*, Vol. IV, defective as it is, shows clearly the *aksharas* *atha Devarāja-sūnur* = *Hari-*. The fresh estampages supplied to me give the name *Harishena* clearly. There should therefore be no doubt about this reading.

12. *Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India*, p. 90.

was no personal name at all.¹³ Verse 14 seems to have continued the eulogy of Harishena. The next verse (15) which, like v. 13, commences with *atha*, seems to have resumed the description of Hastibhoja from v. 12. V. 16 refers to several sons,¹⁴ apparently of Hastibhoja, perhaps in connection with a description of **Varāhadeva** who succeeded his father as the Chief Minister of Harishena. His name is partially preserved in l. 18. The lower part of the inscription which probably eulogised Varāhadeva and recorded excavation of the Ghaṭotkacha Cave, is completely lost.

As Dr. Bühler observed, the wording of v. 5 makes it probable that Deva, who is eulogised therein, held the office of Prime Minister. The king, whom he served, is not named, but in view of what has been stated above, it would not probably be wrong to infer that his master belonged to the Vākātaka dynasty. The ministers and the contemporary Vākātaka kings whom they served may therefore be stated as follows :—

Ministers	.. Contemporary Vākātaka kings (with approximate dates of accession ¹⁵)
Yajñapati	
Deva	.. Vindhyaśakti (250 A.C.)
Soma	.. Pravarasena I (270 A.C.)
Ravi	.. Sarvasena (330 A.C.)
Pravara	.. Vindhyaśena (355 A.C.)
Śrī-Rāma	.. Pravarasena II (400 A.C.)
Kīrti	.. (Name lost) (410 A.C.)
Hastibhoja	.. Devasena (450 A.C.)
Varāhadeva	.. Harishena (475 A.C.)

13. A.S.W.I., Vol. IV, p. 139, n. 4.

14. The inscription in Cave XVI at Ajanṭā also refers to the *bandhu-varga* of *Varāhadeva* who had apparently a large number of relatives. *Hyd. Arch. Series* No. 14, p. 12.

15. For the approximate dates of accession assigned to these princes see my article 'Vākātaka Chronology' in *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 148 f.

This ministerial family bore the name of **Vallūra** which, as verse 8 shows, was derived from their original habitation.¹⁶ This place is said to have been situated in the south. Bühler, who following Bhagwanlal read *Malaya* in v. 7 as the name of the country where Ravi was ruling, thought that this ministerial family was probably a sub-division of the Malabar Brāhmaṇas. As shown below, the reading *Malaya* is extremely doubtful¹⁷ and apart from this reading there is no evidence to place the homeland of this family so far to the south. It appears more likely that the family originally belonged to the southern portion of the Hyderabad State; for even now there is a village named Velur in the (Yelgaṇḍal) Karimnagar District of the Hyderabad State. The Vākāṭakas who patronised this family may also have originally belonged to the same part of the country. It may be noted in this connection that the earliest mention of the name *Vākāṭaka* occurs in a pilgrim record on a pillar at Amarāvati¹⁸ which lies only about 150 miles south by east of Velur. It is not unlikely that both these families, which rose to distinction in the same period and were connected intimately with each other for several generations hailed from the same part of the country which was apparently the Central Deccan. This affords the most plausible explanation of how the Vākāṭakas rose to power in Vidarbha or Central Deccan immediately after the downfall of the Sātavāhanas. That the Sātavāhanas continued to hold Vidarbha to the last is shown by the discovery of the Tarhālā (Akolā district, Berar) hoard which includes coins of the latest members of that royal family.¹⁹ Vindhyaśakti who apparently belonged to the Central Deccan may have therefore found it easy to usurp power after the downfall of the Sātavāhanas.

16. Even now the family names of South Indians are derived from their native places. For an ancient name of a similar type, see *Udumbara* mentioned in the plays of Bhavabhūti as the family name of his ancestors. *Udumbara* was evidently the name of their native place, perhaps identical with Umardhed in Berar.

17. See below, p. 16, n. 15.

18. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV p. 267.

19. *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 83 f.

Some scholars maintain that the original home of the Vākāṭakas lay in North India.²⁰ This view is mainly based on a mistaken interpretation of a passage in the Purāṇas. Vindhyaśakti's son Pravīra, who is plainly identical with the Vākāṭaka *Samrāt* Pravarasena I, is mentioned in the Purāṇas at the end of the passage which begins with an enumeration of the kings of Vidiśā.²¹ From this it is inferred that Pravarasena I originally hailed from or was ruling over Vidiśā, modern Besnagar near Bhilsā. The inference is, however, hardly justifiable; for in the immediately preceding passage the Purāṇas speak of a ruler of Purikā²² which was situated to the south of the Narmadā²³ and far from Vidiśā. Pravarasena I is mentioned in the next verse, because he made the same Purikā his capital, as explicitly stated in the Purāṇas. This passage does not therefore give any indication of his connection with Vidiśā.

Other arguments put forward to prove the northern origin of the Vākāṭakas are equally unconvincing. Jayaswal's attribution of some coins found at Kosam and another place in North India to Pravarasena I, Rudrasena I and Prithivīsheṇa I is proved to be baseless.²⁴ The identification of Rudradeva mentioned as a ruler of Āryāvarta in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta with the Vākāṭaka Rudrasena I is also extremely unlikely.²⁵ Finally, Prithivīsheṇa, whose feudatory Vyāghradeva has left inscriptions at Nachna and Ganj in the former Ajayagarh State, is not Prithivīsheṇa I as

20. Jayaswal, *History of India*, etc., pp. 66; Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India* (Fifth ed.), pp. 541 f.

21. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 49-50.

22. Cf. Dauhitrah Śisuko nāma Purikāyām nripo = bhavat |
Vindhyaśakti-sutaś = ch = āpi Pravīro nāma vīryavān |
bhokshyate cha samāḥ shasṭīm Purikām Chanakām cha vai ||
Pargiter, *Dynasties*, etc., pp. 49-50.

23. Purikā is placed at the foot of the Rikshavat mountain by the *Harivaṁśa*, Vishṇuparvan, adhyāya 38, vv. 21-22. Rikshavat, which is mentioned in the *Vishṇu-purāṇa* as the source of the Tāpī, Payoshnī and other rivers, is evidently the modern Śātpurā mountain.

24. *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. V, pp. 130 f.

25. *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. IX, pp. 99 f.

supposed by some scholars.²⁶ He was the second prince of that name who flourished in *circa* 470-490 A.C. ; for we have now clear evidence of the spread of Vākāṭaka power north of the Narmadā during the reign of Prithivīsheṇa II's father Narendrasena. The recently discovered Bahmani plates of the Pāṇḍava-varṁsī Bharatabala *alias* Indra show that Narendrasena's suzerainty was acknowledged in Mekalā.²⁷ This is also corroborated by an explicit statement in the Bālāghāṭ plates of Prithivīsheṇa II, that the king Mekalā, like those of Mālava and Kosalā, honoured the commands of Prithivīsheṇa II.²⁸ That there was a feudatory prince named Vyāghra ruling in the Nachna-Ganj area in *circa* 475 A.C. is shown by Uchchakalpa grants.²⁹ He is therefore identical with the feudatory of Prithivīsheṇa, who has left inscriptions at Nachna and Ganj. There is thus not a shred of evidence to prove that the Vākāṭakas originally hailed from North India

There are, on the other hand, several indications that they had their original home in the south. Several technical terms

26. Cf. *A New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, p. 109; *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 541, etc. Dr. Raychaudhuri maintains this view on the ground that 'from the time of Prithivīsheṇa II's great-grandfather, if not from a period still earlier, down to at least A.D. 528 the princes of the region which intervenes between Nachna and Ganj and the proper Vākāṭaka territory owned the sway of the Gupta Empire. Now, as Vyāghra of the Nachnā and Ganj records acknowledges the supremacy of the Vākāṭaka Prithivīsheṇa, this Prithivīsheṇa can only be Prithivīsheṇa I, who ruled before the establishment of the Gupta supremacy in Central India by Samudragupta and Chandragupta II and not Prithivīsheṇa II during whose rule the Guptas, and not the Vākāṭakas, were apparently the acknowledged suzerain of the Central Provinces as we learn from the records of the Parivrājaka *Mahārājas*.' This argument is unconvincing. The later Uchchakalpa princes Jayanātha and Śarvanātha make no mention of Gupta supremacy even in general terms as their neighbours the Parivrājaka princes do in their grants. They had evidently transferred their allegiance to another power. Their use of the Gupta era does not indicate their submission to the Guptas during that period. The era continued to be used as it was well established in the country just as the Sendrakas and the Gujarat Chālukyas continued to use the Ābhīra era even after the fall of the Ābhīras who had founded it. That Gupta supremacy had come to an end in that region is also shown by the recently discovered Bahmani plates of the Pāṇḍava-varṁsī king Bharatabala of Mekalā who makes no mention of any Gupta suzerain, but covertly refers to the Vākāṭaka Narendrasena. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 132 f. During the reign of Prithivīsheṇa II, therefore, the Vākāṭakas, and not the Guptas, were acknowledged as suzerains of the area from Nachna-Ganj in the north to Bandhogarh in the south. Dr. Raychaudhuri identifies Vyāghra of the Nachna-Ganj inscription with Vyāghrarāja mentioned in the Allahabad *praśasti* of Samudragupta ; but the latter was a ruler of *Dakṣiṇāpatha*, and from the order in which his name is mentioned in that *praśasti* it appears very probable Mahākāntāra where he was ruling was the territory comprised in the former Bastar State. He may have belonged to the Nala dynasty which had rulers of similar names. (Cf. the name *Varāha* of a Nala king whose coins have been discovered in that State.)

27. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 132 .

28. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 271.

29. See my article on the dates of Uchchakalpa Kings, *ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 171 f.

in the formal parts of their grants appear to have been borrowed from early Pallava records, as shown elsewhere.³⁰ There are several other points of similarity between early Pallava and Vākāṭaka grants.³¹ Again, the titles *Hāritīputra* and *Dharmamahārāja*, assumed by the earliest Vākāṭaka kings Pravara-sena I, Sarvasena and Vindhyaśakti II unmistakably point to their southern origin ; for these titles are noticed only in the early grants of such southern dynasties as the Viṅhukaḍa Sātakarṇis, Pallavas, Kadambas and Early Chālukyas.³² Finally, the patronage extended to the ministerial family of Vallūra as described in the present inscription confirms the view that like that family the **Vākāṭaka dynasty had its original home in South India, probably in the Central Deccan.**

The present inscription has also a bearing on the **age of the Ghaṭotkacha cave** which has been variously estimated. In a note added to Bhagwanlal's transcript of this inscription,³³ Burgess stated that Bhagwanlal's view that the Ghaṭotkacha cave is of a somewhat later date than the Ajaṅṭā caves XVI, XVII and XXVI is borne out also by its architecture. Subsequently, Burgess seems to have modified his view, evidently in view of Bühler's interpretation of the present record ; for he remarked in his *Report on the Buddhist Cave-Temples and their Inscriptions* (A.S.W.I., Vol. IV) as follows :—' It seems probable that Hastibhoja was the excavator of this cave which would thus belong to a period somewhat anterior to the Ajaṅṭā Vihāra excavated by his son.³⁴ As shown above,³⁵ the Ghaṭotkacha cave also was excavated during the reign of the Vākāṭaka king Harishena by a son of the minister Hastibhoja, who was probably Varāhadeva. It is therefore of the

30. See my articles in the *Nagpur University Journal*, No. 3, pp. 22 f. and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXVI, pp. 149 f.

31. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 149.

32. For a detailed discussion of this, see my article on the Basim plates of Vindhyaśakti II, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 141, n. 1.

33. *Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples, etc.*, p. 90, n. 1. The note was probably added by Burgess.

34. *Report on the Buddhist Cave-Temples, etc.*, p. 60.

35. Above, p. 9.

same age as the Vihāra caves XVI and XVII and the Gandhakuṭī or Chaitya cave XIX, all of which were excavated during the reign of the same Vākāṭaka king.³⁶ Any differences that may be noticeable in the architectures of these caves must be attributed to individual workmanship and not to a difference in their age.

36. See my editions of the inscriptions in these caves, *Hyderabad Archæological Series*, Nos. 14 and 15.

TEXT¹

(Line 1.) Munir=munīnām=amaro=marāṇām gurur=gurū-
nām pravaro varāṇām [1*] jayaty=Anābhoga-bibuddha-buddhir
=Buddh-ābhidhāno nidhir=adbhutānām [1111*]²

2. Dharmmas=tato dharmma-vidā praṇītas=tathā [Ga*]-
[ṇa]ś=ch=āgryatamo gaṇānām [1*] bhavanti ya[smi]n=nihi-
[tāḥ*] su[pā]tre kār-āpakā[rā]s=tana[yā] hy=udārāḥ³[11211*]

3. Asti prakāśo diśi dakṣiṇasyām **Vallūra**-nāmnām
dvija-sattamānām [1*] ā brahmaṇas=sambhṛita-puṇya-kīrttir-
tīr⁴=vva[ṅ]śo⁵ mahīyān=ma[hi]to mahadbhiḥ⁶ [11311*]

4. Ta[sminn=a]bhūd=āhita⁷-lakṣhaṇānām dvi-janmanām
[prā]thama-kalpikānām⁸ [1*] Bhrīgv-Atri-Gargg-Āṅgira[sām]
samāno dvija-rshabho [**Ya**]jña[pati]ḥ⁹=prakāśaḥ¹⁰ [11411*]

1. From inked estampages supplied by the Archæological Department, Hyderabad State.

2. Metre of verses 1 and 2: *Upajāti*.

3. The readings in the second half of this verse are not quite certain. Bhagwanlal read *-tanay=āpy=udārā* and Bühler, *-tanayā py[u]dārāḥ*. Bühler added in a note 'Either *-nayā^h pyudārāḥ* or *-nayā hyudārāḥ* to be read.' The *akshara* before *dā* is certainly *hyu* and the verbal form *bhavanti* shows that the subject must be in the plural. So *tanayā hy=udārāḥ* must be the intended reading.

4. Read *puṇya-kīrttir*.

5. Bhagwanlal read *vvaṅśo* and Bühler *vaṅśo*. *V* seems to have been repeated after *r*. Again, *śa* appears much below the line, so that there is sufficient space for the superscript guttural nasal *ṅ*, though it is not quite certain here. The reading intended here was probably *vvaṅśo*. See the use of the guttural nasal in —*vaṅśajāsu* in l. 6 below. Read *-vvaṅśo*.

6. Metre; *Indravajrā*.

7. Bhagwanlal and Bühler read *āhata-*, but traces still remain of a curve on *ha*. Cf. *Kākatstha ity=āhita-lakṣhaṇo=bhūt* in *Raghuvaṅśa*, Canto VI, v. 71.

8. Bhagwanlal read *prāthama-kalpakānām*, but Bühler gave the correct reading —*prāthama-kalpikānām*.

9. Bhagwanlal could not restore the name of the progenitor of this family. He read *Yajna* .. *prakāśaḥ* and thought that *Yajna* .. *prakāśa* was his proper name. *Prakāśa* is however used by the poet elsewhere also in the sense of 'well-known'. See ll. 3 and 10 below. Bühler suggested *Yajnadharaḥ* and *Yajnapatiḥ* as possible readings and decided in favour of the latter. The name is fairly clear in the fresh estampages. The curve on the last letter is still seen. So *Yajnapatiḥ* is undoubtedly the correct reading. There are traces of *upadhmnāyā* on *pr*.

10. Metre of verses 4-12: *Upajāti*.

5. Tad=ā[tma]jo deva iv=āsa **Devah**=kṛitī gṛihī[tī]¹¹
 nayavān=kriyāvān [1*] sa-rājakam rāshṭram=upetya yasmin=
 dharmyāh=kriyāh=[Pā]rtha iva prachakkre [11511*]¹²

6. **Somas**=tatas=Soma [i]v=āparo=bhūt=sa Brāhmaṇa-
 Kshatriya-vaṁśajāsu¹³ [1*] śruti-smṛitibhyām vihit=ār[ttha]-
 kāri¹⁴ dvayīshu bhāryyāsu mano dadhāra [11611*].

7. Sa Kshatriyāyām kula-śīlavatyām=utpādayāmāsa
 narendra-chihnam [1*] sutam surūpam **Ravi**-nāmadheyam
 kṛit=ādhipatyam vi[sha*]ye¹⁵ samagre [11711*]

8. Dvijāsu ch=ānyāsu sutān=udārān=sa [prāpa*¹⁶] Vede-
 shu samāpta-kāmān [1*]**Vallūra**-nāmnā¹⁷ diśi dakṣiṇasyām=
 ady=āpi yeshā[m=va]satir¹⁸=[dvi]jānām [11811*]

9. **Raves**=suto=bhūt=**Pravar**-ābhidhānaḥ **S'ri-Rāma**-
 nām=ātha babhūva tasmāt[1*] tasy=ātmajaḥ¹⁹=**Kīrttir**=

11. Bhagwanlal read *gṛihastho*, but as Bühler pointed out, the *i*-mark in *gṛihī* is quite plain. The next *akshara* also, which was not read by Bühler, has a similar *i*-mark. The intended reading seems to have been *gṛihīti*. Cf. *gṛihīti shatsv=āngeshu* in the *Daśakumāracharita* (Bom. Sanskrit Series, 1919), p. 100.

12. Bhagwanlal read *Pārththa* and Bühler, [nā]tha. The first *akshara* of the word is fairly clear with the sign of *upadhmāniya* over it, and in view of the comparison of *Deva* with *deva* (the god Kṛishna), the reading *Pārtha* is almost certain. The second *akshara* is still quite clear. It is *rtha*, and not *ttha*, nor *tha*.

13. Bhagwanlal and Bühler read *vaṁśajāsu*, but the superscript guttural nasal is quite clear here. Read *vaṁśajāsu*.

14. Bhagwanlal and Bühler read *vihitā[rtha]kāri*. The *akshara* following *tā* is damaged, but it may be *rttha* as there are traces of *repha* on it and the subscript *th* is fairly clear.

15. Both Bhagwanlal and Bühler read this word as *Malaye*. The first *akshara* appears more like *vi* than *ma*, the curve on it being still quite clear. The second *akshara* is now very much damaged. It was probably so in the days of Bhagwanlal and Bühler also. The facsimile published in A.S.W.I. (Pl. LX) shows it to be *la*, but its accuracy is doubtful; for in this epigraph the letter *l* has invariably its right limb sharply turned to the left in the form of a curve, but this *l* in Bhagwanlal's copy has a straight vertical stroke on the right. Cf. the forms of *l* in *āhita-lakṣhaṇānām*, and *prāthama-kālpikānām*, both in l. 4, *kula-śīla*-, l. 7, *Vallūra*-, l. 8, *dhavalām*, l. 14, and *phalam=akhūla*-, l. 17. In all these cases the letter *l* has the same form, with its right limb bent over like a curve. The correct reading therefore appears to be *vishaye*.

16. Bhagwanlal read here doubtfully *soma-* and Bühler *sa[ma]sta-*. Neither of these readings gives a verb which is necessary in this verse. The *aksharas* here are damaged. Restore *prāpa*.

17. Both Bhagwanlal and Bühler read *Vallūra-namnā*, but Bühler proposed to emend it as *Vallūra-nāmnām*. The proposed emendation is unnecessary. The name is given here in connection with the place of habitation. The Brāhmaṇas were known as *Vallūras* (v. 3, above), because they were residing at Vallūra as stated here. Cf. *Udumbaranāmānaḥ* which occurs in the description of the ancestors of Bhavabhūti in *Mālatīmādhava*, Act I.

18. Read *yeshām vasatir*.

19. Bhagwanlal and Bühler read *tadātmaajā*, but the subscript *y* of the *akshara* following *ta* shows that it is probably *syā*.

abhūt=sukīrttir=bbabhūva tasmād=atha **Hasti[bhojah]**²⁰
[11911*]

10. **Vākātā(ṭa)ke** rājati **Devasene** guṇaiḥ=prakāśo²¹
[bhuvī] **Hastibhojah**²²[1*] ady=āpi yasy=ābhijana-pra[dā]na-
≡ — — — — — — — — — — [111011*]

11. Dhīreshu dhīmatsu sah-otthiteshu kṛitya[pra]mā[ne-
shu] guṇ-ānviteshu [1*]≡ — — — — — nṛipater=yad[e]—, ≡ — — —
— — — — — — — — — — [111111*]

12. Yasy=āsan-ārddham [pu]rushā²³ — — —, ≡ — — — māṭ=
saṁsadi— — — — — [1*]≡ — — — — — — — — — —, ≡ — — — — — — —
— — — — — — — — — — [111211*]

13. Atha **Devarāja-sūnur=Harisheno** . . .²⁴ **Hastibhoja** ..
[1*]²⁵ [111311*]

14. Saśi-kara-dhavalām ni[rī]kshya kī[rttim], — — — — —
— — — — — — — — — — [1*] — — — — — — — — — —, — — — — — — — — — —
— — — — — — — — — —²⁶ [111411*]

15. Atha guṇa-śata-sambhṛit=ātma-bhūtaḥ priya-tana-
[yo*] — — — — — — — — — — [1*] — — — — — — — — — —, — — — — —
— — — — — — — — — — [111511*]

20. Bhagwanlal, *Ha*[stibhojah], Bühler, [*Hastibhojah*]. The first two *aksharas* of this name are quite certain, but the last two are now damaged.

21. Both Bhagwanlal and Bühler read this word as *gu*[*naishi*]*kośo* which does not yield good sense. What they took as the *i*-mark of *shi* is really the sign for the upadh-māniya above *pra*. Read *guṇaiḥ*=*prakāśo*. The poet has used *prakāśa* elsewhere also in this inscription; see above, ll. 3 and 4.

22. The *aksharas bhuvī* which were fairly clear in the days of Bhagwanlal and Bühler are now much damaged. The first *akshara ha* of the name *Hastibhoja* is partially damaged, but the following *aksharas* can be read from the traces still remaining.

23. Bhagwanlal read *purushā*, but Bühler took the word to be *surasā*-. The *aksharas* are doubtful, but I have followed Bhagwanlal as the traces left admit of that reading.

24. Bhagwanlal could read only *Devarāja*- and Bühler *devarājasya*. The *akshara* following *Devarāja* is clearly *sī*. The next *akshara* has lost its upper part, but the lower *u*- sign is clear. The following *akshara* is clearly *ha*. It closely resembles *ha* in *mahadbhiḥ*, l. 3. The next *akshara* is almost certainly *ri*. The name was undoubtedly *Harisheno*, the last two *aksharas* being clear in the new estampages. As the previous editors missed this important name, they were unable to identify *Devarāja* correctly.

25. Metre: *Āryā*.

26. Metre of verses 14 and 15: *Pushpitāgrā*.

16. Tasy-ātmajeshu bahushu ~ ~ ~ ~ ~, ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
 ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ [1*] ~ ~ ~ ~ ~, ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
 ~ ~ ~ ~ ~²⁷[26 *]

17. Phalam=akhila ~ ~ ~ ~ ~, ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
 ~ ~ ~ [1*] ~ ~ ~ ~ ~, ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
 ~ ²⁸[17 *]

18. Samyag-vibhāvita ih=āsti **Varāha**[**devaḥ***] ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
 ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ [1*] ~ ~ ~ ~ ~, ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
 ~ ~ ~ ~ ~²⁹[18 *]³⁰

27. Metre : *Vasantatilakā*.

28. Metre : *Pushpitāgrā*.

29. Metre : *Vasantatilakā*.

30. There are traces of an *akshara* here and there in the next four lines in the lithograph published in *A.S.W.I.*, Vol. IV, Pl. LX as well as in the estampages supplied to me, but no words can be read completely.

TRANSLATION¹

(Verse 1) Victorious is he who is called the Buddha, the sage among sages, the teacher among teachers, the immortal among immortals, the best among the eminent (*and*) a store of marvels—(*he*) who attained enlightenment by abstension from the enjoyment (*of worldly pleasures*).²

(V. 2) (*Victorious*) next (*is*) the Law promulgated by him who knows the law ; and (*victorious*) also (*is*) the Community, the best among all communities, having done service to which, a worthy recipient, the sons (*of men*) become exalted.³

(V. 3) In the southern country is well-known a great race of most eminent Brāhmaṇas named **Vallūras**, which (*race*) has accumulated religious merit and glory since (*the age of*) Brahmā and is honoured by the great.

(V. 4) In that (*race*) was born famous **Yajña[pati]**,⁴ an excellent Brāhmaṇa, who resembled the primeval Brāhmaṇas

1. In this translation I have derived some help from Dr. Bühler's rendering, though I have differed from him in the interpretation of several passages.

2. *Anābhoga* is 'lack of attention or interest, disinclination' (*A Critical Pali Dictionary* by Trenckner, Anderson and Smith). Bühler translates it as 'abstaining from fruition'.

3. The sense of the second half of this verse is somewhat obscure. *Kāra* seems to be used here in the same sense as in Pāli, *viz.*, a deed, service, act of mercy or worship, homage. *Kārāpakāra* is apparently used here in the same sense as *Kāra-kāraka* 'one who performs a religious duty or service' (*Pali Dictionary* by Rhys Davids). *Kārā* has also been used in l. 17 of the Vākāṭaka inscription in Cave XVI at Ajantā evidently in the sense of 'an act of service' or 'a place of worship'. See *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, No. 14, p. 14, n. 3. This verse has puzzled previous editors. Bhagwanlal translated, 'Even an ungrateful and unjust prison(?) dedicated to his virtuous person, becomes the bestower of good.' Bühler gave the following rendering:—the Community (of ascetics) . . . placed in which as in a beautiful vessel, even those who have sinned by committing murder, become exalted.' In a note he adds, 'The phrase *kārāpakārāstanayāḥ* is very ambiguous as it may be taken as one compound, consisting of *kārāpakāra* and *astanaya*, or as two words *kārāpakārāḥ* and *tanayāḥ*, and as *kāra* may be interpreted "effort" or "a Yati" or "murder". If it is taken as a compound it may be translated by "those whose efforts are offences and who thus cast aside good behaviour or prudence," or by "those who offend against ascetics, and thus", etc.—or by "those whose offence is murder and who thus" etc. If we adopt the second division, *tanayāḥ* means "sons" and *kārāpakārāḥ* can again be taken in various ways. The poet no doubt intended to puzzle the reader. But in any case the general sense remains the same, and the half verse is intended to assert that sinners are purified by joining the Buddhist Sangha.'

4. This name is almost certain.

Bhrigu, Atri, Garga and Angiras, noted for their good qualities.

(V. 5) His son was **Deva**, who, being wise, learned, proficient in political wisdom and engaged in the performance of religious rites, resembled the God (Kṛishṇa); being guided by whom, the whole kingdom together with the king performed religious duties even as Pārtha (i.e., Arjuna) did (*under the guidance of Kṛishṇa*).⁵

(V. 6) From him was born **Soma**, a second moon as it were; who, performing religious duties as enjoined by the Vedas and Smṛitis, gave his love (*equally*) to wives of the two (*castes*), born in Brāhmaṇa and Kshatriya families.

(V. 7) On a Kshatriya wife of noble birth and character, he begot a good-looking son named **Ravi**, possessed of marks of royalty, who established his sway over the whole territory.⁶

(V. 8) From other Brāhmaṇa wives he obtained sons who fulfilled their desires in mastering the Vedas,—whose habitation named **Vallūra**⁷ is even now (*well-known*) in the southern country.

(V. 9) The son of **Ravi** was **Pravara**. From him sprang **S'rī-Rāma**. His son was **Kīrti** of good repute and from him was born **Hastibhoja**.

(V. 10) When the **Vākāṭaka Devasena** was ruling, **Hastibhoja** distinguished himself by his excellences—(*he*) whose noble birth (*and*) charity.....even now⁸.....

5. Bühler who read *nātha* in place of *Pārtha*, translated as follows:—‘Under whom when he had gained possession of the kingdom and of the king, lawful rites were performed just as in the (*time of the*) Lord (*Buddha*).’ With the reading *dharmyāḥ kriyāḥ* which Bühler adopted, this construction is impossible; for the verb would be expected to be in the plural, not in the singular as here (*prachakkre*). As shown above, the reading is undoubtedly *Pārtha* and so the simile seems to have been suggested by the name *Deva*. The sense seems to be that the whole kingdom together with the king did its duty being guided by Deva, even as Arjuna had done before by the advice of the God Krishna.

6. As shown above, the reading *Malaye* is not likely. Ravi was therefore ruling over the territory round his native place Vallūra, not over Malaya.

7. As the reading is clearly *Vallūra-nāmnā* here, as given by both Bhagwanlal and Bühler, Vallūra is primarily the name of the village. The family became known by that name as it was living at the place.

8. This indicates that Hastibhoja was dead when the inscription was incised.

(V. 11) Among the resolute, intelligent, efficient and meritorious colleagues when the King's.....

(V. 12) (*Occupying*) a half of whose seat .. men in the assembly

(V. 13) Then there (*is*) **Harishena**, the son of **Devarāja**⁹ Hastibhoja

(V. 14) Observing (*his*) fame as white as moon-beams

(V. 15) Then there was born (*to Hastibhoja*) a dear son¹⁰ who was his (*very*) self, possessed of a hundred good qualities

(V. 16) Among his many sons¹¹

(V. 17) the entire reward

(V. 18) Here is **Varāha**[**deva**] thoroughly considered.. .. .

V. V. MIRASHI.

9. Bhagwanlal taking *Devarāja* to be a proper name, identified him with the minister of the Āsmaka king mentioned in an inscription in Cave XXVI at Ajantā, while Bühler thought that it meant the lord of Gods, Indra. The reading *Devarāja-sūnur=Harisheno*, given above for the first time, shows clearly that this *Devarāja* was none other than the Vākāṭaka king Devasena and his son was the same as Harishena. The cave was thus excavated during the reign of Harishena, and not of Devasena.

10. This son was probably Varāhadeva who is mentioned in the large Vākāṭaka inscription in Cave XVI at Ajantā as the successor of Hastibhoja and minister of Harishena.

11. Perhaps this verse stated that of the numerous sons of Hastibhoja, Harishena selected Varāhadeva for the post of his Prime Minister.

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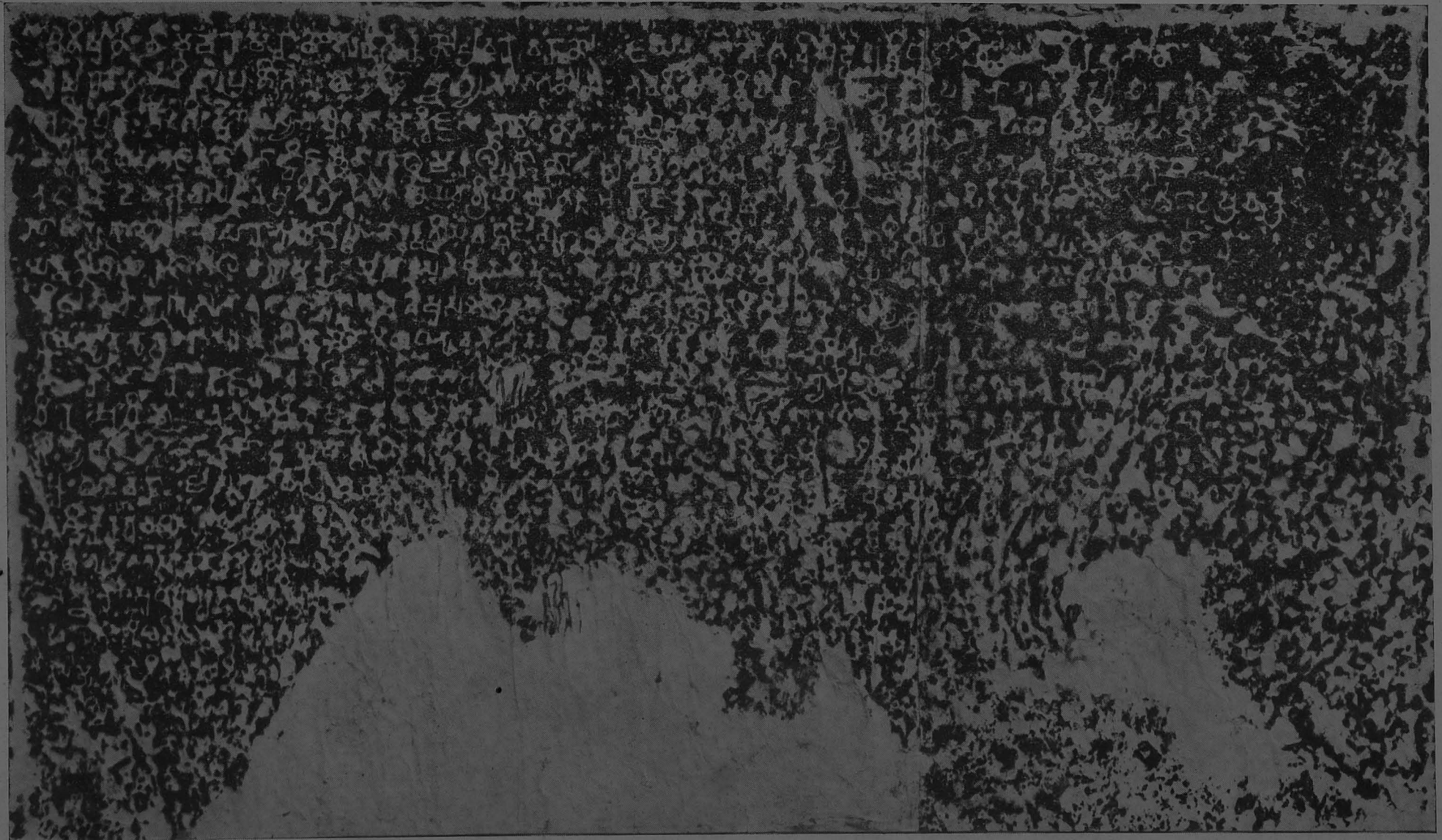
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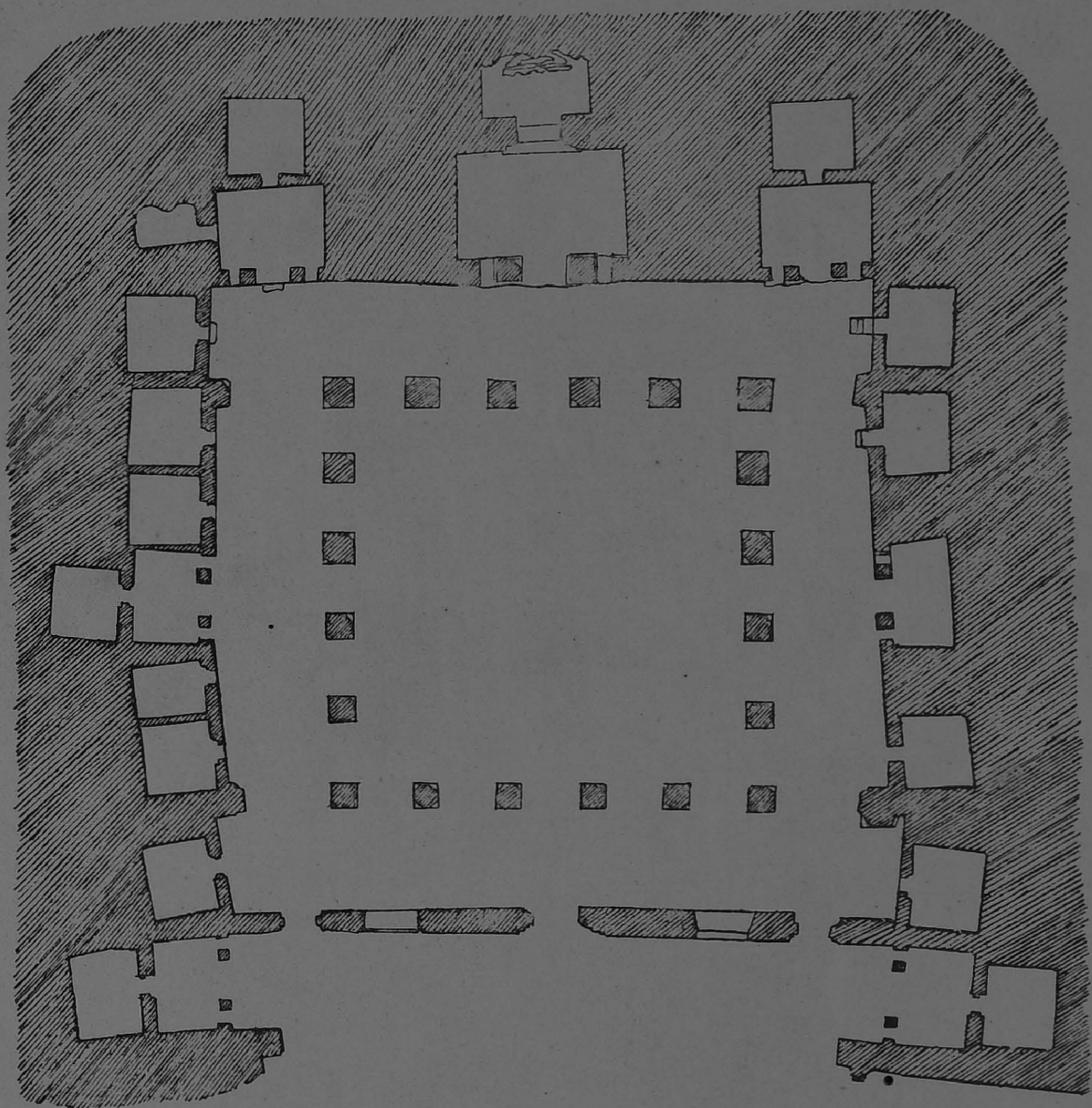
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1. Ghatotkacha Cave : inscription.

VIHARA AT GHATOTKACHA



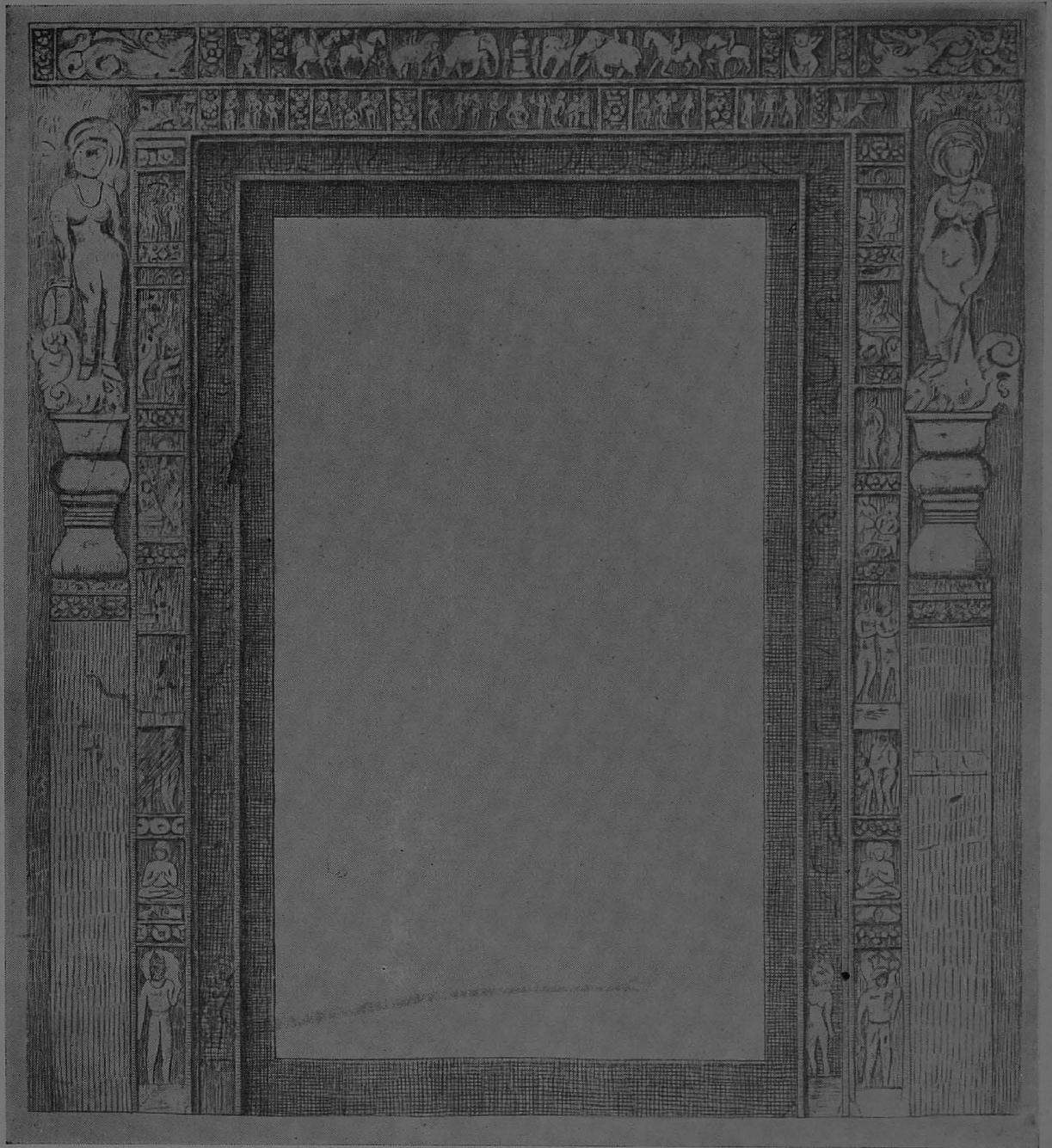
Scale in feet 0 5 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 85 feet

TRACED BY S. AHMED.

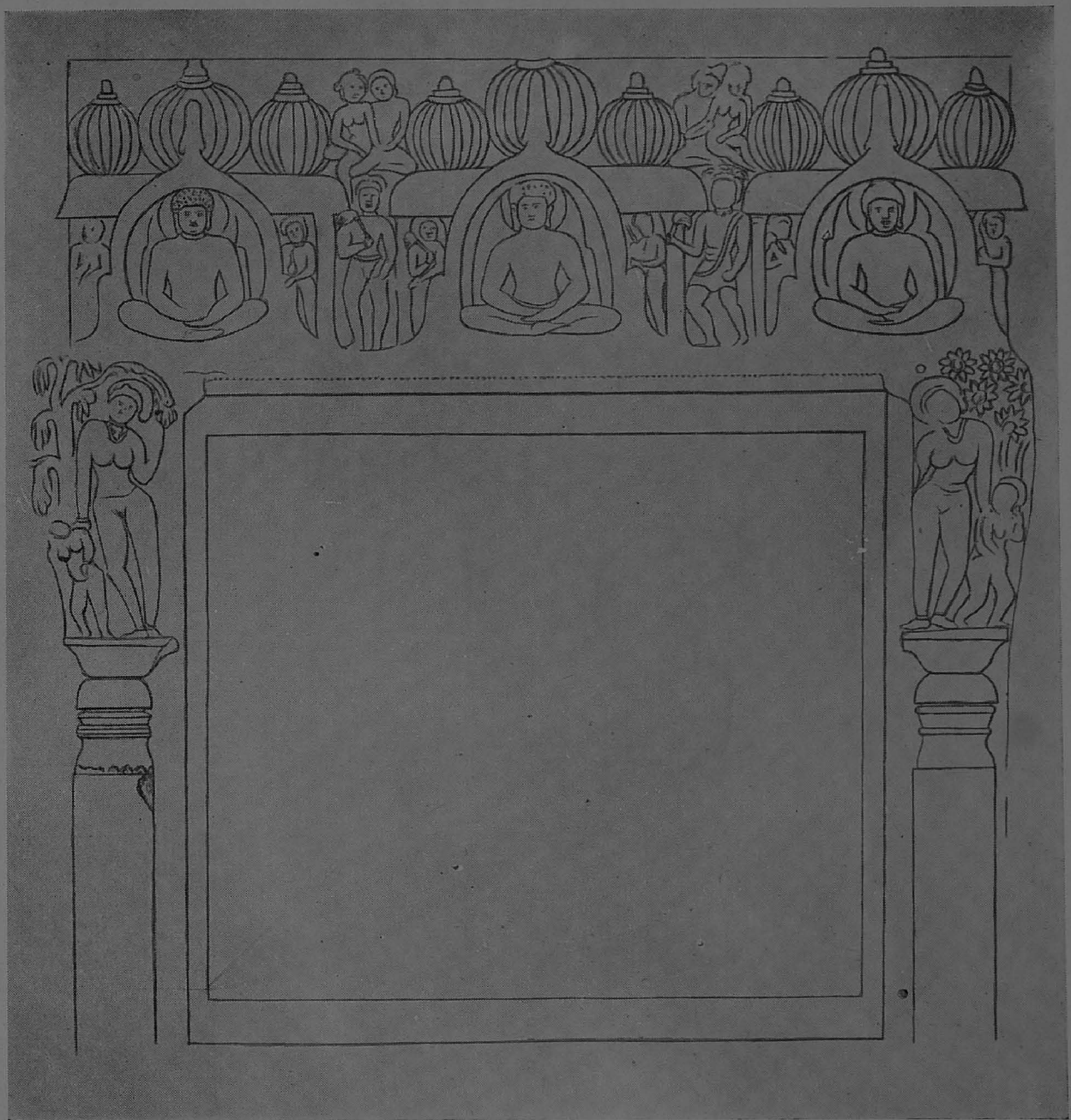
2. Ghatotkacha : Ground plan of the Large Vihāra.



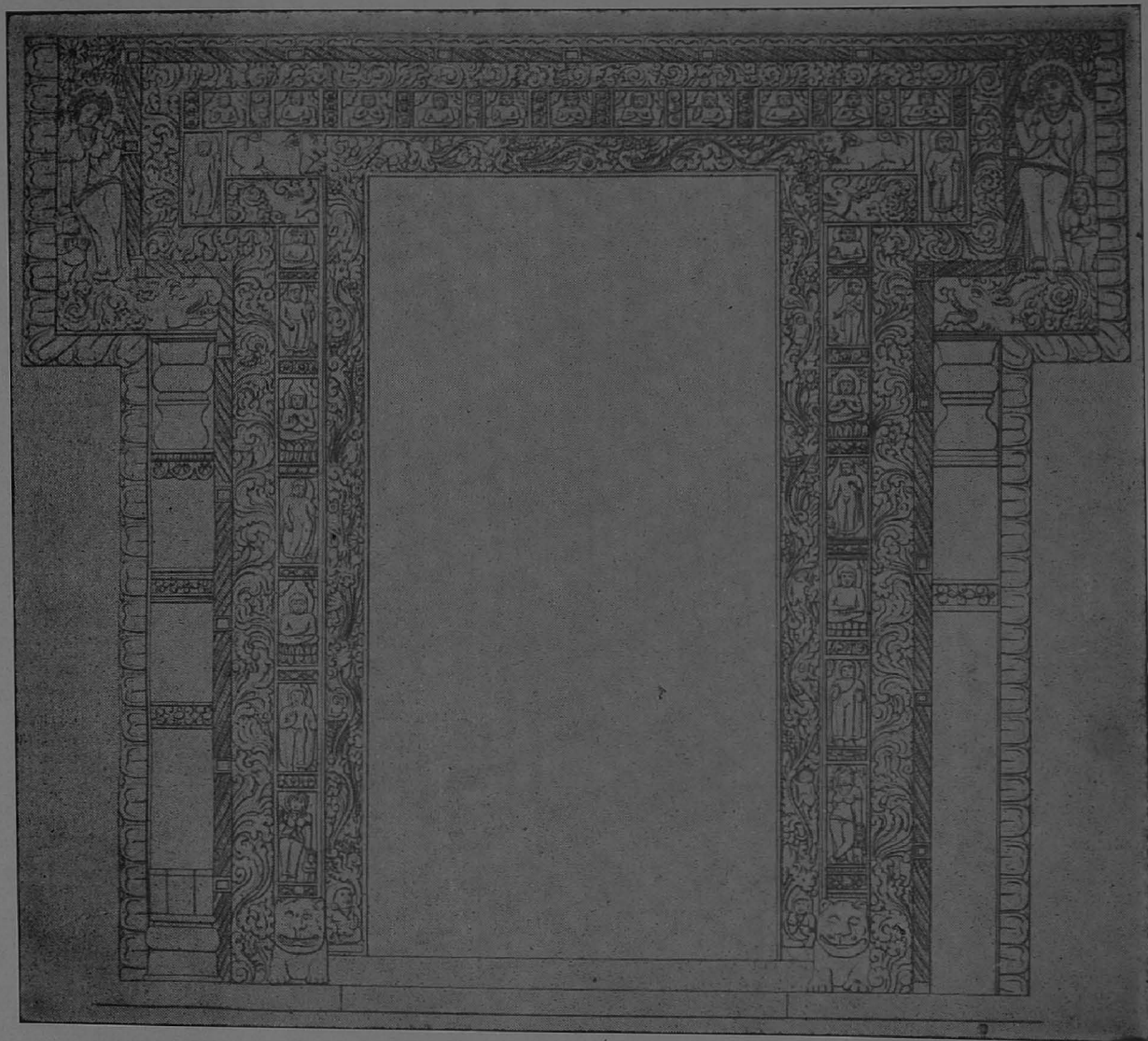
3. Ghaṭotkacha : Buddha in the shrine.



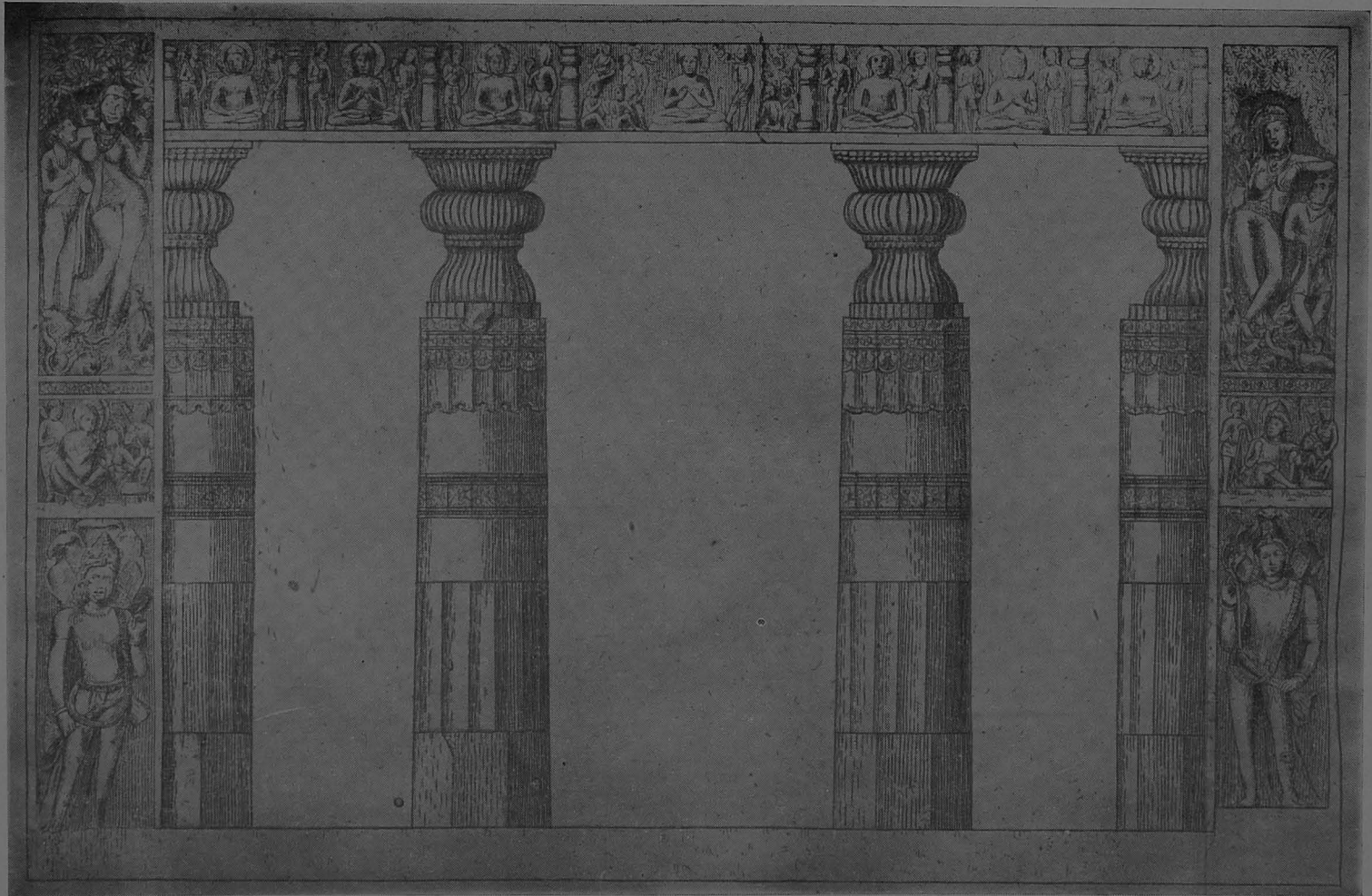
4. Ghatotkacha: Front Door—Elevation.



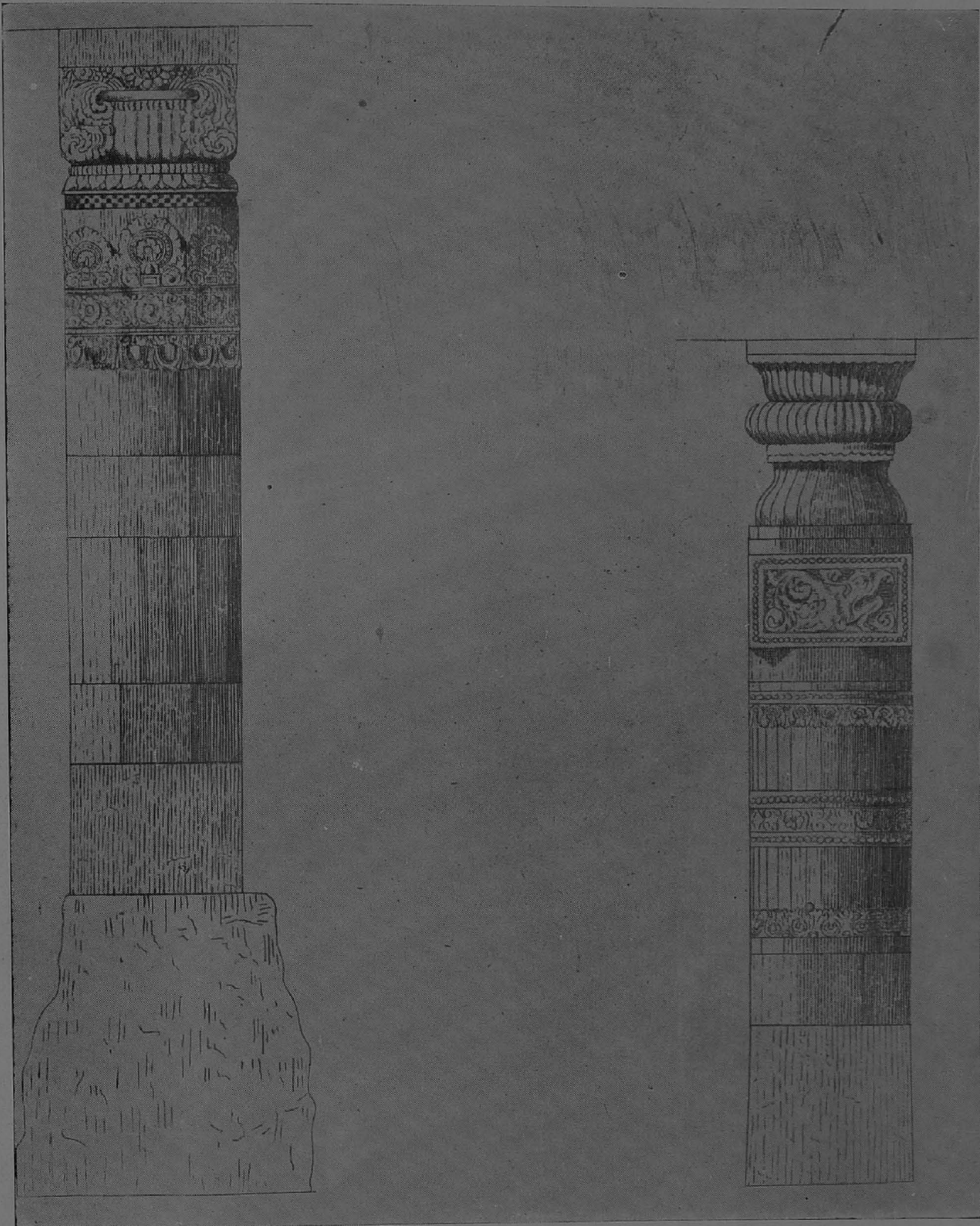
5. Ghatotkacha : Window left of entrance to the Large Vihāra.



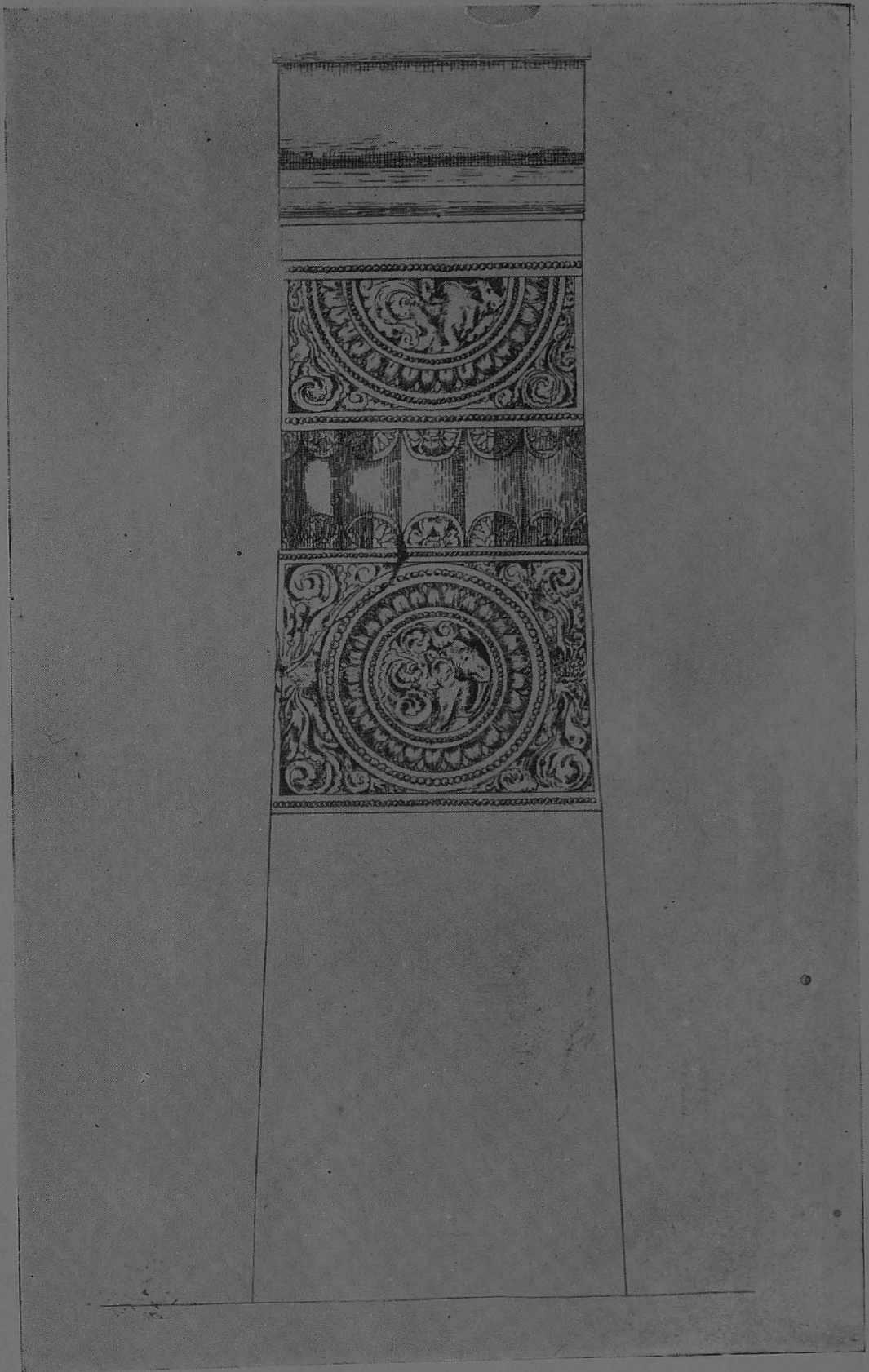
6. Ajanta—Cave XVII—Door of Shrine.



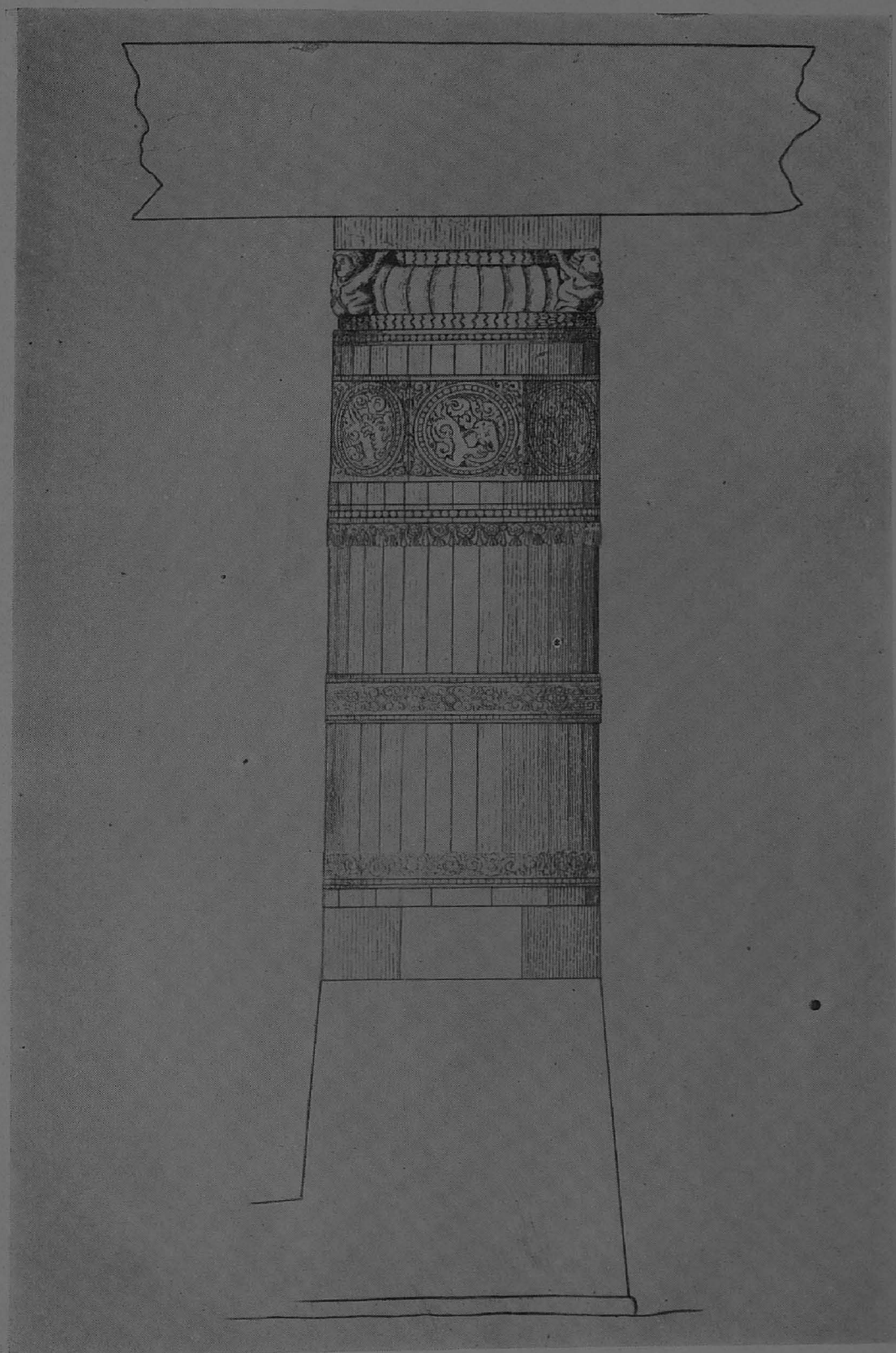
7 Ajanta—Cave XX—antechamber—front view.



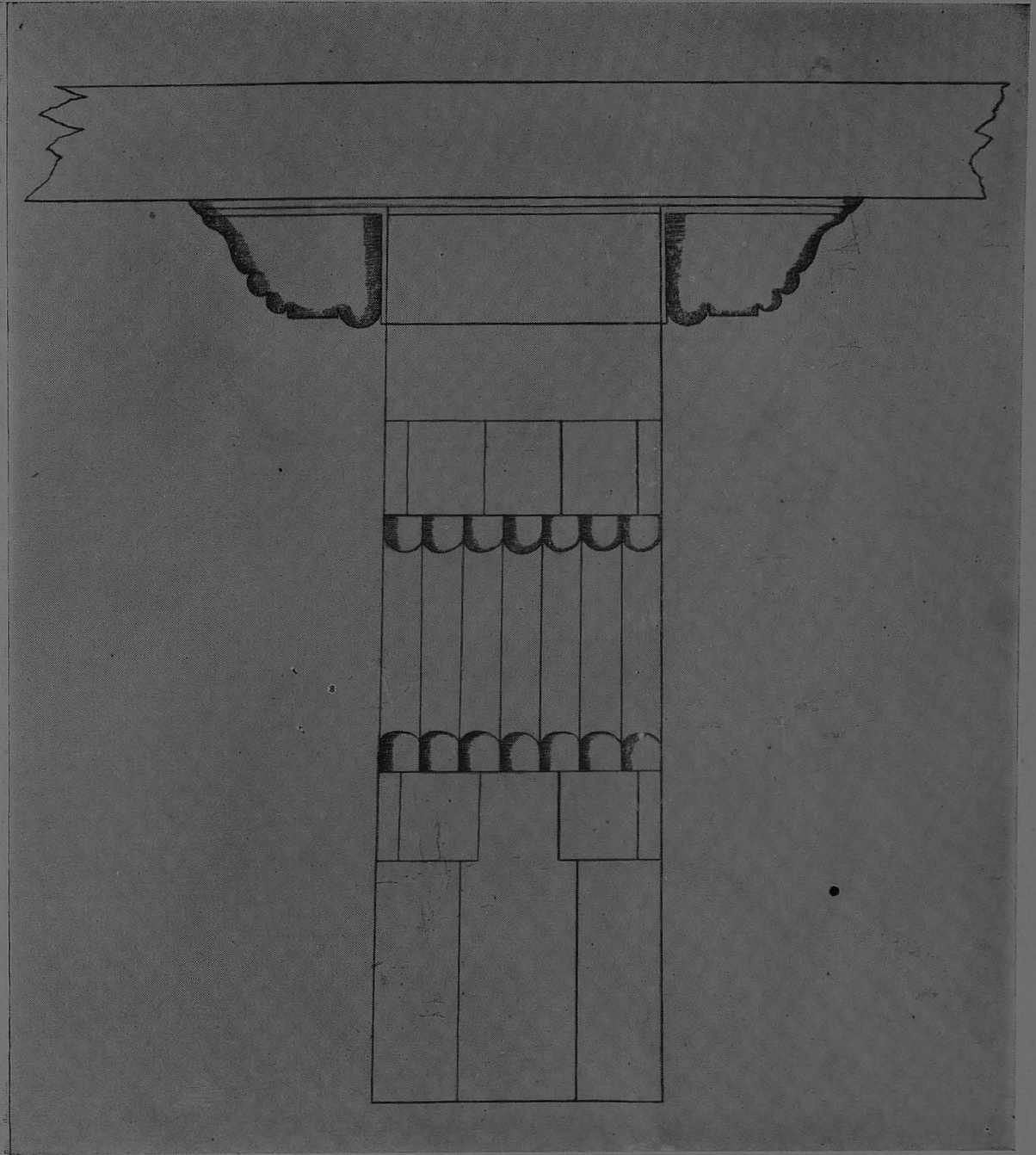
8. Ghatotkacha: Pillars—Elevation.



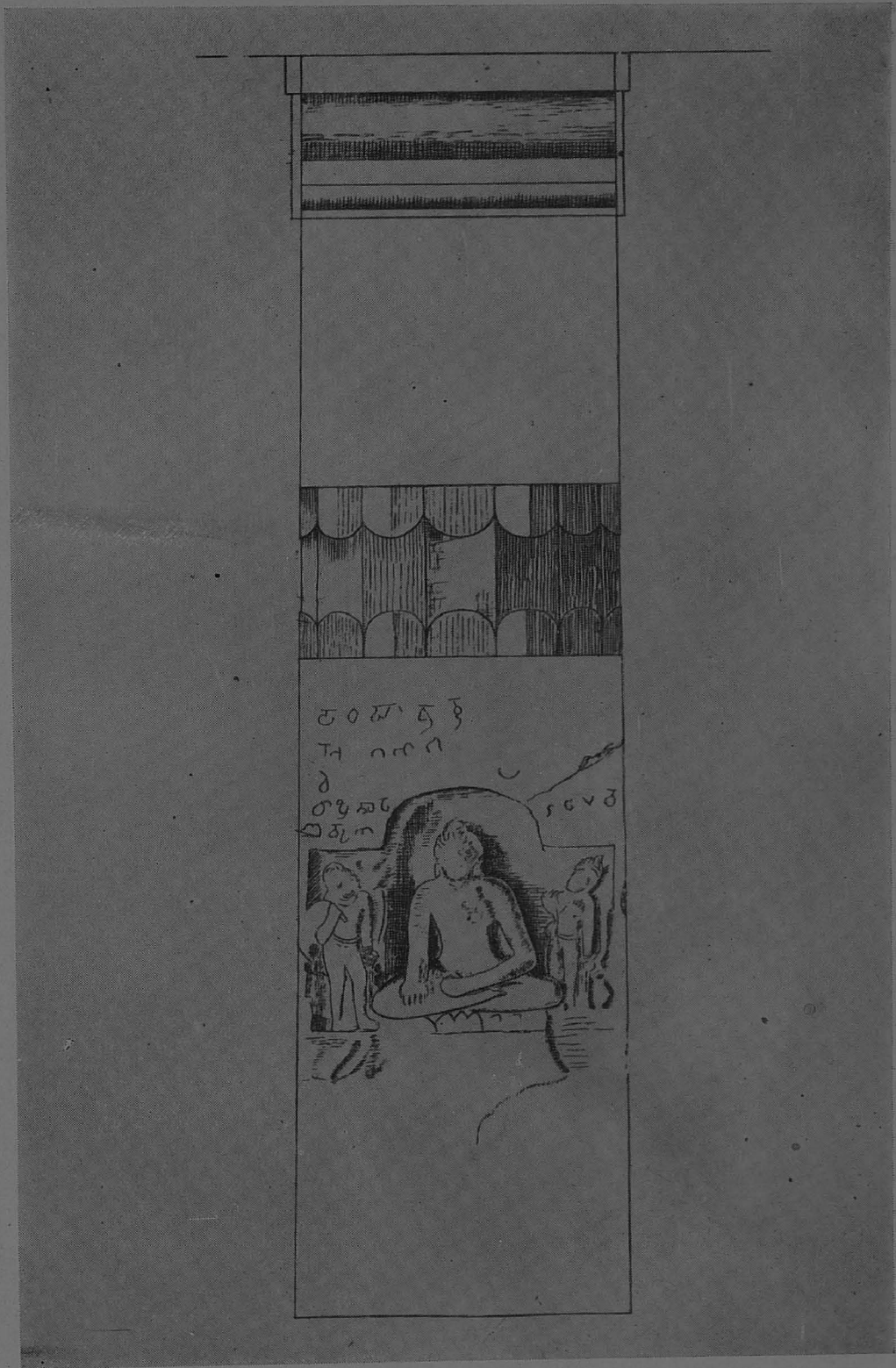
9. Ghatotkacha: Pillar in the Large Vihara.



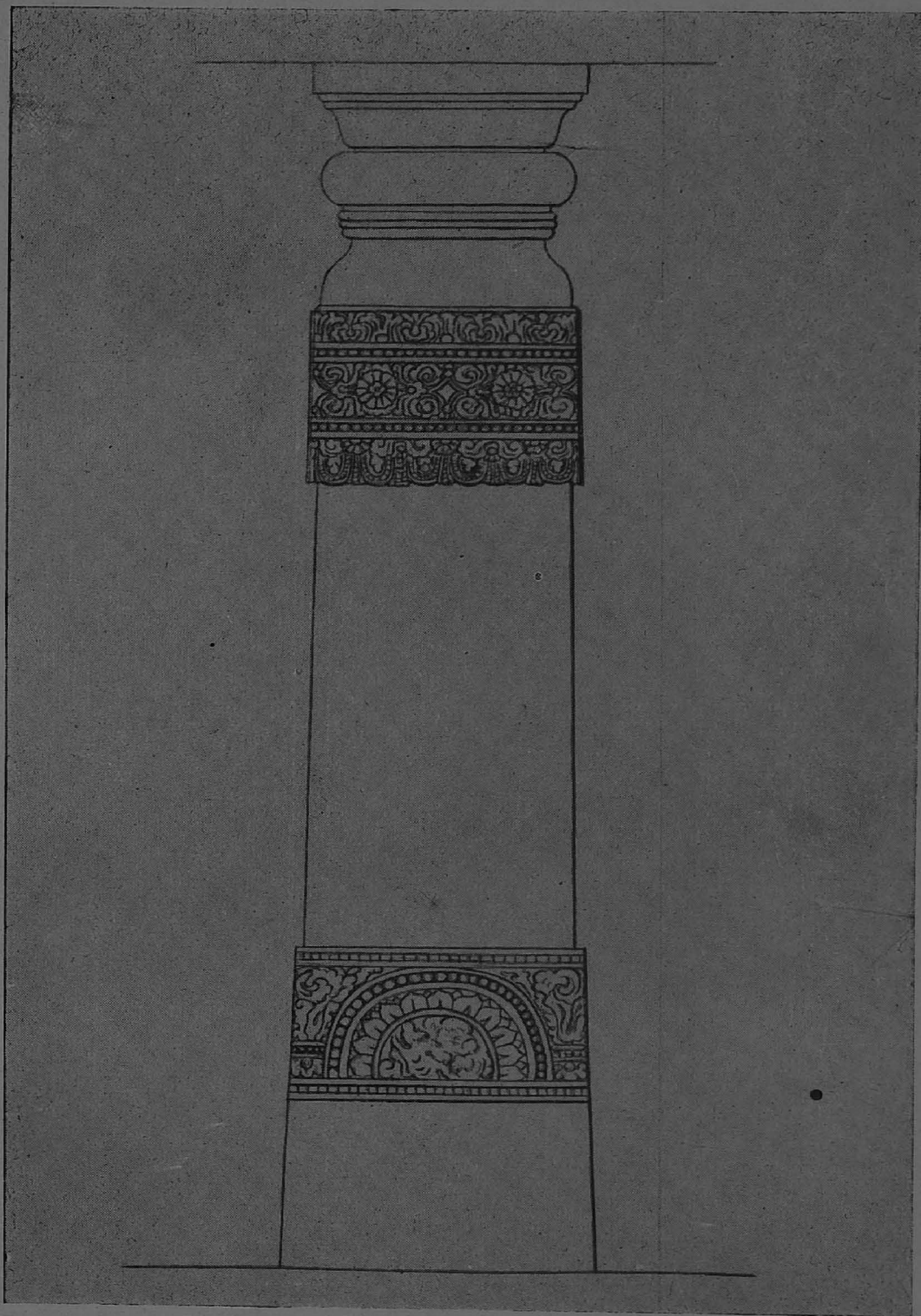
10. Ghatotkacha: Pillar in front of shrine
in the Large Vihara.



11. Ghatotkacha: Pillar.



12. Ghatotkacha: Pilaster in left end-front aisle.



13. Ghatotkacha: Right pillar in left chapel, north of Shrine

