

THE FIGURES OF THE TWO LOWER RELIEFS ON THE PĀRŚVANĀTHA TEMPLE AT KHAJURĀHO

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Bibl. : B. L. Dhama and S. C. Chandra, Khajurāho (Published by the Manager of Publications, Delhi 1953), p. 36.

Introduction and Plans p. 7. Description and Interpretation of the Figures p. 11. Statistics p. 25. Notes p. 26. Conclusion p. 31.

INTRODUCTION

The present article is a specialized study of the iconography of one of the Jaina temples at Khajurāho, but an attempt has been made in the last paragraphs to utilize the results for some general conclusions concerning iconography as subject and as method.

A general description of the Jaina temples, especially of the Pārśvanātha temple, is given in Dhama/Chandra's monograph :

(p. 28) "The Jaina temples are situated to the south-east of the village [Khajurāho]. They are, on the whole, architecturally similar to the Brāhmanical examples except that the balconied openings of the transepts, such pronounced features of the other group, are absent here. In the Pārśvanātha temple, however, to admit light into the *maṇḍapa* and the *pradakṣiṇa-patha*, small perforated windows have been introduced on all the sides."

(p. 31) "The Pārśvanātha temple is the largest and finest of the Jaina temples now surviving at Khajurāho. It is 68 ft. 2 in. long and 34 ft. 11 in. broad and faces east. The addition of a little shrine to the back of the sanctum is a distinguishing feature. The portico preceding this shrine is no longer extant. Internally, the temple consists of three chambers, the *mahāmaṇḍapa*, *antarāla* and *garbhagrha*. These chambers are surrounded by a common ambulatory passage."

To my knowledge only a small plan of the temple has been published so far (by Cunningham in the 10th Vol. of the Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India, Plate VIII). Our plans on p. 10 are only meant as guide to the sculptures.

Of the three reliefs only the two lower ones are of interest for the student of iconography, the figures of the third one being of quite a

different character. In rare cases the figures of the second relief reflect conceptions of the third relief just as the third relief contains some figures similar to those on the two lower panels. The sculptures of the superstructure could not be studied because they were inaccessible.—The maximum height of the lower figures (1st relief) is about 35 in., the maximum height of the upper ones (2nd relief) about 25 in. The figures on the walls of the back-shrine (sections VI and VIII in plan 3) are slightly smaller in the lower row and considerably smaller (height about 15 in.) in the upper row.—All figures in the two lower panels are standing. Whereas the women engaged in particular actions (removing of a thorn etc.) are seen in different attitudes, all the other figures show a more or less pronounced *tribhanga*. The subsidiary *yakṣiṇīs* on slab III 4^u and XI 18^u are seated in *lalitāsana*. The dwarf IV 10^u stands with crooked legs, and the three musicians VIII 3^u sit. The tīrthamkaras are either standing or sitting.—All the sculptures of the temple are in a very good state of preservation.

In the big plan (1) with distorted proportions the different figures are marked by T (īrthamkara), D (ikpāla), M (ale), F (emale), V (yāla). W denotes a window, and special niches are indicated by a frame. Over the figures in the recesses there appears a (—), whereas a (+) is put over the figures on the projections. Since combinations (MF, FM, MMM, MFM, FMF) are very common, we have separated by an oblique (M/F) figures which are grouped together in the same recess or on the same projection, but are not connected with each other.—The Roman number always refers to the section (see plan 3), the Arabic number to the place within the section, the letters *u* and *l* to the upper and lower reliefs. The reading of the figures goes from right to left (even if different sculptures are arranged on one and the same panel), but from left to right in the case of combined figures as couples etc. The reading of the attributes goes from left to right and from top to bottom.

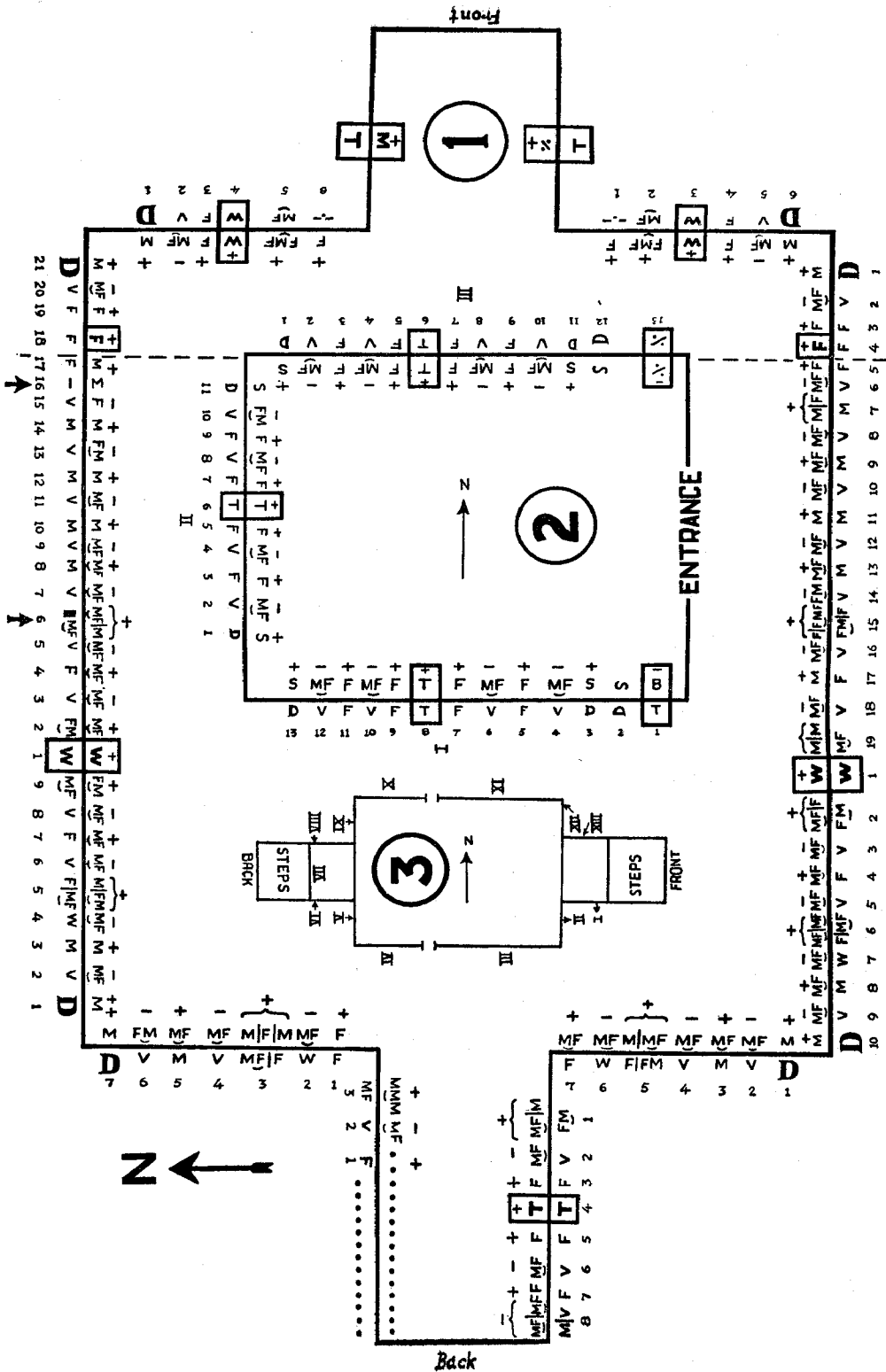
The sculptures on the outer walls of the *garbhagr̥ha* are marked in the same way as those on the walls of the *maṇḍapa* and *pradakṣiṇapatha*, but for reasons of the context the eight single male figures have been specified as S (Śiva, see plan 2 for *garbhagr̥ha*).

In the 'Description and Interpretation' given below the sculptures are defined by a name, a Roman number, a question mark, or '0' (zero). In the last case the figure has no 'iconographical value' and, accordingly, no

individuality (see below). Figures provided with a question mark in a y have individuality, but no identification was possible. The Roman numbers refer to certain types of sculptures (type with Śiva-iconography, type characterized by lotus and citron, and so on). As some of the types are of a very doubtful character and as the assignment to a type is often questionable, we might have marked many figures with a '?' or '0' as well as with a number. On the other hand in many cases 'I' and 'II' means almost the same as 'Śiva' and 'Viṣṇu', and only because of the gradual transition to less and less distinct Śivas and Viṣṇus which makes a decision often difficult the names are always avoided. Some figures, however, are explained by a name, not because of especially correct iconography but because transitional figures are not represented so that it was not necessary to introduce a special 'type'.

In the 'Statistics' the members of the types are listed. In the case of types I and II those figures are mentioned first which bear the greatest resemblance with these gods, and the figures with few 'iconograms' peculiar to them are enumerated later. By 'iconogram' (in opposition to a mere attribute) I mean any feature (*mudrā*, *āsana*, attribute etc.) which identifies a being either as an individual strictly speaking (e.g. Ṛṣabha generally to be recognized by the hair-locks) or as a member of an individual group (e.g. tīrthāṅkaras largely to be recognized by their nudity). As some iconograms found with the sculptures of our temple (lotus, 'padmasarpa', snake, citron) have spread from certain figures to others they cannot, in a n y context, be taken as significant. They appear along with statues to whom they originally do not belong (Śiva and Viṣṇu with citron) or are found isolated (couple with 'padmasarpa' as sole attribute), and they lose, accordingly, their significance even in the proper context (lotus along with *cakra* gives no sufficient evidence that the figure is actually meant to be Viṣṇu). Especially figures with such iconograms are defined by '?', '0' or are enumerated at the end of the lists for type I and II.

For terms not explained here refer to Notes.



PLANS 1-3

DESCRIPTION AND INTERPRETATION OF THE FIGURES

A THE FIGURES ON THE OUTER WALLS OF THE MAṄḌAPA

- I ./.
T (—) standing
- II 1 F = ?
āmraphala (?) /kaṭi or paṭa
no sculpture
- II 2 FMF = 0
beard(M)/head(M)//neck(1stF)/r.l.arm(1stF)//n.r./l.u. arm(M)
MF M = V F = 0
dhanuṣkarṣaṇa/dhanus/ /ālingana (kaṇṭha) /pustaka
padma/ālingana
- II 3 window
window
- II 4 F = 0
bijapūra/paṭa
F = ?
././ padmasarpa or padma rolled up
- II 5 MF = 0
kaṭi/ālingana//ālingana (kaṇṭha) /padmasarpa
V
- II 6 M = III (padmapāṇi)
padmasarpa/padmasarpa
bijapūra/kaṭi
M = dikpāla (E) Indra (elephant)
gadā (perhaps mutilated ankuśa) /sarpa (3)
padmapāṇi (form b) /vajra
- III 1 M = I (apasmārapuruṣa, padmapāṇi)
triśūla/padmasarpa
abhaya/kamaṇḍalu (hanging)
M = dikpāla (SE) Agni (meṣa, knotted beard)
gadā (śakti ? sruk ?) /pustaka (?)
akṣamālā/kamaṇḍalu (hanging)
- III 2 MF M = II F = 0
śankha/cakra/(ring)//ālingana (kaṇṭha) /darpaṇa
gadā/ālingana
V

- III 13 MF = 0
= II 5^u
M = I
padmasarpa/sarpa (1)
padma (half-opened, stylized)/kamaṇḍalu
- III 14 FM F = 0 M = ?
bijapūra/n. r. // ? /padmasarpa
ālingana/kaṭi
V
- III 15a^u FMF = 0
kaṭi/ālingana//āl. (kaṇṭha) /āl. (kaṇṭha) //āl. (kaṇṭha) /pustaka
- III 15b^u F = 0
paṭa/hand bent downwards, animal (probably bird) on wrist
- III 15a^l F = 0
paṭa/kaṭi
- III 15b^l FM F = 0 M = Balarāma (7 snake-hoods)
padmasarpa/ālingana (kaṇṭha) //kamaṇḍalu (resting) /hala
ālingana/kaṭi
- III 16 MF = 0
varada (towards the F) /ālingana (kaṇṭha) //āl. (kaṇṭha) /paṭa
V
- III 17 M = III
= III 11^u
F = 0
painting the eye/darpaṇa
- III 18 MF = 0
varada (towards the female) /ālingana //āl. (kaṇṭha) /?
V
- III 19a^u M = VI
bundle of lotus-stalks (with buds) /padmasarpa
kaṭi/padma (half-opened, stylized)
- III 19b^u M = IV
padma (half-opened, stalk) /padmasarpa
bijapūra/kaṭi
- III 19^l MF M = II F = 0 (photo)
śankha/cakra //ālingana (kaṇṭha) /darpaṇa
padma (half-opened) /ālingana
- IV 1 window
window



Temple of Pārśvanātha, Khajurāho

Photo : R. Bharadwaj]



2. III. 191



1. IV. 21 The Figures of the two lower reliefs on the Pársvanátha Temple at Khajuráho

Photos : Dr. Klaus Bruhn |

- M = I (Nandi)
padma (rolled up, animal in calyx) /sarpa (3)
kaṭi/padma (bud)
- IV 9 MF = 0
= II 5^u
V
- IV 10 M = dwari
creeper in both arms (padmapāni)
M = dikpāla (S) Yama (beard and moustache; skull and
snakes on the head)
padma (bud) /pustaka
khaṭvāṅga (animal on top) /abhaya (bird on wrist)
mṛga (?)
- V 1 M = II
abhaya/śankha
resting on gadā/ ./.
M = dikpāla (SW) Nirṛti (naked, snakes round the neck
and round the arms)
padmasarpa/sarpa (1)
khaḍga/śiras
śvan
- V 2 MF M = II F = 0
resting on gadā/ālingana//ālingana (kaṇṭha) /padmasarpa
V
- V 3 MF M = IV F = 0
padma (half-opened) /padmasarpa//ālingana (kaṇṭha) /pustaka
bijapura/ālingana
M = I (Nandi)
padmasarpa/sarpa (3)
akṣamālā/kamaṇḍalu (hanging)
- V 4 MF = 0
= II 5^u
V
- V 5a^u MF M = II F = 0
gadā/padma (half-opened, stylized, stalk) //āl. (kaṇṭha) /downw.
bijapura/ālingana
- V 5b^u M = II
padmasarpa/cakra
resting on gadā/śankha

- V 5a¹ FM F = 0 M = II
padma (?) / n.r. // cakra/śankha
ālingana/resting on gadā
- V 5b¹ F = 0 (n.f.)
o n e long lotus-stalk (with bud) carried by both arms
- V 6 MF M = VI F = 0
padma (half-opened, stalk) / padmas. // āl. (kaṇṭha) / darpaṇa
padma (bud) / ālingana
window
- V 7 MF M = II F = 0
resting on gadā/l.shoulder (F) // n.r./padmasarpa
F = 0 (padmapāṇi)
bījapūra/downwards
- VI (all figures smaller in size, refer to Introduction)
- VI 1a^u M = 0
kaṭi/padma (bud) or bijapūra
- VI 1b^u MF = 0
= II 5^u
- VI 1¹ FM F = 0 M = II
darpaṇa/ālingana (kaṇṭha) // cakra (ring) / padma (half-op., stalk)
ālingana/śaktighaṇṭa
- VI 2 MF = 0
kaṭi/n.r. // n.r./padmasarpa
V
- VI 3 F = 0
paṭa/padmasarpa
F = 0 (n.f.)
both hands holding braid of hair
- VI 4 T(—.—) seated
T(—.—) standing
- VI 5 F = 0
paṭa/padmasarpa or padma (full-blown, stalk)
F = 0
paṭa/hand bent downwards (with bird on wrist)
- VI 6 MF = 0
touching his own chest/āl.//āl. (kaṇṭha) / between the legs
V

- VI 7 F = 0
padmasarpa/kaṭi
 F = 0
padmasarpa/kaṭi
- VI 8a^u MF = 0
= II 5^u, but pustaka instead of padmasarpa
- VI 8b^u MF = 0
= II 5^u, but kaṭi instead of padmasarpa
- VI 8a^l V
- VI 8b^l M = II (padmapāni)
śankha/padma (half-opened, stalk)
resting on gadā/cakra
- VIII (all figures smaller in size, refer to Introduction)
- VIII 1 no sculpture
 F = 0 (n.f.)
?/pustaka
- VIII 2 MF = 0
padma (bud) or bījapūra (with head of a snake upon it)/āl//
ālingana (kaṇṭha) / ./.
- V
- VIII 3 MMM = 3 musicians
veṇu//raised/paṭa//ḍamaru
 MF M = V F = 0
lotus-bundle/dhanus //āl. (kaṇṭha)/padmasarpa
sort of half-opened padma/āl.
lotus-bundle as in III 19a^u, but with three human skulls on
the stalks below the buds
- IX 1 F = 0
././ paṭa
 F = 0
downwards/darpaṇa
to her left female attendant figure (with bījapūra in her
right hand)
- IX 2 MF = 0 (M with beard) .
= II 5^u
 window
- IX 3a^u M = 0
padmasarpa/downwards

- IX 3b^u F = 0 (animal to her right)
hand touching right cheek (fore-finger and middle finger stretched upwards)/ pustaka
- IX 3c^u M = III
padmasarpa/padmasarpa
bījapūra/kaṭi
- IX 3a^l F = 0 (n.f.)
stick/collyrium vessel
- IX 3b^l MF M = II F = 0
././cakra//ālingana (kaṇṭha)/padma (half-opened, stalk)
././ālingana
- IX 4 MF = 0
= II 5^u
V
- IX 5 MF = 0
bījapūra/ālingana // ālingana (kaṇṭha)/pātra (?)
M = I (Nandi)
padmasarpa/sarpa (1)
././kaṭi
- IX 6 FM F = 0 M = ?
padmasarpa/ālingana//n.r./padma (bud, stalk)
ālingana/kamaṇḍalu (resting)
V
- IX 7 M = II
padmasarpa / ./.
resting on gadā / ./.
M = dikpāla (W) Varuṇa
pāśa/padmasarpa
kaṭi/kamaṇḍalu (hanging)
- X 1 M = II (padmapāni)
padma (half-opened, stalk)/cakra (stalk)
abhaya/kaṭi
M = dikpāla (NW) Vāyu (mr̥ga)
ankuśa/pustaka (dhvaja ?)
varada/kamaṇḍalu (hanging)
- X 2 MF M = II F = 0
śankha/sarpa //touching śankha (or neck) of M/padma
resting on gadā/n.r. (half-opened, stylized, stalk)
V

- XI 10** M = II
kaṭi/śankha
 M = VI ?
padmasarpa/padma (bud) (?)
abhaya/kaṭi
- XI 11** MF = 0
= II 5^v, but pustaka instead of padmasarpa
V
- XI 12** M = ?
pustaka (?)/abhaya
kaṭi/padmasarpa
 M = II
padmasarpa/śankha
bijapūra/resting on gadā
- XI 13** FM = 0
padma (?)/ālingana (kaṇṭha)//n.r./kaṭi
V
- XI 14** M = II
padmasarpa/padma (half-opened, stalk)
resting on gadā in varada pose/bijapūra
 M = IV
padma (bud)/padma (full-blown, stalk)
bijapūra/kaṭi
- XI 15** F = 0 (n.f.)
shown from the back
V
- XI 16** M = I (Nandi)
padma (half-opened) (?)/sarpa (3)
abhaya/kamaṇḍalu (hanging)
no sculpture
- XI 17** M = I (Nandi)
gadā/sarpa (3)
abhaya/kamaṇḍalu (hanging)
 F = 0
lekhanī/pustaka
- XI 18** s.p. 24
- XI 19** F = 0
paṭa/padmasarpa
 F = 0 (n.f.)

- XI 20 MF M = IV F = 0
 padmasarpa/paṭa //ālingana (kaṇṭha)/darpaṇa
 bijapūra/ālingana
 V
- XI 21 M = (Brahma)
 śakti (sruk ?)/pustaka
 sort of varada/kamaṇḍalu (hanging)
 M = dikpāla (N) Kubera
 padmasarpa/pustaka (?)
 bijapūra/sarpa (1)
- XII 1 M = I
 triśūla/padmasarpa
 akṣamālā/kamaṇḍalu (hanging)
 M = dikpāla (NE) Iśāna (Nandi)
 śakti/sarpa (3)
 akṣamālā/kamaṇḍalu (hanging)
- XII 2 MF = 0
 l.hand (F)/ālingana (kaṇṭha)//āl. (kaṇṭha)/in right hand (M)
 V
- XII 3 F = 0
 paṭa/padmasarpa
 F = 0
 padmasarpa/downwards
- XII 4 window
 window
- XII 5 FMF = 0
 bijapūra/l.shoulder (M)//ālingana (1st F)/āl. (k., 2nd F)//
 r.shoulder (M)/bijapūra
 MF M = II F = 0
 ././ śankha // ālingana (kaṇṭha)/padmapāṇi (cakra before
 kaṭi/ālingana creeper, cf. X 9^u)
- XII 6 F = ?
 ././ bijapūra
 no sculpture
- XIII M = III
 padma (half-opened)/padma (half-opened)
 resting on gadā/bijapura
 T(—) standing

B THE FIGURES ON THE OUTER WALLS OF THE GARBHAGRĪHA

a. *The dikpālas* (order of succession : r.u. arm/l.u.//r.l./l.l.)

Indra :	ankuśa/padma (half-opened, stalk)//kaṭi/vajra (gaja)
Agni :	śakti (sruk?)/pustaka(?)//abhaya/kamaṇḍalu (hanging) (beard, meṣa)
Yama :	pustaka/sarpa (1)//kaṭi/khaṭvānga (moustache, mṛga?)
Nirṛti :	././sarpa (1)//khaḍga(?)/śiras (sarpa on the head, round the neck, and round the arms; śvan)
Varuṇa :	pustaka(?) / ././ // kaṭi/? (vāhana)
Vāyu :	mālā (dhvaja?) kept in both upper arms// gadā (ankuśa?)/kamaṇḍalu (hanging) (hiraṇa)
Kubera	padmasarpa/padma (half-opened)//kaṭi/nakula (vāhana)
Īśāna :	sarpa/padma (half-opened)//triśūla / ././ (padmapāṇi, Nandi)

b. *The Śivas* (order of succession as in a.)

triśūla/sarpa (1), but I 2, I 13, II 11, III 12 : sarpa (3)
akṣamālā/kamaṇḍalu (hanging) (Nandi)

c. *The couples* (all [except II 10] MF, all = 0, all only two arms)

I 4 ^u	= II 5 ^u (of maṇḍapa), but paṭa instead of padmasarpa
I 6 ^u	kaṭi/ālingana (kaṇṭha)//n.r./beard of the male
I 10 ^u	= II 5 ^u , but padma (half-opened, stalk) instead of padmasarpa
I 12 ^u	right arm of the female/ālingana (kaṇṭha)//paṭa/abhaya
II 2 ^u	= II 5 ^u , but padma (bud, stalk) instead of padmasarpa
II 4 ^u	left arm of the female/āl. (kaṇṭha)//āl. (kaṇṭha)/śṛṅkhalā(?)
II 8 ^u	left hand of the female/ālingana//āl. (kaṇṭha)/hand empty
II 10 ^u	(FM) right thigh of the male/paṭa//ālingana (kaṇṭha)/?
III 2 ^u	right arm of the female/ālingana (kaṇṭha)//touching her left breast/downwards
III 4 ^u	dhanuṣkarṣaṇa/ālingana//ālingana (kaṇṭha)/pustaka
III 8 ^u	maithuna
III 10 ^u	outer hands put into one another, inner h. on outer shoulders

d. *The female figures* : all = 0, all n.f.e. *The tīrthamkaras etc.*

I 1	lower panel : T(—.—), upper panel : Bāhubalin
I 8	l.p. T(—.—), u.p. T(—.—)
II 6	l.p. T with ardhaçandra (= Candraprabha), u.p. T with makara (? , = Suvidhi ?)
III 6	l.p. T with makara (?), u.p. T (—.—)

c. *The figures on the three door-lintels*

door-way of the maṇḍapa left figure = Brahmāṇī (3 [= 4] heads, haṁsa)
 śakti/pustaka
 ./ / kamaṇḍalu (resting)
 middle figure = Cakreśvarī (Garuḍa)
 padma (?) /cakra
 cakra (ring)/dhanus
 gadā/kheṭaka
 khaḍga/gadā
 abhaya/sankha
 right f. = Brahmāṇī (3 [= 4] heads, haṁsa?)
 śakti/pustaka
 bijapūra (?) /kamaṇḍalu (hanging)

door-way of the garbhagrha (both figures on the walls in r. angle to the lintel) left figure = Lakṣmī
 padma (full-blown, stalk)/padma (f., st.)
 abhaya/kamaṇḍalu (resting)
 (elephants on the padmas facing each other)
 right figure = Sarasvatī
 padmasarpa/pustaka
 v i ṇ ā

door-way of the back-shrine left figure = Sarasvatī
 padmasarpa/pustaka
 v i ṇ ā
 middle figure = Lakṣmī
 padmasarpa/padmasarpa
 ./ / kamaṇḍalu (hanging)
 right figure = Sarasvatī
 padmasarpa/pustaka
 varada/kamaṇḍalu (hanging)

STATISTICS

(The figures described under B c.-e. are left aside)

Type I (Śiva).

4 peculiar iconograms (Nandi not counted): 8 Śivas of the garbhagrha, XII 1¹ (= Īśāna), XII 1^u.

3 : III 1^u, V 3¹, XI 17^u.

2 : III 9¹, III 13¹, IV 7^u, XI 16^u.

1 : III 9^u (= X 8^u), III 11¹, IV 2b^u, IV 4^u, IV 8¹, IV 8^u, X 7^u, X 9¹.

mutilated figures : (garbhagrha) III 12¹ (Īśāna), IX 5¹.

figures with bijapūra : X 3¹, X 7^u, IX 8¹.

Type II (Viṣṇu).

4 : V 5b^u, VI 8b^l, X 3^u.

3 : III 2^u, III 19^l, IV 6a^l, V 5a^l.

2 : III 7b^u, X 1^u, X 4^u.

1 : V 2^u, V 7^u, XI 10^u.

mutilated figures : V 1^u, IX 3b^l, IX 7^u, XII

figures with sarpa or bījapūra : X 2^u (sarpa) ; V 5a^u, XI 6a^u, XI 12^l, XI 14^u.

Type III (male figures with two padmas of the same shape in the upper arms).

II 6^u (= IX 3c^u), III 11^u (= III 17^u), X 5b^u, XIII^u.

Type IV (male figures with padma and bījapūra). Cf. Type II last line and Type III No. 1, 2, 5, 6. — III 8^u, III 19b^u, IV 6a^u, V 3^u, XI 14^l, XI 20^u.

Type V (male figures with dhanuṣkarṣaṇa and/or dhanus).

(garbhagr̥ha) III 4^u, II 2^l, IV 6b^u, VIII 3^l, XI 6^l (= Agni), X 4^u.

III 4^u ('Cakreśvarī').

Type VI (male figures which do not belong to type I - V with two or more padmas).

III 19a^u, V 6^u, IX 2^u, X 6^u, XI 10^l.

Identified figures (except the 2 x 8 dikpālas).

Balarāma (III 15b^u), Kubera (? , IV 2^l), Ambikā (IV 4^l), Kumāra (? , X 5a^l), Brahma (XI 2^l), Agni (XI 6^l), Brahma (XI 20^u).

Figures neither identified nor entered into the lists.

II 1^u (F), III 7^l, III 14^u, IX 6^u, X 9^u, XI 12^u, XII 6^u (F).

NOTES

Explanation of the terms (ref. also to the Introduction)

The following system has been adopted for the description of the figures in A and C :

right upper arm (1st fig.)/left upper arm (1st fig.)

right lower arm (1st fig.)/left lower arm (1st fig.)

The 2nd (3rd) figure is described behind or below the preceding figure; the double oblique separates different figures forming a group: 1st fig. // 2nd fig. // 3rd fig.

- ? denotes uncertainty due to mutilation or due to difficulties in the interpretation
- ./ missing or broken
- T(—.—) tīrthamkara-image without cihna
- ālingana arm put round the hip (or hip and breast) of the other figure
- ālingana (kaṇṭha) arm put round the neck of the other figure
- brackets iconograms not kept in the hands are given in brackets behind the general definition, e.g. 'M = I (Nandi)'. If a hand of a figure touches a part of another figure, it is indicated thus: 'left hand (F)', i.e. touching the left hand of the accompanying female figure. Similarly 'beard' in the description of a female figure means 'grabbing the male by the beard'.
- cakra (ring) cakra in the simple form of a ring
- dhanuṣkarṣaṇa fore-finger touching the thumb; the interpretation dh. (instead of jñānamudrā or pravacanamudrā) is chosen because the iconogram occurs along with weapons
- downwards hand hanging down (with thumb inwards as distinguishing mark from varada where the thumb is shown outwards); hand described as resting on a particular object is in this position if not stated otherwise
- kamaṇḍalu either hanging (upper part grasped by the hand) or resting in the hand
- kaṭi kaṭy-avalambita-hasta
- n.f. not shown from the front
- n.r. not to be recognized (if in the case of ālingana one arm is hidden behind the figure which it embraces)
- padmapāṇi see note on (maṇḍapa) II 6^u
- padmasarpa blending of padma and sarpa: rolled up sarpa resembling a full-blown lotus with stalk
- paṭa hand keeping scarf or garment
- sarpa (1)/(3) snake with one or three hoods
- śiras head (kept by a tuft of hair) in opposition to skull

Remarks on single figures

Maṇḍapa

II 5^l etc. Ref. for vyālas (or śārdūlas) to St. Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*, II, p. 332 ff.

II 6^u. padmapāṇi motive. The old motive survives in later art in two forms: *a*. As a floral design (often influenced by animal motives) which generally does not reach the hand of the figure. It can be shown by the side of almost every statue, in temples of the northern and southern styles, Hindu and Jaina. *b*. In the form of two highly stylized leaves (always of the same shape) which the tirthaṅkara keeps in either hand. In *a* the lower part, in *b* the upper part of the design has become independent. Of our drawings Fig. 1 shows the original complete form, 2 and 3 show the two later forms *a* and *b* (*a* in Fig. 2 in its simplest shape, but combined with *b*; *b* alone in Fig. 3), whereas in 4 an example of blending of motive *a* with another motive (tree) is given.

All the four drawings were prepared from photos: the first shows the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi (early 8th century, Naltigiri, Orissa). Taken from: *The Art of India and Pakistan*, Edited by Sir Leigh Ashton, Plate 40 Fig. 243, by courtesy of the publisher.¹ The second shows an ācārya on the Digambara Jaina Temple No. 1 at Deogarh (U. P.), the third the lower portion of the main image in Deogarh Temple No. 28, and the fourth (Photo U. P. Shah) the lower portion of a late tirthaṅkara image in Baroda. See also our photo of IV 2^l which gives an idea of the usual form of the padmapāṇi-motive on our temple. The pattern is simply referred to as 'padmapāṇi' (form *a*, if not stated otherwise).

II 6^l. sarpa is not traceable for Indra.

III 1^u. kamaṇḍalu instead of the common kapāla? For the apasmārapuruṣa refer to G. Rao, *Hindu Iconography* II 1, 67.

IV 2^l. padma is not traceable for Kubera.

IV 10^l. Here and on the garbhagrha Yama's vāhana looks like a deer, but probably we have to read 'buffalo' according to tradition. Padma is otherwise not found with Yama.

V 1^l. The iconography of the upper arms is probably modelled up from the Śiva-iconography ('Type I').

VI 1^l. For 'śaktighaṇṭa' compare the more common vajraghaṇṭa.

X 2^u. sarpa not found with Viṣṇu

XI 21^l. The reading 'Kubera' is required by the context, but the iconography does not fit him.

XII 1^l. The context permits here (and in III 12^l of the garbhagrha) the reading 'Iśāna' (instead of mere 'I').

1. Faber and Faber Ltd., London.

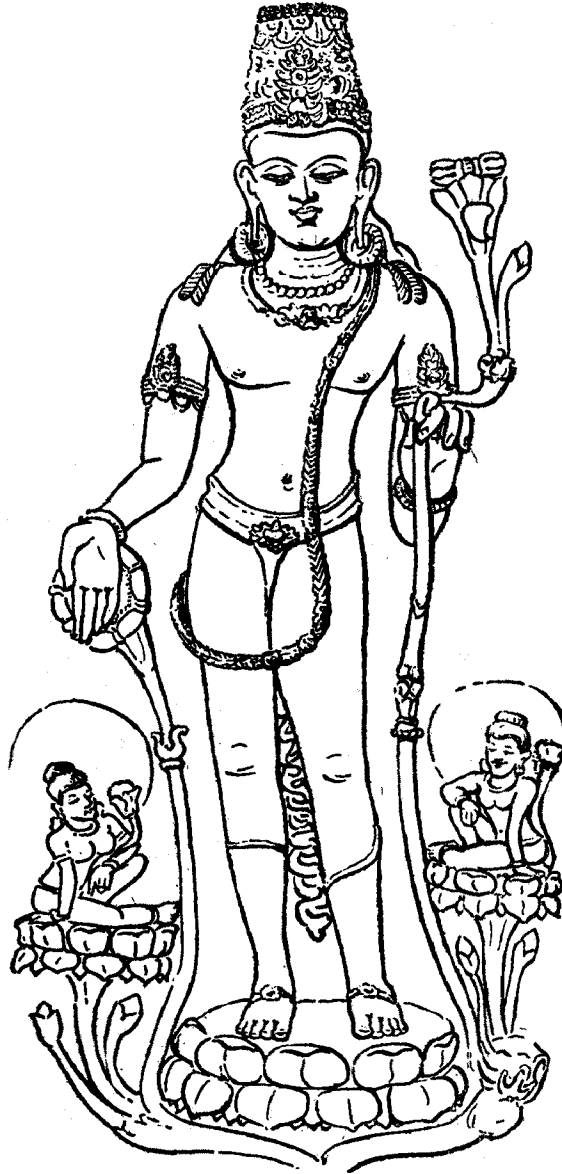


Fig. 1

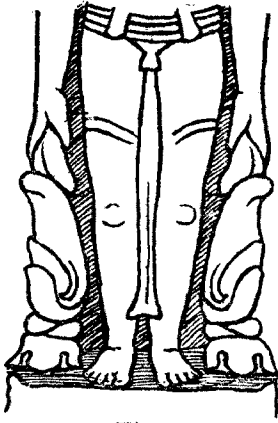


Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4

Garbhagrha

The reader may himself compare the dikpālas on the garbhagrha with the dikpālas on the maṇḍapa. It is noteworthy that in some cases, it seems, padma and sarpa correspond to each other. Compare I 2¹(g.) and II 6¹ (m.), I 13¹ and IV 10¹, III 11¹ and XI 21¹.

Indra and Īśāna, the guardians of the eastern and north-eastern direction—and the two Śivas above them—are placed transversely (i.e. on the side wall of the projection for the following/preceding figure) so that they face the proper direction.

Niches and Lintels

The figures identified as Brahmāṇī: According to my information no yakṣī has three heads, whereas tradition ascribes three or more heads to several yakṣas.

The second figure described under C b. and identified as Sarasvatī: I read the mutilated vāhana as haṁsa because I found the same animal as vāhana of Brahma (and his consort) on a slab of the Śiva temple at Chandpur (from Dhaura Station, Bina-Jhansi Line).

CONCLUSIONS

§1. Cunningham identified many of the figures on the Jaina temples more or less hesitatingly as brahmanical (ASI Reports Vol. X p. 17 on Ghaṇṭai temple “probably brahmanical”, Vol. II p. 432 on two smaller Jaina temples “figure which looks like Lakṣmī”, *ibid.* on Pārśvanātha temple “amongst which [statues] I recognized several of the brahmanical gods”). In Burnier’s work ‘Hindu Medieval Sculpture’, however, the figures are simply called by the names of the brahmanical models. We shall see that the iconography of the Pārśvanātha temple is not brahmanical strictly speaking but highly influenced by brahmanical iconography. This solution almost suggests itself, but it is necessary to support it by such evidence which only a systematical analysis can give. The analysis has possibly also some general interest because investigations of this kind are comparatively rare.

§2. The interpretation of figures other than tīrthaṅkaras presents many difficulties. The artists were not bound to follow exactly the rules of the texts in the representation of *yakṣas*, *yakṣiṇīs*, etc. Art and theory influenced each other, and there was no one-sided dependence. What renders the books even more inapplicable is the stress laid upon features

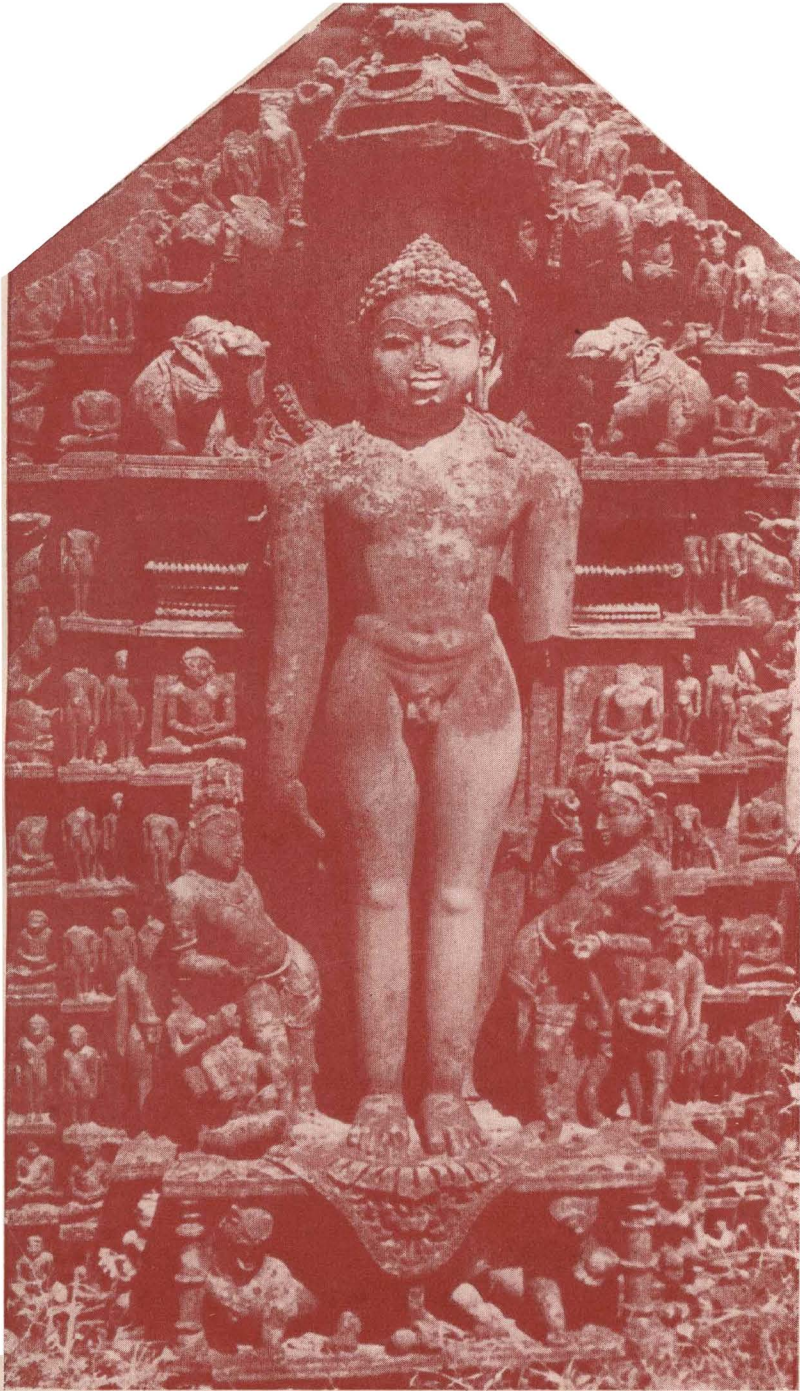
which are not typical or which are not actually represented by the artists². The 'standard iconography' (U. P. Shah) has, therefore, to be found out by a combined study of art and literature. But local differences, differences even within one and the same temple, show that a general dictionary of iconography cannot be written so that it is at the end always the iconographical 'text' itself which must be utilized as dictionary.

The artists have not only changed the details of the iconographical system. Following visual rather than abstract principles they have transformed the character of the system. What is different for the theologian has been made similar or identical by the artist (lotus and *cakra*), and what is more or less identical for the theologian has been differentiated by the artist (lotus). We have tried in our description to do justice to the dogmatical as well as to the aesthetic system. But dogmatical data are more general than aesthetic features. The latter are, therefore, of greater importance, if one has to study the expansion of local styles.

§3. By a formal analysis we find that there are 4×2 separate male figures of a definite iconographical character on the four corners of the temple and of the *garbhagr̥ha* (always in the lower relief). They are the eight *dikpālas* who are thus all represented twice (with more or less important alterations). Moreover above each *dikpāla* of the *garbhagr̥ha* there are identical figures of Śiva. Otherwise no system can be traced in the arrangement of the sculptures, only a certain symmetry which makes it probable that the outer walls have not undergone too many changes in later times: All the three sides of the *garbhagr̥ha* are symmetrical and correspond to each other (plan 2). The sides of the *maṇḍapa* (and the *pradakṣiṇapatha*) are not symmetrical, but the northern and southern half of the lower relief correspond to each other and the two halves of the upper relief are corresponding on the eastern portion of the temple (up to III 4 and XI 18 respectively). See plan 1³.

We have to distinguish between the figures of the *garbhagr̥ha* and those of the *maṇḍapa* (and the *pradakṣiṇapatha*): in the case of the former there is a clear distinction of iconographical and non-iconographical statues, and only the latter (the *dikpālas* and *Śivas*) have four arms. This

2. As beauty, facial expression on the one hand and colours on the other.
3. Two slight irregularities in the correspondence of the two parts of the lower relief have been marked with an arrow. A line divides the figures of the upper relief which correspond to each other from the rest.



Rṣabhanātha, the first Tirthankara, Museum, Khajurāho

Photo : R. Bharadwaj}



Rṣabhanātha, the first Tīrthaṅkara, Khajurāho

Photo : R. Bharadwaj]

clear distinction is absent in the case of the sculptures on the *mandapa*⁴. Again the figures of the current panels must be kept separate from the figures in the two niches interrupting the upper panel (III 4^u and XI 18^u), below these two niches (III 4^l and XI 18^l), in the special niches below the reliefs on the north and south wall, on the three door-lintels (*mandapa*, *garbhagr̥ha*, back-shrine). In the two current panels no female figure has more than two arms (except the just mentioned statues III 4^l and XI 18^l), and females with an iconographical character are an exception (IV 4^l !). Here, however, all the figures are females with more than two arms and have no doubt iconographical features.

The conception of the *garbhagr̥ha* is more systematic in symmetry and iconography than the conception of the *mandapa*. Again the figures on the lintels etc. form the only group which is iconographical throughout. A correlation between the place and the general character of the figures is therefore obvious.

§ 4. Analysis of the iconography. If members of a certain group or class are being represented, we can expect among them the well known and characteristic representatives of that group. Amongst a series of *yakṣiṇīs* Cakreśvarī will not be missing, and she will facilitate the identification of the other group-members even if their general character is not shown by systematical arrangement. As no prominent member of any class of Jaina deities appears in our reliefs (except an isolated Ambikā) we have to start in our interpretation from the many 'brahmanical' gods who catch the eye at once. An exact analysis of all the figures (as it is given above) shows that the majority of the sculptures can be explained as modelled up from brahmanical conceptions.⁵ The degree of similarity differs a lot, only the impression of absolute identity was probably nowhere aimed at. The gods are shown either separately or together with uniconographical wives, but never together with the wives assigned to them by Hindu tradition⁶; they appear always in their simple form (no *avatāras*

4. There are certain formal clues for the distinction of the iconographical and the non-iconographical sculptures on our temple. Figures with four arms and more are always iconographical. Non-iconographical are all figures shown from the side or from the back, and figures involved in an action.
5. Our method of derivation finds support in a figure like XI 8^l where the artist added a Nandi-bull to a figure keeping snake, lotus, citron, thus showing that he kept in view the original conception.
6. There is, however, in Jainism a general aversion against the sanction of divine couples. *Yakṣa* and *yakṣiṇī* are nowhere called husband and wife (U. P. Shah), and the 'happy twins', so common in Jaina art, have not found a dogmatical sanction which does justice to their actual importance,

of Viṣṇu) and are never seen as engaged in an action (no Asurasūdana). It was, therefore, rather the intention of the artist to conceal than to stress the brahmanical nature of the figures.

The present article is very limited in its scope, and we would not like to say that the statues must be explained as brahmanical. An investigation into the iconography of all Khajurāho temples will possibly lead to different conclusions concerning the iconography of the Pārśvanātha temple. It can perhaps show that some of the less clear figures are representations of certain Jaina gods and that the figures with brahmanical character are not simple copies by the artists but adoptions with dogmatical background. But the difference between the last two alternatives concerns rather the form than the degree of brahmanization.

The identification of the female figures on the lintels etc. is easier. It seems they are all rather correct representations of the goddesses Cakreśvarī⁷, Brahmāṇī, Sarasvatī, and Lakṣmī. These deities belong to the Jaina pantheon as well, both in theory and in art.

§ 5. Details of Interpretation. Although it was sometimes tempting to read a single figure as a particular *yakṣa*, the method explained in the last paragraph has always been followed: not to expect little known members of a class if there is no evidence for the class as such. The artists were not supposed to puzzle the worshippers but had to conform to the average knowledge of the educated lay-man. The *yakṣas* of the 19th-21st tīrthamkara and the *graha Śani* for example keep bow and lotus in their hands, but shall we for that connect figure II 2¹ with any of them? Book, *abhaya*, citron are according to some Śvetāmbara authorities iconograms of Siddhāyikā, but can we identify the left subsidiary figure of III 4^u as *yakṣiṇī* of the 24th tīrthamkara? The context (refer to the end of the last paragraph) shows only one *yakṣiṇī*, and nothing has been done by the artist to suggest that the doubtful figure is a *yakṣiṇī* and not related to the Hindu goddesses in the niches and on the lintels.

Any attempt to identify the figures as particular adoptions has been avoided. A Śiva is always understood as Śiva (and not as Īśvara Yakṣa or *dīkpāla* Īśāna [except *garbhagrha* III 12¹ and *maṇḍapa* XII 1¹]), a Brahma always as Brahma (and not as Brahma Yakṣa, *dīkpāla* Brahma or Brahmaśānti Yakṣa). The differences between the adoption and the model, be-

7. Not to be taken as Vaiṣṇavī. Cakreśvari and Ambikā are the only Jaina deities which I found on the temple.

tween the various adoptions themselves, and especially between the Digambara and Śvetāmbara forms of the same adoption are so slight and so much obscured by the interfering of local peculiarities that generally the evidence of the context is required for a minute identification. On the other hand it is only in the context that such an identification gains importance. The principle of multiple adoption has led to an overlapping of the iconographical alphabets, and we cannot simply read a Brahma figure, we must know whether we shall read it according to the *dikpāla* or according to the *yakṣa* alphabet.

§ 6. What accounts for the two peculiarities of our figures, the semi-iconographical character and the Hindu influence? It is well possible that intermediate figures between *surasundarīs* etc. (who have no individuality) and *devas* or *yakṣas* are not restricted to Khajurāho but are represented at other places as well. The answer to the second part of the question, however, must be found in Khajurāho itself. Whereas elsewhere 'brahmanical' figures on Jaina temples conform to the official line of adoption (*Sarasvatī*, *Lakṣmī* etc.), such a limitation is not apparent here. The impact of contemporaneous Hindu art is a necessary but not a sufficient reason for the strong influence. And admitted that the few artists especially trained for Jaina sculpture could not cope with the abundance of figures which was required by the style of the time,⁸ could they not at least prepare some statues of *yakṣas* and *yakṣiṇīs* to be placed on prominent parts of the structure to demonstrate the non-Hindu character of the temple?—It is also excluded that Hindu temples were converted into Jaina temples here: the present Jaina temples form a group of their own, show architectural peculiarities (due to the different forms of worship: Cunningham), and are different from the point of view of sculptural art (few indecent figures). After all the Hindu influence was stronger than the Jaina influence so that the conversion of a Hindu temple into a Jaina temple is less probable than a certain susceptibility to Hindu influences or even some concern not to stress the Jaina character of the temple more than necessary.

This paper could not have been written without the help of Dr. U. P. Shah who introduced me into the study of Jaina iconography and placed his unpublished material at my disposal.

8. Moreover the *maithuna* groups generally had to be replaced by decent representations.