1. INTRODUCTION

Khajuraho, situated in Chhatarpur District of Madhya Pradesh in the heart of central India, has the distinction of possessing one of the most compact and homogeneous groups of temples (pl. XXI), ranging in date from the late ninth to the twelfth centuries A.D.

The tract round Khajuraho was known during ancient times as Vatsa, in medieval times as Jejābhukti or Jejākabhukti, and since the fourteenth century as Bundelkhand. In the cultural sphere, this region played a significant rôle in Indian history from circa 200 B.C. and witnessed a remarkable efflorescence of sculptural and architectural arts during the Śunga period, with Bharhut as a centre, and again during the Gupta times, with leading centres at Bhumara, Khoh, Nachna and Deogarh. The Pārvatī temple at Nachna, the Śiva temple at Bhumara and the Daśāvatāra temple at Deogarh form significant stages in the evolution of Gupta architecture. The somewhat later Chaturmukha-Mahādeva temple at Nachna, one of the earliest typical sikhara temples of north
India, is even more important and constitutes a landmark in architecture, marking the transition between the Gupta and the medieval temple-styles. The building-tradition was continued by the Imperial Pratihāras (eighth to tenth centuries), who left in this region two of their finest temples, viz. the Jarai Mātā temple at Barwasagar, District Jhansi, and the Sun temple at Mankhera, District Tikamgarh, both assignable to circa ninth century. Under the Pratihāra supremacy, simpler shrines of a provincial style, made of granite, were also erected in this region at sites like Mau-Suhaniya, Kainri and Chamarua, all located in District Chhatarpur.

It is against this background that the Chandellas emerged during the early tenth century as a strong central Indian power with one of their capitals at Khajuraho. Under the patronage of the Chandella princes, who were great builders and connoisseurs of arts and letters, Jējākabhūkti was blessed with prosperity and political stability and was swept between the tenth and twelfth centuries by a cultural upheaval manifesting itself in a substantial literary output and the flowering of an architectural movement of uncommon charm and vigour. The Chandella court was adorned by poets like Mādhava, Rāma, Nandana, Gāḍādhara and Jaganika and by the dramatist Kṛishṇaśīra, author of the Prabodhachandanda. Among the princes Gaṇḍa and Paramardin were themselves poets of no mean merit, while Dhaṅga and Kṛitivarma were liberal patrons of poets and writers. The Chandellas also decorated their realm with tanks, forts, palaces and temples, which were mainly centered in their strongholds of Mahoba (ancient Mahotsavagāra), Kalinjar (Kālaṁjara) and Ajaygarh (Jayapuradurgā) and, to a lesser extent, in their towns of Dūdhāi, Chadpur, Madanpur and Deogarh in District Jhansi, of which the first three they themselves founded. But none of these places could compare in magnificence with the capital-town of Khajuraho (ancient Kharījīravāhaka), which was adorned by the Chandellas with numerous tanks and scores of lofty temples, each vying with the other in sculptural grace and architectural splendour. According to local tradition, the place had originally eightyfive temples, but only twentyfive now stand in varying stages of preservation.

The earlier Chandella chiefs were local feudatories of the Imperial Pratihāras, who had gained paramountcy in north India after the break up of Harshavardhana’s empire. The first notable Chandella prince was Harsha, who reinstated, in circa A.D. 917, his Pratihāra overlord Kṣitipāla or Mahipāla on the throne of Kanauj, shaken by the invasions of the Rāṣṭrakūtās. This achievement was probably commemorated by him by the construction of the Mātaṅgeśvara temple, which was the earliest sandstone temple to be constructed at Khajuraho. His son and successor, Yaśovarman, alias Lakshavarman, was even more powerful and valiantly defended his suzerain from the attacks of the Rāṣṭrakūtās and the Pālas alike. He won back, in circa 940, the fort of Kālaṁjara from the Rāṣṭrakūtās but grew so mighty as to defy his suzerains by retaining the fort for himself. According to a Khajuraho inscription of his son, dated 954, Yaśovarman built a magnificent temple of Vishṇu, identifiable with the Lakshmana temple at Khajuraho, which was the most ornate and evolved temple of its age in central India, constituting a worthy monument of the augmented power and prestige of the Chandellas.

Yaśovarman was succeeded by his son Dhaṅga (circa 950-1002), who, during his long and eventful reign, boldly discarded the tutelage of the Pratihāras, consolidated the Chandella kingdom by extensive conquests and made it the strongest power of north

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1 According to tradition a minor Parihār (Pratihāra) family had its seat at Mau-Suhaniya, situated near Dhubela in District Chhatarpur.
India. His territories extended from Bhilsa to Gwalior and from Vārāṇasī to the Narmadā. He was great as a king and conqueror but was even greater as a patron of art and architecture. During his reign were built two of the finest surviving temples of Khajuraho, viz. the Viśvanātha and the Pārvanātha, the former by the king himself in 1002 and the latter during his reign probably by one Pāhila, who was ‘honoured by king Dhaṅga’. It is, however, not possible to identify a third temple, dedicated to Vaidyanātha (Śiva) and constructed by one Kokkala of the Grahapati family in 1001 during Dhaṅga’s reign.

Dhaṅga’s son and successor was Gānda, who enjoyed his paternal dominion without any diminution, though he had a short but peaceful reign (circa 1002-1017). The Vaishnava temple, now known as Jagadambi, and the Sun temple, now called Chitragupta, both situated close to each other as constituents of the western group of royal temples at Khajuraho, may probably be attributed to this king.

Gānda was succeeded by his son Vidyādhara (circa 1017-29), who is referred to by Ibnu‘l-Atthir, a Muslim chronicler, as Bīdā and described by him as the most powerful Indian ruler of his time. Under him the Chandella kingdom reached the zenith of its prosperity. Vidyādhara not only won victories over the Kalachuris and the Paramāras, the two contemporary rival powers in central India, but organized an active resistance against the foreign invader, Maḥmūd of Ghazna, and twice, in 1019 and 1022, encountered Maḥmūd when the latter invested the fort of Kālānjara, ‘which has no equal in the whole country of Hindustan for strength and impregnability’. It stands to reason that Vidyādhara, who was the most powerful and prosperous Chandella potentate, should have continued the brilliant building-traditions of his predecessors, and the authorship of the Kandariyā-Mahādeva temple, the largest and grandest temple of Khajuraho, may plausibly be attributed to him. Colour is lent to this suggestion by the fact that Vidyādhara is referred to in inscriptions as a great devotee of Śiva and by the find of a short epigraph on a maṇḍapa-pilaster of the Kandariyā temple, mentioning a king called Vīruṃda, which may have been a pet name of Vidyādhara.

After the death of Vidyādhara, the Chandella power gradually declined owing largely to the determined onslaughts of the powerful Kalachuris and Muslim invaders. With the decline of the Chandella power, the importance of Khajuraho also waned, for the later Chandellas increasingly concentrated on the hill-forts of Mahoba, Ajaygarh and Kalinjar for strategic reasons. But the artistic momentum of Khajuraho was not lost abruptly, for temples continued to be built here till the twelfth century. The Kandariyā-Mahādeva temple was followed by a succession of smaller but almost equally artistic ones, such as the Vāmana, Adinātha, Javārī and Chaturbhujā. The Śaiva temple of Dūlādeo was erected during the first half of the twelfth century, and the construction of yet another large Śaiva temple is recorded in a Khajuraho Museum inscription, which is palaeographically assignable to the close of the same century. Besides, images continued to be dedicated to Khajuraho till as late as 1158 in the reign of Madanavarman. That the later Chandella chiefs did not neglect Khajuraho is clear from Jayavarman’s Khajuraho inscription of A.D. 1117, which appears as a postscript to the Marakatesvara prāśasti of king Dhaṅga, dated 1002. It is quite likely that the later Khajuraho temples referred to above were built under the patronage of the more influential among the royal successors of Vidyādhara, such as Vijayapāla, (circa 1029-51), Kirttivarman (circa 1070-98) and Madanavarman (circa 1129-63). Further, the testimony of Ibn Battuta⁴ reveals

⁴ Ibn Battuta refers to Khajuraho as Kajarrā ‘where there is a great pond, about a mile in length, near which are temples containing idols which the Muslims have mutilated. In the centre of that pond there are three cupolas of red stone each of three storeys; and at the four corners of
that the Khajuraho temples continued to shine in their glory till 1335. It is, therefore, clear that in spite of the loss of political importance, Khajuraho continued to be the religious capital of the Chandellas till their last days.

2. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TEMPLES

Except the Chausaṭh-yoginī, Brahmā and Lālguān-Mahādeva temples, which are constructed either wholly or largely of granite, all other temples of Khajuraho are built of a fine-grained variety of sandstone, of varying shades of buff, pink or pale yellow, brought from the quarries of Panna on the east bank of the Ken river. With the exceptions of the temples mentioned above and the Varāha and Mātaṅgēśvara ones, all temples of Khajuraho pertain to a cognate style and are manifestations of a distinctive and concerted architectural movement, differing only in details of expression. The temples belong to the Śaiva, Vaishñava and Jaina sects, but in spite of divergent sectarian affiliations, the dominant architectural and sculptural schemes are uniformly homogeneous, so much so that, save for a few distinctive cul-images, there is nothing to distinguish a Vaishñava temple from a Śaiva one and a Śaiva temple from a Jaina one.

The Khajuraho temples mark the culmination of the central Indian building-style and reveal certain distinctive peculiarities of plan and elevation. They are compact lofty temples without any enclosure-wall and are erected on a high platform-terrace (jagati), which elevates the structure from its environs and provides an open promenade and ambulatory round the temple. All the compartments of the temple are interconnected internally as well as externally and are planned in one axis, running east-west and forming a compact unified structure of a size which is by no means very large. The essential elements of the plan, viz. ardha-mandapa, mandapa, antarāla and garbha-grīha, are present in all temples. In the larger temples, however, lateral transects with balconied windows are added to the maṇḍapa, turning it into a mahā-maṇḍapa. While the mahā-maṇḍapa is a hypostyle hall of considerable height and size, closed except for the balconied windows on the lateral transects, the ardha-maṇḍapa and the maṇḍapa are low hypostyle compartments, open on three sides and provided with a continuous stretch of balconied openings of the kakshāsana-design. The larger temples also introduce an inner ambulatory round the sanctum, to which is added another pair of lateral transects and a rear transect, each with a balconied window for the ventilation of the interior. The inner ambulatory, where it exists, is connected with and approached from the maṇḍapa hall and constitutes, in a way, its extension around the sanctum. With two pairs of transects cutting across the axis, the sāndhāra temples, therefore, resemble on plan a Latin cross with two principal arms, while the nirandhāra ones show only one cross-arm. Some of the larger temples also have a subsidiary shrine reared up in each of the four corners of the jagati, rendering the structure a complete paṅchāyatana.

Like the plan, the elevation of the temples also has distinctive features. The temple, erected on a lofty jagati-terrace, has an emphatically high adhitāśāna or basement-storey, consisting of a series of ornamental mouldings which slope out and grip the platform-terrace firmly, providing at the same time a fine relief for light and shade.

From p. 45

the pond are cupolas in which live a body of the jogis who have clotted their hair and let them grow so that they became as long as their bodies and on account of their practising asceticism their colour had become extremely yellow. Many Musalmans follow them in order to take lessons from them. Mahdi Husain, The Rehla of Ibn Batūta (India, Maldivian Islands and Ceylon), Gaekwad’s Oriental Series, CXXII (Baroda, 1953), p. 166.
THE TEMPLES OF KHAJURAOH

Over this stable and ornate base rests the jānghā or the wall-portion of the temple, forming the central zone, which consists of solid walls alternating with voids of the inner compartments. The balconied windows, canopied by overhanging eaves, admit light and air into the interior and form beautiful openings for the inner compartments. The solid wall-spaces in between them are studded with two or more horizontal bands of statuary of exquisite grace and charm, which constitute the most attractive feature of the Khajuraho temples. The deep shadows, cast over the whole composition by the beautiful balconied windows, and the light and shade over the sculptural bands, following the alternate projections and recesses of the indented plan, indeed produce a highly picturesque effect.

Above the central zone of the wall proper rises the roof consisting of a series of graded peaks that veritably resemble a mountain-range (Kailāsa or Meru), to which an Indian temple is frequently likened. The several compartments have their individual roofs which rise in a modulated crescendo, from the lowest over the ardha-māṇḍapa to the loftiest over the sanctum. These peaks, arrayed along the axial line, rise and fall alternately, while maintaining their overall upward ascent, and culminate in the tallest sikhara, which is raised directly over the sanctum. Unlike the superstructures of the ardha-māṇḍapa, māṇḍapa and māhā-māṇḍapa, each of which is of a pyramidal shape, the sikhara over the sanctum is tall and curvilinear in design, with an uninterrupted lyrical outline. The developed temples are characterized by an intricate arrangement of subsidiary sikhara of varying sizes, attached to the main sikhara at different heights. The clustering together of subsidiary peaks to the main one not only lightens the weight of the stupendous pile but also accentuates the soaring effect and intensifies the vertical accent of the main sikhara. The seemingly restless upward movement of the volumes and masses of the entire composition and the progressive ascent and descent of the superstructures converging to the highest pinnacle lend a peculiar vertical quality and rhythm to the Khajuraho temples.

In all the well-preserved temples of the developed type, the rathas of the sikhara extend upwards beyond the grivā or neck-course, which is crowned respectively by a large āmalaka, a series of chandrikās, a smaller āmalaka, a kālās and a viṣapāṭaka. The extension of the rathas beyond the grivā and the occurrence of two āmalakas, one large and the other small, on the pinnacle of the sikhara constitute the peculiarities of the central Indian style of temples, prominently exhibited by the Khajuraho monuments.

To turn to the interior plan. The ardha-māṇḍapa or the entrance-porch is entered through a highly ornate makara-torāṇa, which is profusely carved with minute figures resembling a hanging tracery. The ardha-māṇḍapa is a modest oblong passage which broadens into a slightly wider compartment or māṇḍapa in the case of the larger temples. The ardha-māṇḍapa and māṇḍapa, which lead into the māhā-māṇḍapa, are open on three sides and are enclosed by sloping balustrades (kakshāsana). Their roof is carried on dwarf-pillars and -pilasters resting on the āśana-patṭa of the kakshāsana. The māhā-māṇḍapa is a closed hall with lateral transepts which are provided with balconied windows. In the larger temples, the māhā-māṇḍapa shows in the centre four tall pillars carrying a square framework of architraves, which is upwards first turned into an octagon and then into a circle supporting a ceiling of overlapping concentric courses. The māhā-māṇḍapa is connected with the garbha-griha through the antarāla or vestibule. The ornate doorway

1 The makara-torāṇa is preserved only in three temples, viz. the Lakshmana, Kandariyā-Mahā-deva and Javārī.
of the sanctum is entered through one or more chandra-silās (moon-stones) placed on the floor of the antarāla.

With such a simple and functionally effective plan, the interior shows an amazing exuberance of decorative details and sculptural wealth, largely found on the doorway, pillars, architraves and ceilings. The cusped and coffered ceilings, representing intricate geometrical and floral designs, the latter frequently showing prominent staminal tubes, exhibit an uncommon skill and ingenuity. These designs consist of kola and gajatālu courses, based essentially on the patterns of shell-cusps with ribs and intersecting circles. Even more remarkable than the ornate ceilings are the bracket-figures ofapsarasases and śalabhañjikās, tenoned into the bhūta-brackets or the ceiling-corners, which, with their sensuous modelling, charming postures and exquisite finish, constitute masterpieces of medieval sculpture. In the case of the sāndhāra temples, the façades of the sanctum also show two or three bands of statuary over a moulded adhisṛthāna, repeating on a smaller scale the sculptural theme and decorative ornaments on the exterior shell.

Like the exterior, the design of the interior apartments also emphasizes the vertical aspiration. Imposing flights of steps lead from the ground to the jagati-terrace and from there to the ardhamaṇḍapa, and thence to the mahā-maṇḍapa and antarāla, which have successively higher floors. The garbha-grīha, which is at the highest level, is approached from the antarāla through a stepped series of chandra-silās.

The Khajuraho temple has pronounced individual features. The sanctum is saptā-ratha on plan and in elevation, and the cubical portion below the sikhara is divided into seven segments (saptāṅga-bāḍa) showing two series of mouldings of the adhisṛthāna and three sculptured registers on the janīgha, separated by two sets of bāndhanā-mouldings. The principal lineaments of the elevation directly rise from and basically conform to those of the plan. The numerous projections and recesses of the elevation, following rhythmically the indentations of the plan, produce an admirable contrast of light and shade, and all of them converge to the final unity of the sikhara, thus intensifying the plasticity and vertical aspiration of the monument. Rhythmic accentuation is the keynote of the Khajuraho temple, and this is further characterized by a harmonious integration of sculpture with architecture. With an enormous array of lovely sculptured forms ever present, the texture of the Khajuraho temple vibrates with a rare exuberance of human warmth, which is unparalleled in any other art.

The Khajuraho temple is unique in showing a saptā-ratha sanctum with a saptāṅga-bāḍa, which marks the highest development of Indian architectural design. The medieval temple of Orissa generally has a paṇčha-ratha sanctum with a paṇcāṅga-bāḍa and that of Rajasthan, Gujarāt and Kāthiawād a paṇčha-ratha sanctum with normally a tryaṅga-bāḍa and only rarely a paṇcāṅga-bāḍa. The plan, design and composition of the Orissan temple are considerably different from those of the Khajuraho one. In Orissa, the sikhara over the sanctum is unencumbered by subsidiary towers and shows a characteristic vertical outline with a pronounced curve only near the top, while the maṇḍapa is an astylar structure with a severely plain and gloomy interior, in contrast to the well-lighted hypostyle hall of Khajuraho. The four principal apartments of the developed Orissan temple, viz. sanctum, maṇḍapa and the two separate ancillary halls, respectively known as rekha-deul, jagamohana, nāṭa-maṇḍapa and bhoga-maṇḍapa, are disposed axially and combinedly become inordinately long and inorganic, in glaring contrast to the compact and integrated complex of Khajuraho.

Nearer home, the Pratihāra temple of central India has a simple and relatively-stunted sikhara, a low adhisṛthāna and an unpretentious plan generally consisting of only the sanctum and antarāla, which, in a few cases, is preceded by the ardhamaṇḍapa. Rarely
General view of Lukumapa and neighbouring temples. See p. 43
PLATE XXII

ANCIENT INDIA, NO. 15

Brahma temple. See p. 51
Mātaṅgeśvara temple. See p. 52
Lakshmana temple. See p. 53
THE TEMPLES OF KHAJURAHO

is a pillared mandapa added in front of the antarala (as in the Gadarmal temple at Badoh), and there is only one example of a sândhâra temple, the Mâlâdevi temple at Gyâraspur, showing a mahâ-mandapa with undeveloped transects. The jaṅghâ is decorated with a single band of sculptured niches crowned by a tall udgama or pediment of chaitya-arches. It is essentially a paṅcha-ratha temple with a tryaṅga-bâda and has not much in common with the developed architecture of Khajuraho.

The Gujarat temples are analogous to the Khajuraho ones in the division of the elevation into the moulded adhisthâna, sculptured jaṅghâ and šikhara, clustered round with aṅga-śikharas and in the general plan and composition of the sanctum and the mandapa (called gûdha-mandapa). But in Gujarat the pillars of the mandapas are more ornate and their ceilings are larger and more elaborately decorated with eight to sixteen bracket-figures and with an enormous central pendant, called padma-śilâ. The developed Gujarat temple shows an independent peristylar hall, known as sahâ-mandapa, which is placed axially in front of the gûdha-mandapa, and has a similar ornate ceiling and pillars, which are further embellished with festooned torana-arches of very highly-complicated patterns.

While the later Rajasthan temples are stylistically akin to the Gujarat ones, the earlier ones resemble those of Khajuraho more closely than the monuments of any other region. The early sândhâra temples of Rajasthan bear the closest affinity to the Khajuraho ones in the plan and composition of the interior and the exterior, with the typical balconied transects and openings, and in the design of the interior compartments including their ornate ceiling and doorways. The interior pillars of the Rajasthan examples, however, are generally more ornate, while their jaṅghâ-façade is embellished with a solitary row of sculptured niches, crowned by long udgamas, which are common features of the Pratihâra style of central India as well as of Rajasthan. With the absence of the apsaras-brackets in the interior and with the dik-pâla figures normally depicted with only two arms on the exterior, the sculptural ornamentation in Rajasthan is more sober and restrained, and one misses there the plastic grace and exuberance which is so characteristic of Khajuraho. Nevertheless, the essential identity of architectural plan and design and the similarities in ornamental scheme and even plastic style are so strong as to suggest that the early sândhâra temples of Rajasthan were the precursors of the Lakshmana temple at Khajuraho.

3. CHRONOLOGY

It has hitherto been thought that all the Khajuraho temples were built within a hundred years, from circa 950 to 1050, but a closer scrutiny reveals that the earliest temple cannot be much later than 850 and the latest may go beyond 1100. There is no doubt that there was an older tradition of architecture in granite at Khajuraho and the transition from granite to sandstone must have been accomplished gradually. Further, on a comparative study of the significant details of architectural designs, the style and modelling of the sculptures and the development of the decorative motifs and ornaments on the Khajuraho temples, together with available inscriptive evidence, the temples

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1 Recently S. K. Saraswati has re-examined the question and concluded that 'none of the temples at Khajuraho, even those which on account of style may be regarded as the earliest, can be dated prior to the second half of the eleventh century A.D.', The Struggle for Empire (Bombay, 1957), pp. 557-76. The present author, however, does not agree with this for reasons to be discussed in detail elsewhere.
resolve themselves into two broad groups, viz. (1) the earlier, consisting of the Chausath-yogini, Lālguṅān-Mahādeva, Brahma, Mātaṅgēśvara and Varāha, and (2) the later, comprising the rest.

Except the Chausath-yogini, which has an exceptional purpose and plan and is made entirely of granite, the temples of the earlier group are normally built partly of granite and partly of sandstone and are small structures, each consisting of a square sanctuary, roofed by a pyramidal superstructure of receding tiers of pūdhas, a very constricted antarāla and an ardha-mantapā of one chatuskhi consisting of two pillars and two pilasters. The antarāla and ardha-mantapā have survived only in the Mātaṅgēśvara, which is the largest and perhaps the latest example of its group and is constructed of sandstone. The Varāha shrine, which is a pavilion built of sandstone, also belongs to the same conception. Although this group is characterized by a plain interior and exterior and an austerity of design and ornamentation, some of the basic traits of the Khajuraho style, viz. the inclusion of two āmalakas among the crowning ornaments of the superstructure, the division of the jaṅgha into two or three horizontal registers and the accentuation and concordance of the main lineaments of the plan and the elevation, are already conspicuously present here and distinguish this group from the Kuṭakesvara temple at Pāthari, its Pratihāra congener.

The later group includes all the other temples of Khajuraho, which are constructed of sandstone in entirety and are distinguished by a developed plan and design and lavish ornamentation, already noted above.

On a comparative analysis of the sculptural, architectural and decorative features of the temples of the later group, it is found that the Lakṣhmāna and Dūlādeo are endowed with pronounced individual features of a marked diversity, representing the two extremes of the same movement. Thus, while the plastic modelling of the Lakṣhmāna is sensitive and massive, that of the Dūlādeo is stereotyped, crusty and angular, often showing very shallow relief. While the śikhara of the Lakṣhmāna has a single row of urah-śringas and two rows of karna-śringas, that of the Dūlādeo is clustered by three rows both of urah-śringas and karna-śringas. Again, the individual chaitya-arches forming the lattice-ornament of the śikhara are bold, distinct and of a pristine form on the Lakṣhmāna, while those on the Dūlādeo are confused and complicated. The Lakṣhmāna, therefore, stands at the beginning of the finer and later series of the Khajuraho temples and the Dūlādeo at its fag end. In between are to be placed the other temples. In fact, the typical Khajuraho style begins with the Lakṣhmāna, which is followed by the Pārśvanātha, Viṣvanātha, Jagadambi and Chitragupta, marking the successive stages in the evolution of the architectural and sculptural efflorescence at Khajuraho. The peak is reached in the Kandariyā-Mahādeva, which represents the grand finale and culmination of the architectural movement. The temples which followed the Kandariyā, viz. the Vāmana, Ādinātha and Javārī, keep up the sculptural excellence of the style but are much less ambitious projects. The Chaturbhujā, which closely follows the Javārī, continues the same sculptural and architectural traditions, but the signs of decline are already evident. The Dūlādeo marks the last glow of the dying lamp, as it combines highly dynamic and vigorous sculptures with degenerate, stereotyped and lavishly-ornamented figures and art-motifs.

It is thus seen that the Chandella temple-style went through the stages of infancy, adolescence, maturity and decline, of which a complete record of evidence is available at Khajuraho. The story of this evolution is traceable through the progressive change in the theme and modelling of sculptures and in the development of architectural design and decorative motifs. The earlier group, illustrated by the Lālguṅān-Mahādeva and
THE TEMPLES OF KHAJURAHO

Brahmā temples, marks its infancy; the Lakshmana temple, in which developed forms emerge into view, represents its adolescence; its maturity is reached in the Kandariya-Mahādeva; and the Chaturbhuj and Dilādeo mark its nadir.

In the following paragraphs is given a chronological narrative of the Khajuraho temples from the earliest to the latest, briefly touching on the salient features of each. The proposed chronology, largely based on the building-material and sculptural and architectural styles, is tentative and does not claim finality, as there are no definite checks and the available inscriptive data are neither copious nor precise.

4. THE TEMPLES

A. CHAUSAṬH-YOGINI

The Chausath-yogini temple is the earliest building at Khajuraho, forming, as it were, the substructure over which the grand edifice of the local style was reared up. We cannot state definitely whether its rude and primitive architecture was due to the use of poor building-material, i.e., the local coarse-grained granite, or indifferent craftsmanship, or a deliberate design dictated by some social, traditional or ritualistic compulsion, or a combination of two or more of these factors. The temple has an exceptional plan and design. Standing on a lofty jagati, it is an open-air quadrangular structure of sixtyseven peripheral shrines, of which the one in the back wall, facing the entrance, is the largest and constitutes the main sanctum. The shrines are tiny cells, each entered by a small doorway, and are severely plain and roofed by a curvilinear sikhara of an elementary form. A few simple mouldings on the façade are all the decoration that the temple displays, but in spite of its uncouth appearance and rugged bareness, it possesses an elemental strength and reveals some basic traits of the Khajuraho style, such as a lofty jagati and a jaṅghā divided into two registers. Of all the yogini temples in India, this is the most primitive in construction and is unique in being quadrangular and not circular on plan. The three surviving images are massive and squat in form, forming the oldest sculptures of Khajuraho. The cumulative evidence of the sculptural and architectural styles, coupled with the early palaeography of the short labels on the images, indicates that the temple is probably datable to the last quarter of the ninth century.

Similar primitive shrines, likewise disposed in a row and made largely of granite, have been found at sites like Mau-Suhaniya, Kainri and Chamarua, all situated in Chhatarpur District. They appear to pertain to the provincial style of Pratihāra architecture.

B. BRAHMĀ AND LĀLGUĀN-MAHĀDEVĀ (pl. XXII)

Next come the Brahmrā and Lalguān-Mahādeva temples, the former originally dedicated to Viṣṇu and the latter to Śiva, both with a simple plan and design and with the sikhara made of sandstone and the body of granite. They are small structures with very simple adhishtāna-mouldings, resembling those of the Chausath-yogini. Although they differ on plan, their elevation is similar, as they show a plain jaṅghā of two registers surmounted by a pyramidal roof of receding tiers of pidhas. The Brahmrā temple is cruciform externally with projections on each side, and square internally, resting on twelve plain pilasters of granite. The projection on the east contains the
entrance and that on the west is pierced with a smaller doorway, while the lateral projections on the other two sides contain plain latticed windows. Except for the boldly-modelled figures of the Brāhmaṇical Trinity on the lintel and of Gaṅgā and Yamunā flanked by a single attendant at the base, its doorway is plain. On the other hand, the doorway of the Lālguān-Mahādeva is absolutely bare and devoid of all carvings except a diamond on the doorsill. While the Brahmā shows a well-preserved sikhara complete with crowning members, of which the bell constitutes the lowest and most conspicuous element, the other has completely lost a major part of its sikhara including its crowning ornaments. Despite some difference in details, the two temples belong to the same conception, sharing a common plan, design and ornaments, and cannot but be contemporary with each other. As they belong to the transitional phase, when sandstone was introduced but granite had not ceased to be used as building-material, they are later than the Chausath-yogini temple but are earlier than the earliest structures built entirely of sandstone at Khajuraho. These temples are, therefore, datable to circa 900.

C. MĀTAṆGeŚVARA (pl. XXIII)

The Mātaṅgeśvara temple is the plainest and earliest among the sandstone temples of Khajuraho. On plan and in design, it is a grand elaboration of the Brahmā temple, with this notable difference that the bhadra-projections on the three sides are marked by balconied windows of the kakshāsana-pattern, canopied by projecting eaves, which are so characteristic of the developed Khajuraho temples. Each such projection also shows a prominent niche, which is another distinguishing feature of the local temple-style. While retaining its family-likeness to the Brahmā temple in general design and appearance, this temple anticipates the decorative features and compositional arrangement of the maṇḍapa-roofs of the developed Khajuraho temples. Its pillars, however, continue to be stumpy and austere, carrying neither bhūta-brackets nor any sculptures. The ceiling shows elementary ornaments of cusps (kola courses) and floral cusps (gajatālu courses) without any attempt at elegance or elaboration. Since both its exterior and interior are almost plain and devoid of that exuberant sculptured and carved ornamentation, which came to be a hallmark of the developed Khajuraho style, there is no doubt that this is one of the earliest sandstone temples of Khajuraho and is not far in date from the Brahmā. As the latter has been assigned to circa 900, the Mātaṅgeśvara may be dated to circa 900-25.

The stupendous size of the enshrined liṅga (8 ft. 4 in. high and 3 ft. 8 in. in diameter), coupled with the substantial proportion of the temple, constituting the grandest specimen of this distinctive temple-type, may suggest that it was perhaps set up by one of the early Chandella kings, and that king may be identified with Harsha, the father and predecessor of Yaśovarman, who is recorded to have built the Lakṣmaṇa temple (below, p. 53).

D. VARĀHA

The Varāha shrine, which is a mere maṇḍapa, is essentially similar on plan and in design to the Brahmā and Lālguān-Mahādeva, but is more modest in size and simpler in construction. It is an oblong pavilion with a pyramidal roof, resting on twelve plain pillars, and enshrines a monolithic colossal (8 ft. 9 in. long and 5 ft. 10 in. high) image of Varāha, which is exquisitely finished to a glossy lustre and is carved all over with multiple figures of gods and goddesses. Since the shrine is built entirely of sandstone, it is
obviously later than the Brahmā and Lāguṇa-Mahādeva temples, which belong to the phase of transition between granite and sandstone. This shrine is also assignable to the same date as proposed for the Mātaṅgēśvara temple, viz. circa 900-25.

E. LAKSHMANA (pl. XXIV—XXVI)

On grounds of sculptural and architectural styles the Lakshmana temple is easily the earliest among the finer sandstone temples of Khajuraho. The roofs of the mahā-mandapa, mandapa and ardha-mandapa each show a pure pyramidal sikhara without any subsidiary sikhara and with a straight contour, which is crowned by a prominent bell-member. The only other temple at Khajuraho thus crowned is the Brahmā, which decidedly belongs to the earlier group of temples having pyramidal sikhara of a similar outline. It may be noted that with the exception of the Lakshmana, the temples of the later group, as a rule, have complex mandapa roofs with a domical outline. The mandapa roofs of the Lakshmana also exhibit the following peculiarities:—(1) the pīdhas of its mandapa and mahā-mandapa roofs show tile-ribbings; (2) the terminal ends of the pīdhas of the mahā-mandapa roof are decorated with miniature figures of nāgas in añjali; and (3) the mahā-mandapa roof is crowned by a kalaśa with drooping foliage, representing ghaṭapallava—an early feature.

The greater relief of scrollwork on some pillars of the Lakshmana temple and the sinuous grace and voluminous modelling of its sculptures, coupled with the serenity of their expression, are reminiscent of Gupta tradition. This is the only temple which shows a simple makara-torana of two loops, flanked by a pair of large spirited figures of gladiators forcing open the mouth of each makara, while the remaining temples which have preserved the ornamental torana (viz. the Javāri and Kandariyā-Mahādeva) have makara-toranas of four loops without the flanking figures. This is notable among the Khajuraho temples in representing some dik-pāla figures with two arms and in decorating the surround of the doorway with an elaborate pattern of lotus-leaves in relief, which are features of early medieval temples. Only two temples at Khajuraho, viz. the Lakshmana and Pārśvanātha, display on the doorway-lintel two bold sculptured friezes, of which one represents the navagrahas with a large figure of Rāhu. Further proofs of its early date are provided by the pāṇchaka-ratha design of its sanctum and the simple pristine form of the chaitya-gavakshas or kūḍus forming the lattice-pattern on its sikhara, where the individual kūḍus can be clearly recognized and the pattern is neither minute nor complicated. But a surer indication of its early date is furnished by the decoration of the façades with long udgamas or pediments of chaitya-arches which are characteristic of such early medieval temples as the Chaturmukha-Mahādeva at Nachna (above, p. 43), Tale-kā-Mandir at Gwalior, Gadarmal at Badoh, Mālādevī at Gyarspur and Kālikā-mātā at Chitorgarh. Fortunately, from an inscribed slab, dated in Vikrama year 1011 (A.D. 953-54), which was originally found in the débris accumulated at the base of this temple and which is fixed in its mandapa passage, we learn that the temple was constructed by the Chandella king Yaşovarman, who died in circa 954. The Lakshmana temple, therefore, appears to have been built between 930 and 950, which fits in well with its architectural and sculptural peculiarities.

This Vaishnava temple is a śāndhāra-prāśāda of the pāṇchāyatana variety and is the earliest and best-preserved of the evolved temples of Khajuraho—the only one which preserves intact the subsidiary shrines and the jagati with its mouldings and friezes, the latter showing a moving pageant of hunting- and battle-scences, processions of elephants, horses and soldiers and miscellaneous representations, including domestic and erotic
scenes. This temple still displays the largest number of *apsaras* brackets, which form a notable feature of the interior decoration of the Khajuraho temples.

With the moving pageant of processional friezes carved on its *jagati* and *adhishthāna*, its well-finished and ornate *makara-torana* and ceilings, its *jānghā* decorated with two bold bands of graceful sculptures and spirited *śārdālas*, and enchanting *apsaras*es represented on the interior brackets, this temple ushers in the typical architectural style of Khajuraho and has yielded some of the masterpieces of medieval art, including the three well-known sculptures in the Indian Museum—woman with the child, woman writing letter and woman looking into a mirror—which were erroneously believed to have come from Bhubaneswar but which, from identity of style, material, dimensions and inscribed graffiti, may now definitely be ascribed to the Lakṣmāna temple at Khajuraho.

**F. Pārśvanātha (pls. XXVII and XXVIII)**

On the basis of sculptural, architectural and inscriptive evidence the Pārśvanātha temple appears to have been a close successor of the Lakṣmāna. While the Lakṣmāna was built by king Yaśovarman (above, p. 53), the Pārśvanātha was probably built during the reign of his son and successor Dhanaga. The two relevant inscriptions, the sources of this information, however, were both engraved in the reign of king Dhanaga and bear the same date, viz. Vikrama year 1011 (A.D. 953-54). From the marked palaeographical difference between the two inscriptions Kielhorn rightly concluded that the inscription on the Pārśvanātha temple was a re-engraved copy of a lost original record.¹ The developed Nāgarī script of this inscription leaves little doubt that it was re-engraved after the lapse of more than a century. The same temple, however, has numerous earlier pilgrim-records, which roughly date from the time of the construction of the temple and which are plausibly assignable to *circa* A.D. 950-1000 on grounds of palaeography.

The inscriptive evidence is supported by numerous affinities of architectural and sculptural styles of the Pārśvanātha, which may be enumerated as follows.

(1) The Pārśvanātha resembles the Lakṣmāna in showing a frieze of projecting elephants on the *adhishthāna*-mouldings of the *ardha-mandapa*. In fact, the only other local temple to display such a frieze is the Nandi shrine attached to the Viśnū temple, which immediately follows this temple in date (below, p. 55).

(2) The doorways of the Lakṣmāna and Pārśvanātha are strikingly similar inasmuch as the sculptures of the river-goddesses are bold and the nāga-figures are absent below the relief-scrolls resembling nāga-coils on the surround of the doorway.

(3) A frieze of heart-shaped flowers on the basement is peculiar to the Lakṣmāna, Pārśvanātha and Ghanṭai.

(4) Short *udgamas* or pediments of chaitya-arches in place of figures on the upper row of the outer *jānghā* are confined to the subsidiary shrines of the Lakṣmāna and Pārśvanātha temples.

(5) Despite its Jaina dedication, the Pārśvanātha bears a significant kinship to the Lakṣmāna in displaying among its sculptures a predominance of Viṣṇu themes, which include such uncommon representations as *śāṅkha-purusha*, Paraśurāma, Balarāma with Revati and a group of Rāma, Siṭā and Hanumān, in addition to diverse forms of Viṣṇu. Besides the Lakṣmāna, this is the only temple at Khajuraho which depicts

¹Epigraphia Indica, I (1892), pp. 135-36.
Pārvatī temple. See p. 54
Pārśvanātha temple, sculptures on part of south façade. See p. 54
Viswannyahta temple. See p. 55
scences from the Kṛṣṇa-līlā. In fact, the representations of the Kṛṣṇāyana-episode of Yamālārjuna on the two temples (pl. XXXIX Ā) are so alike as to suggest an identical authorship.

(6) The type of the āpsaras with broad hips represented as facing front with the legs placed across each other is peculiar to these two temples.

(7) Lastly, the sculptures of this temple approximate those of the Lakṣmaṇa in voluminous modelling and general treatment, including the style of head-dress, though some figures here show a better proportion and poise, anticipating the most elegant and proportionate figures of the Viśvanātha temple.

Thus, the affinity in sculptural style and theme between the Pārśvanātha and Lakṣmaṇa temples definitely indicates their chronological propinquity. Architecturally, however, the Pārśvanātha shows some advance over the Lakṣmaṇa temple in the form and design of the sikhara. Unlike the Lakṣmaṇa, which has only one row of urah-śriṅgas and two rows of karna-śriṅgas, this temple shows two rows of the former and three rows of the latter. Further, while the Lakṣmaṇa is girdled round by two rows of sculptural bands, this temple carries three rows of them, the top row showing figures of flying vidyādharas and their couples. The vidyādharas figures represented in a slightly-modified form in the top row constitute a characteristic of the later temples of Khajuraho and first make their appearance on the Pārśvanātha. Being similar to the Lakṣmaṇa generally, but slightly more advanced in a few details, the Pārśvanātha temple should be a close successor to the Lakṣmaṇa in the date of construction. If the Lakṣmaṇa is datable to circa 930-50 during the later part of Yaśovarman's reign, the Pārśvanātha may be attributed to circa 950-70 during the early part of Dhanīga's reign.

The Pār śvanātha temple is distinguished by a few individual features of design and composition. It is oblong on plan with an axial projection on the two shorter sides, that on the east or front constituting the ardha-mandapa, while that on the west consists of a shrine attached to the back of the sanctum. Although it is a sāndhāra-prāśāda, the transepts with the balconied windows, which are so characteristic of the developed Khajuraho style, are conspicuous here by absence. The jaṅghā or the wall is solid and monotonously embellished with three bands of graceful sculptures with no voids at all to relieve the monotony.

G. Viśvanātha (pl. XXIX)

This Śaiva temple enshrining a liṅga, is a sāndhāra-prāśāda of the pañchāyatanā variety and is among the finest examples of the developed Khajuraho style. Architecturally, it comes midway between the Lakṣmaṇa and the Kandariyā, and its importance lies in the fact that it anticipates the Kandariyā, which marks the culmination of the central Indian building-style. Thus, the basement-mouldings of this temple closely resemble those of the Kandariyā, with this difference that the latter shows a few additional mouldings in the lower one-third. The two temples also agree in the general arrangement and disposition of sculptures. Three sculptural bands of equal size on the façades of the jaṅghā are peculiar to these two temples at Khajuraho: they exhibit a striking identity of sculptural theme inasmuch as the nine principal niches of their basement façades represent images of dancing sapta-mātrikās with Gaṇeśa on one end and Pārvatī or Virabhadrā on the other. Even the sikhāras of the two temples are essentially similar in design, though that of Viśvanātha is appreciably simpler, showing only one urah-śriṅga and two rows of karna-śriṅgas on each side. From the foregoing it is clear that the Viśvanātha is the precursor, in plan, design and ornamentation of the Kandariyā.
Of the two inscriptions now built into the *mandapa*-walls of the temple, the longer one was found in this temple and belongs to it. It is a long royal record which refers to the dedication of two *liṅgas*, one made of emerald and the other of stone, in a towering temple of Śiva-Marakatēśvara, built by the Chandella king Dhāṅga in the Vikrama year 1059 (A.D. 1002). Although the stone *liṅga* alone has survived there is no doubt that the inscription refers to the Viśvanātha temple itself, which, by its architectural grandeur and sculptural grace and exuberance, easily impresses as a monument worthy of a king.

H. JAGADAMBĪ AND CHITRAGUPTA

The Jagadambi and the Chitragupta temples, originally dedicated respectively to Viṣṇu and Sūrya, mutually resemble in respect of plan, design, general conception, dimensions and decorative scheme. They are, therefore, quite close to each other in time as they are in space. Each is a *mirandhāra-prāśāda* and consists of a sanctum, *antarāla*, *mahā-mandapa* with lateral transepts and an *ardha-mandapa*. The *adhisṭhāna*-mouldings of the Jagadambi are simpler and are devoid of the processional frieze, which is a conspicuous feature of the Chitragupta. Again, unlike the Chitragupta, which has six pairs of *dvāra-pālas* disposed all round the *mahā-mandapa* interior, the Jagadambi has only three, two in the east and one in the west of the *mahā-mandapa*, but none in the lateral directions. The square ceiling of the *mahā-mandapa* hall of the Jagadambi is much simpler than the octagonal ceiling of the Chitragupta, which thus appears to be relatively more ornate and evolved and therefore slightly later in date. The total absence of Nandiśvara figures on the Jagadambi, as on the Pārśvanātha, is also a pointer to its relative antiquity.

The sculptures on these temples approximate those of the Viśvanātha in style and proportion and are not as slender as on the Kandariyā. The same affinity is visible with regard to the architectural and decorative motifs, including the form of the *chaitya*-arches on the lattice-ornament of the *śikhara*. The Jagadambi and the Chitragupta temples are, therefore, to be placed stylistically between the Viśvanātha and the Kandariyā and are assignable to *circa* 1000-25.

I. KANDARIYĀ-MAHĀDEVA (pls. XXX-XXXIII)

This is the largest and the loftiest temple of Khajuraho, measuring about 100 ft. each in length and height and 66 ft. in width, excluding the *jagati*. Strikingly similar to the Viśvanātha, it is much more magnificent, and its mature plan and design, its grand dimensions and symmetrical proportions, its superb sculptural embellishment and architectural elaboration—all mark it out as the most evolved and finished achievement of the central Indian building-style and one of the sublimest creations of Indian architecture. Decorated with graded and ascending series of smaller replicas of itself, totalling eightyfour, the grand *śikhara* of the Kandariyā is a lofty and intricately-ornamented pile, somewhat restless in movement but unified in theme and design. Like the other fully-developed *sāndhāra-prāśādas* of Khajuraho, this temple consists on plan of the *ardha-mandapa*, *maṇḍapa*, *mahā-maṇḍapa* with lateral transepts, *antarāla* and *garbhagṛīha* enclosed by an inner ambulatory with transepts on the sides and the rear. But what distinguishes this temple from the others is that it presents each constituent element of the plan and elevation on a grand scale and with considerable elaboration of design and ornamentation.
Kandariyā-Mahādeva temple. See p. 56
Kandariyā-Mahādeva temple, śikhara. See p. 56.
Kandariyā-Mahādeva temple, sculptures on part of south façade. See p. 56

To face pl. XXXI
Further, it has an extensively indented plan with the largest number of projections and recesses which are rhythmically carried up on the elevation.

The Kandariyā is the only temple of Khajuraho where the jagati shows projections on the lateral sides and the rear, corresponding to the projections on the transepts. Again, of all the Khajuraho temples, it has the loftiest adhisthāna with the most numerous and elegantly-ornamented mouldings, which include two rows of processional friezes teeming with elephants and horses, warriors and hunters, acrobats and musicians, dancers and devotees, and miscellaneous scenes including erotic couples. It is also notable among the local temples in addorsing numerous smaller niches containing couples over the kumbha and kalaśa-mouldings of the adhisthāna. The largest number of sculptures of alluring beauty appear on the three bands of its jaṅghā and represent an animated array of gods and goddesses, mithunas and apsarasas on projections and šārdūlas and nāgis in recesses, the last forming a special feature that this temple shares with the latest temple at the place, the Dūlādeo (below, p. 59).

The interior of the Kandariyā temple is largely similar in design to that of the developed local temples but is more spacious and gorgeous and is replete with a lavish wealth of carvings and sculptures on the pillars and architraves, brackets and ceilings and on the wall-niches and faces of the sanctum. While some Khajuraho temples (e.g., Lakshmana and Javārī) show only one makāra-torana at the entrance, the Kandariyā is the only temple which displays two of them, both of exquisite design in the interior. With seven sākhās or vertical components the doorway of the sanctum is more elaborate than those of most of the Khajuraho temples, which have only five.

Lastly, the sculptures on this temple are conspicuously slender and taller and show the richest variety of apsaras-types in lively and often violently-agitated postures. Exhibiting a mastery in the rendering of female contours and revealing a peak of conscious sophistication and exuberant grace, these sculptures represent the high watermark of the characteristic art-diction of Khajuraho.

As this temple was anticipated by the Viśvanātha temple, which was completed in circa 1002 (above, p. 56), it is slightly later than the Viśvanātha and may plausibly be assigned to the latter part of Vidyādharā's reign or to circa 1025-50. Colour is lent to this suggestion by the find of a short epigraph on a maṇḍapa-pilaster of this temple, mentioning a king called Vīriṅda, which may have been a pet name of Vidyādharā.

J. VĀMANA (pl. XXXIV)

This temple, dedicated to the Vāmana form of Vishnu, is a nirandhāra-prāśāda, consisting on plan of a sapta-ratha sanctum, antarāla, mahā-maṇḍapa with lateral transepts and ardha-maṇḍapa, of which only the plinth has survived. Of all the temples at Khajuraho it bears the closest resemblance to the Ādinātha, which is also a nirandhāra-prāśāda with a sapta-ratha śikhara, likewise bereft of any subsidiary śikharas and embellished with a fretwork of chaitya-arches. On general plan and in design, particularly of the interior, this temple also resembles the Jagadambī and Chitrā Gupta. In contrast to all of the developed local temples, erotic scenes are absent here, except in the subsidiary niches of the roof-pediments. Another noteworthy feature of the temple is that the top or third row of the jaṅghā shows niches containing diamonds in place of sculptures, a feature shared by the subsidiary shrines of the Lakshmana. It is, however, unique among the Khajuraho temples in showing a saṁvaranā-roof over the maṇḍapa and
in exhibiting śāla-bhaṅgikā brackets also on the ceilings of the balconied windows (chandravaloakens) of the mahā-maṇḍapa transepts.

The squat and massive proportion of the sīkharā of the temple and the occurrence of diamonds in place of sculptures on the uppermost register of the jaṅghā are early features, which indicate that the temple was anterior to the Ādinātha. This temple shows only one example of double loops suspended from the mekhālā of sculptured figures, which become progressively common on the later temples, including the Ādinātha. The complete absence of dhammilla-type of head-dress on its apsaras figures indicates that the temple is later than the Kandariyā, the sculptural types and style of which it perpetuates. This temple is, therefore, to be placed after the Kandariyā temple and before the Ādinātha and may be assignable to circa 1050-75.

**K. Ādinātha**

This temple, dedicated to Jīna Ādinātha, is a nirandhāra-prāśāda, of which only the garbha-grīha and antarāla have survived with their roofs. In the elegance of sculptural style as well as in general plan and design, it bears the closest kinship to the Vāmana. In fact, the only noteworthy difference between them lies in the decoration of the top row of the jaṅghā, which in the case of the Vāmana shows diamonds in niches but represents in the Ādinātha a spirited band of flying vidyādhāras, also found on the Javārī, Chaturbhujā and Dūlādeo. As the sīkharā of the Ādinātha is not as squat and heavy as that of the Vāmana but shows better proportions, it appears to be slightly more evolved and later in date by about a decade or two than the Vāmana, which is also attested by the sculptural style already noted in the previous paragraph.

**L. Javārī (pl. XXXV)**

This Vishṇu temple is a small but well-proportioned nirandhāra-prāśāda, consisting of a garbha-grīha, inconspicuous antarāla, maṇḍapa and ardha-maṇḍapa. It is a gem of architecture and is remarkable as much for its ornate makara-torāṇa as for the slender and soaring outline of its sīkharā. On general plan and in design, the temple resembles the Chaturbhujā, which is also a nirandhāra-prāśāda with a constricted antarāla. It is unique among the Khajuraho temples in showing two significant architectural features. First, the crowning mouldings of its jaṅghā show the bharani (pillar-capital) and kapota surmounted by a prominent kūta-chhāḍya, which is characteristic of the medieval temples of Gujarāt. Secondly, the gods on the lower row of the jaṅghā are placed here in a niche framed by circular pilasters crowned by a diamond and canopied by a torāṇa-arch. This feature is also found on the medieval temples of Gujarāt, but the nearest analogy is provided by the Udaiyēśvara temple at Udaipur (1059-80) and the larger Sās-bahū temple at Gwālior (1093). Further, no apsaras on this temple wears the dhammilla-type of head-dress, and a fair number of them are represented wearing a mekhālā with a double series of pendant loops. Again, the chaitya-arches forming the lattice-pattern on the sīkharā are of a broad and complicated design. Lastly, the figures of water-divinities on its door-sill are represented as dancing and resemble those of the Dūlādeo (below, p. 59). On the grounds of architectural design and sculptural style, therefore, this temple may be placed between the Ādinātha and Chaturbhujā temples and dated between circa 1075-1100.
Javāri temple. See p. 58
Duladeo temple. See p. 59

To face pl. XXXV
Ghantai temple, pillars and ceiling of mandapa. See p. 60
M. CHATURBHUA

This temple, dedicated to a peculiar form of Vishṇu, is a nirandhāra-prāśāda, similar to the Javārī, and consists of a garbha-grīha, constricted antarāla, maṇḍapa and mutilated ardha-maṇḍapa. The temple is saptarathā on plan. Its sikhara is relatively squat and heavy and free from subsidiary sikharas.

The temple shows some notable features. This is the only sandstone temple of Khajuraho which lacks erotic sculptures. In general, the sculptural art here shows a definite decline. The ornaments are only sketchily represented, the details being left unfinished. The representations of animal-mounts are crude and insipid. The sculptures, including those of apsarases, are stereotyped and without much life or expression, the only exception being the vidyādhara-figures, which are represented in lively poses. Thus, in plastic theme and style this temple comes closest to and cannot be far in date from the latest temple of Dūlādeo, with which it shares a few typical ornaments, e.g., the meandering pattern of śārdūlas on the doorway and the large chaitya-arches on the bases of the sanctum-pillars. The two temples also agree in leaving some of the apsaras-figures half-finished. Further, most of the apsarases and some of the gods are represented on this temple as wearing double loops suspended from the mekhalā. Lastly, the niches of this temple are invariably framed by circular pilasters, which is a feature of late temples. The Chaturbhujā may, therefore, be placed between the Javārī and the Dūlādeo and is datable to circa 1100.

N. DŪLĀDEO (pl. XXXVI)

This temple, dedicated to Śiva, is a nirandhāra-prāśāda and consists of a sanctum, antarāla, maḥā-maṇḍapa and ardha-maṇḍapa. On plan and in design, its saptaratha sanctum is unique at Khajuraho and like the developed medieval temples of the Deccan and western India, is built as if by rotating a square round a central axis. While its sikhara is of the usual developed form, clustered round by three rows of urah-śtingas and karna-śtingas, its maḥā-maṇḍapa shows some peculiarities of design and decoration. Externally, the kakshāsana over the maḥā-maṇḍapa and ardha-maṇḍapa shows an unusually tall vedikā. Internally, the octagonal hall of the maḥā-maṇḍapa has the largest span (18½ ft. in diameter) among all the Khajuraho temples and shows twenty apsaras brackets abutting against its corbelled circular ceiling. Generally speaking, the disposition of its maḥā-maṇḍapa and its ceiling-design showing apsaras brackets are reminiscent of some of the medieval temples of western India, but the grouping of such brackets in bunches of two or three and the details of their treatment are peculiar to this temple.

Even in respect of plastic style and decoration, the Dūlādeo temple has many individual features which distinguish it from the rest of the Khajuraho temples. While the dancing apsarases of its interior and the flying vidyādharas on the top row of its façades show vigorous tension and dynamic movement, its sculptures are generally stereotyped and overburdened with ornamentation. This is strikingly illustrated by the elaborately-crowned and ornamented apsarases forming the brackets of the maḥā-maṇḍapa and ardha-maṇḍapa and by the river-goddesses standing under umbrellas decorated with pompons. While some figures on this temple are of exceptional artistic merit, the plastic treatment has, on the whole, become fluid and in many cases lacks depth of relief, which is evident on a majority of the apsaras figures of the exterior.

The iconography of this temple also shows some distinctive traits. The Nandīśvara figures are invariably depicted here with a crocodile-mount in place of the usual Nandin,
while Yama and Nirṛti wear their raised curls in a stylized fan-shape. The façades of this temple carry tedious repetitions of the images of standing Śiva and Śiva-Pārvatī. The repetition ad nauseam of the same images with identical attributes is a glaring departure from the decorative scheme followed in other Khajuraho temples and bespeaks a poverty of ideas and an artistic degeneration.

The conventionalization and stencil-like execution of some of the familiar designs, e.g., pot-and-foliage, scrolls and chaitya-arches, has also proceeded quite far on this temple.

Thus, plastically and iconographically, this temple marks the exhaustion of the remarkable vitality for which the Khajuraho sculptures are justly famous, and its peculiarities, both sculptural and architectural, are such that it could be placed only at the end of the fine series of the Khajuraho temples. The above considerations, combined with the advanced proto-Nāgari characters of its graffiti, indicate that this temple cannot be dated earlier than circa 1100 and may reasonably be assigned to 1100-50.

O. Ghaṇṭai (pl. XXXVII)

The temple, locally called Ghaṇṭai on account of the chain-and-bell (ghaṇṭā) motifs so prominently carved on its tall elegant pillars, is the fragmentary shell of a structure which was essentially of the same design as the Pārśvanātha temple but was grander in conception and nearly twice as large in dimensions. All that has survived is an ardhamanḍapa and a mahā-manḍapa, each resting on four pillars and supporting a flat but ornate ceiling. Its mahā-mandapa, like that of the Pārśvanātha, is entered through an elaborate doorway and was originally enclosed by a solid wall, of which only a few supporting pilasters have survived. As in the Ādinātha, the architrave surmounting the doorway of this temple is carved with the sixteen auspicious symbols seen in the dream by Jina Mahāvīra’s mother at the time of conception.

The similarity of plan and design between this and the Pārśvanātha indicates that the two temples cannot be far removed in date from each other. Of the two, the Ghaṇṭai appears to be larger and slightly more evolved and consequently, perhaps, little later. This is also attested by the more conventional and later art of its carvings and surviving figure-sculptures and corroborated by the advanced palaeography of the two short graffiti engraved on its pillars. It is, therefore, datable to the end of the tenth century on grounds of sculptural and architectural styles, supported by the evidence of palaeography.

5. ICONOGRAPHY

Both qualitatively and quantitatively, the images on the Khajuraho temples are of great iconographical interest. Besides numerous gods and goddesses of the Brāhmaṇical and Jaina pantheons, different forms of lower deities like vidyādharas, gandharvas, nāgas, gaṇas, bhūtas and apsarases are also represented on the exterior as well as the interior of the temples. Like the dik-pālas, nava-grahas and the river-goddesses, they have no sectarian affiliations and appear promiscuously on temples of all sects. With a marked preponderance of Śiva images, of both benevolent and terrific varieties, even on the Vaishnava and Jaina temples, Khajuraho has also an amazingly large variety of other Śaiva deities, like Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya, numerous forms of śakti, including Durgā, Pārvatī, Bhairavi,
Kāli and the seven mothers, of Vishṇu and his incarnations, including Varāha, Narasimha, Vāmana, Rāma, Balarāma and Kṛishṇa, and of other Brāhmaṇical deities like Sūrya, Sarasvatī and Brahmā. Among the rare iconographic forms may be mentioned the Śaiva deities Nandīśvara and Pārvatī as godhāsanī, Vaishṇava deities Śaṅkha-purusha and Nārasimhi, Hayagriva, Kari-varada, Vaikuṇṭha and Ananta forms of Vishṇu, the last two bearing three heads—of the lion, man and boar—and differing only in the number of hands, as enjoined by the śastras, and Mahā-Lakṣmi or Gaja-Lakṣmi with a lion-mound. On no site have so many gods been represented with their consorts as aśīngama-mūrtis as at Khajuraho, which contains sculptures of Indra and Śachī, Brahmā and Śāvitri, Kāma and Rati, Gaṇessa and Vighneśvarī, Rāma and Śītā, Balarāma and Revati and Paraśurāma and his consort, in addition to numerous figures of Śiva-Pārvati and Lakṣmi-Nārāyaṇa. But the composite images, combining the features of two or more gods, are of even greater interest and include Hari-Hara, Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha or Dattātreya, Hari-Hara-Hiranyagarbha (Sūrya combining the features of Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva) and a six-headed, four-legged and twelve-armed sculpture of Sadāśiva combining the characteristics of Brahmā and Vishṇu (found in an interior niche of the Kandariyā-Mahādevа temple).

The niches on the bhadras of the sanctum generally contain images either of the pārivarā-devatās or of different aspects of the deity to whom the temple is dedicated. The remaining niches of the façades, like those of the interior, generally show images of other deities, not necessarily connected with the main deity. This is also true of the niches on the roofs of the temple, though the principal niche of the sukanāśikā does contain generally an allied form of the principal deity. The lintel of the sanctum-doorway invariably represents in the middle (lālāta-bimba) a significant replica or associate of the main deity, usually surmounted by the nava-grahas, while Gaṅgā and Yamunā are depicted on the jambs flanked by dvāra-pālas, appropriate to the enshrined deity.

The eight dik-pālas are, as a rule, correctly represented in their respective places on the façades of the temple or of the sanctum proper in the case of the sāndhāra-prāśādas. Usually the dik-pālas occur in pairs at each corner, Indra and Agni in the south-east, Yama and Nirṛiti in the south-west, Varuṇa and Vāyu in the north-west, and lastly, Kubera and Iśāna in the north-east. They are generally represented as four-armed, but on the subsidiary shrines of the Lakṣmaṇa and Parśvanātha temples a few dik-pālas possess only two arms. Accompanied by their respective mounts and carrying their distinctive attributes usually in two out of the four hands, they show a remarkable uniformity, to which only sporadic variations have been recorded. The respective mounts of Indra, Yama, Varuṇa and Iśāna are uniformly shown as the elephant, buffalo, crocodile and Nandin. The characteristic mount of Agni is the ram or goat, which is represented in a zoo-anthropomorphic form in a solitary case. On the Brāhmaṇical temples Nirṛiti is represented as nara-vāhana, but on the Jaina temples his mount is a bull or a dog. The deer-mount of Vāyu is replaced in one case by a donkey. Normally Kubera is represented without any mount, but is seated on or beside jars (māhīs). In two examples he is represented with a ram-mount, while in four cases his mount looks like a dog.

The dik-pālas are usually represented in the lower register of the jaṅghā and are surmounted in the upper register by figures of Nandīśvara, which forms a distinctive trait of the Khajuraho temples. Nandīśvara is represented with the head of a bull and with four arms, usually carrying the attributes of Śiva and likewise accompanied by Nandin as vāhana. The Dūlādeo temple is unique in showing a crocodile as his mount. The Nandīśvara figures are, however, absent in the Jagadambi and Parśvanātha temples.
The Viśvanātha and Kandariyā-Mahādeva temples, which are both Śaiva shrines, show in the prominent niches, projecting from their adhisṛtha-śaṇa-façades, dancing figures of the seven mothers together with dancing Gaṇeśa and Virabhadra or Pārvatī. Beginning with the south-east the niches in these temples contain, in the order of pradakṣīṇa, Gāmeśa, Chāmuṇḍa, Indrāṇi, Vārāhi, Vaishnavi, Kaumārī, Māheśvari and Bhramāni. The last or the north-eastern niche of the Kandariyā-Mahādeva temple contains Virabhadra, while that of the Viśvanātha temple shows Pārvatī. The façades of the Kandariyā and Viśvanātha mainly have various forms of Śiva figures in all the three rows, interspersed with the dik-pālas in the lower row and occasional figures of other Brāhmaṇical gods like Vishṇu, Brahma or Kārttikeya in the upper rows. The façades of the Śaiva temple of the Dūlādeo carry, besides the figures of the dik-pālas and Nandīśvara, repeated representations of two types of images: (1) four-armed standing Śiva, carrying the varada, triśula, serpent and water-vessel, and (2) standing Śiva-Pārvatī. The repetition of the same images with identical attributes is an individual feature of this latest temple, indicative of artistic degeneration (above, p. 59). The three Śaiva temples, however, exhibit a uniformity in the representation of images on the bhadra-niches of the sanctum. Thus, the Kandariyā and Dūlādeo temples show Andhakāntaka, Naṭārāja and Tripurāntaka in such niches respectively on the south, west and north, while the Viśvanātha differs only in regard to the north niche, where Ardhanārīśvara is represented in place of Tripurāntaka.

On the Vaishnavī temples different aspects of Vishṇu are given prominence in the niches. The principal or the lower bhadra-niches of the sanctum of the Vāmana contain representations of the Bhū-Varāha, Narasiṃha and Vāmana incarnations of Vishṇu, while those of the sanctum proper of the Lakshaṇaṇa represent the first two with Hayagrīva as the third. The corresponding niches of the Javārī depict Bhū-Varāha, Narasiṃha, and Śūrya as Hari-Hara-Hiranyagarbha. The upper bhadra-niches of the Vāmana and Javārī show Brahma-Brahmāṇi, Śiva-Pārvatī and Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa, while those of the Lakshaṇaṇa contain three similar representations of Yogāsana-Vishṇu, of which two relate to the Fish- and Tortoise-incarnations, as indicated by the miniature representations of these animals. The Lakshaṇaṇa temple is also unique in representing, in six out of its nine outer niches, a similar four-armed god wearing the jata-mukuta and carrying the rosary, lotus-stalk and book in three hands, the fourth hand being invariably mutilated. More remarkable than these are the numerous scenes from the Kriṣṇa-līlā appearing in the uppermost row of the jaṅgha of the sanctum proper, representing the subjugation of Kuvalayāpiṇḍa, Ṛṣabha-bhaṅga, Arishtāvara-vṛddha, Yamalarjuna (pl. XXXIX A), Vatsāsura-vṛddha, Trīnāvarta-vṛddha, Kāliya-damanī, Pūtanā-vṛddha, acceptance of scented paste from Kubja, duel with Chānuṛa and Śala and the killing of Śūta Lomaharṣana by Balarāma.

The Chitragupta temple, which is the only temple at Khajuraho dedicated to the Sun-god, shows in the principal or lower bhadra-niches of the sanctum eleven-headed Vishṇu in the south, representing Vishṇu and his ten incarnations, Śūrya as Hari-Hara-Hiranyagarbha in the west and Bhū-Varāha in the north. The upper niches respectively represent Brahma-Brahmāṇi, Śiva-Pārvatī and Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa.

The Jaina temples of Khajuraho enshrine images of jinas and depict Jaina deities on the niches and the doorways. For the rest they agree with the other local temples. The Pārśvanātha temple even exhibits on the façades a preponderance of Brahmaṇical deities, a few of which, like Rāma, Paraśurāma and Balarāma represented with their consorts, are of absorbing iconographic interest. The doorways of the Jaina temples invariably represent Chakreśvari Yakṣi on the lalāṭa-bimbha, while the door-jambs and
A. Pārśvanātha temple, apsaras painting her foot. Ht. 2 ft. 10 in. See p. 65

B. Viśvanātha temple, apsaras playing on flute. Ht. 2 ft. See p. 65
A. Kandariyā-Mahādeva temple, apsaras with contorted figure in the act of removing thorn. 
Ht. 2 ft. 2 in. See p. 65

B. Dūلīdeo temple, dancing apsaras. Ht. 3 ft. 2 in. 
See p. 65

To face pl. XLII
Adinatha temple, dancing apsaras. Ht. 1 ft. 10 in. See p. 65

To face pl. XLII
Dulādeo temple, flying figure. Ht. 1 ft. 4 in. See p. 65

To face pl. XLIV
Dulādeo temple, apsaras-brackets. See p. 65
Jagadambi temple, amorous couple. Ht. 1 ft. 2 in. See p. 64
niches show mostly other Jaina deities including the vidyā-devīs and śāsana-devatās, besides figures of jinas. The sixteen auspicious symbols, seen in the dream by Vardhamāna’s mother, according to the Digambara tradition, are represented on the architrave above the doorway of almost all the Jaina temples and shrines, except the Pārśvanātha.

6. SCULPTURAL ART

The sculptures at Khajuraho are divisible into five broad categories. The first category comprises cult-images executed almost completely in the round. These are formal and generally stand in sama-bhaṅga and have a large prabhāvalī and a back-slab decorated with figures of attendant gods and goddesses. As these are images fashioned in strict conformity with canonical formulae and prescriptions of proportions, lakshanas and lāṅchhanas, they reveal a thin aesthetic vision. There are a few exceptions, of which the colossal image, enshrined as the principal deity of the Chaturbhujā temple, is noteworthy. This image is less formal and, unlike other enshrined deities, stands in an elegant tri-bhaṅga and has a dignified expression of transcendental calm and bliss (pl. XXXVIII A).

The second category of sculptures comprises parivāra-, pārśva- and āvarana-devatās, besides numerous gods and goddesses. These occur in the niches or are figured against the walls of the temple and are executed either in the round or in high or medium relief. Those occurring in the niches are more formal and partake of the iconographic qualities of the cult-images of the first category. The remaining figures of gods and goddesses, which include those of the dik-pālas, are less formal and more free. These usually stand in a lively tri-bhaṅga and are distinguishable from human figures only by their peculiar head-dress (jaṭā-, kīrīṭa- or karavaṇa-mukula), or by their mounts or special attributes, held usually in more than two hands. In most cases the gods wear the same dress and ornaments as human figures and are to be distinguished from the latter by a sign of diamond on the chest (it is the same as the kaustubha-manī on the chest of Vishnu and the śrīvatsa-lāṅchhana on the chest of jina figures) and by a long mālā, resembling the vaijayanti-mālā of Vishnu, which constitute the cognizances of gods at Khajuraho.

The third category consists of the apsarases or suρa-sundarīs, who account for the finest and most numerous sculptures at Khajuraho, executed either in the round or in high or medium relief, on the jaṅghā and in the minor niches of the façades and on the pillar- or ceiling-brackets or the recesses between pilasters in the interior. The suρa-sundarīs are invariably represented as handsome and youthful nymphs, attired in the choicest gems and garments and full of winsome grace and charm. As heavenly dancers (apsarases), they are shown as dancing in various postures. As attendants of the higher divinities, they are represented with hands in añjali or in some other mudrā, or as carrying the lotus-flower, mirror, water-jar, raiments, ornaments, etc., as offering for the deities. But more often the suρa-sundarīs are portrayed to express common human moods, emotions and activities and are often difficult to distinguish from conventional nāyikās. Such are the apsarases shown as disrobing, yawning, scratching the back, touching the breasts,

¹The symbols enumerated in the Jaina texts and represented on the Ghaṇṭai and Ādinātha temples are:—(1) Airāvata, the elephant of Indra, (2) the noblest bull, (3) the noblest lion, (4) Śrī-devi, (5) a pair of garlands, (6) the moon, (7) the rising sun, (8) a pair of full vases, (9) a pair of fish, (10) a lake, (11) an agitated sea, (12) a lion-throne, (13) the vimāna, (14) Nāgendra-bhavana, (15) a heap of jewels and (16) Agni representing smokeless fire.
rinsing water from the wet plaits of hair,’ removing thorn, fondling a baby, playing with pets like parrots and monkeys, writing a letter, playing on a flute or vīnā, painting designs on the wall or bedecking themselves in various ways by painting the feet, applying collyrium, etc. Behind the familiar human façade of the sura-sundaris is hidden a deeper meaning and symbolism. For example, the apsaras sporting with a ball recalls to mind the legend of Vishṇu who sported with a ball as Mohini and so enchanted the asuras with voluptuous charms as to delude them of their share of immortality. Thus this motif symbolically asserts the power of absorption of beauty in her ego which leads to delusion.

The fourth category consists of secular sculptures, which comprise miscellaneous themes including domestic scenes, teacher and disciples, dancers and musicians and erotic couples or groups. The last have yielded some of the finest sculptural compositions of Khajuraho, vibrating with a rare sensitiveness and warmth of human emotion. Some of the erotic couples like those of the Jagadambi temple (pl. XLV) are distinguished by an expression of intense absorption and rapture, which transcend from the physical to the spiritual plane.

The fifth or the last category consists of sculptures of animals including the śārdūla, which is a heraldic and fabulous beast, primarily represented as a rampant horned lion with an armed human rider on the back and a warrior counter-player attacking it from behind. Numerous varieties of this basic type are known with heads of elephant, man, parrot, boar, etc. The śārdūla is normally figured in the recesses of the jaṅghā but also appears on the sukanāsīka and in the interior. Like the apsaras, this is a most typical and popular sculptural theme of Khajuraho and is invested with a deep symbolism.

The sculptural art of Khajuraho draws amply on the classical tradition but is essentially medieval. Situated as Khajuraho is in the heart of central India, which is open to the artistic influences from the east and the west, its art is a happy combination of the sensuousness of the east with the nervous angular modelling of the western idiom. Though this art cannot compare with the classical Gupta art in sublimity, depth of feeling and expression of inner experience of the artist, it pulsates with a human vitality which is amazing. One is struck by the immensity and throbbing warmth of the Khajuraho sculptures which are completely liberated from their wall-surface and stand out almost fully in the round as enchanting lyrics of modelled beauty.

The modelling at Khajuraho generally lacks the flow which characterizes the sculptures of the Gupta age. The plastic volume is usually ample but stereotyped, indicating a thinning down of the plastic vision. The plasticity of the fully-rounded and modelled form is replaced by sharp edges and pointed angles, with a stress on horizontals, verticals and diagonals. Nevertheless, the art of Khajuraho surpasses even the medieval school of Orissa in revealing the sensuous and many-sided charms of the human body. Inspired by an ecstatic joy of living and a consuming passion for the physical beauty, the artist of Khajuraho revelled in admiring the human body from the most fascinating angles which give us fine profiles and the unusual three-quarter profiles and back views. The walls of the Khajuraho temples are a veritable gallery of female types of ravishing beauty, vaunting their voluptuous charms in an infinite variety of lovely attitudes and postures. In fact, this art excels all other contemporary schools of art in the vivid portrayal of human moods and fancies which are often expressed through the medium of gestures and flexions with a subtle but purposive sensuous provocation. Coquettish languor and frankly erotic suggestion form the key-notes which distinguish the Khajuraho art from the contemporary schools of art.

1 This is known as karpūra-maṅjarī among the iconographical types illustrated on the Kṛttistambha at Chitorgarh.
THE TEMPLES OF KHAJURAHO

The classical flavour persists in the sculptures of the Lakshmana and Pārśvanātha temples, which combine subtlety of modelling with an amplitude of volume and a languorous or seemingly serene expression. The tradition is continued in the Viṣvanātha and partially in the Jagadambi and Chitragupta. But the sculptures of the later Khajuraho temples, such as the Kandariya, Vāmana, Ādinātha and Dūlādeo show violent and excited movements. The human frame writhes round its axis, in agitated and impossible flexions, straining the joints almost to a breaking point.

The supple and rounded modelling, combined with a gracefully languorous expression, is illustrated by exquisite figures of Krishnā uprooting Tamalārjuna (pl. XXXIX A) and an apsaras sporting with a ball (pl. XXXIX B) from the interior of the Lakshmana temple and by the expressive figures of Balarāma and Revaṁi (pl. XXXVIII B) and an apsaras with a plump face and tilted head painting her foot (pl. XL A) from the Pārśvanātha.

The Viṣvanātha temple has indeed the most proportionate figures with admirable poise and balance, illustrated by an apsaras playing on a flute (pl. XL B). Some of the characteristic sculptural types of Khajuraho are introduced for the first time in this temple. The sculptures of the Jagadambi and Chitragupta are slightly less massive than those of the Viṣvanātha, but not quite as slender as those of the Kandariya and have yielded some of the most artistic figures of erotic couples (pl. XLV).

The characteristic sculptural types of Khajuraho attain their maturity in the Kandariya-Mahādeva temple which displays tall and slender figures with distinctive physiognomy, writhing round their axis often in highly-contorted postures (pl. XLI A). The Vāmana and Ādinātha carry on the sculptural tradition of the Kandariya and show elegantly tall figures with tapering legs. They display a wide variety of apsaras in many difficult and tortuous poses, illustrated by a dancing apsaras from the Ādinātha (pl. XLI).

The sculptural art is on a definite decline in the Javāri and Chaturbhuj temple, which represent largely conventionalized figures without much expression or life. The Dūlādeo represents the last glow of the dying lamp, as it combines highly dynamic and romantic sculptures, such as those of dancing apsaras (pl. XLI B) and flying vidyādhāras (pl. XLIII), with degenerate, stereotyped and lavishly-ornamented figures (pl. XLIV), marking the exhaustion of the remarkable vitality for which the Khajuraho sculptures are justly famous.

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