CHAPTER IX

The Late-Medieval Period

(c. 900 to 1200 A.D.)
I- Sources

Rich indeed are the sources that help us to reconstruct the religious life of the period and remarkably varied is their nature. We possess Numismatic evidence bearing directly on the subject of our narrative. It speaks that royal patronage was accorded to the cult of Hanumāna which was, at best, a folk cult till now, and of which we had no trace in the archaeological remains of our region. The Candella coins bear a representation of this monkey-god.

No less vital and valuable are the epigraphical records of the Candella monarchs. In number, content and information, they surpass the inscriptional evidence of all the preceding periods. As a matter of fact, very few of them are destitute of information concerning the subject of our study. From Khajurāho alone we possess 65 records on stone and copper.¹

By far the most important is the literary evidence. Till now, we have not been able to trace a single book, hailing from Bundelkhand and helping us in our narrative. Fortunate, therefore, we are in possessing the play 'Prabodhacandrodaya'² composed by Śrīkṛṣṇa Miśra during the period under review. Allegorical in nature and sectarian in character, it is, nonetheless, important for us as it throws a flood of light on the contemporary religious life and beliefs. Mention may also be made of Mahobā-Khaṇḍa which is taken to be a part of Prthvīrāja Rāso, a long book of the bard Čand. Recording a number of events relating to the area of our study and reflecting the religious practices of the times, Mahobā-Khaṇḍa constitutes a valuable source for our study.

¹ Lanna, E. : Khajurāho, P.11.
² Shri S.D. Misra, my guide and supervisor, has done a deep and critical study of the drama. For details regarding the drama see his thesis "Prabodhacandrodaya : A Cultural Study ", Lucknow University, 1939.
Abundant is the artistic and architectural evidence assignable to this period. In number, volume, and area it is unmatched and unsurpassed by any of the preceding periods. A healthy synthesis of Brahmanic cults resulting into syncretic icons and Śmārta worship can be verified from the extent sculptural remains located at Khajurāho, Chandrāpur and Mahoba, to mention only few sites. Besides, the erection of Pañcāyatana-shrines points to the fact that sectarian rivalry found little favour with the people. It is noteworthy that religious remains of this period can be definitely dated on the basis of inscriptive data in some cases.

II- BUDDHISM

(A) Buddhism in Prabodhacandrodaya :-

Of the non-Brahmanical cults, Buddhism held sway in isolated areas during the period under review. Śrīkṛṣṇa Miśra describes Buddhists as Saugatas.¹ The followers of this cult, in the drama, are said to have fled to Bengal, Orissa, Magadha and Sindh, while they were attacked by the forces of Viveka. We have noted that the drama is allegorical showing the conflict in human mind between Viveka (Discrimination) and Mahāmāna (Delusion).

Buddhism by this time had come under the influence of Tantrism leading to the rise of different sects of Mahāyāna Buddhism viz., the Maṇḍrayāna, the Vaijrayāna etc.² The members of these sects became addicted to wine and woman. The description of a Bhikṣu in the drama appears to be relating to a monk of these sects, though the dramatist has referred to him as Baudhagama.³ The dramatist tells us that Buddhist monks of this period used to wear a long saffron cloak and they got the whole of their head shaved.⁴ Completely given

1. P.C. V. F. 177.
2. S.E., P. 404 and 415.
4. Ibid., P. 105.
over to worldly pleasures, they would speak highly of their creed simply because there was more scope for sexual pleasure in it than in other sects.\textsuperscript{1} Lovers of body as they were, they would ask their upāsakas not to mind if they committed adultery with their ladies.\textsuperscript{2} Their addiction to wine is attested to by this remark of Bhikṣu on seeing a Jaina monk over-intoxicated, "This tapasvin has become mad because inspite of his being unaccustomed to drinking, he has drunk much wine."\textsuperscript{3} Elsewhere he clearly declares that he drank several times with the prostitutes.\textsuperscript{4} We are further told that they were not sincerely attached to their faith but joined the order because they found much freedom in it. Unprincipled and opportunists that they were, they would desert it sometimes and embrace any other faith that afforded them greater scope for the gratification of their desires.\textsuperscript{5} In illustration of this, an event from the drama may be referred to where Bhikṣu, at first, speaks highly of his creed and then having been embraced by Kāpālikī starts praising Soma Siddhānta and supplicates Kāpālika to make him his pupil.\textsuperscript{6}

The picture of Buddhism, as presented above, is ugly one but we should remember that it must have been coloured by the prejudices of Śrīkrṣna Miṣra against the Buddhist sect. So his statements should not be taken at their face value. Being a staunch followers of Vaisnavism, the dramatist has bitterly criticised the rival sects. But a historian is not a protagonist of ideas like a dramatist. Let us, therefore, eliminate the subjective element from the picture and hold up the mirror to reflect the plain and dry facts devoid of all colouring. The grain has to be separated from the chaff.

\textsuperscript{1} P.G., III, P.104-5.
\textsuperscript{2} Ibid, P.106.
\textsuperscript{3} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{4} Ibid., P.123.
\textsuperscript{5} Ibid., P.109.
\textsuperscript{6} Ibid.
Conceding, therefore, some of the weaknesses that must have crept in the Buddhist order owing largely to its alignment with Tantrism, we may legitimately disregard most of the perversities with which the dramatist has characterised the Buddhist monks of his times. It is not improbable in that age of declining morals that a monk or two with love of luxury and laxity of character, may have entered Buddhism but to believe that the whole order teemed with slaves of the senses will be injustice to Buddhism.

(3) Buddhist Sculpture:

The Law of Buddha had a strong sway in the district of Hamirpur. We possess inscriptive as well as sculptural evidence testifying to this fact. From the Chakhrāi plates of Parmērdī we know the existence of a Buddhist shrine. While granting an entire village to certain Brāhmaṇas, the Candella king took particular care to exclude five bālas of land belonging to a Buddhist shrine.

Important also are some inscribed sculptures discovered near Mahoba. At first only a stone pedestal, with a Buddhist formula on it in letters of 11th-12th centuries A.D., was found by Cunningham. Later on, a mound in Mahoba yielded on digging five beautiful sculptures, Buddhist in affiliation. One of them ranks as a masterpiece of Indian art. Together they prove the hold of Buddhism in Hamirpur district and particularly at Mahoba which was the seat of the Candella Government. The find includes two icons of Bodhisattva and an icon each of the Buddha and Tārā. The fifth piece is a fragmentary back slab of a Buddhist image. The two pedestal inscriptions provided by them can be assigned to the 11th-12th centuries A.D. on grounds of palaeography. Citanaka and Satana, who

---
4. Ibid., P. 1.
were painters or sculptors by profession and have been mentioned in
the inscriptions appear to be not only the donors of these images but
carvers as well.

The icon of Siṣṇunāḍa Lokeśvara (Sketch No. 4) is now
housed in Lucknow Archaeological Museum. Seated in rāja-līlāsana,
riding a lion the deity holds a lotus flower in left hand and is clad
in a loincloth as well as upper garment. Possessing a fine headdress and
wearing a garland he is adorned with a scroll ornament and a crest-
 jewel. With earlobes elongated and eyes extended at the corners, the
face of the deity radiates sublime charm and spiritual grace. A lotus
shaped halo can be seen behind his head. A trident entwined with a
cobra may also be noticed behind his right hand. The icon is a matchless
work of art and surpasses in beauty and execution the works of
Gāmātha and Mathurā Schools, dissolving as it does, the hardness of
stone into the ocean of life.

On either side of the deity stands a pilaster with
a miniature shrine in front containing an attendant with folding hands,
Here may be discerned the architectural significance of the pieta for
the spire of the little niche or shrine illustrates clearly how the
stūra of old with its spire of umbrellas was gradually evolved into
the tower of the modern temple, while the square basement, at first
solid, was gradually turned into the image sanctum.

No less beautiful is the icon of Padmapāni. (Sketch
No. 5) Seated rāja-līlāsana on a lotus seat, the left hand of the deity
holds the stalk of a lotus while with right hand he makes a mystic sign
with the elbow resting on the right knee. A lotus with long stalk
rises on the right. He has a fine oval shaped halo and usual ornaments.

The icons representing Tārā and Buddha are as much
admirable as those described above. Together they constitute the best
specimens of late-medieval art and offer a vivid contrast with the
defense productions of the contemporary school of Magadha as also
with the numerous stereotyped examples of local Jaina artists.\(^1\) It
may be noted here that Tārā is shown accompanied by the miniature
representations of five dnyāni Buddhas in the upper section of her
statue. According to Shri K.N. Dixit\(^2\), the goddess appears to be Sītā
Tārā but some of the details as the five dnyāni Buddhas are unique
feature of this sculpture.

The district of Damoh had not yielded, till now,
any evidence attesting to the existence of Buddhism. About a couple
of years ago an icon of Buddha was discovered from the village
Basa Tarkheda showing that Buddhism had a minor center in the district
during the period under review. Buddha has been represented in
dharmaśakra-mudrā in this icon. The pedestal inscription in
characters of 10th-11th centuries A.D. contains the well-known
Buddhist formula, "Ye dharmā hetu prabhavā." Identical representation
of Buddha with an identical inscription is included in the collection
of the Bundelkhand Chhatrasal Museum, Banda. Its find-place could not
be ascertained. But as it was found in the district it testifies to
the existence of Buddhism in the district.

III- JAINISM

(A) Jainism in Prabodhacandrodaya:

The drama provides information pertaining only to
the Digambara sect. Such was the dirtiness of Jaina monks, we are told,
that some people mistook them for creatures of hell (Nārāki) while
others thought them to be rākṣasas and pāścīmā.\(^3\) Neither did they
clean themselves nor did they don any dress. They held peacock's

\(^1\) M.A., I., No. 8., P.1.
\(^2\) Ibid., P.3.
\(^3\) P.C., III., pp. 99-100.
tails in their hands and got their hair uprooted from their heads.  

An idea of strict discipline, which the Jaina canon prescribed for its monks can be gathered from the following words of Kṣapaṇaka who says, "In our Jaina order the drinking (of wine) is not allowed." and yet, succumbing to persuasion, he drinks, and so much does he drink that he becomes intoxicated. The event seems to be motivated by the biased attitude of the dramatist who only wanted to glorify the cult of Viṣṇu.

As though this was not sufficient, statements showing the moral depravity of the Jaina monks have also been added. Kṣapaṇaka tells his Śrāvakas to welcome the Jaina monks by serving them with delicious food and allowing them to be entertained by their ladies. So much he is overcome by the embrace of the Kāpālikī that he is ready to desert his śrāvakas if assured of more embraces in future. To further emphasize the laxity of character among the Jaina monks, the dramatist makes Kṣapaṇaka say that he is interested in gaining siddhis which would enable him to kidnap the ladies. Dancing merrily with the Kāpālikī, we hear him address the Kāpālikī as 'Ācārya' and 'KulaĀcārya'.

It goes without saying that the impression of Jainism thus left on our mind by the dramatist is one of degradation and degeneration characterising the sect, resulting into its decline and disappearance for, Kṛṣṇa Miśra claims that Jainism as well as Buddhism lost their hold on the people at the rise of Viveka.

2. Ibid., P.122.- वस्त्राक्रमेष्टाँ तु जैनां नातिः
3. Ibid., P.126.
4. Ibid., P.111.V.6.- दुरी च चरणप्रणामं: कृतस्तैव च भौरं निस्मु ।
5. Ibid., P.121.V.19.- ब्रह्म पीयनोत्ततस्मां रमाणवापि ॥

6. Ibid., P.127.
7. Ibid., P.126.
8. P.C., V, PP.177-78
But such was not the sorry state of Jainism and we possess plenty of evidence testifying to the fact that the assertion of the dramatist is exaggerated. Far from vanishing from Bundelkhand, Jainism was enhancing its popularity. Its sway was never so strong as in the period under review. As regards moral laxity, stray instances of such weaknesses may not be entirely ruled out but most of the allegations levelled by the dramatist against the Jaina monks appear to be motivated by his enmity and ill-feeling towards that sect. We meet with representations of Jaina monks at Deogarh (Plate No. IX. Fig. No. 3) radiating restraint and renunciation from their faces. And the very fact that every site containing Brahmanic remains of this period also includes Jaina remains speaks volumes for the prestige and power that Jainism had acquired by this time and which would not have been possible if Jaina monks had fallen prey to the pleasures of the senses.

(3) Jainism in Inscriptions:

Numerous are epigraphic records recovered from the Jaina remains. From Deogarh alone we possess more than 400 inscriptions found in the area covered by the Jaina group of temples. But very few of them reflect the state of Jainism of those days. They are mostly dedicatory in character. Other centers of Jainism are not as prolific as Deogarh in regard to inscriptions.

A noteworthy fact emerging out of this rich documentary data is that Jainism had a firm hold on the trading community. The Khajuraho inscription No. 3 of V.S. 1011, carved on the left door-jamb of the Garvāṇātha temple records a number of gifts and endowments of gardens namely Pañḍavaṭikā, Čandravāṭikā, Ṣaṅkaravāṭikā, Laghuṣaṅkaravāṭikā, Pañḍavaṭikā, Umapravāṭikā and Dhaṅgavāṭdī by one

1. Brühl, Klaus., Ibid., F. 4.
Pāhilla, a devotee of Jinarātha, who claims to have been held in high esteem by king Dhanag. The Khajurāho record also reveals the name of a Grahapati family to which Pāhilla belonged. The Darbāta Śāntinātha image inscription\(^1\) of V.S. 1132 attests to the deep devotion of this family. The inscription tells us that during the reign of the illustrious Kirtivarman, son of Vijayapāla, the image of Śāntinātha was installed by a group of his hereditary ministers viz., Pāhilla and Jiju. They are said to be disciples of the Jaina teacher Vāsvendu. Pāhilla of this record may be identified with the one of Khajurāho document.

Further evidence testifying to the religious fervour of this family is reflected and recorded in the Jain image inscription\(^2\) No. 8 dated in V.S. 1215. The object of the record is to set up an image of Sambhavanātha. Finding mention in this document are names of Pāhilla’s father Śrīśthi Dedu, his son Sādhu Sāh and his grandsons Mahāgana, Mahācandra, Śrīcandra, Jinaśandra, Udayacandra and others.

At Deogarh, inscriptions are generally found on pedestals of images, though larger ones appear on pillars and tablets produced especially for the purpose. More than half of the Jaina records here date from the period following the middle of the 12th century A.D.\(^3\) It is interesting to note that a great deal of activity can be discerned in the temples from the middle of the 12th century A.D as is attested by the records, whereas the building activity reaches a low ebb from that date onwards.

Deogarh records reveal that up to four persons were involved in the setting up of an image (or a mānastambha): the donor

\(^{1}\) I.H.\(_2\), XXXI, PP. 183-85.
\(^{3}\) Bruhn, Klaus. : Ibid., PP. 4, 59-60.
who gave the order for the piece to be prepared; the person for whose spiritual welfare the donation was meant (either a relative or the donor himself); the monk who consecrated the image and finally the artist or craftsman responsible for the work. To these may be added living or deceased relatives of the donor. 1

Yet another important fact registered in the Jaina inscriptions of Deogarh pertains to the spiritual titles. Among these that of a bhaṭṭāraka is of particular notice, because bhaṭṭārakas were responsible for elevating the Yaksīs and introducing profuse ornamentation in Jaina art. Many bhaṭṭārakas are mentioned in later inscriptions and some of them were of relatively high standing. It may be noted that like ācāryas, whose names appear in later inscriptions the bhaṭṭārakas had frequently no contact with Deogarh. But Yaśakīrti, Ratnakīrti and Vījayakīrti are exceptions.

No less important were maṭhapatis mentioned in the records. One of them, Rājapāla, finds mention more than once. The literal meaning of a maṭhapati is the head of a monastery.

Significant again, are some more names simply because they are mentioned more than once. Among these Mādhavadeva of the Double Snake Group, Guṇanandin of the Guṇanandin Group and Tribhuvanakīrti as well as Vīraścandra of the Larger Group need particular notice. 2

In the foregoing chapter, mention has been made of the Jaina pillar inscription of Bhoja. From it we learn that Śrīdeva disciple of Kamaladeva, caused the pillar to be set up. It is interesting to note that their names recur on a pillar fragment below the small size representations of a monk and an ācārya respectively. The ācārya is rendered in the preaching attitude characteristic of this:

2. Ibid., P.59.
iconographic type whereas the monk sits to the left of the Āchārya (facing him) with his hands folded. The pillar fragment is decidedly of much later times than V.S. 319, the date of the Bhoja inscription. But their identity is established beyond doubt. The representations speak volumes for their prestige and popularity at Deogarh or else they would not have been remembered after such a long span of time.

Of the inscriptions engraved in the śaikara niches of the temple No.12, each contains the name of a Jīna and that of a goddess accommodated within it. Some inscriptions identify the monks represented above them, and these are found in a number of temples.

(C) Jaina Temples:

Bundelkhand abounds in architectural and sculptural remains belonging to the sect of the Jaines and assignable to the period. Numerous temples were raised by the Jaines in our area. At Deogarh alone we have remains of about 35 to 40 Jaina temples of which only few belong to the pre-Candella times.

Perhaps the work of rearing sacred shrines was done by one and the same guild of workers for all the cults. Consequently, an amazing uniformity characterises the temples of the period in respect of plan and elevation, design and decoration, and art and architecture. Not unoften, we come across Brahmanical deities accommodated on the jaṅgū of Jaina temples as in the case of Parsvanatha temple at Khajurāho. Far from showing their subordination to the Jīna, the idea behind placing them on the jaṅgū was to use them merely as decorative motifs, firstly because the artist was ignorant of Jaina subjects to be used for such a purpose, and secondly, because he had no experience or tradition of representing Jaina myths in art. Prolific though is the Jaina sculpture of this period, it contains not a single representation of a Jaina myth. The Jaina literature abounds in deeply significant events associated with the lives of the Mīrtanākaras but the Jaina art
fails to provide us with a single scene in illustration of them. As a matter of fact, save for the Jina icon within the sanctum and on the lintel over the door-way, a Jaina shrine of Khajurāho can hardly be distinguished from the Brahmanical temples at the place.

The causes of this barrenness in Jaina art are not far to seek. The artist of Bāndelkhand was well-versed in Brahmanical themes and had a long training and tradition of representing them. As early as fifth century A.D. scenes from the Rāmāyana and Kṛṣṇalīlā were carved at Deogarh to ornament the jagati of the Gupta temple. Temple-rearing commenced in the history of Brahmanism from the Gupta period, whereas few Jaina temples can be dated to the pre-Čandella times. Consequently, the artist had studied and mastered Brahmanic subjects by the Čandella period, whereas he remained ignorant of the Jaina myths.

The Jaina temples of Deogarh are quite different from the rest in plan as well as elevation. Only temple No. 28 of this period conforms to the concept of the North-Indian temple consisting of the sanctum and a śikhara of contemporary pattern. The other temples are just flat-roofed rectangular room without windows and can be called hall temples. Some shrines have porches also, a type which is not uncommon in the central India of 7th-9th centuries. The development of the architecture comes to a standstill in the 2nd half of the 11th century and that of the sculpture in the second half of the 12th century.

We have already mentioned that Dr. Klaus Brunh has divided the temples of Deogarh in six groups on the basis of their type. Of these the first three we have already studied in the last chapter. Under the IV group or period, he enumerates hall temples where the walls consist of slabs. To this group belong temple Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 8.
3, 11, and 19. The inscriptive evidence found in the temple No. 2 belongs to the last quarter of the 9th century A.D. and so, in our scheme it should have been placed in the preceding chapter, but agreeing with the arrangement of Dr. Brunn we include the temple in this chapter. The images inside it are dated in V.S. 1023, 1051 and 1052. The inscription found in the temple No. 11 are dated in V.S. 1105 and 1129. The hall temples of Deogarh belonging to periods III and IV are reminiscent of the architecture of the monasteries at Ranod, Kadbàyā and Surwāyā. No temple outside Deogarh is found in the form of a hall.

To the periods IV and V have been assigned Temple Nos. 21, 24 to 28, 30 and 31. Besides temple No. 5 (Plate No. IX, Fig. No.) and Manastambha standing in front of the temple No. 11 also belong to this period dated respectively in V.S. 1120 and 1116. In addition to the above, many components of the temple No. 12 came into existence during the period under review. Notable among them are two front pillars of the portico, inner and outer door-frames, two small shrines flanking the main entrance each containing a yakṣi and the hall. Finally, the two Manastambhas standing in front of temple No. 18 and dated in V.S. 1121 may be placed in these periods. To the last or VI period or group belong some repair measures and rebuilding works.

The Jainas had the strongest sway in the district of Lalitpur during the period. Besides Deogarh, Jainism had considerable influence at Banpur, Madanpur, Chandpur and Daudnahi. At all these places as at Khajurāho, Jaina temples stand in the vicinity of Brahmanic shrines which demonstrates that sectarian animosity was not known during the period.

The antiquities of Daudnahi speak of about 4 temples of Jaina faith having existed there. All are in ruins. One of them is

dedicated to Ādinātha and other to Śāntinātha. Finding representation on the architrave of the mandapa of the Śāntinātha temple are sixteen auspicious dreams. Another carving on the same architrave shows a Jina figure being bathed by elephant-riders, makara-riders and camel-riders. Perhaps it stands for the ceremonial bathing of the Jina by Indra and other gods.

The largest temple of Dudhani has been ascribed to Jaina faith by Cunningham. It consists of two rooms each of which opens into a pillared hall. The two halls are connected by a narrow passage running along each side of the two central rooms. In front of each hall there is a large pillared porch and a smaller one in the middle of each of the side passages. This plan imparts a perfect symmetry to the building seldom found elsewhere. Cunningham says, "By this arrangement the great spire rises exactly over the middle of the building which to my eye is more pleasing than the usual plan of placing the highest spire at one end of the temple." All other Jaina temples of Dudhani were built after north Indian pattern.

Little remains of the two Jaina temples that stood at Chandpur. One of them was dedicated to Śāntinātha and the other, perhaps, to Ādinātha. The former is just a dark-cell with a narrow gateway measuring 2 mrs. 30 cms. in height and 88 cms. in width.

The Jaina temples of Madanpur mostly belong to the time of Madanavarman, but one of them is earlier than him which contains an inscription dated in V.S. 1112. About 10 Jaina temples appear to have been in existence at the site. One of them (Plate No. IX Fig. No. 4) is dedicated to Śāntinātha. His deer symbol has been duly carved on the pedestal. Yakṣa Garuda and Yakṣī Mahāmānasī have also found representation in their respective corners on the pedestal.

on the door lintel can be seen figures of navagrahas, yakṣī ēkārevari and yakṣī ambikā. Another temple of which some part is still in situ was dedicated to ēdinātha. Ėḍāprabha and Sambhavanātha flank him. The Jaina inscriptions which Cunningham found at Madanapur were dated V.S. 1206 and 1212.

The Sanaśrakūṭa Jinālaya of Benpur is a beautiful monument though modest in size. (Plate No.IX, Fig.No.5) In plan it consists of a sanctum and canopied porticoes on all sides. Few Jaina temples are as ornate as this shrine. Save for the figures of Dikpālas all the deities used for ornamenting the facades have been taken from the Jaina pantheon. This is remarkable in view of the fact that Jaina temples of Khajurāho are bedecked by the figures of Brahmanic gods. The canopy of each portico rests on 2 pillars and 2 pilasters. The door-frames are richly carved. Figures of the river-goddesses meet us on the western doorway and navagrahas have found place on the lintel of the northern door. Fārśvanātha occupies the lalāṭabimśa of the southern and western door lintel. Besides figures of Vidyāduṇa and Ṣasanadevatās have also found representation. The āṣiknāra is tall and curvilinear with an arrangement of 11 karaṇa-āmalakas and is appropriately crowned by a larger āmalaka, a ēḍārikā, a smaller āmalaka and a Vişajpuraka. It is embellished with ēūtya-window design all over. Miniature shrines containing Jinas and Ṣasanadevatās have also been placed on the three sides of the āṣiknāra.

The Fārśvanātha temple of Khajurāho (Plate No.IX, Fig.No.6) has been regarded as a close successor of the Laksanā temple at the same place and is supposed to have been built during the reign of king Dhaṅga. The relevant inscriptions, proving the propinquity of the two in time, are dated in V.S.1011- the date of the Khajurāho inscription of Yaśovarman. However kielhorn rightly

concluded on grounds of palaeography that the inscription in the 
Pārāvanātha temple was a re-engraved copy of a lost original record. 
Shrikrishna Deva has placed the temple in 930-70 A.D.\(^1\) Note may be 
taken that originally the shrine was dedicated to Ādinātha as is 
evident from the figure of a bull carved in front of an ornamental 
throne in the sanctum. The modern image of Pārāvanātha is said to 
have been installed as late as 1860 A.D.\(^2\)

The Chantāi temple has been assigned to the end of 
the tenth century, on the basis of the palaeography of the two short 
graffiti engraved on its pillars.\(^3\) Essentially of the same design 
as the Pārāvanātha temple, but grander in conception, larger in 
dimensions and finer in execution, all that has survived of this 
beautiful shrine is an ardhā-mandapa and a mahā-mandapa. The architrave 
surmounting the door-way bears representations of sixteen auspicious 
dreams. An eight-armed figure of Cakreśvarī is carved on the lintel.

The Ādinātha is a nirmadhāra-prāśāda and has been 
dated to the period 1075-85 A.D. The original icon of this temple 
is substituted with a modern one. The pillared niches in this temple 
accommodate figures of the principal Jaina goddesses holding their 
distinctive symbols and riding their respective mounts. The temple of 
Śāntinātha standing to the south of the Pārāvanātha is a later temple 
but it was built on the ruins of an old shrine.\(^4\)

Ahēra in the district of Tikamgarh also contains 
remains of several Jaina temples belonging to the period under review. 
The existence of several thousand Jaina sculptures, scattered over the 
length and breadth of Śāndelkhand dotting almost every archaeological 
site, speaks of the erection of many more Jaina temples that have fallen 
victim either to vandalism or to fanaticism or to the tempest of Time.

---

(D) Jaina Sculpture:

Innumerable and widely scattered as are the Jaina sculptures, the cumulative evidence that they supply reveals certain distinctive and definite characteristics of Jainism and Jaina art of the period under review.

Among the Tīrthankaras, Adinātha, Sāntinātha, Neminātha and Pārvanātha stand out as principal ones to whom the temples were generally dedicated and of whom we possess the largest number of representations. Of Dvi-mūrtikās and Tri-tīrthankās we have not yet heard. Now we start getting icons in illustration of them. Image Nos. 256, 257 and 642 at Deogarh stand for the former and contain two figures of Pārvanātha in kāyotsarga-mudrā standing side by side. For the latter we possess an instance from Banpur in which Sāntinātha flanked by Aranahāna and Kunṭunātha has been represented. Image No. 272 of Jhansi Archaeological Museum, showing five figures of Jinas with Pārvanātha in the middle has been held as Paṇḍa-tīrthankāra.

Offering of worship to the foot impressions of the Jinas was also prevalent during this period. Temple No. 6 of Deogarh contains a slab with representation of 24 pairs of foot-impressions standing obviously for the 24 Jinas. The carving of Acāryas and Upādhyāyas is confined to Deogarh only. (Plate No. IX, Fig.No.3) Occasionally they occupy the lower or upper niche of a mānasastamba. They are generally shown accompanied by their mukha-pattikās and sādnus are shown with their rajoharanas. Sthāpanā is also represented sometimes with them.

Certain iconographic peculiarities of the Jina icons may also be noted. An Adinātha image at Deogarh (No. 292) has been shown wearing a necklace. An image of Pārvanātha in temple No. 14 shows yakṣa Dharanādāra as holding an umbrella over the deity.
Navagrahas have found representation in an icon of Ādinātha at Deogarh (No.462) Four of them are represented to his right starting with Sūrya and five on his left.

The injunction with regard to the placing of recognising symbols on the pedestal has often been violated. Note may be taken that of 7 colossal Jinas (Nos. 15 to 21) arranged in the pradakṣināpatha of temple No.12, none possesses the lañchana. In imitation of the representation of Śesāsāyi Viṣṇu, the Jainas at Deogarh carved icons of Pārāvanātha and Supārāvanātha not only with the usual snake canopy but showing them seated on snake coil as well. In some cases the snake serves as support to their backs also. The jaṭāmukuta of Śiva has been imitated in some cases with a knot at the top and some hairs falling on the shoulders. In rare cases, the hair reach up to knees.

Textual injunctions in Jaina iconographic works pertain only to the representations of the Jinas and Śasanadevatās. But at Deogarh we get fine sculptures depicting Bharat Čakravartī and Bāhubalī. Temple No. 2 at the same place contains an icon in which Ādinātha has been shown flanked by probably Viṣṇu and Balarāma (No.35.).

Needing particular notice are some rock-cut Jaina Sculptures at Mahoba. Inside a cave behind Bāli Čandikā temple we meet with a carving of kāyotsarga Pārāvanātha flanked by a śauri-bearer on each side and accompanied by a Dharmaśakra with flanking lions below. What strikes us here is the canopy of nine snake-hoods over his head and the depiction of Pāñcachatra above his head instead of the usual tri-chatra. As though this were not sufficient to emphasize the importance of Pārāvanātha, the artist has carved three more representations of him in padmāsana on each side endowing them
with a canopy of nine hoods. Difficult, indeed, it is to say anything about the symbolic significance of the composition but if number is any indication, then it stands for sapta-mūrtika. We possess very few independent representations of yakṣī Padmāvati. One of them is present here. Endowed with a snake-canopy of seven hoods, the goddess is four-armed. Her front right hand is in varaṅga-mūrā, back right holds a divaja, back left carries a pāśa and front left bears a kamandalu. A tiny figure of Pārśvanātha can be seen above her head.

Representation of Caturvirsatī pattas and pratimāsāravatobhadrikās in Jaina art is also available to us. Image No. 12 of Deogarh is a fine example of the former. Of the latter an example is available from Mahoba lying in the garden of S.D.M's bungalow there. (Plate No.X, Fig.No.3) Made of sand-stone and standing on a sapta-ratha pedestal, it has a miniature śikṣara crowning it. Each of the four jinas is shown in kāyotsarga-mūrā and is canopied by a pañcā-chatra. Their recognising symbols as well as śrīvṛtta marks are missing. The sculpture gives an idea of a mānastambha in miniature. Among the sculptures lying in the vicinity of Sanaśrakūṭa Čaityalaya of Sanpur is included a representation of Ādinātha in padmāsana flanked on each side, not only by figures of standing Pārśvanātha and Supārśvanātha, but a Čaubīśī as well. The presence of two Čaubīśīs in the piece renders it a unique one. (Plate No.X, Fig. No.1)

To the influence of Bhattārakas may be attributed the rise of āmbikā and Čakreśvari as the prominent deities of Jainism during the period. We meet with numerous large-sized, multi-armed and profusely ornamented figures of these goddesses, sometimes 20 times bigger than the figure of the Jina surmounting them. Sahu Jain Museum of Deogarh contains a few such icons of these yakṣīs.
The śiknara niches girdling the wall of temple No. 12 at Deogarh and arranged between the plinth and the entablature accommodate 24 yakṣīs. In all 26 such niches are in existence, but of them only 24 are open to view. Each of the yakṣī icon is inscribed with the names of a Jina and that of the goddess. Names of the yakṣīs agree but sporadically with the known names from the Jaina pantheon. The sequence is also faulty. Disregard or ignorance of iconographic injunctions can be seen also in the representation of yakṣīs. We get icons of the same goddess with two, four, ten as well as twenty hands. In this regard the influence of Brahmānic icons can be clearly seen on Jaina iconography. Further, we meet with icons of Padmāvatī at Deogarh that never show her third eye. She is shown holding a child contrary to injunctions. Sometimes one Śaṅdevatā associated with a flint mūrka has been shown with (accompanying) another. An icon of Ādīnātaka contains figures of Śaṅdevatī as well as Ambika. (Image No. 106 in temple No. 4)

Among the vidyādevis, Śrī Śaṅkaraśatā possessed some importance and was found representation generally on the door-lintels of Jaina temples at Deogarh and Amajūrūbo.

The practice of erecting Mānalastambhas continued during the period under review. Besides those of Deogarh, we possess Mānalastambhas from Monendra and Madanapur also. In style they are not as ornate as those of Deogarh.

IV- 

That Vaisnavism enjoyed a state of patronage and was encouraged even by the Śaiva monarchs of the Candella line stands attested to alike by the epigraphic, numismatic, literary and sculptural evidence. It became, therefore, principal Brahmānic cult of the times vying with Śaivism to attain supremacy in the realm of religion.
(a) Names of Vishnu:

Contemporary records mention the following names of Vishnu:

1. Vasudeva.
2. Vakrapatha.
3. Hari.
5. Vaillabhottavarin.
6. Visnubhattarakar.
7. Narayanabhattachakar.
8. Vamanasvamidava.
9. Duruvasvamidava.
10. Tribhuvanasvamidava.
11. Trivikrama.
12. Harari.
13. Trilakara.
15. Kaurava.

2. Ibid., V.1.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., V.20.
6. Ibid. No.XXI.-Siyadoni Stone Inscription.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
17. Viṣṇu.  
18. Puruṣottama.  

(B) Vaisnavism in Inscriptions:

Invocation to Viṣṇu has often been made in a number of Caṅḍella records. Khaṇjūraho stone inscription of Yaśovarman⁴ and Baṭēśvara stone inscription of Pāmārdeva,⁵ to mention only two, open with the following invocation to Viṣṇu, "Om Namo Bhagavate Viṣnudeva." Siyādoni stone inscription⁶ contains a similar invocation.

Some of the early Caṅḍella monarchs were devout worshippers of Viṣṇu. We have already noted that Khaṇjūraho stone inscription of Yaśovarman opens and ends with an invocation to Viṣṇu. The document further speaks of a magnificent temple of Viṣṇu that was erected by Yaśovarman and such was the shine of its golden pinnacle that it illuminated the sky attracting even the denizens of heaven. Needless to say that a temple, such as this had not been raised to enshrine an ordinary icon of Viṣṇu. The holiest of the holies to which it was dedicated had journeyed from far and had a splendid history.⁷ The temple mentioned in the record has now been identified with the Lākṣmaṇa temple of Khaṇjūraho and the icon it enshrines is that of Viṣṇu in his Vaikuṇṭha aspect. A number of Vaisnava myths have

2. Ibid., No.XXVII, Pl.217-222.—Mahoba Stone Inscription.
3. Ibid., L.14.
4. Ibid., No.XIX,(II), L.1.
5. Ibid., No.XXV, L.1.
6. Ibid., No.XXI.
7. Ibid., No.XIX(II), V.43.—

कैशकल्यं क्षेत्र-प्रस्थानः। गुहानिधि च तवं: श्रीराज्‌ प्रतिपदे ।
शास्त्रेतपथवाक दिशस्वर अहिन्तु स्वरूपं ।
विभूतिकृपालं क्रयं कयते: प्राप्य गिन्ये प्रतिक्षा ।
मैत्रेन्द्र दुःखितारिः जितिपरितिलः श्रीप्रामोक्षे।
found mention in the record. One of them relates to the Vāmana incarnation and the other to Vaikuṇṭha. Harsha, the predecessor of Yaśovarman was also a devotee of Viṣṇu according to the epigraph.

The successors of Yaśovarman were Śaivites but adequate evidence attesting to their leanings towards Vaiṣṇavism is available. The records reveal that the Čandella monarchs, like the Gupta emperors, often likened themselves to gods. The Deogargh Rock Inscription likens Kirtivarman to Viṣṇu without his gada. In Mahoba stone inscription, he has been compared to Puruṣottama. Above all, he showed immense interest in witnessing the drama Prabodhacandradaya which glorified Vaiṣṇavism and advocated devotion to Viṣṇu. The object of Mau stone inscription of Madanavarman was to record the erection of a temple dedicated to Viṣṇu. The record says that people regarded Madanavarman as 'Gadādhara' incarnate. Bāṭēśvara stone inscription of Parmārdideva purports to record that Sallakaṇa, his minister, built temples of Viṣṇu and Śiva. Ajaygarh Rock Inscription of Viṣṇavarman, credits Trailokyavarman with having lifted the earth like Viṣṇu. And such was the sublime appearance of Viṣṇavarman that people gazed at him wondering whether he was Viṣṇu riding his Garuḍa or Śiva roaming on his bull. Jayavarman's devotion to Nārāyaṇa has been recorded in the Kālaṇjar stone inscription of the year V.3.1250. Of note, again, is Ajaygarh stone inscription of Bhojavarman dated in A.D. 1288 recording that Nānā, his minister, set up an image of Hari.

1. a.s.r., vol.xi. p.103.
3. P.C.I. - वेश्यां शास्त्रम् कल्याणवर्धनभाणी नूतनमिति |
4. S.I. vol.i, no.xxv(i). l.43.
5. Ibid. No.xxv(ii).
7. Ibid. V.9.- विविध्वैष्णविः तिरुवेष्टी काल्याणवर्धनभाणज्ञेयसः |
in the fort of Jayapura. By far the most important is Siyadoni stone inscription which records a number of donations made for providing the usual materials of worship to Visnu who has been variously named in the document as seen above. It appears from the inscription that Siyadoni was a great centre of Vaishnavism during the period under review as the donations were made at different times. Our assumption is strengthened by the discovery of numerous Visnu icons at the place. In the second part of the epigraph an invocation has been made to Trivikrama. The erection of a temple dedicated to Murari has also been recorded.

Some noteworthy facts emerge out of the inscription. The contents of this record hint that a temple once erected became public property and any donor could make an endowment for its upkeep in whatever shape he liked. He was free to set up another image of the same deity as we find here in the case of Čakrasvāmideva’s image being set up by Purandara in the temple of Visnu or again, that of Śri Visnumbhaṭṭāraka by Mahaditya in the temple of Visnu erected by Čanduka. The record further reveals that the temple of Visnumbhaṭṭāraka, built by Čanduka was the outcome of cumulative efforts of Čanduka himself, the local governor Mahāśeṣantādhīpatiḥ Undabhaṭa and many others. This temple was very popular as is indicated by the fact that largest number of endowments are recorded to have been made to it. The record does not clarify as to who built Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭāraka and Tribhuvanāsvāmideva temples. The Vāmanāsvāmideva temple received endowment from merchant Bhaila, son of Govind.

It may be noted here that Śaiva king of the Čandella dynasty placed Laksāmi, the consort of Visnu on their coins. No less significant is the fact that a figure of Gajalaksāmi is carved in the

2. E.I. Vol.I. No.XXI.
upper section of the Charknari copper plate inscription of Devavarmā, Vīravarmā and dammīvārmā. The four-armed goddess sits in lalitāsana on a double-petaled lotus or on a stool, with an elephant on an expanded waterlily standing on either side and holding an upturned pitcher over the head of the goddess.¹

The play Prabodhācandrodaya was written with a view to glorify the cult of Viṣṇu. From the drama we note that merely reciting the name of Viṣṇu was enough to end the miseries of the people and devotion to him liberated one from the bondage of the world. Worship to Viṣṇu could ward off the attacks of evil forces. Indeed an evil character of the drama sadly observes, "The Yoginī named Viṣṇubhakti commands great influence..... we have little influence on those who she looks favourably."² Devotion to Viṣṇu was the chief means towards the achievement of siddhis.

(C) Vaiṣṇava Temples:

So strong was the appeal of Vaiṣṇavism and such was the fervour of Vaiṣṇavites that barring few, almost all ancient sites of Bundelkhand contain sculptural and architectural remains of Vaiṣṇava shrines. The very number and volume of this prolific artistic activity forbids us to give an adequate description of all the antiquities associated with Vaiṣṇavism and scattered in the length and breadth of Bundelkhand. Suffice it to say that Vaiṣṇavism had sway in all the district of Bundelkhand and had a large following.

To the Laksmana temple a reference has been made above while discussing epigraphic evidence. A sandhāra-prāśāda of the pāñcāyatana variety, it has been held as the earliest among the finer sandstone temples at Khajurāho. An indication of its early

¹. B.I., Vol. XX, No. XIV.
². P.C., II, P.72.
date is gathered from the decoration of its facades with long Udghamas of ālītya-arches. It has been assigned to the period 930-50 A.D. The lower bhadra niches of the sanctum in this temple accommodate the representations of Bhūvarāha, Nṛsiṁha and Hayagrīva. The upper bhadra niches contain icons of Yogāsana Viṣṇu of which two are in illustration of the fish and the tortoise incarnations of Viṣṇu as indicated by the miniature representation of these animals in the lower section. Icons of Yogāsana Viṣṇu greet our gaze in six out of the nine outer niches. The four-armed god wearing a jātā-mukutā bears a rosary, a lotus stalk and a book in three of his hands, the fourth being invariably mutilated.

The walls of the temple are alive with interesting and important episodes from Kṛṣṇa's life represented on the upper most row of its jaṅgā. Worthy of mention among them are Yamaḷārjuna, Vatsāsuravādha, aristāsura-vādha, Kubjānugṛha, Kāliyadādana, and Fūtanāvādha. The Laksāmana temple is dedicated to the Vaiṣṇaṇa form of Viṣṇu. (Plate No.IV.Fig.No.1)

The jamāri and the daturbhuja on the other hand are consecrated to his 'para' aspect. Both are nirandhāra-prāśādas. The former has been placed between 1075-1100 A.D. (Plate No.III.Fig.No.3) The latter is datable to C.1100 A.D. and it enshrines a unique icon of Viṣṇu. The temple known as Devī Jagadambi was originally a Viṣṇu temple.

Chandpur was also an important center of Vaiṣṇavism during the period. The temples known as Chhotī Belmāri and Bālī Belmāri were consecrated to the worship of Viṣṇu who occupies the lalāṭa-bimba of the door-lintels. The sanctum in all cases are empty. In plan and elevation the Chandpur temples are less ornate and ambitious than those of Khajurāho. They invariably consist of a sanctum crowned by a modest śikārara with a shallow mandapa in front.
Of the two Brahmanical temples at Madanpur (Plate No.VII, Fig.No.5) one was dedicated to Visnu as Cunningham found a statue of boar among the ruins. The remains of Doni (Dist. Damoh) also speak of the existence of a Visnu temple as a ṛaitya-gavākṣa containing a figure of Yogāsana Visnu is lying among the sculptures. Numerous door-lintels with Visnu in lalāṭabimba are available to us from Mohendrā (Dist. Panna), Mahutā (Dist. Sagar), Nohatā, Ramavarsā, Hindoriā (Dist. Damoh), Burogaon (Dist. Jhansi) and archaeoological museums located at Jhansi, Damoh and Sagar. They indicate the existence of Visnu temples that have fallen now.

The 'Vyūha' forms of Visnu were less popular than the 'Vibhava' aspects. Of the former we possess few sculptures available to us from Chandpur and Khajurāho. These include representations of Keśava, Śrīdhara (No.101) Govinda and Vāsudeva (No.558) from Jhansi archaeological Museum. Icons of Mādhava, Puruṣottama, Padmanābha, Rākṣas, Āgyuta, Saṅkarṣana, and Trivikrama are available from Khajurāho.

The Boar incarnation of Visnu found great favour at Chandpur and Dudhahi. A few temples were dedicated to it. A Varāha temple stood at Chandpur near the lake, of which only the image has survived. Two Varāha temples were built at Dudhahi. The Varāha temple of Khajurāho is merely a four-pillared canopy containing a huge but beautiful figure of Bhuvarāha carved fully in round.

Dedication of temples to the Vāmana incarnation also took place during the period. Among the Vaisnava temples of Khajurāho is included a Vāmana temple also. The large-size sculptures representing Vāmana and housed in the Papat Museum, Kundeśvara (Dist. Tikamgarh) and Bundelkhand Chhatrasal Museum, Banda, must have been enshrined in Vāmana temples that no longer stand now.

No temple of Nṛsiṁha is available to us now but on the basis of a sixty-four-armed image of the deity found at Khajurāho Dr. Ramasraya Awasthi is of the view that a Nṛsiṁha temple was probably in existence there in times gone by.

From the drama Prabodhacandrodaya we learn that Visńu incarnated himself for the welfare of all the creatures coming down on the earth many a time. We are further told that incarnations such as those of Nṛsiṁha, Varāha, Paraśurāma, Vāmana and Kṛṣṇa were popular. The temples dedicated to Varāha, Vāmana and Nṛsiṁha have already been mentioned but no temple of this period is known to have been dedicated to Paraśurāma and Kṛṣṇa. Numerous panels with scenes from Kṛṣṇa's life depicted on them do indicate his popularity. Perhaps the Madārī temple of Mahoba may have been erected in honour of Kṛṣṇa as Madārī is one of his names.

(D) Vaisnava Sculpture:

The survey of Vaisnava temples being complete, let us now turn to sculptures with Vaisnava subjects. A bewildering variety greets us here. According to Dr. Ramasraya Awasthi all available sthānānakamūrtis of Visńu from Khajurāho may be divided into two categories—ordinary and extraordinary or rare. The latter are larger of the two and contain more figures in the prabhāvalī. Standing for the 'Para' aspect of Visńu, they should be taken to be Dhruvaberas in the true sense of the term. Some of these have been accommodated in sanctums of Vaisnava temples and others occupy bhadra niches in them. A few are included in the collection of the local Museum. All of them represent the concept of Bhogasthānakamūrti as described in the Vaikhanasāgama, though complete obedience to its injunctions has

1. Kavirā, Rāmāyaṇa: कुर्यासै की देवप्रतिमारं, पृ. 103.
2. F.C., I. P. 11.
3. Ibid., PP. 4-5.
4. Kavirā, की देवप्रतिमारं, पृ. 66.
not been rendered. Among the rare icons of Viṣṇu should be noted one standing in the sanctum of the Javārī temple. In addition to the main deity, adorned with his usual ornaments, figures of the Brahmānic triad with Śūrya in middle standing for Viṣṇu, garland-bearing vidyādharas, Čakra and Śaṅkhapuruṣas, ten incarnations, and Lakṣmī also find representations in the image. We possess a similar icon from Rahilīya also. (Plate No.VI, Fig.No.1)

A unique representation of Viṣṇu has been recognised in the main icon of the Čaturbhujā temple, Khajurāho. Nowhere else such Viṣṇu icon has been found and none of the available iconographic texts contains description of such an icon. Here Viṣṇu has been shown without his vaijayanītīmālā and his usual emblems. He is adorned with a jatā-mukūṭa and is accompanied by navagrahas represented on the makara-torāṇa above.

Another unusual icon of Viṣṇu, also from Khajurāho shows him yogāsana with his index-finger of the left hand near lips. The image has been named Maunavratin-Viṣṇu and is classed under his yogasthānakā-mūrtis. Icons representing Śeṣaśāyi Viṣṇu are available from Khajurāho, Hindoria, Ajaygarh, and Kālaṅjār.

While discussing epigraphical evidence, we have noted that the Lakṣmaṇa temple of Khajurāho was erected by Yaśovarman to enshrine an image of Vaikunṭha. According to Viṣṇu Purāṇa owing to birth from the womb of Vīkunṭha, the wife of rṣi Śūbra, Viṣṇu was named Vīkunṭha. Bhagya-Śeṣa Purāṇa relates that in order to please Lākṣmī, Viṣṇu designed Vīkunṭha-chnāma. The Khajurāho stone inscription of Yaśovarman contains a different myth of the Vīkunṭha form of Viṣṇu. The record says that Viṣṇu assumed this form to kill three demons one

1. खषरी, राभवक्षः ववि. प्र, ही.
2. 3.1.41.
3. 8.5.5.
of whom was Kapila. Possessing one body with faces of boar, lion and man they had rendered themselves, through a boon from Brahmā, immune to attacks from anyone save a being bearing an identical form. To end their excesses, Viṣṇu had to assume this peculiar form and make short work of the demons.¹ Note may be taken here that the myth thus related does not find mention in any book of Sanskrit literature.

Viṣṇudharmottara regards Vaikuṇṭha as that form in which all the four Vyūha forms of Viṣṇu are combined viz., Vaśudeva, Saṁkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha, and so it enjoins that the icon should be four-faced. The principal or the eastern face be saumya, southern one resembling lion's (standing for knowledge) and western be terrible (standing for wealth).² Nothing, however, has been indicated about the fourth face (Northern).

Aparājitāprāchā,³ Rūpamandana,⁴ and Devatāmūrti- prakāraṇa⁵ give identical injunctions with respect to the iconography of the Vaikuṇṭha image. They prescribe that the god should be endowed with four faces and eight arms holding gadā, khadga, bāna and ākāra.

1. E.I., Vol.I, No.XIX(II), V.1-

2. विश्वेत्त्वर, २५, ४३-४५ - एक मूर्ति घर: कार्य (यही) बैल्लुन्द्यविभिन्नित्व:।

3. 219, 25-27.
4. 3, 52-54.
5. 5, 91-93.
in right ones and Śaṅkha, kheṭaka, dhanuṣa and padma in left hands. Of the four faces, the front be that of male, southern of man-lion, western of female and northern of boar. He should be riding a garuḍa. According to Dr. Ramasraya Awasthi the Vaikunṭha images of Khajurāho appear to have been carved as per the injunctions of Jayākhyasambhā. The Vaikunṭha image enshrined in the Laksmana temple of Khajurāho is endowed with three faces, four arms and usual ornaments. The front face bears benign look and the right and left ones are those of Nṛsimha and Varāha respectively. Standing samapāda-sthānaka and flanked by Śakrapuruṣa and Śaṅkhapuruṣa to his right and left respectively, the god is accompanied by figures of the orthodox Brahmanical triad with Sūrya in middle (in place of Viṣṇu), Śrī, Puṣṭi and Śaṅkha-bearing attendants. An ornate makara-torana enclosing the composition contains 8 vyūha forms of Viṣṇu in miniature niches. They are Govinda, Amruddha, Nārāyana, Keśava, Vāmana, Śrīdharā and Dāmodara.

Alike is the iconographic conception of Ananta form of Viṣṇu. But instead of eight it is endowed with twelve arms according to aparājita-pracchā, mūparanḍana, and Devatāmūrti-prakaraṇa, which contain identical injunctions, the right hands of the god should hold gadā, Khadga, śakra, vajra, aṅkuśa and hāna and the left hands should bear Śaṅkha, kheṭaka, dhanuṣa, padma, danda and pāsa. At Khajurāho we have two representations of Ananta form. One of them is placed in a niche on the Śikhara of the Viśvanātha temple and the second is in a similar niche on the Kandariyā. Standing in tribhanga posture with front face of man and the right and left of lion and boar respectively, the god wears kirīṭa on central face and karanda-mukuta on side ones. Adorned with usual ornaments, he holds mālā in the first

1. कविक, रामायण : वरी, प १३४।
2. 219, 33-37.
3. 3, 58-59.
hand (front right) with abhaya-mudrā and the rest carry padma, khadga, pāśa, 3 bānas, čakra, kheṭaka, dhanusā, saṅkha, sarpa and kamaṇḍalu.

Visvarūpa form of Viṣṇu relates to the story of Kṛṣṇa when on the eve of the Mahābhārata war, he taught the philosophy of the Gītā to Arjuna showing him this form. The iconographic features of this form, therefore, are available to us from the Gītā when Arjuna says, "I see all the Devas, in Thy body, and hosts of all grades of beings; Brahmā, the lord seated on the lotus, and all the Rṣis and celestial serpents. I see Thee of boundless form on every side with manifold arms, stomachs, mouths and eyes; neither the end nor the middle, nor also the beginning of Thee do I see, O Lord of the Universe, O Universal form."¹ According to Viṣṇudhamottara, first four Viṣṇu faces should be carved. Above them except Iśāna all Mahesa faces be represented. Still above them Brahmā faces be shown. Then other faces in the shape of half-moon be carved containing faces of various animals. Between the faces be shown points of view as described in Citrasūtra. The god should so appear as to be swallowing everything by animal faces. The carving of arms depends on the ability of the artist. Maximum postures and gestures should also be shown using knowledge of the science of dancing. Some of the hands should carry various weapons, and the rest may hold yajñadanda, and instruments of art, music and engraver.²

The Visvarūpa image from Khajurāho (No.204) has three faces of male, Nṛsiṁha and Varāha, behind whom tiny heads of fish and tortoise are also carved. Nine human heads above them are visible arranged in the fashion of half-moon. The deity originally had twelve

---

1. S̄r̄imadbhaṭagvataḥ Gītā, AI, 15-16.

arms most of which are mutilated now, but of right ones, the surviving two hold śakra and gūḍā and a left one is kātyāvalambita. Brahmā and Śiva occupy top corners. Sir M. Gaur archaeological Museum, Sagar houses a broken sculpture containing representation of Viśvarūpa Viṣṇu.

The myth of Karivarādhana has also found representation in the art of this period. One sculpture, depicting it, is housed in Jhansi museum and the other in Khajurāho museum. An icon of Viṣṇu in Hayagrīva form is also available from Khajurāho. Viṣṇu with his consort has found numerous representations at Khajurāho.

By far the most interesting and important is a sculpture included in the collection of Jhansi museum depicting Gāṅgā as consort of Viṣṇu. (Plate No. V, Fig. No. 1). Khajurāho stone inscription of Rāṣṭhāvarman also refers to the myth that Gāṅgā fell on the foot of Hari from the Kamandalu of Brahmā, indirectly suggesting that Gāṅgā was a consort of Viṣṇu.

Of the incarnations of Viṣṇu, we possess innumerable representations, some icons containing fish and tortoise incarnations are available to us only from Khajurāho. But those of Varāha stand at Chandpur and Duddhani also. The huge monolithic boar icon at Khajurāho contains tiny figures of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Sūrya, Laksāmaṇa, Sarasvatī, Saṅgama, and Viśnua with Gāṅgā, Nāga, Nāgarāja, Asṭadikpālas, Āstā-vāsas, māyās, gajas, devotees - in all 374 figures - on his body. Kiṃnarāḥ images are also available to us. Images of Nṛsinha and Śaṅkara have been referred to above. In the hall of a Kabīrpanthi Māli at Monandra is studied a representation of Trivikrama planting his foot on the head of king Śiśu. Of Parasurāma, Kāma, and Śiva we have representations in the sculptures of Khajurāho. An icon of Sātānā is lying in the ruins of Mandoria.

---

The local museum at Khajurāho houses a panel containing representations of all the ten avatāras together. Noteworthy also is an icon of eleven-headed Viṣṇu placed in the southern lower madra niche of the sanctum of the Čitragupta temple showing Viṣṇu and his ten incarnations.

(E) Lakṣmī:

Lakṣmī, the consort of Viṣṇu was separately represented in her Cagalakṣmī form. The jāṅghā of Chhoti Belmari temple of Chandpur contains representation of Cagalakṣmī. Mention has been made that she had been adopted by the Čandellas on their coins and we have noted that her figure is carved in the upper section of the copper plate inscriptions of the later Čandella rulers.\(^1\) Inscriptional records of the period mention the following names of Lakṣmī:

1. Lakṣmī.\(^2\)
2. Paṇḍhiputri.\(^3\)
3. Kamalā.\(^4\)

As a matter of fact, Lakṣmī was regarded as the presiding deity of wealth and fortune. Hence she was no longer a subsidiary deity of Viṣṇavism. No wonder, therefore, that the Śaiva kings of Čandella dynasty placed her on their coins.

V. Śaivism

Of all the Brahmanical cults, Śaivism reigned supreme in the realms of religion during the period under review. That it commanded larger following and enjoyed greater prestige than Viṣṇavism is evident alike from the inscriptional as well as architectural-sculptural evidence. The supremacy it acquired may be

\(^1\) E.I., Vol.XX, No.XIV.
\(^3\) Ibid., No.XXV(II).- Batesvara Stone Inscription.
attributed to the royal patronage that was accorded to it. Besides the cult of Śakti which took rapid strides owing to the help of Tantrism was friendly to the cult of Śiva, for the Śaktas took him to be the partner of their great Goddess.

(A) Names of Śiva:

The epigraphic records of the period contain the following names of Śiva:

1. Hara.¹
2. Rudra.²
3. Sūladhara.³
4. Digambara.⁴
5. Mahaśvara.⁵
6. Vaidyanātha.⁶
7. Śaṅkara.⁷
8. Ārava.⁸
9. Indumauli.⁹
10. Śambhu.¹⁰
11. Śrānu.¹¹
12. Kedara.¹²
13. Śuḷapāṇi.¹³
14. Purānī.¹⁴

---

2. Ibid., No.XIX(IV), V.1.-Khajuraho Stone Inscription of Dhingadeva.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., No.XI(V),—Khajuraho Stone Inscription of Kokkala.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid., No.XXV(II),—Betesvara Stone Inscription of Parmardideva.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid., No.XXXVIII,—Jayavarman Rock Inscription of Viravarman.
12. Ibid., No.XXXVIII(II),—Jayavarman Rock Inscription of Bhojavarman.
15. Íśvara. 1
16. Čandraśekhara. 2
17. Bhavāniyā. 3
18. Tryambaka. 4
19. Tripūrāntaka. 5
20. Viśveśvara. 6
21. Bhavānipati. 7
22. Somanātana. 9
23. Paśupati. 9
24. Markatēvara. 10
25. Čandramauli. 11
26. Girijābhartuh. 12
27. Mālakanta. 13
28. Sadāśiva. 14
29. Pañcavāna. 15
30. Śrīgaura. 16

Verily no other god has been hailed with so many names in inscriptional records and it adequately attests to the popularity of Śiva.

(B) Royal Patronage:

It is ironical as well as interesting to note that Yasovarman, a staunch devotee of Viṣṇu was the first Čandella monarch

2. Ibid., Vol.X, P.100.- Madanpur Temple Pillar Inscription.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
to conquer Kālañjar believed to be the abode of Śiva.⁵ Again, it is significant that his son and successor Dhaṅgadeva was a devotee of Śiva. As a matter of fact, with few exceptions almost all Cāndella kings were Śaivites and Paramāmahesāvara was one of their titles.⁶ From Khajurāho stone inscription of Dhaṅgadeva we note that the monarch raised a magnificent temple of Śambu in which he installed two lingas—one of emerald and other of stone. The record further tells that Dhaṅga attributed all his attainments to the grace of Śiva. The temple mentioned in the above document is now identified with the Viśvanātha temple of Khajurāho. Ruins near this temple revealed another record of Dhaṅga's time and speaking about the erection of a temple in honour of Śiva Vaidyanātha by Kokkala of the grahapati family.⁷ Such was the deep devotion of Dhaṅga to Śiva that he ended his life at the holy confluence at Prayāga while meditating on Rudra according to his Khajurāho record. From the Kālañjar stone inscription of V.S. 1147 we note that Śrīmūrti, the guru of Kirtivarman, caused the construction of a mandapa for the temple of Nilakantha located at the place.⁸ Parmārīdeva, another Cāndella king, is known to have paid glowing tributes to Śiva in an eulogy that he composed with his innate faith in honour of Purāri at Kālañjar.⁹ The Baṭēśāvara stone inscription of Parmārīdeva speaks of the erection of a temple of Śiva by his minister. Subhaṭa, the treasury superintendent of Bhōjaverman raised a shrine consecrated to the worship of Kedāra.¹⁰ In addition to the above, the very fact that Cāndella monarchs invoked Śiva in the opening line of their inscriptions proves that Śaivism

enjoyed the privilege of being a royal religion. Invocation with the
words, "Om Om Namaḥ Śivaya" has been offered to Śiva in Deogarh
rock inscription of kīrtivarman, ¹ Mahoba stone inscription, ²
Charkhari plate of Devavarman ³ and Khajurāho inscription of Kokkala ⁴
to mention only few.

But we should not conclude from the evidence cited above that the Cāndellas were prejudiced against other sects and had no sympathy for them. We have already noted their catholicity of outlook while discussing Vaiṣṇavism. ⁵ erection of a Vaiṣṇu temple is recorded in Mau stone inscription of Madanavarman. ⁶ Sallakṣaṇa, the minister of Pārmārdeva, built a temple of Vaiṣṇu as well as of Śiva. ⁷ Above all the very fact that Khajurāho, the religious capital of the Cāndellas is dotted with innumerable remains of heterodox as well as orthodox sects speaks eloquently of the liberal attitude adopted by Cāndellas in religious matters.

(c) Śaiva sects

Prominent among the sects of Śaivism in Bundelkhand was that of Kāpālikas. Certain essential traits of this sect have been described in the drama Prabodhacandrodaya. In the third act we come across a Kāpālika declaring himself to be one who "wears the garland of human bones, lives in cremation ground and takes his meals in a human skull." He holds the view that siddhis can be achieved even by keeping oneself attuned to the Vaiṣṇyas. ⁸ He is also represented as drinking wine and persuading others to drink it. ⁹ He himself declares,

3. Í., Vol. XX, No. XIV(A).
6. Ibid., (II).
7. Ibid., P. 125.
8. Ibid., P. 122.
9. Ibid., P. 111.
"The inner self does not desire the dry state of mukti. One should, therefore, enjoy the embraces of his beloved consort as has been said by Śiva himself." In the light of above observations one may be tempted to attribute the erotic sculptures of Khajuraho to the sinister influence of the Kāpālikas. Some, indeed, have done so, but other factors were also behind their representations and we reserve a full discussion of the subject for the next chapter. The chief aim of the Kāpālikas, according to the drama was to achieve different siddhis. With a view to achieving them, they indulged in most dreadful practices e.g. offering of bones, blood, flesh etc. to the fire.

From the Kalanjar stone inscription dated in V.S. 1147 we note that Kirtivarman was a patron of the Paśupata sect of Śaivism. Besides we possess some icons of Lakulīsa that attest to the existence of Paśupata sect. The śārta cult of the pentad for which we possess abundant evidence from Chandpur, Mahoba and Khajuraho testifies to the existence of Miśra Paśupata school which initiated the worship of Śiva with other principal deities of Brahmanism.

The Mātā Mayūras must have wielded some influence in Bundelkhand, patronised as they were by the neighbouring Kalaśuri kings. Besides the morbid practices of Kāpālikas must have confined them to a few places leaving the common devotee to the care of sober sects of Śaivism.

(D) Śiva in Inscriptions:

Welcome a light has been thrown by the Čandella records on the iconography and concept of Śiva prevalent during the period under review. Richest among such records is the Khajurāho stone inscription of Kokkala. The opening verses of this epigraph deserve

1. F.C., III, P.125.
2. Ibid, P.127.
3. Ibid., P.112.
to be quoted in full — "I adore the adorable coil of matted hair carried by the beautiful Vaidyanātha, which is irradiated by the expanding terrible hoods of a multitude of hissing broad serpents; marked with the half-moon which is excessively shining, more brilliantly than the sun and yellowish when in contact with the line of flames of fire issuing forth from his tremulous eye.

May that Śaṅkara who takes away all disease and supports the movable and immovable, protect you! he, whose dwelling place is the cemetery, who holds mighty sway over goblins; who applies ashes to his body to decorate it; who delights in the destruction of the world and on whose neck there is a deadly poison but who, although thus inauspicious, remains the auspicious (Śiva).

Adoration be always to that Śarva who causes all gods to be comprehended in his one person; he whom those acquainted with the end of the Veda call Śiva, the desire of the mind; while people of true knowledge call him one Supreme Brahma; the indescribable ageless, immortal, others, the verily auspicious Buddha, and others again the spotless Vāmana, the triumphant Jina.

People, overcome with severe distress brought about by violent fever sent by the great Indra or Viṣṇu and those seized again and again by goblins and by evil spirits ...... those afflicted with leprosy, which displays its fierce might by sore thumbs and forearms, all these are free from evil when they set eyes on Thy clearly shown uncouthn twisted tresses of hair.  

In the Ajaygān rock inscription of Anojaivarman, Śiva has been invoked in the following manner, "Adoration to Śiva who manifests himself as Kedāra! who is encircled by the serpent-king made to move to and fro by the waves of the Ganges and is gracefully decorated with a portion of the moon; who humbled the pride of the

god of love and is revered by the gods."\(^1\) The ajaygarh rock inscription of Vitavarman refers to the ardhanārisvara form of Śiva interestingly, "May the divine Gaṅgā, on Śiva's head protect you. She who is attenuated, as it were, with jealousy, at seeing half his body appropriated by the daughter of mountain."\(^2\)

(Ś) Śaiva Shrines

Kajurāho being the religious capital of the Candellas was a great center of Śaivism. Earliest among the Śaiva shrines of this period there is Maṭaṅgaśvara built entirely of sandstone. The colossal linga it enshrines is the highest among all lingas of this period. According to Śrīkrīṣma Deva it was set up by Harsha the father of Yāsovarman. The temple has been assigned by him to the period 900–925 A.D.\(^3\) Viśvanātha, Kandariyā and Dulādeo are finer Śiva temples of Kajurāho assigned to the periods 975–1000 A.D., 1025–50 A.D. and 1100–50 A.D. respectively. Marvelous and magnificent among these is Kandariyā (Plate No. VII, Fig. No. 1). Possessing an intricate arrangement of 84 subsidiary śikharas the grand, lofty and majestic śikhara of this temple greets our eye from the distance.

Of the four temples, standing at Ajaygarh, three appear to have been dedicated to Śiva who occupies the lalātabimba on the door-lintels. In plan and design they are slightly different from the Kajurāho temples. Of utmost importance for us is the fact that the door lintels of these temples contain figures of Ėśvarā and Gaṇeśa also in addition to those of the orthodox Brahmanic triad in two cases. It indicates that these parivāra-śaivas of Śiva had acquired great power and prestige during this period. We will show

\(^2\) Ibid., No. XXXVIII (I), V. 1.
\(^3\) Deva, Śrīkrīṣma, ibid., p. 52.
presently that Gaṇapati had become strong enough to command a cult of his own and Caṁundra was also the most popular female deity of Śaivism during the period.

Noteworthy, again, is the fact here that the sanctums of these temples contain pedestals indicating that an image of Śiva had been placed in them, whereas ordinarily Śiva temples enshrined a linga and rarely an anthropomorphic representation of the deity. The Śaiva shrines of Khajurāho burst with human forms of Śiva on their walls but the holiest of the holies placed within the sanctum is an aniconic symbol of the god.

Bearing striking similarity to the temples of Ajaygarh and standing entirely intact is the Śiva temple of Nohatā. (Plate No.VII.Fig.No.6) It enshrines a linga. an icon of Natarāja placed in one of the outer niches is notable. (Plate No.VII.Fig.3)

The so called Kākrā-maṭha of Mahoba was also a Śaiva shrine in size equal to the largest of Khajurāho temples. It is built of granite. We possess Śiva temples or their remains and ruins at Badgaon, Sāndakpur, Bānvānsā (Dist.Damon), Pithoriā (Dist. Sagar) and Madanpur. Door-lintels with Śiva or Gaṇeśa in the lalātabimba are available to us from Mahutā (Dist.Sagar), Auragāon (Dist.Jhansi) and in Damoh and Jhansi archaeological museums.

The Sahaṣralīṅgāsvara temple of Chandpur is devoted more to the cult of the Penta than to the worship of Śiva. The huge linga, it enshrines contains carvings of innumerable miniature lingas on it. Besides, figures of Sūrya, Śakti, Viśnu and Gaṇeśa are also represented on it, one in each side. Thus it was meant for syncretic worship or Śmārtta Hūja. Perhaps Aundhelkhānd possesses only one such linga.
(F) Śaiva Sculpture:

The number of sculptures representing Śaiva deities and subjects runs into thousands and so only few of them can be noticed here that are important for us. Such was the sway of Śiva at Khajurāho that with preponderance of Śiva images, of both benevolent and terrific variety even on the Vaiṣṇava and Jaina temples, Khajurāho has an amazingly large variety of other Śaiva deities.

Dancing figures of the seven mothers together with Ganeśa and Vīrabhadra or Parvati occupy the prominent niches projecting from the adniśśāna facades of the Viśvanātha and Kandariyā temples of Khajurāho. Identical arrangement can be seen at the Śiva temple of Nohatā. One temple of Ājayaghar accommodates them in the mandapa. The three developed Śiva temples of Khajurāho exhibit a uniformity in the representation of images on the bhadra niches of the sanctum. Andhakántaka, Natarāja and Tripurāntaka occupy such niches in case of Dūlādeo and Kandariyā respectively on south, west and north while the northern niche of Viśvanātha contains a figure of Ardhanārīśvara in place of Tripurāntaka. The facades of Kandariyā and Viśvanātha are bejeweled with figures of Śiva in a variety of forms in all the three sculptural bands. Occasionally we meet here with figures of other Brahmānical gods like Viṣṇu and Brahma also. Standing Śiva-Parvati and four-armed Śiva greet our gaze in case of Dūlādeo, with no variety of form indicative of artistic degeneration.

The rich repository of sculptural art at Khajurāho provides us with two Śadāśiva images which have been correctly identified and interpreted by Dr. Rāmasraya Āwasthi. One of them is housed in local museum and the other is placed in an interior niche of the mahāmandapa of the Kandariyā temple. The former is four-legged.

six-headed, twelve-armed. With front two legs in padmāsana and the remaining two in paryānkāsana, the deity is adorned with various ornaments. The six heads are arranged in two tiers and topped by a linga at the rear. Only two arms survive, of which one rests on the thigh and the other merely hangs down. Between the paryānkāsana legs, a bearded and three-headed figure of Brahmā in padmāsana is present. An inscription on the pedestal referring to the image as that of Sadasiva is also noteworthy.

The other image is similar to the first in many respects, but certain additional features appearing here deserve notice. A prabhāmandala is to be seen behind the heads of the deity. Figures of four-armed, bearded and three-headed Brahmā and four-armed Viṣṇu in padmāsana occupy the upper right and left corners of the prabhāvali. Beneath the padmāsana legs of the deity are carved three miniature heads of a swan, a bull and a bearded man in a row—obviously standing for the mounts of gods depicted above. The syncretic character of the image is evident from the presence of these Vāhanas of the three principal deities of the Brahmanic pantheon.

It has generally been prescribed in all available texts that a Sadasiva image should have five heads and ten arms, though Kupamandana does not lay down any hard and fast rules regarding the exact number of heads. The deity has been described as multi-faced by him so the treatment of the images can not be said to violate any canons of Silpaśāstra. No where else in India such an image of Sadasiva has been found and so these are of unique iconographic importance.

Of Samhāra-ūrtis of Siva Cājari Siva has found a beautiful and large size representation at Manoba. (Plate No. VIII. Fig. No. 3) It is a rock-cut sculpture.

Among anugramamūrtis of Śiva we meet with numerous instances of Rāvaṇānugraṇa representation. The collection of Jhansi Museum contains several sculptures in illustration of it. No less is the number of aṅgāsana or Umāsaṇita-mūrtis of Śiva. The collections of sculptures at Mohendra and Damoh include several representations of this form. Of note again, is a Kalyāṇasundara icon of Śiva housed in Bundelknand Chhatrasal Museum, Banda. A rare representation of Śiva in his Bhairava, is available form to us from Kālaṇjar. Its a rock-cut sculpture of large size near the temple of Nīlakaṇṭha. Another icon of Bhairava is carved on a rock behind the Bāli Gāndikā temple of Mahoba. An icon of Bhairava is included in the collection of museums at Sagar, Damoh and Jhansi.

To the Pāṣupata sect of Śaivism we have already referred. A representation of Lakulīśa is available to us from Bharcha (Dist.Sagar). Its a unique icon of the god. Seated padmāsana the god is slightly pot-bellied and was endowed with two arms which are mutilated now. Destitute of any ornaments and possessing a divine calm on his face, the god gives the impression of being a Jaina Tīrthaṅkara. But his ithyphallic character is unmistakable, (Plate No. VIII.Fig.No.6) though neither his club has survived nor any trace of it which is his special cognizance.¹

We possess a rock-cut representation of Śiva-parivarā at Mahoba. A square slab from Manuta (Dist.Sagar) with a figure in each of its four faces also represents Śaiva deities. Of them Gaṇeśa and Gāmunḍā are easily recognisable. Śaiva mythology associates Sapta-mātrikās with Śiva. A beautiful representation of them is included in the collection of Jhansi Archaeological Museum. Gāmunḍā acquired an independent status in the Śaiva pantheon. Mention

¹. B.H. I., 1.480.
has been made that she is carved on the door-lintel of Śiva temples of Ajaygarh. At Mahoba we meet with numerous large-size rock-cut representations of the goddess. Of utmost importance is a sixty-four-armed Ćaṃudā image, fully in the round, lying in the garden of S.D.M.'s Bungalow at the same place. (Plate No.XII, Fig.No.1) Most of the hands are mutilated now, but her open mouth, protruding eyes and web of ribs along with nārāmudā-mālā in the neck are still intact and answer to her emaciated and awe-inspiring form of the texts.

Thanks to the artist of Bundelkhand for we possess an example of her natural form also, which is more common in South India. The image is in the collection of Anjūrūno museum (No.403). Endowed with twelve arms originally, the goddess holds in the two surviving hands a sword and a shield. A pair of hand, partially broken, were shown reaching up to her face, probably with both index fingers placed on the lips. Represented in a youthful appearance and possessing normal physical proportions, her terrific aspect is revealed by her face with sunken eyes, open mouth and traces of the side tusk. She is flanked by two female attendants, one on each side holding kapāla or khaṭvāṅga or both. ¹

¹Māndā the mount of Śiva was never so popular as during the period under review. At Anjūrūno he has been represented theriomorphically as well as anthropomorphically. Human form of the deity has generally been accommodated in the upper register of the sculptural bands of Anjūrūno temples constituting a distinctive trait of these shrines. Endowed with four hands and bearing attributes of Śiva, the bull-headed god is accompanied by his own theriomorphic form as his vāhana. The Bālīdeo temple is unique in showing a crocodile

vāhana. Ordinarily nandī was represented in his theriomorphic form and accommodated in a four-pillared pavilion facing the shrines of Śiva. An icon of Nandī from Chandpur deserves particular notice. (Plate No.XIII, Fig.No.5) The unique feature of this icon consists in the presence of a boy-figure who is trying to climb the deity. Wearing wristlets, armlets and mālā of rudrākṣa, the boy is clad only in the loin-cloth and is partly mutilated. Difficult it is to say whom does he represent. Perhaps he stands for Skanda who is teasing or playing with the mount of his father.

(C) Mode of worship in Śaivism:

Linga was the principal object of worship in Śiva temples. The mode of worship in Śaivism is realistically and beautifully illustrated in some sculptures from Khajurāho. The scenes of Linga-fūja that they contain not only reinforces our conclusion that linga was the chief object of worship but indicates the preponderance of Mattamayuras in Śaivism.

A big panel lying on the bank of Śiva-Sāgar lake shows twenty men in all - eleven on one side of lingam and nine on the other. The linga is placed on a high pedestal and the man nearest to it holds a kalaśa in his hands from which he seems to be pouring water over it. The second and the third men behind the former also carry a kalaśa in their hands. A small kalaśa placed over a big one can be seen behind the third man. The fourth man has folded his hands in añjali-mudrā. The fifth man carries offerings in a big basket held high up near the shoulder. The man behind him plays on the clarionet. Then a man with drum placed astride his knees and the Mahānācai in dancing pose have been shown. One more man playing on drum is seen to her left. Next to him stand a man with cymbal and another in devotional attitude with one of his hands kāṭihasta and other in vyākhyāna-mudrā. Likewise the nine men on the other side of the lingam
hold various things associated with worship e.g. garland (the first man),
bell and a censor-pot (second man), a bag of money (third man),
conchshell (fourth man blowing it), drums (fifth and sixth holding
high and beating), ghantika (seventh and the eighth sounding it),
and the last figure holding a sword appears to be that of
Mahāpratihāra.

Another pūjā-scene located at the right back of
the Lakṣaṇa temple also contains subject of līṅga-pūjā. The līṅga
here has a canopy tied with strings above it. Three men stand to its
right and two to its left. The first man on right carrying a kalaśa
is pouring water on the līṅga. The second also bears a kalaśa. The
third merely tries to push the one preceding him showing his eagerness
to have a sight of the holy object. The two men standing to the left
of the līṅga carry garlands in their hands. In another pūjā-scene
placed in the back small frieze of the Lakṣaṇa temple represents an
ascetic sitting with his face to the līṅga flanked by one more on each
side of him. Save loin-cloth they are naked and have their hair
knotted at the back. Their open mouths indicate that they are chanting
mantras. The Viśvaṅtra temple has pūjā-scenes in the inner-pradaksīṇa
and right balcony of the ardhanārīśvara in which a man worshipping the
līṅga is shown reciting mantras while the other stands with a bowl
of offerings. The Kandariyā contains a scene in which a līṅgam is
worshipped by twelve couples of Gandharvas with garlands in their
hands and accompanied by their consorts. The scene is located in small
front frieze of the maṇḍapa.

The pūjā-scenes described above provide us with an
idea of mode of worship and objects associated with it during the
period under review. The scenes are all connected with līṅga-worship and
in other cults mode of worship must not be different from it. The
Kalanjar pillar inscription of Madanavarmen mentions a maṇāpratihāra
named Sangramasimha and a mahamanacari Padmavati who were functionaries in the temple of Nilakantha there. Interestingly the first pūja-scene contains two figures typifying such functionaries.

A square pillar lying in the garden of Collector's Bungalow at Damoh (No. 30) is also worthy of notice. Carved on all sides, it contains representation of a linga on three sides, the fourth being invariably occupied by a male deity sitting in sukhāsana and holding a water-vessel in left hand while the right is in abhaya-mudrā. A nāga figure, fully theriomorphic, is carved at the four corners. The pillar is divided into seven such horizontal carvings. The representation of the lingas associates the pillar with Śaivism though it is a curious object of worship. A miniature pyramidal śikhara of receding tiers crowns the pillar. The find-place of the object could not be ascertained.

VI - THE CULT OF GAṆĀPATI

The period under review witnessed the emergence of Gaṇeśa as a cult god, with an independent sect of his own. We possess little epigraphic or literary evidence attesting to the eminence of Gaṇāpati but profuse sculptural evidence illustrating his elevation as the fifth principal deity of Brahmanic faith can be cited.

The Kālaṅjar rock inscription of A.D. 1315 contains an invocation to Gaṇeśa. Another inscription from the same place speaks of the setting up of a statue of Vināyaka by Gaṇāpati, the minister of Viravarman. Gaṇeśa has been invoked in the Siyadoni stone inscription with the words, "Om Om Namo Gaṇāpataye." The second part of the inscription which contains the invocation has two verses invoking the blessings of Gaṇeśa.

---

1. A.S.I., Vol. XXI, p. 34.
2. Ibid., p. 54.
3. Ibid., p. 52.
Testifying to the elevation of Ganesa as the fifth principal deity of Brahmanism is the great linga of Sanaśrālingesvara temple at Chandpur. Ganesa is carved in one of its sides along with Sūrya, Jakti and Viṣṇu. Śārta-lingas lying in the courtyard of the temple contain miniature figure of Ganesa in a corner of the gaurīpattā with figures of other chief deities in other corners.

A few temples of this period were dedicated to Ganesa but none of them has survived. Cunningham1 located a Ganaḍati temple standing on a lower level of the rocky ridge in front of the entrance to the Čausaṭṭa-Nyogini temple at Khajurāho. Curiously enough the huge figure of Ganesa that he found faced the Čausaṭṭa-Nyogini temple. In all 39 icons of Ganesa have been found at Khajurāho. Of them some are two-armed, some four-armed and others six-armed. His four-armed sthānaka-murtis are more common carrying lotus, parasu, modaka, and svaḍanta or sugar-cane piece. His seated figure is generally bhūmanṛṣajalilāsana. More common is his nṛtta-mudrā. Sometimes he is accompanied by his consort.

A rare image of Ganesa(Plate No.XIII.Fig.No.4) is available to us from Duditani. The figure of deity is rendered in accordance with iconographic injunctions already noted. The unique feature of the image appears in the upper section of the prabhāvalī. At top the figure of Ardhanārīśvara can be seen riding the mount nandi with right hand in varaḍa-mudrā and left holding a water-vessel. The deity is adorned with a jaṭā-mukūṭa. Flanking the figure of Ardhanārīśvara is a divine couple on each side in lalitāsana. The goddess in the pair to right has a flower in her right hand and that of the left side has a club (?) in her left hand. As the pairs are destitute of any more symbols, they defy identification. Probably

they stand for other members of the maithuna triad than Śiva who is present here in his ardhanārīśvara form. Below the divine couples is shown one goddess on each side seated also in lalitāsana and adorned with the usual ornaments. They hold viṇā which is associated with Sarasvatī. The lower section of the sculpture is buried inside the earth and the part visible measures 1 mr. 42 cms. in height and 1 mr. in breadth. The existence of this unique and large icon of Gaṇeṣa at Dudnahi proves that the sect of the Gaṇapatyas was strong there and perhaps raised a shrine in honour of their god.

A sixteen-armed icon of nṛttā Gaṇeṣa included in the collection of Jhansi Museum is noteworthy. (Plate No.7) Measuring 1 mr. 64 cms. in height and 1 mr. 17 cms. in breadth the icon is beautiful. Only 3 hands survive now of which one holds modakas and the other is gajananā while the third has an uncertain object. An eighteen-armed figure of dancing Gaṇeṣa is enshrined within a simple shrine at a village near Gamnur.

The Gaṇapatyas had another stronghold at Nonata in Damoh district. About half-a-dozen massive representations of the god are lying on a mound there. It is not unlikely that a temple of Gaṇeṣa may have stood at Nonata in past.

VII - The Cult of Śakti

The sway of Śaktism during the period was not as strong as in the preceding periods. We know of no temple dedicated to Pārvatī or Maṇiṣamardinī belonging to this period. Yet the possibility of such temples having been in existence can not be entirely ruled out for we possess large-size representations of Pārvatī as well as Maṇiṣamardinī which must have been enshrined in such temples. Kālanjīr stone inscription records¹ the erection of

temples in honour of Kamalā and Kālī. Contemporary records mention the following names of Pārvatī, the chief deity of Saktism:

1. Umā.  
2. Sloḍhayasutā.  
4. Pārvatī.  
5. Snavānī.

Among the subsidiary shrines attached to the Viśvanātha temple of Khajurāho, one was dedicated to Pārvatī. The great lingam of Sahaśralingasvāra temple of Chandpur includes Pārvatī among the four deities represented on it. The Smaṛta lingas lying in the courtyard of the temple also contain her miniature carving in a corner of the gaurīpattra.

Khajurāho museum houses a few beautiful icons of Pārvatī riding godhā and holding miniature figures of Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya seated on lotuses in her upper hands. Besides, orthodox Brahmanical triad is represented in upper section of the prabhavali with dandjadnara Śiva in the middle. Similar icons are available from the collections of Daman and Jhansi museums.

Numerous icons of Maṇiśamardini we possess. A tenth century four-armed figure of the goddess is housed in Sir H.S. Gaur Archaeological Museum, Sagar. She holds triśūla, sword and shield in front right, back right and back left hands respectively, with the front left she seizes the head of the buffalo demon and pierces his body with triśūla. Adorned with few ornaments she rides her mount lion. Massive icons of multi-armed goddesses housed in Sir H.S. Gaur Archaeological Museum indicate the existence of shrines of the Sāktas that have fallen now.

2. Ibid., Vol. I, No. XXXVIII.  
3. Ibid.  
The gigantic rock-cut carvings of āsta-Saktis outside the Tarhāoni gate of Ajaygarh are also noteworthy here. Of these seven are seated and one stands. Executed roughly, each of them is accommodated within a separate frame, their names are inscribed below. Cunningham read Śrī Čāndi, Śrī Čāmunda and Śrī Kālikā among them. 1

VIII - The Cult of Śūrya.

Among all Brahmanic gods Śūrya is one who never attained supremacy over others but never lost his popularity. That the sect of the Sauras was a chief Brahmanic sect is vouched for by the drama Prabodhaśandrodaya in which it has been classed with the Vaisnava and Saiva sects. 2 Moreover, a contemporary record contains an invocation to Śūrya attesting thereby to the eminence of this deity. Khajurāho stone inscription of Yaśovarman invokes Śūrya at the end along with Viṣṇu. 3 Further Siyadoni stone inscription 4 speaks of the existence of a temple dedicated to Sun for which certain donations were made according to the record.

The inscriptions of this period mention following names of Śūrya :-

1. Savitr. 5
2. Bhailasvamdeva. 6

An alliance existed between the cults of Viṣṇu and Śūrya. In Khajurāho stone inscription of Yaśovarman both have been invoked together. Secondly, numerous Viṣṇu icons in which Brahmanic trinity is accommodated in the upper section of the prabhāvalī contain the figure of Śūrya in place of Viṣṇu indicating that both were taken to be one. Numerous icons from Khajurāho can be cited as examples.

4. Ibid., No.XXI.
5. Ibid., No.XIX(II).
6. Ibid., No.XXI.
Equally important is the fact that numerous icons of Viṣṇu have found place on the jaṅgha of Čitra-gupta temple of Khajurāho (a Sūrya temple) and those of Sūrya have been accommodated on the walls of Čaturbhuj temple (a Vaiṣṇava shrine).

The earliest Saura shrine of the period stands at Rāhilya (Dist. Hamirpur). Rāhila or Rāhilavarmāna, the great-grandfather of Bhāṅga, is credited with having raised it. Facing east and built entirely of granite, it consists of a sanctum, an antarāla and a mandapa. (Plate No.XII, Fig.No.3) The sanctum and the śikhara are saptaratha in plan and elevation. The mandapa is circular in plan resting on four giant pillars. Save for few floral, geometrical and diamond designs the temple is destitute of any decoration. The icon of Sun enshrined within the sanctum is missing now.

The Čitra-gupta temple of Khajurāho is dedicated to Sūrya. Its a nīrandhāra-prasāda. It is one of the finer sandstone temples of Khajurāho.

A ruined Sun-temple stands at Rehli also (Dist. Sagar). It is placed in the 10th-11th centuries A.D. Some door-lintelss with Sūrya in lalāṭabimba are included in the collection of Sir H.S. Gaur archaeological Museum, Sagar. They indicate the existence of Sun-temples in the district.

A Sun-temple stood at Sīyadoni also as we have noted above. It was known as Bhailisvamideva temple according to the inscription found here. 2

The Sauras were very liberal and catholic in their outlook. They had deep regard for other Brahmnic deities and so syncretism found favour with them. Worthy of mention in this regard is the fact that in Čitra-gupta temple, lower bhadra-niches of the sanctum contain representations of eleven-headed Viṣṇu in the south,

Hari-Hara-Hiranyagarbha in the west, and Bhu-varāna in the north. The upper niches respectively represent Brahma-Brahmani, Śiva-Pārvatī, and Lakṣmi-Nārayana. When devotees of Viṣṇu and Śiva mostly placed various forms and incarnations of their respective deities on the facades of their temples, this catholic outlook of the Sauras of welcoming other Brahmanic deities is worthy of appreciation.

The sculptures associated with the cult of Sun are few in number and variety. Either he is represented with his full retinue and parivāra members or he appears riding his seven-horsed chariot. Of the former type we have a fine and well-preserved example from Rahilya. (Plate No. XII. Fig. No. 4) Standing sāṃpādasthānaka on a saptaratna pedestal and heavily adorned with a variety of ornaments, he bears a lotus in left hand whereas the right one is mutilated. Above in three miniature shrines have been accommodated the members of the orthodox Brahmanic triad. At bottom between his legs stands Devi Mahāśveta. Flanking him Śanḍa and Piṅgala stand to his right and left respectively. An áśvinikumāra on each side may also be noted. Two of his wives also find representation. Foreparts of seven horses drawing his chariot are carved on the pedestal. Figures of Uṣā and Pratyuṣa in áśiđha and pratyāśiđha poses respectively can be seen in the upper section. It appears that the artist has carved the icon in accordance with the injunctions of Brahmaśhita. 1

Of the second type of Sūrya icons we find rock-cut examples in Rajaghaṭī and Nānaragnāti of Deogarh. A noteworthy icon of Sūrya is enshrined in the Sun-temple of Henli in which the god is represented with his usual ornaments and iconographic features and accompanied by some of the attendant noted above.

A rare image of Sūrya shown three-headed exists in

the collection of Jhansi Archaeological Museum. The multi-armed god is accompanied by Danda and Tīngala. Devī Mahāsveta is also represented between his legs.

Among the members of Sūrya-parivāra only Revanta has found an independent representation in one of them bas-reliefs of the Laksmana temple of Khajurāho.

IX - MINOR CULTS

Of the members of orthodox Brahmanic triad, Brahmā had never a separate and independent cult of his own, and yet, he could maintain his position in the trinity which not only found invariable representation on the door-lintel but also in upper sections of the prabhāvali of Brahmanic sculptures. We fail to understand and analyse his position in Brahmanic pantheon. On the one hand he was accorded equality to Viṣṇu and Śiva, the great gods of Brahmanic faith and on the other hand, he could not secure a separate sect for himself.

Yet the rich religious legacy left by the period under review includes a Brahmā temple also. This solitary sanctuary of its own kind stands among the ruins and remains of old Budhahi. Locally known as 'Chhoti Suraṅga', it was identified on the basis of a three-headed, bearded figure of Brahmā with his mount goose on lintel. To Cunningham goes the credit of discovering this rare shrine, in which he found a pilgrim's record paying homage to Caturmukha and his consort Sāvitri. The record says at the end- Brahmasādā pranamati. 1

Few are the sculptural representations of Brahmā. In the collection of Jhansi Archaeological Museum is included a huge but fine carving of Brahmā with his consort. (Plate No. XI.) Seated lalitasana on a saptaratha pedestal, he is accompanied by 2 bearded attendants and 2 worshippers. With all his hands mutilated, he has few

ornaments adorning him. In the upper section of the prabhnvali are
carved four members of the Brahmantic triad.

Another icon of Brahmā is available to us from
Mohendra.(Plate No.XIII.Fig.No.6) Studded into the wall of a deserted
Kabirpanthi temple, the icon shows the deity in samapājasthānakā pose.
Bearded and one-headed, the god is endowed with four arms. His front
right hand is mutilated. In back right he holds an aksamāla and in
back left a īruva. His front left hand bears a kamanḍalu. An
identical representation of the god is studded in a wall behind Hindu
Bhavan at Kalpi.

The period under review witnesses a meteoric rise
in the career of Hanumāna who was, till now, a folk deity. The
Candellas placed him on their coins and though none of the Candella king
is known to have built a shrine of Hanumāna, a solitary example of it
is available to us from Duhnari. It is indeed difficult to say
whether a separate cult of Hanumāna came into existence during the
period, but numerous sites of Bundelkhand possess an icon of this deity
testifying to his wide-spread influence.

The earliest dated inscription from Khajuraho is
dedicated in character and is incised on the pedestal of a large
statue of Hanumāna. Its date is A.D. 922. The deity has been invoked
in the record with the name 'Ravanātmaja'.

The Hanumāna temple of Duhnari stood in the group
known as 'Baniya Ki darat'. Save for some naqsh of sculptures and
architectural members, nothing survives to tell of its existence.
Among these still stands the huge but headless icon of the god (Plate
No.XIII.Fig.No.3) evoking pity and remorse in the onlooker, and bearing
witness to the fact that here stood a shrine of Hanumāna once upon a
time. Holding his left hand near heart, the god is adorned with a

vanamūla, necklace, girdle, bracelets, armlets and anklets all tastefully carved.

The cult of Nāga never lost its place in the religious life of our region. But during this period it made considerable progress which is attested to by the numerous icons of the deity - theriomorphic as well as anthropomorphic. Never in the preceding periods the deity was given a separate sculptural representation, and this indicates that the Nāga cult became a prominent cult of the period and shrines dedicated to the deity were also erected. The cult had strong sway in the district of Damoh from where we possess several fine representations of the deity. Notable among them are those from Nonata and Hindoria. The collection of sculptures at Damoh includes a fine sculpture of a Nāga-pair, half human in form. At Mohendra exist two massive sculptures of nāgis who are fully human with a canopy of snake-hood above head. Kapat Museum, Kuṇḍeśvara (Dist. Tikamgarh) contains an icon of Manasā Devī, the great snake-goddess.

X - INTER-SECT RELATIONS

Prabodhaśandirodaya, the drama of Krṣṇa Miśra, contains a picture of Inter-Sect Relations. It should be noted that the very plot of the drama is based on the inimical feelings between two brothers viz., Viveka and Mahāmoha. The former has the support of Upaniṣada and Gitā who stand for Vaishnavism. The latter has the following of the Kāpalika (Śaivism), the bhikṣu (Buddhism), and Kṣapaṇaka (Jainism).

In the third act of the drama we find that these followers of Mahāmoha hold a discussion with each other and in course of the debate boldly criticise each other, using abusive words. Passions rise so high during the discussion that Kāpalika, having lost his
temper raises his sword to kill Kṣapaṇaka. At the picture of inter-sect relations is not so dark as drawn by the dramatist. After all, the play was written with a view to glorifying Vaiśnavaism. Nevertheless, hints are not lacking even in the drama itself telling about the happy and cordial relations of different sects during the period under review. At one place Āśrama notices the unity of different āgamas and holds that all the different sāstras speak of one Supreme God (Jagadīśvara) in different ways. At another place Visnu is said to be beloved of Śiva, indicating thereby the amity existing between the two sects. The dramatist who was manifestly a protagonist of Vaiśnavaism offers his prayers to Candraśāntamukulī.

The very fact that father and son in the Candra dynasty followed different cults points to the liberal outlook of Candra kings. Yāsavarman was a Vaiśnava whereas Dhaṅga was a Śaiva. Invocation to Śūrya has been made along with Visnu at the end of Khaṇḍurāṇo stone inscription of Yāsavarman. From Dani copper plate we know that Trailokyavarman paid worship to Mahādeva, Śūrya and Bhavānī. A temple of Visṇu and that of Śiva stand side by side at Madanpur. (Plate No.VII, Fig.No.V) The surest evidence of the catholicity of Candra monarchs is seen in the fact that even the heterodox sect of the Jainas found favour from Dhaṅga. Jaina monk Vāsavaśandra was the Mahārājaguru of Dhaṅga. Alike was the attitude of Pārśmarādīdeva to Buddhism for in his Charkhāri Plate, he makes exception of the five bahulas of land which belonged to a Buddhist shrine, while making a low land-grant.

2. Ibid., V, P.175.
3. Ibid., IV, P.165.
4. Ibid., I, P.3.
9. B.I., Vol.XX, No.XIV(3).
This royal catholicity was responsible for the efflorescence of all sects - heterodox as well as orthodox and major as well as minor - at the religious capital of the Chandellas viz., Khajuraho. Even at other places like Chandpur, Duhmali, Madanpur, Mahoba and Doni, the Jaina temples stand in close proximity to Vaisnava and Saiva shrines. The Siyadoni stone inscription records donations that were made to temples of Vishnu, Uma-Maheswara and Surya. Thus the intersect relations during the period were happy and sweet.

AI - SYNCRETISM

With such sweetness characterising inter-sect relations, it was but natural that the spirit of syncretism should find encouragement. Profuse sculptural evidence we possess in illustration of syncretist ideas that emphasised the essential unity of principal Brahmanic deities. Icons of Harihara represent the reconciliation between Saivism and Vaisnavism. A four-armed icon of Harihara is included in the collection of Papat Museum, Kundeswara (Dist. Tikamgarh). It perfectly harmonises the forms of Siva and Vishnu with the left half of the body standing for the latter and the right half symbolising the former. The headdress of the deity consists of jata in the right half and kirti in the left half. As the arms are mutilated, the symbols they held cannot be determined but the back right hand of the god must have held a trisula as some traces of it can be made out. In the prabhavali ten incarnations of Vishnu are represented to the left of the deity and Ganesha and Skanda can be seen to left, right.

The Citrasupta temple of Khajuraho contains in the western lower bhadra-niche of the sanctum a composite icon of Siva, Vishnu and Surya, known as Hari-Hara-Hiranyagarbha. The combined form

of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva is known as Ṣhari-Hara-Pitāmaha of which we get two illustrations from Khajurāho. The list of syncretic icons could be multiplied for the fertile religious soil of Khajurāho has produced numerous icons representing them, but it is not necessary to mention all the icons.

XII - THE CULT OF THE PENTAD

The spirit of syncretism strengthened the cult of the pentad or the Śmārtā cult. According to Dr. V.S. Pathak, "The worship of Śiva with Sun, Sakti, Ganesa and Viṣṇu was performed in the Miśra Pāṇḍupata school."²

We have mentioned that ordinarily the four minor shrines in a pāṇḍāyatana temple are dedicated to the four principal Brahmanic deities other than that of the main temple. How far this practice was followed at Khajurāho, we can not say definitely for Cunningham² found that all the four corner temples of the Laksmana were dedicated to Viṣṇu who occupied the central position over the door-lintel. Similarly he found that the small temple standing at the south-west corner on the platform of the Viśvanātha temple was dedicated to Śiva.³ If the findings of Cunningham are accepted, the pāṇḍāyatana temples of Khajurāho can not be included in the category of shrines devoted to the cult of the pentaad.

Chandpur seems to have been a center of Śmārtā cult during the period under review. The Śanaśralingēsvara temple at the site enshrines a colossal linga which bears representations of Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Sakti and Ganesa on its sides, indicating thereby that the temple was dedicated to the worship of five principal deities of Brahmanic faith. The temple was of pāṇḍāyatana variety for two of his

1. Śaiva Cults in Northern India, P.51.
3. Ibid., P.424.
its subsidiary shrines are still in situ. Lending further weight to
our view are eight Śmārtā-lingas lying in the courtyard of the temple.
Besides five lingas in the center, their gaurīpatas bear tiny
representations of four chief deities other than Śiva in the corners.
Similar lingas are lying in the temple of Bālī Čandikā at Mahoba that
show the influence of Śmārtā cult there.

Of immense importance and deep significance with
regard to Śmārtā worship are some stone panels included in the
collection of Jhansi Archaeological Museum. They were found at
Chandpur the great center of Śmārtā worship. One of them (No. 80) is
described and illustrated here. (Photograph displayed on the coverpage)
Measuring 117 cms. in breadth and 68 cms. in height, it is divided
into several horizontal bands intervened by two pilastered niches.
The top section contains fourteen miniature lingas. The band
immediately below it shows fourteen figures of male and female. This
band is intervened in the middle by a pilastered niche accommodating
a seated male figure in kukkuṭāsana. The object of his hand is not
clear. The third band from top shows twelve figures of Viśnu but it
is also intervened by a pilastered niche containing a standing lady
and bearing a water vessel in one of her hands. The fourth band
contains five figures of Gaṇeśa and seven figures of Śūrya. The last
and lowest band contains figures of Navagrahas with Gaṇeśa and it is
intervened by a pilaster containing a pair of male and female devotees
in añjali-mudrā. The panel is in well state of preservation.

XIII - RELIGIOUS RITUALS, ṢĀṬIĀS, AND PRACTICES

The mode of worship prevalent during the period
has been described in the foregoing pages with apt illustrations of
Linga-pūjā from the temples of Khajurāho. We may presume that the
mode of worship in other cults might not have been much different from that of Saivism. A scene in the right corner of the Śāntinātha temple depicts a king seated on an elephant and going to worship the Tīrthaṅkara. In the ardnamandaṇḍa of Jagdambī temple, a sculpture contains a woman who is most probably a queen, with her body-guards ahead, going for worship with the plate of offerings held in her right hand.

Meditation may also have been a part of worship for we get numerous scenes from Khajurāho showing devotees in meditation. In the pūjā scene of Viśvanātha temple, men with eyes closed and hands joined in anjali may be seen. In the right corner of the Śāntinātha temple and in the pūjā-scene of Kandariyā temple we meet with ascetics worshipping and throwing offerings on a table placed in their front. Even women can be seen meditating in sculptures from Viśvanātha temple (back inner pradaksīṇa) and right corner inside Śāntinātha temple. In the Jaina temple women sit with hands in anjali-mudrā and two māngla-kalāṣas placed in front of them.

Yajñas or religious sacrifice held prominent place in Brahmanic faith. Verse 17 of the Khajurāho record of Yaśovarman gives us an idea of the sacrifice interestingly in the words, "Yaśovarman never tired at the sacrifice, where terribly wielded sword was the ladle, where the oblation of clarified butter was made with streaming blood, where the twanging of bow was the exclamation of 'vasat' and at which exasperated warriors marching in order were the priests, successful with his counsel (as with sacred hymns) sacrificed, like beasts, the adversaries in the fire of enmity, made to blaze up high by the wind of his unappeased anger."¹ The above description is

¹ The above description is
valuable insofar as it clearly tells us the procedure of sacrifices, which among other things included oblation of clarified butter by means of ladles on the sacred fire with the exclamation of 'vasat' and the utterance of sacred hymns and accompanied by the sacrifice of beasts. A broken sculpture included in the collection of State Museum, Dhulera contains representation of characters associated with the sacrifice. In one of the faces we see a king and his son. The remaining three sides show members of the three upper classes one in each face. Among them the kṣatriya is shown holding a sword and the Vaiśya with a bowl in right hand. The top face depicts two figures, one of them bearded and holding a book in left hand while the right is in vāraṇaṁ-mudrā. The second man holds his left hand in vītarkaṁ-mudrā with right hand on the tuṇḍa. A wooden stand is placed before them.

Reference to sacrifice is contained in Manobā-Khaṇḍa also in which we find Hemavati, the mother of the mythical king Candravarman asking her son to perform the Bhāṇḍya yajña as prescribed by the Moon-god to relieve her of the mental torture.

Sacrifice to the sacred fire is also mentioned in connection with grants of land to Brāhmaṇas in Manoba, Semra and Charknari copper plates. It is evident, therefore, that performing of sacrifice was one of the important activities of the religious life of this period. A reference to the house of a grhamedhin in the drama of Śrīkṛṣṇa Miśra indicates that people belonging to Brahmanical cult used to observe the performance of domestic sacrifice.

1. महावलंक, पाष-२ - मात्रं जा तुम किंविषणा नांव्य नात्तु विस्मय,..... १०५१।
   मात्रं उदारे भुवित नांव्य का ज्ञान जयति..... १०५२।
No less was the importance of tapas in the religious life of this period. From the Khajurāho record of Yasovarman we have that tapas was acclaimed as means of achieving great power and influence. In the drama 'Prabodhacandrodaya', a character claims to have achieved such great powers by his observance of tapas as could compel Indra and Parameśthin (Brahmā) bow before him. Of course, his words are not to be taken literally but his boast brings home the point that people attached great importance to tapas.

The drama also refers to the practice of offering oblations by the people to their deceased relations on the banks of sacred rivers. Note may be taken here that the ceremonies of tarpāṇa and śrāddha have been mentioned in the Nanyaura grant of V.S. 1107.

No mean was the part played by the practice of pilgrimage in the religious life of the period. Vārānasi, a center of religion, is referred to in the drama of Brīkraṇa Miśra as mukti-kṣetra and Brahmāpur. Further it is held to be a place offering bliss to the inner self of men and removing their tamas. Among other places of pilgrimage, Īkṣvāku-tirtha, Saligrama-kṣetra and Kuru-kṣetra find mention. The Kālanjara stone inscription speaks of a Čendella king who proceeded to the divine river to wash away his sins. Thus performance of pilgrimage was a pious act in those days.

No less pious was the act of granting lands, leading to the increase of religious merit of the donor and his deceased parents. The Charkhari plate of Parmārdideva clearly mentions that the grant was made for the increase of the religious merit of the donor.

3. Ibid., V, p.201.
4. I.A., Vol.XVI, Pl.201-204...
8. E.I., Vol.XXII, No.AXIV.
and his parents. Identical was the object of Charkhari copper plate
grant of Devavarman in which even the occasion of the grant has also
been mentioned which was lunar eclipse. 1

Another fact emerging out of the land-grants of
the Candella monarchs is that they mention specifically the
distinguishing gotras, pravaras, and particular śākhā or āśaṅga of
Vedic study to which the donees belonged, thereby indicating that they
aimed at popularising the different aspects of Vedic study. 2 The
importance of Vedic study and the Vedas is also revealed by the
inscriptions. The Khajurāho stone inscription of Yaśovarman invokes
the king at the end to protect the laws of the three Vedas. 3 In Mau
stone inscription of Madanvarman, Vedas are said to serve the king
for the welfare of the earth.

AIV - Temple Functionaries

The Khajurāho record of Yaśovarman refers to the
distribution of great quantities of gold, grain, cows, and money, as
well as lands and dwellings to Brāhmaṇas evidently for the maintenance
of the temple and for making regular arrangements for the worship
of the deity installed in it. Since the distribution was made to a
number of Brāhmaṇas and not given to a single priest, it appears that
a regular hierarchy of priests looking after diverse affairs of the
temple and conducting the daily worship existed in those days. The
royal priests among them were occasionally charged with some
administrative duties in addition to their priestly functions.

Other functionaries associated with the temple were
a dancer and a door-keeper. Of them we possess lithic examples in the

1. E.I., Vol.XX, No.XIV.
2. Ibid.
Panel representing linga-rūjā and described above in connection with mode of worship in Śaivism. Mention of these functionaries has been made in Kālanjar pillar inscription of Madanavarman. The inscription records the names of Manāpratināra (chief door-keeper) Saṅgrāma simha and Mahānādāni (the chief dancing girl) Pādmāvatī. The dancers were actually devadāsis who dedicate themselves to the service of god for life. Manāpratināra seems to stand for a temple official either appointed by the king or by the priests.

XV - EVILS OF BRAHMAMISM

In drama 'Prabodhaśandrodaya' are reflected certain evils that had crept into Brahmanic sects during the period under review. Alluding to the degradation of character among the followers of Brahmanic faith, the dramatist says forthrightly that some of them adopted monasticism only for the sake of their livelihood. In another straightforward assertion we note that they would sit with their mahādanda (long staff) karanda (jug) and aksasūtra (rosary) only in order to cheat the rich. Those getting their head shaved and taking to the reading of the Vedas would do mere recitation without delving deep into the meaning of what they read, feeling confident (of their knowledge) at the same time even if they had read nothing. Some of them who studied sacred texts like Upanisads interpreted them in their own way, very often with a view to grinding their own axe. Shallow and supercilious as was their character, with little knowledge they were obsessed with a false sense of pride in their learning.

1. aS.R., XVI, p.34.
2. P.C., II, p.46.- मिलामाणां नगरितिस्वतुपुिमिस्वतुपुिन्ना . . . .
3. Ibid., PP. 47-48.
4. Ibid., PP. 43-46.- स्तै तावदशेषयवरणय विषुरः स्वा आया चवमात्रात-निला वैदविषयावका स्वः
5. Ibid., VI, p.218.
claiming to possess such holiness as would not allow even the kings to touch their feet.\footnote{1} In his free, frank and forthright style Śrīkṛṣṇa Miśra goes to the extent of charging these so-called pandits with the enjoyment of moonlit nights with the prostitutes and befooling others during the day by declaring themselves to be sarvajñānā, dīkṣitān, agnīnotrān, brāhmaṇān, and tāpasān.\footnote{2}

It goes without saying that such serious charges cannot stand scrutiny if sincerely examined and verified. Of course, one can not deny that weaknesses, such as those mentioned above, did not exist at all. But the followers suffering from them must have been few for we know that different schools of philosophical thoughts were evolved during this period and so a good number of them must have remained occupied with the study of sacred texts as well as consideration of the problems of Indian thought and philosophy. Śrīkṛṣṇa Miśra himself was one such thinker.

XVI - SUPERSTITIONS

The drama reflects some of the prevailing superstitions of the times. People had a belief in the existence of supernatural beings like rākṣasas and pīḍās.\footnote{3} Belief in forecasting also stands attested to. Kāma is aware of the possibility of the birth of Vidyā and Prabodha which had already been forecast.\footnote{4} Noticing omen while going out on an important occasion was as current in those days as it is today. Viveka marches against Manāmōha only when the foreteller declares the time to be favourable.\footnote{5}

---

2. Ibid., F.43, V.1.
3. वैश्वातेश्वर सीता गणितािला व्रकास्नामाचे: क्रममः।
4. रीत्वांहि रीति वितरणामहोत्सवारुपालित्वः क्रमः।
5. क्रममः क्रममः क्रममः क्रममः।

3. Ibid., III, P.39.
5. Ibid., IV, P.157.