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

DR. KLAUS BRUHN, PH.D.

Bibl.: B. L. Dharma 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. 

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 Pārśva-
ṇātha temple, is given in Dharma/Chandra’s monograph:

(p. 28) “The Jaina temples are situated to the south-east of the vil-
lage [Khajurāho]. They are, on the whole, architecturally similar to the 
Brāhmanical examples except that the balconied openings of the trans-
cepts, such pronounced features of the other group, are absent here. In 
the Pārśvanātha temple, however, to admit light into the manḍapa and the 
pradaksīna-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 mahāmanḍapa, antarāla and garbhagrha. These chambers are sur-
rounded 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 triṃbhanga. The subsidiary yakṣīṇīs on slab III 4u and XI 18u are seated in laḷitāsana. The dwarf IV 10u stands with crooked legs, and the three musicians VIII 3u sit. The tīrthamkāras 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 (tīrthamkara), D (ikpāla), M (male), F (female), 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, F MF) 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 garbhaṛtha 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 garbhaṛtha).

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 may 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 Sivas 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. Rṣabha generally to be recognized by the hair-locks) or as a member of an individual group (e.g. tirthaṅkaras 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 any 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.
BRUHN: KHAJURĀHŌ

DESCRIPTION AND INTERPRETATION OF THE FIGURES

A THE FIGURES ON THE OUTER WALLS OF THE MAṆḌAPA

I

II 1

F = ?
āmrāphala (?)/kaṭi or paṭa
no sculpture

II 2

FMF = 0
beard(M)/head(M)/neck(1stF)/r.l.arm(1stF)/r.r./l.u. arm(M)
MF M = V F = 0
dhanuṣkarṣaṇa/dhanus/ālingana (kaṇṭha)/pustaka
padma/ālingana

II 3

window

II 4

F = 0
bijāpūra/paṭa
F = ?
./padmasarpā or padma rolled up

II 5

MF = 0
kaṭi/ālingana/ālingana (kaṇṭha)/padmasarpā
V

II 6

M = III (padmapāṇi)
padmasarpā/padmasarpā
bijāpūra/kaṭi
M = dīkpāla (E) Indra (elephant)
gadā (perhaps mutilated ankuśa)/sarpa (3)
padmapāṇi (form b)/vajra

III 1

M = I (apasmārapuruṣa, padmapāṇi)
triśūla/padmasarpā
abhaya/kamaṇḍalalu (hanging)
M = dīkpāla (SE) Agni (meṣa, knotted beard)
gadā (śakti? sruk?)/pustaka (?)
akṣamālā/kamaṇḍalalu (hanging)

III 2

MF M = II F = 0
śaṅkha/cakra/(ring)/ālingana (kaṇṭha)/daráṇa
gadā/ālingana
V
III 3 \[ F = 0 \]
bijapūra/paṭa
\[ F = 0 \]
pointing downwards with stretched/pustaka
forefinger and middle finger (as teaching)

III 4 \[ s. p. 24 \]

III 5 \[ F = 0 \]
padma (full-blown, stalk) or cakra (stick)/paṭa
\[ F = 0 \] (n.f.)
removing a thorn from her foot

III 6 \[ MF = 0 \]
= II 5u, but darpana instead of padmasarpa
\[ V \]

III 7a\[ u \]
F = 0
paṭa/padmasarpa

III 7b\[ u \]
M = II
padma (half-opened, stylized)
resting on gadā

III 7i \[ M = ? \] (vāhana)
abhaya/kamanḍalu (hanging)

III 8 \[ MF \]
M = IV \[ F = 0 \]
padma (half-opened, stylized, stalk)/n.r./āl.(kaṇṭha)/padmas.
bijapūra/ālingana
\[ V \]

III 9 \[ MF \]
M = I \[ F = 0 \]
padma (half-opened, stalk)/sarpa (1)/āl.(kaṇṭha)/darpana (?)
kaṭi/ālingana
\[ M = I \] (Nandi)
triśūla/sarpa (3)
padma (bud)/kaṭi

III 10 \[ MF = 0 \]
= II 5u, but paṭa (hand lifted up) instead of padmasarpa
\[ V \]

III 11 \[ M = III \]
padmasarpa/padmasarpa
kaṭi/padma (half-opened)
\[ M = I \]
padma (bud)/sarpa (1)
downwards/padma (half-opened, stylized)

III 12 \[ MF = 0 \]
= II 5u, but darpana instead of padmasarpa
\[ V \]
III 13

\[ MF = 0 \]

\[ = \text{II}^5_u \]

\[ M = I \]

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

\[ FM \ F = 0 \ M = \text{Balarāma (7 snake-hoods)} \]

padmasarpa/ālingana (kaṇṭha)//kamaṇḍalu (resting)/hala

ālingana/kaṭi

III 16

\[ MF = 0 \]

varada (towards the F)/ālingana (kaṇṭha)//āl.(kaṇṭha)/paṭa

V

III 17

\[ M = \text{III} \]

\[ = \text{III}^1_u \]

\[ F = 0 \]

painting the eye/darpanā

III 18

\[ MF = 0 \]

varada (towards the female)/ālingana//āl.(kaṇṭha)/?

V

III 19a_u

\[ M = \text{VI} \]

bundle of lotus-stalks (with buds)/padmasarpa

kaṭi/padma (half-opened, stylized)

III 19b_u

\[ M = \text{IV} \]

padma (half-opened, stalk)/padmasarpa

bijapūra/kaṭi

III 19l

\[ MF \ M = \text{II} \ F = 0 \]

(\[ \text{(photo)} \]

śankha/cakra //ālingana (kaṇṭha)/darpanā

padma (half-opened)/ālingana

IV 1

\[ \text{window} \]

\[ \text{window} \]
IV 2a
\[ F = 0 \]
bent downwards/padmasarpa

IV 2b
\[ MF \quad M = I \quad F = 0 \]
padmasarpa/sarpa (1) // ál. (k.) / padma (full-blown, stalk)
kaññi/alingana

IV 2i
\[ FM \quad F = 0 \quad M = Kūbera (\?) (photo) \]
padmasarpa/alingana (kaññha) // nakula/padmasarpa
alingana/resting on gadā
creeper between F and M (padmapañi)

IV 3
\[ MF = 0 \]
= II 5u
\[ V \]

IV 4
\[ MF \quad M = I \quad F = 0 \]
padmasarpa/sarpa (1) // alingana (kaññha) / bijapūra
kaññi/alingana
\[ F = \text{Ambikā} \]
lumbi/śīśu

IV 5
\[ MF = 0 \]
left hand (F) / l. shoulder (F) / r. shoulder (M) / r. hand (M)
\[ V \]

IV 6a
\[ MF \quad M = IV \quad F = 0 \]
padmasarpa/padma (half-opened) // r. shoulder (M) / padmasarpa
bijapūra/alingana

IV 6b
\[ MF \quad M = V \quad F = 0 \]
dhanuṣkarṣaṇa/alingana // r. shoulder (M) / padmasarpa

IV 6a1
\[ MF \quad M = II \quad F = 0 \]
cakra/śankha // alingana (kaññha) / padmasarpa
resting on gadā/alingana

IV 6b1
\[ F = 0 \ (n.f.) \]
touching the ear with her right hand

IV 7
\[ MF \quad M = I \quad F = 0 \]
sarpa (1) // šakti // alingana (kaññha) / padma (full-blown, stalk)
padma (bud) / n.r.
window

IV 8
\[ MF \quad M = I \quad F = 0 \]
padmasarpa/sarpa (1) // r. shoulder (M) / bijapūra
abhaya/alingana
Temple of Pārśvanātha, Khajurāho

Photo: R. Bharadwaj
The Figures of the two lower reliefs on the Pārśvanātha Temple at Khajurāho

Photos: Dr. Klaus Bruhn
M = I  (Nandi)
padma (rolled up, animal in calyx)/sarpa(3)
kaṭi/padma (bud)

IV 9

MF = 0
= II 5u
V

IV 10

M = dwarf
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/kamaṇḍālu (hanging)

V 4

MF = 0
= II 5u
V

V 5u

MF  M = II  F = 0
gadā/padma (half-opened, stylized, stalk)/āl. (kaṇṭha)/downw.
bijapūra/ālingana

V 5b

M = II
padmasarpa/cakra
resting on gadā/śankha
V 5a

FM  F = 0  M = II
padma (?) / n.r. // cakra / śankha
ālingana / resting on gadā

V 5b

F = 0 (n.f.)
o ne 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)
bijapūra / downwards

VI

(all figures smaller in size, refer to Introduction)

VI 1a

M = 0
kaṭi / padma (bud) or bijapūra

VI 1b

MF = 0
= II 5

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/katı

F = 0

padmasarpa/katı

VI 8au

MF = 0

= II 5u, but pustaka instead of padmasarpa

VI 8bu

MF = 0

= II 5u, but katı instead of padmasarpa

VI 8al

V

VI 8bl

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 bijapūra (with head of a snake upon it)/āl.//
ālingana (kaṇṭha) / ./.

V

VIII 3

MMM = 3 musicians
venu//raised/paṭa//damaru

MF M = V F = 0

lotus-bundle/dhanus //āl.(kaṇṭha)/padmasarpa

sort of half-opened padma/āl.

lotus-bundle as in III 19au, but with three human skulls on
the stalks below the buds

IX 1

F = 0

./. / paṭa

F = 0

downwards/darpana
to her left female attendant figure (with bijapūra in her
right hand)

IX 2

MF = 0 (M with beard).

= II 5u

window

IX 3au

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  
bijapūra/kaṭi

IX 3a^l  \[ F = 0 \] (n.f.)  
stick/collyrium vessel

IX 3b^i  \[ MF \ M = II \ F = 0 \]  
/. /cakra/ālingana (kaṇṭha)/padma (half-opened, stalk)  
/. /ālingana

IX 4  \[ MF = 0 \]  
= II 5^u  
\[ V \]

IX 5  \[ MF = 0 \]  
bijapūra/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/kamandalu (resting)  
\[ V \]

IX 7  \[ M = II \]  
padmasarpa / /  
resting on gadā / /  
M = dikpāla (W) Varuṇa  
pāśa/padmasarpa  
kaṭi/kamandalu (hanging)

X 1  \[ M = II (padmapāni) \]  
padma (half-opened, stalk)/cakra (stalk)  
abhaya/kaṭi  
M = dikpāla (NW) Vāyu (mṛga)  
ankuśa/pustaka (dhvaja ?)  
varada/kamandalu (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)  
\[ V \]
X 3
\[ M = II \]
śankha/padma (half-opened)
resting on paraśu/cakra
\[ M = I \]
triśūla/padmasarpa
bijapūra/kaṭī

X 4
\[ M = II \quad F = 0. \]
dhanuśkarṣana/padma (half-opened) //āl. (kaṇṭha)/padmas.
resting on gadā/ālingana

\[ \text{window} \]

X 5a
\[ F = 0 \ (\text{creep}e \text{ between } F \text{ and } M, = \text{ padmapāni}) \]
stick kept in pātra/r.l.arm (M) // pātra/padma (bud) (?)

X 5b
\[ M = III \]
padma (bud, stalk)/padma (bud, stalk)
kaṭī/bijapūra

X 5a1
\[ M = \text{Kumāra?} \quad F = 0 \]
śakti/ālingana //ālingana (kaṇṭha)/padmasarpa
kaṭī/śakti (one weapon in two arms)

X 5b1
\[ F = 0 \ (\text{n.f.}) \]
engaged in her toilet

X 6
\[ M = VI \quad F = 0 \]

\[ \text{padmasarpa/padma (bud, stalk) //ālingana (kaṇṭha)/padmasarpa} \]

\[ \text{kaṭī/ālingana} \]

\[ V \]

X 7
\[ M = I \quad F = 0 \]

\[ \text{padma (half-opened, stylized, stalk)/sarpa (1) // āl. (k.)/bijap.} \]

\[ \text{bijapūra/ālingana} \]

\[ F = 0 \ (\text{n.f.}) \]
removing a thorn

X 8
\[ M = I \quad F = 0 \]

\[ M = III \quad \text{9u // ālingana (kaṇṭha)/padmasarpa} \]

\[ V \]

X 9
\[ F = 0 \quad M = ? \]

\[ \text{padmasarpa/ālingana (kaṇṭha) // n.r./cakra} \]

\[ \text{ālingana/kaṭī} \]

either cakra with three snake-hoods on top or bundle of lotus-
stalks (cf. VIII 3) with cakra below the buds

\[ M = I \quad F = 0 \]

\[ \text{padmasarpa/sarpa (3) // ālingana (kaṇṭha)/darpaṇa} \]

\[ \text{padma (bud)/ālingana} \]
XI 1
window
window

XI 2
MF  M = VI  F = 0
padma (half-opened, stylized, stalk) / padmasarpa or padma (full-
downwards / l. shoulder (F) // blown, stalk)
älingana (kaṇṭha) / bijapūra
FM  F = 0  M = Brahma (3 = 4) heads, beard, padmap.)

padmasarpa / älingana (kaṇṭha) / śakti (sruk?) / pustaka
älingana / kaṭi

XI 3
MF = 0
l. hand (F) / r. hand (F) // beard / pustaka (?)  
V

XI 4
MF = 0
= II 5u
F = 0 (n.f., padmapāṇi)
engaged in her toilet

XI 5
MF = 0
= II 5u
V

XI 6a
M = II
śankha / padmasarpa
bijapūra / resting on mace

XI 6b
MF = 0
= II 5u

XI 6l
MF  M = Agni (beard)  F = 0
daṇḍa / śikhā // älingana (kaṇṭha) / padmasarpa
dhanuṣkarṣaṇa / älingana

XI 7
MF = 0
= II 5u
V

XI 8
MF = 0
= II 5u, but pustaka instead of padmasarpa
M = I (Nandi)
sarpa (3) / padmasarpa
kaṭi / bijapūra

XI 9
MF  M = ?  F = 0
= II 5u, but ‘resting on ?’ instead of ‘kaṭi’
V
XI 10
M = II
kaṭi/śankha
M = VI ?
padmasarp/padma (bud) (?)
abhaya/kaṭi

XI 11
MF = 0
= II 5th, 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)/darpana
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. (kaṭṭha)/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
taṭṭha/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 GARBHAGRHA

a. The dikpālas (order of succession: r.u. arm/l.u./r.l./l.l.)
   Indra: ankuṣa/padma (half-opened, stalk)/kaṭi/vajra (gaja)
   Agni: śakti (sruk?)/pustaka (?)/abhaya/kamanḍalu (hanging)
          (beard, meṣa)
   Yama: pustaka/sarpa (1)/kaṭi/khaṭvāṅga (moustache, mṛga?)
   Nirṛti: /. /sarpa (1)/khaḍga (?)/śiras (sarpa on the head, round the
          neck, and round the arms; śvaṇ)
   Varuṇa: pustaka (?)//. // kaṭi/? (vāhana)
   Vāyu: mālā (dhvaja?) kept in both upper arms//
          gadā (ankuṣa?)/kamanḍalu (hanging) (hiraṇa)
   Kubera padmasarpa/padma (half-opened)/kaṭi/nakula (vāhana)
   Iśāna: sarpa/padma (half-opened)/trīśūla //. (padmapāṇi, Nandi)

b. The Śivas (order of succession as in a.)
   trīśūla/sarpa (1), but I 2, I 13, II 11, III 12: sarpa (3)
   akṣamālā/kamanḍalu (hanging) (Nandi)

c. The couples (all [except II 10] MF, all = 0, all only two arms)
   I 4u = II 5u (of maṇḍapa), but paṭa instead of padmasarpa
   I 6u kaṭi/ālingana (kaṇṭha)//n.r./beard of the male
   I 10u = II 5u, but padma (half-opened, stalk) instead of padmasarpa
   I 12u right arm of the female/ālingana (kaṇṭha)/paṭa/abhaya
   II 2u = II 5u, but padma (bud, stalk) instead of padmasarpa
   II 4u left arm of the female/āl. (kaṇṭha)//āl. (kaṇṭha)/śrnkhalā (?)
   II 8u left hand of the female/ālingana//āl. (kaṇṭha)/hand empty
   II 10u (FM) right thigh of the male/paṭa/ālingana (kaṇṭha)/?
   III 2u right arm of the female/ālingana (kaṇṭha)//touching her left
          breast/downwards
   III 4u dhanuṣkaraṇa/ālingana//ālingana (kaṇṭha)/pustaka
   III 8u maithuna
   III 10u 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 IN THE NICHES AND ON THE LINTELS

All figures are female, all except III 4\textsuperscript{a} (middle), III 4\textsuperscript{b}, XI 18\textsuperscript{a} (middle), and XI 18\textsuperscript{b} in lālitāsana.

a. The figures in and below the two niches III 4\textsuperscript{a} and XI 18\textsuperscript{a} on the outer walls of the maṇḍapa

III 4\textsuperscript{a}
left figure = Sarasvati?

padma (half-opened, stylized)/pustaka
abhaya/bījapūra

middle figure = Lakṣmī?

./. / padmasarpa
abhaya/kamaṇḍalu (hanging)

right figure = Cakreśvarī?
cakra (stick)/padma (half-opened, stylized)
dhanuṣkarṣaṇa/kamaṇḍalu (resting)

III 4\textsuperscript{b}

= ?

padmasarpa / ./.
varada / ./.

XI 18\textsuperscript{a}
left figure = ?

padma (?)/padma (half-opened, stalk)
abhaya/bījapūra

middle figure = Brahmāṇī (3 [= 4] heads)

./. / ./.

right figure = Lakṣmī?

padma (?)/padma (half-opened, stalk)
abhaya/kamaṇḍalu (resting)

XI 18\textsuperscript{b}

= Lakṣmī?

padma (half-opened, stalk)/padma (half-opened, stalk)

./. / śankha

b. The figures in the two niches below the reliefs

south wall of the maṇḍapa

= Sarasvati

padma (half-opened, stalk)/pustaka

vīṇā

varada/kamaṇḍalu (hanging)

north wall of the maṇḍapa

= Sarasvatī (haṁsa)

rolled up padma/rolled up padma

./. / ./.

animals inside the two padmas
c. **The figures on the three door-lintels**

**door-way of the mandapa**

*left figure = Brahmāṇi (3 [ = 4] heads, hamsa)*
- śakti/pustaka
- / / kamaṇḍalu (resting)

*middle figure = Cakreśvarī (Garuḍa)*
- padma (?) / cakra
- cakra (ring) / dhanus
- gada / kheṭaka
- khaḍga / gada
- abhaya / śankha
- right f. = Brahmāṇi (3 [ = 4] heads, hamsa?)
- 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
  - vīnā

**door-way of the back-shrine**

*left figure = Sarasvatī*
- padmasarpa / pustaka
  - vīnā

*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 Sivas of the garbhagrha,
XII 1₁ (= Iśāna), XII 1ᵘ.
3 : III 1ᵘ, V ³, XI 17ᵘ.
2 : III 9₁, III 13¹, IV 7ᵘ, XI 16ᵘ.
1 : III 9ᵘ (= X 8ᵘ), III 11¹, IV 2ᵇ, IV 4ᵘ, IV 8¹, IV 8ᵘ, X 7ᵘ, X 9¹.

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

figures with bijapūra: X 3¹, X 7ᵘ, IX 8¹.
**Type II** \((V_iṣṇu)\).

4: V 5b\textsuperscript{u}, VI 8b\textsuperscript{I}, X 3\textsuperscript{u}.
3: III 2\textsuperscript{u}, III 19\textsuperscript{I}, IV 6\textsuperscript{aI}, V 5\textsuperscript{aI}.
2: III 7\textsuperscript{bI}, X 1\textsuperscript{u}, X 4\textsuperscript{u}.
1: V 2\textsuperscript{u}, V 7\textsuperscript{u}, XI 10\textsuperscript{u}.

Mutilated figures: V 1\textsuperscript{u}, IX 3\textsuperscript{bI}, IX 7\textsuperscript{u}, XII

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

II 6\textsuperscript{u} (= IX 3\textsuperscript{cI}), III 11\textsuperscript{u} (= III 17\textsuperscript{u}), X 5\textsuperscript{bI}, XIII\textsuperscript{u}.

**Type IV** (male figures with padma and bijapūra). Cf. Type II last line and Type III No. 1, 2, 5, 6. — III 8\textsuperscript{u}, III 19b\textsuperscript{u}, IV 6\textsuperscript{aI}, V 3\textsuperscript{u}, XI 14\textsuperscript{I}, XI 20\textsuperscript{u}.

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

(garbhagṛha) III 4\textsuperscript{u}, II 2\textsuperscript{I}, IV 6\textsuperscript{bI}, VIII 3\textsuperscript{I}, XI 6\textsuperscript{I} (= Agni), X 4\textsuperscript{u}.

III 4\textsuperscript{u} ('Cakreśvari').

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

III 19\textsuperscript{aI}, V 6\textsuperscript{u}, IX 2\textsuperscript{u}, X 6\textsuperscript{u}, XI 10\textsuperscript{I}.

**Identified figures** (except the 2 x 8 dīkpaḷas).

Balarāma (III 15b\textsuperscript{u}), Kubera (?; IV 2\textsuperscript{I}), Ambikā (IV 4\textsuperscript{I}), Kumāra (?; X 5\textsuperscript{aI}), Brahma (XI 2\textsuperscript{I}), Agni (XI 6\textsuperscript{I}), Brahma (XI 20\textsuperscript{u}).

**Figures neither identified nor entered into the lists.**

II 1\textsuperscript{u} (F), III 7\textsuperscript{I}, III 14\textsuperscript{u}, IX 6\textsuperscript{u}, X 9\textsuperscript{u}, XI 12\textsuperscript{u}, XII 6\textsuperscript{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 (\(--\)--) tirthamkara-image without cihna

\(\text{ālingana}\) arm put round the hip (or hip and breast) of the other figure

\(\text{ālingana} (\text{kanṭha})\) 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
dhanuṣkarsana 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

kamanḍalu either hanging (upper part grasped by the hand) or resting in the hand

\(\text{kaṭi}\) katy-avalamba-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)

padmapaṇī see note on (maṇḍapa) II 6\(u\)

padmasarpa blending of padma and sarpa: rolled up sarpa resembling a full-blown lotus with stalk

\(\text{paṭa}\) hand keeping scarf or garment

\(\text{sarpa (1)/(3)}\) snake with one or three hoods

\(\text{śiras}\) head (kept by a tuft of hair) in opposition to skull

Remarks on single figures

Maṇḍapa

II 5\(1\) etc. Ref. for vyālas (or śārdūlas) to St. Kramrisch, The Hindu Temple, II, p. 332 ff.
II 60. 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 tīrthāmkara 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. The second shows an ācārya on the Digambara Jaina Temple No. 1 at Deogārh (U. P.), the third the lower portion of the main image in Deogārh Temple No. 28, and the fourth (Photo U.P. Shah) the lower portion of a late tīrthāmkara image in Baroda. See also our photo of IV 21 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 61. sarpa is not traceable for Indra.

III 10. kamaṇḍalu instead of the common kapāla? For the apasmārapuruṣa refer to G. Rao, Hindu Iconography II 1, 67.

IV 21. padma is not traceable for Kubera.

IV 101. 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 11. The iconography of the upper arms is probably modelled up from the Śiva-iconography (‘Type I’).

VI 11. For ‘saktiḥaṇḍa’ compare the more common vajraghaṇḍa.

X 21. sarpa not found with Viṣṇu

XI 211. The reading ‘Kubera’ is required by the context, but the iconography does not fit him.

XII 11. The context permits here (and in III 121 of the garbhagrha) the reading ‘Īśana’ (instead of mere ‘I’).

1. Faber and Faber Ltd., London.
Fig. 1
Garbhagṛha

The reader may himself compare the dikpālas on the garbhagṛha 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 Iśāna, 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 yakṣi 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 Dhoura 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 tīrthamkāras presents many difficulties. The artists were not bound to follow exactly the rules of the texts in the representation of yakṣas, yakṣinīs, 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 artists. 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 $4 \times 2$ separate male figures of a definite iconographical character on the four corners of the temple and of the garbagrha (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 garbagrha 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 garbagrha are symmetrical and correspond to each other (plan 2). The sides of the maṇḍapa (and the pradakṣinapatha) 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 15.

We have to distinguish between the figures of the garbagrha and those of the maṇḍapa (and the pradakṣinapatha) : 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.
Ṛśabhanātha, the first Tīrthaṅkara, Museum, Khajurāho

Photo: R. Bharadwaj
Ṛṣabhanātha, the first Tīrthaṅkara, Khajurāho

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

The conception of the garbhagṛha is more systematic in symmetry and iconography than the conception of the manḍapa. 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 yakṣinīs Cakreśvari 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. 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 tradition; 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 81 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 yakṣinī 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 Cakreśvari?, Brahmāṇi, Sarasvati, 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 tīrthāṅkara 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 4a as yakṣini of the 24th tīrthāṅkara? The context (refer to the end of the last paragraph) shows only one yakṣini, and nothing has been done by the artist to suggest that the doubtful figure is a yakṣini 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 dakṣāla Isāna [except garbhagrha III 12 and maṇḍapa XII 1]), a Brahma always as Brahma (and not as Brahma Yakṣa, dakṣāla Brahma or Brahma-śānti Yakṣa). The differences between the adoption and the model, be-

7. Not to be taken as Vaiṣṇava. Cakreśvari and Ambikā are the only Jaina deities which I found on the temple.
between the various adoptions themselves, and especially between the Digambara and Svetāmbara 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, could they not at least prepare some statues of yakṣas and yakṣīnas 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. Shaha 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.