A Comparative Analysis of the Temples of Khajuraho and the Ruling Chandellas of India

Chelsea Gill

May 2008

A Senior Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Arts in Archaeological Studies University of Wisconsin-La Crosse
ABSTRACT

As the Chandella Empire gained control of central India in the 10th century A.D. the Chandella began to build the temples of Khajuraho. An estimated 85 temples once existed, now only 24 remain in Khajuraho today. The still standing temples were all built between A.D. 900 and 1150.

By investigating the complexity of the temples architectural style over time, as well as the sculptures on the temples, insights into the growth and decline of the Chandellas reign are found. In addition, the temples contain information about the religions present under the Chandella rule and how the religions diversify as they gained power and influence over the region. The temples suggest a correlation between religious pluralism and architectural complexity as the Chandellas influence develops, however, this does not imply a cause and effect.
INTRODUCTION

For generations archaeologists have debated the reasons for the rise of complex societies and what material remains are associated with development of complex society. Throughout history around the world there have been many power shifts and changing political systems that have affected urban development. Empires have been an important part of this research because they represent one of the most complex societies. Empires are “states that expand rapidly, often through military conquest: they maintain standing armies. Empires are very large in terms of territory and population, and they maintain sovereignty over all people and lands in their realm; they are diverse ecologically and ethnically and are organized to handle this diversity” (Smith and Schreiber 2006:3).

One significant aspect of empires that archaeologists can study is monumental architecture. Monumental architecture includes large homesteads, palaces, public buildings, and special purpose buildings, such as the focus of this paper: temples (Trigger 1990:119). Temples are buildings that suggest that there was some powerful individual or state that had the time, skill, and resources to build a monument above what the practical utility of the building required (Trigger 1990:119-122). A temple’s architectural extravagance can reveal the level of political and economic power ruling groups or upper class had. Ruling groups or individuals will produce extravagant temples in order to physically express their abilities and superiority over other groups. The temples extravagance reflects the available resources of the people responsible for building the temples.

A temple’s material representation can also give insights into what kind of complex society was present through diversity of local traditions. An empire that gains its
power through militia will maintain that power over a large territory and large population and will maintain ethnic and cultural diversity. Religious practice is one aspect of this diversity, therefore as the religious representation seen within temples includes more diversity, it can be inferred or suggested that this is an attempt to unify diverse local groups.

During the 9th century A.D. central India was characterized by political instability and warring local chiefdoms. In A.D. 831 Nannuka, a local chief, found the opportunity to establish a militant force and help create what would become an empire that would rule for more than four centuries, ending in A.D. 1309 (Mitra 1958:29-140). The Chandella Dynasty could be considered an empire once a descendant of Nannuka, Harsha, gained independence from the Pratihara Empire. At that time, they were ethnically diverse, maintained power over a large territory, and expanded quickly during their reign. The Chandella dynasty was also responsible for creating the famous majestic temples of Khajuraho, India dating from circa A.D. 900 to circa 1130 (Desai 2000:87-88) representing their excessive resources and desire to unite the region with a religious capital. By evaluating the temples and mounds of Khajuraho, the transitions of the architectural style and religious influences chart the growth and decline of the Chandella Empire.

My hypothesis is that in the case study of Khajuraho, India the complexity of architecture and religious pluralism of the temples correlate with the ruling power of the Chandella Dynasty. Complexity of architecture for the purpose of this hypothesis refers to the different number of elements in temple construction including: 1) quantity of individual sculptures, 2) type of sculpture, 3) temple parts, and 4) changing type of
material used in construction. While religious pluralism refers to: 1) the different deities and/or religions the temples are dedicated to and 2) the different deities found sculpted on or within the temples. Although historical sources and inscriptions are used to document the political rise and decline of the Chandella Dynasty that ruled the Chandella Empire, archaeological methods are applied to the analysis of the architectural and religious elements. The archaeology provides a more complete understanding of the temples and their evolution and allows a better understanding of the dynamics of the Chandella Empire. This work can serve as a model for other archaeological studies of empires.
BACKGROUND

The background is intended to introduce the reader the historical information about Khajuraho and the Chandellas, as well as introduce the reader to the religions and basic sculptural elements present at Khajuraho that will be later evaluated in the paper in an archaeological context. In order to evaluate the hypothesis that architectural complexity and religious pluralism correspond with the rise and fall of Chandella Dynasty, it is important to understand the history of their Empire.

KHAJURAHO

Khajuraho (see Figure 1) is a village in central India once was believed to have over 85 temples, of which only 24 temples remain. The remaining temples are dated to the peak of the Chandellas’ reign ranging from A.D. 950-1050 (Prakash 1967:11-12).
However, the last temple attributed to the Chandella reign was in A.D.1130 (Desai 2000:88), implying the “peak” of the temple construction was not the end. Some of the temples that were destroyed have left evidence of their location, but remain as little more than mounds. This paper will focus on analysis of the temples that still are standing, the information available summaries of excavations at Khajuraho, as well as the history of the Chandellas.

**CHANDELLAS**

Medieval India was characterized by the establishment and disintegration of kingdoms and empires. Political unity was a myth and religion was the only truly stable force (Zannas 1960:11-13). Ruling people had strong ties to religion and were part of the ksatriya, or warrior caste. Political leadership of Medieval India was established by primarily through religion and military conquest.

The Chandella Dynasty was able to provide the militant force, religious unity, and diplomacy needed to control Bundelkhand, a region of central India, for more than four centuries. The history of the Chandella Dynasty is reflected in the archaeological context through inscriptions found at the temples of Khajuraho, as well as through the sculptural elements of the temples themselves. An inscription at the Lakshmana Temple dated to A.D. 954 was found on a stone-slab engraved with 28 lines gives the genealogy of the Chandella Dynasty from the rulers Nannuka to Dhanga who was ruler at the inscription date (Deva 1990:334).

The inscription establishes the Chandella Dynasty’s connection to divinity as they are “preceding from” the moon-god Chandra (Deva 1990:13). Descending from Chandra,
Nannuka was the first ruler from the first quarter of the 9th century A.D. Through the 9th Century A.D., the Chandellas underwent a military conquest until they had established a thriving empire. During this transition from chiefdom to empire, Nannuka was succeeded by Vakpati, who was succeeded by Jayasakti, who was succeeded by Rahul, who was succeeded by Harsha in A.D. 905. Harsha’s reign marked the growing strength of the Chandella reign, and the formation of the Empire. The Chandellas reign continued to gain strength as Harsha’s son, Yasovarman conquered territory of many other groups, including the Prathiharas, the Kalachuris, the Palas, and the Paramaras (Prakash 1967:4-5). The Chandella dynasty was at its peak during the reign of Dhanga, between A.D. 950 and 999. Yasovarman had laid the foundations of a great empire, and Dhanga continued to expand and construct new monuments.

There are very few records of Ganda, Dhanga’s son, signifying the decline in influence of Chandella leadership. After Ganda came Vidyadhara, then Vijayapala, and the Chandella reign stayed in steady control of Bundelkhand, without expansion of their empire. These steady successions continued with Devavarman, Kittivarman, Sallaksanavarman, Jayavarman, until Madanavarman who was responsible for building the last of the famous temples at Khajuraho. Madanavarman was said to have regained political strength and was responsible for building one of the most lavish temples, Dūlādeo. He ruled for about 34 years and led a powerful empire until A.D. 1165 (Mitra 1958:71-117).

Following Madanavarman, Yasovarman II had a very short hold on the throne, of no more than a few years, and was succeeded by Paramardi who used all the resources of the empire fighting, perhaps explaining why no temples were constructed during his rule.
Paramardi’s successor, Trailokyavarman ruled until as late as A.D. 1247 and was succeeded by Viravarman, both who were facing invasions of Muslim invaders. The Muslim invaders continued to put pressure on the last two rulers in the Chandella dynasty Bhojavaran and Hammiravarman until they lost power in A.D. 1309 (Mitra 1958:118-140).

To summarize, the Chandella rule spanned from A.D. 831 to 1308, much longer than the time span of the construction of the temples from A.D. 900 to 1130. However, they could not be considered an Empire until circa A.D. 905. Madanavarman considered was the last “great” king of the Chandellas and his successor, Paramardi, faced the start of many defeats that would eventually lead to the dissipation of the Chandella Empire (Desai 2000:7-11). According to the histories of the military action of the Chandella reign, the peak of the reign was from A.D. 950 to 1000, correlating the construction of the temples with the power held by the Chandellas. No temples were built as the empire’s resources were being stretched; temples only were built when excess sources are available.

THE TEMPLES

The temples are very complex because they contain intricate sculptures, represent different religions or gods, are made of different materials, and many have been severely damaged or reworked. The temples were built between circa A.D. 850 and 1150, and were all attributed to the Chandella reign. There are any aspects to the temples that make them unique and representative of a time period. An example of the temples of Khajuraho is seen in Figure 2 of the Viśvanātha temple from A.D. 1000.
Iconography/Sculptures

Many of the temples of Khajuraho are covered in sculptures representing different aspects of life ranging from recreation to religion. The sculptures are set on panels of different sizes ranging from 2.5-3 feet in height, and others are slim 2-3 inch bands. The sculptures were made out of sandstone found in the Vindhyan hills around the village. The sculptures depict the tiniest details and give the temple walls an almost three-dimensional appearance. The sculptures are very distinct and impressive, and were created by artists with generations of experience working with sandstone (Punja 1999:7-8).

The sculptures found on the temples of Khajuraho have been divided into three categories, all implying different complexity (Prakash 1967:17-18). The sculpture in an all around is a three dimensional sculpture that does not protrude from anything. The next level of sculpture is the relievo-sculptures that have a three dimensional effect, but are not sculpted all around. These images can be found protruding from walls of Khajuraho. Finally there are thin friezes of sculptures which are sculptures made of varying depth within the sandstone walls of the temples.
Ceiling Architecture

Amar Singh (1994:79-86) divides the ceilings of the temples of Khajuraho into ten categories based on sculptural elements. It is possible for the temples to have only one type of ceiling or multiple types depending on the individual rooms. The ceilings are categorized based on ceiling forms and decoration. Samatala ceilings are flat, kṣipta ceilings are thrown in, and sama-kṣipta ceilings are a combination in-between (Singh 1994:79). The decorative motifs used for categorization are lotus petals (padmaśilas), floral cusps (gajatalus), cusps (kolas), and different square arrangements. Ceiling complexity can be measured by sculptural elements. For example, nine arranged squares is a more complex design than five, and floral cusps are more complex than just cusps.

Temple Plan

Medieval India was characterized by a particular style of temple that consisted of many parts that evolved through time. The more advanced typical Hindu temple structure consisted of five compartments: the mandapa, ardhamandapa, anatarla, cella, and mahāmandapa. Figure 3 is a floor plan constructed after excavations that reveals the typical five compartment style. The mandapa is the main assembly hall essential to nearly every temple. The cella is the room where the deities were placed. The ardhamandapa is the entrance porch. The anatarla was the vestibule, or passage from outside to the inner portion of the temple. Finally, the mahāmandapa is the ambulatory passage of the temple. These temples of five compartments were known as sandhars. Nirandar temples were four compartments that were made of the same parts minus the anatarla (Lal 1970:20-22).
In Khajuraho, the temples were made on large jagatis, or platforms, often made of granite. The jagatis were mounted by the large sandstone walls and śikharas, or tower-like domes. As the temples evolved they became taller and their śikharas grew more intricate in designs (Lal 1970:20-22).

Religion

Hinduism was the most prevalent religion at the time of the Chandellas and so it is important to understand the basics of the religion. Ishvara is a similar equivalent to the supreme being of Christianity: God. Ishvara is called Brahma as he creates, Vishnu as he preserves, and Shiva as he destroys (Bhaskarananda 1994:70-71). Ishvara in his three forms is recognized as three separate deities. In addition, each deity can appear as many forms themselves. The reason there are so many deities (or incarnations of deities) is
because everyone experiences God differently. The chosen deity of each individual is called an Ista-devatā, “the chosen ideal”. For ceremonial worship people will build altars or temples to their Ista-devatā (Powell 1996:359), perhaps explaining the reason behind diversity of temple dedications.

Similar to the differences between orthodox and protestant Christianity, Hinduism is split between Puranic and Tantric Hinduism. It is important to understand Khajuraho was a mix of the traditions and can be considered as Tantric-Puranic. The Puranic order of Hinduism refers to the traditional worship of the Vedas. Many of the inscriptions at the temples of Khajuraho proclaimed great support of the Vedas (Desai 2000:49).

At the same time, the temples held a tantric influence. “Tantra refers a complex of cultic practices, rituals, mysticism, and secret rites that are based on a philosophy and deep spiritual devotion centering on the concept of Supreme Power” (Joshi 2002:39). The Hindus of Khajuraho accepted several of the mantras, yantras, and mandalas of Tantrism by the 10th century A.D. (Desai 2000:14-15). In addition Tantrism of medieval India was characterized by the employment of sex (Joshi 2002:50), a very common image found carved into the walls of Khajuraho temples. Tantric religion was also found within Jainism, another religion present at Khajuraho during the time of the Chandelllas.

While although Jainism is similar to Hinduism in that it stems from the Vedas, ancient scriptures of India, it is a complexly separate religion. The Jains renounce the prestige of the Vedas and deem it a false scripture that is no more than human written documents. Jainism used the most revered Hindu gods to mock and recast the story with the principles of rebirth and retribution of all creatures (Dundas 1992:200-202). Although the two religions used many of the same gods in order to demonstrate their visions of
truth, Jainism was distinct because of its focus on fordmakers, or tirthankars, the 24 Jain teachers (Dundas 1992:11-12). The sculptural presence of these teachers indicates a Jain temple.
METHODOLOGY

The methods used in this paper are research on the major religions of 10th century A.D. to 14th century A.D. central India, temple architecture of Khajuraho, and the establishment and downfall of Chandellas’ Empire. The focus of this research is on the material record of religious pluralism and architectural complexity as the Chandellas gain influence throughout the region. Preliminary research about Khajuraho and the temples provided an understanding about the chronology of temple construction, the typical architectural style of the temples, and the typical religions, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism.

Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism are three traditional religions of India that provided an understanding of the pluralism developing in India at the time of the Chandellas. Information about these religions came from interpretations of ancient texts, such as the Vedas and through secondary sources that explain the significance of the texts.

Archaeological evidence has been collected through Archaeological Surveys of India including descriptions of all existing and ruined temples. My primary archaeological research was conducted by reading and evaluating a monograph, *Temples of Khajuraho* (1990), and a supplemental book, *Khajuraho* (1967), by Dr. Krishna Deva. Dr. Deva is a former director of the Archaeological Survey of India and is both a distinguished archaeologist and art historian. His monograph provides descriptions of the plans, design, sculptures and images of the Khajuraho temples based off of the original survey reports and Dr. Deva’s personal research. Dr. Deva’s monograph is a compilation of original data.
In order to compile the most factual information regarding temple plan, sculptural elements, dates, and to ensure the interpretations of which gods the temples were dedicated to were accurate I also turned to supplemental works. *Khajuraho*, by Eliky Zannas (1960) is a work through an archaeologist’s perspective that studies the architecture and sculpture of Khajuraho and places them within medieval history (not specifically the history of the Chandellas). The book contains thorough descriptions of the temples that compliments the information published by the Archaeological Society of India.

Additional archaeological evidence used for this project includes information gathered and published about 18 mounds and two excavations within 10 kilometers of the village of Khajuraho. Descriptions of these excavations come from the book *Khajuraho- With Latest Discoveries* (2001), by Dr. P.K. Mishra, the Director of the Archaeological Excavations at Khajuraho. Through Dr. Mishra’s summaries of the mounds and his excavations, I am able to support the myth of 85 temples of the Chandellas, and the excavations provide floor plans to be compared with floor plans of other still-standing temples. Although the specific numbers of artifacts and sculptural elements could not be acquired, the detailed monograph and other materials gave very in depth descriptions for there to be enough accumulated data to create a chronological comparison of the temples and their features.

I also used previous classifications of temple architecture and applied their architectural distinctions to the Chandella Dynasty’s chronology. This includes data from *The Ceilings of Khajuraho* (1994), by Amar Signh, and classification of sculpture types from *Khajuraho* (Prakash 1967). The evolution of the temple characteristics was
discussed by these authors but never before put in the historical context of the Chandella reign.

Countless other studies have been done previously by both art historians and archaeologists containing a brief explanation of the Chandellas’ reign, descriptions of the temples grandeur, and an attempt to explain what the iconography and temples signify in reference to symbolism and meaning within the cultures. Many books were referred to for general research including the specific works cited as well as these additional sources: *Khajuraho in Pictures* (1970), by B.R. Seth, *Apsaras of Khajuraho* (1966), by Kanwar Lal, and *Khajuraho Sculptures and their Significance* (1964), by Urmila Agarwal.

The methodology used in this paper will follow a similar course as the previous studies that investigate the grandeur of the temples, but will be different because of the focus on the direct relation with the historical accounts of the strength of the Chandellas. The methodology will also discontinue the trend to evaluate the specific religious symbolism and instead evaluate the presence of certain material religious representations as an indication of a strengthening empire, rather than certain cultural beliefs.

Through the sources published from the Archaeological Survey of India and complementary work by other archaeologists and art historians I compiled the information to create a table summarizing the specific aspects of the temples to be able to compare their evolution with the history of the Chandella reign. Specific aspects of the temples that were used for my comparisons were the temple plans, the material used for temple construction, the sculptural styles, and the religious representation.

Research was done on the Chandellas through inscriptions found at temple locations and work done by past historical researchers. The inscriptions and historical
data of the Chandella Empire was primarily collected from book *The Early Rules of Khajuraho* (Mitra 1958). The book provided a very complete explanation of the history of the Chandella Dynasty from the first to last ruler based on the inscriptions and historical accounts from the Chandella Dynasty and other surrounding empires.

This historical data was then chronologically compared to the archaeological data including religious pluralism and architectural complexity of the temples. The historical data tests the archaeological methodology used in the paper, which ties the temples evolution to the power of an empire. By comparing the historical context along with the material aspects of the temples, the methodology becomes a model that could be applied to other empires across the globe.
RESULTS

By using the archaeological evidence found in Khajuraho, I was expecting to find a correlation with Chandella influence, changing architectural styles, and religious representation in the temples. My hypothesis was that the architectural complexity and religious pluralism of the temples of Khajuraho would increase as the Chandellas established rule and gained a firm political establishment and would decrease as their power declined. Through research my hypothesis is evaluated in two parts: the correlation with the rise and the fall of the Chandella Empire. The architectural complexity and religious pluralism do increase as the Chandellas are at their peak, but never decline as the Chandella Empire dissipates.

CHRONOLOGY

The chronology of the temples in comparison to the Chandellas is important to note, because the construction of monumental architecture demonstrates the peak of the Chandella reign. The purpose of this paper was to correlate the rise and fall of the Chandella Empire with the material changes of the temples. Figure 3 indicates that the Chandellas were responsible for the construction of all the still-standing temples of Khajuraho. The timeline also reveals that the highest frequency of construction of the temples that still exist within Khajuraho was during the peak of the Chandella Empire according to the historical resources (A.D. 950-1000).

This indicates, without inclusion of any specific architectural details, that there were more temples created during Dhanga’s reign than any other Chandella’s leadership. The history of temple construction, complex or not, supports the hypothesis that the
temples peak construction correlate with the Chandella reign. The greatest number of temples was being built at a time that the Chandella reign had an unquestioned power over the region (A.D. 950-1000).

![Timeline of Chandella Reign and Temple Construction](image)

**Figure 3: Timeline of Chandella Reign and Temple Construction**

**MOUNDS AND EXCAVATIONS**

There is myth that 85 temples once existed in Khajuraho when it was a grand central location of the Chandella Empire. These 85 temples are not directly referred to in any historical documents of Medieval India and there is no sound proof supporting the myth. However, in 1980 the Archaeological Survey of India commenced a study of a 10 kilometer area around Khajuraho that located 18 mounds in the area (Mishra 2001:28-29).

Eighteen mounds do not immediately prove that 85 temples were built by the Chandellas or that 85 temples ever existed, but they do demonstrate that this was a very significant site of medieval Indian history. All except for two of the mounds were indicated to be temple remnants, and the remaining two were indicated to have been too damaged by agriculture for it to be determined from surveying (Mishra 2001:29-32).
The total possible number of temples found at this site still only totals 36. Thirty-six is still very far away from 85, but it does bring some truth to the myth. The survey only encompassed a 10 kilometer area and more mounds could exist outside of that area, some mounds could have been completely destroyed through agriculture, or simply the myth could be overly exaggerated. Either way, there are 34 temples (or remnants of temples) that have been identified by archaeologists, a very substantial number that indicates a Khajuraho was a religious capital.

The mounds do not leave any researcher, let alone any tourist, without doubt of what the mounds could contain. They are overlain with brickbats, architectural components, and stone fragments, but there is no clear temple image. So, naturally, excavations are needed to uncover the truth of Khajuraho. Two mounds have been excavated; one, part of a group of mounds called Satdhara, in 1980-81 and again in 1985-86, and the Bijamandal mound was excavated in 1998-2000 (Mishra 2001:32-33).

Both mounds excavated reveal multi-compartmental temples similar to those of the peak of the Chandella reign. Figure 2 (pg. 11) reveals the plans recreated by archaeologists of the Bijamandal mound, which also serves as an example to the typical temple style of medieval Khajuraho. The Satdhara mound contained material remains of the Pratihara era in addition to those of the Chandella era. Some stone structures date to the Pratihara era, however the through sculptural elements of architectural members, iron objects, beads, animal figurines, and terracotta beads dates the site to the Chandella era. It is probable that this was a temple site of the Chandellas, built by the Chandellas. Perhaps, the stone structures were built and used during the Pratihara era and the Chandellas later incorporated them into the temples (Mishra 2001:34-35).
The Bijamandal mound that was excavated was 7.5 meters and about 40 meters in length. Three sides of a śikhara were found within the architectural remains indicating this temple was once a fully completed temple that was later destroyed. The platform uncovered was ornately decorated and there was an abundance of architectural sandstone fragments found. The site remains a mystery because of large granite stones found within context. Mishra proposes that the large amount granite found at Bijamandal resembles the granite found at Chausath Yogiṇī and he believes there was a Yogiṇī style temple at that site that preceded the Bijamandal temple. Similar to Lakshmana, Misha attributes the Bijamandal temple with tantric affiliations (Mishra 2001:35-49).

Another important and unique feature of Bijamandal is the possible presence of both Jain and Hindu images on the temple walls. The temple is most likely dedicated to the Jain religion; however, there is a presence of Hindu deities found on the walls (Mishra 2001:43). This may indicate the liberal credentials of the Chandellas and religious pluralism, but more excavations should be done. With all sciences, such a limited sample size will cloud the data and therefore more data should be collected from both the Bijamandal mound and the others mounds present in Khajuraho.

Of the two mounds excavated, they both were temples that were attributed to the Chandella reign. The fact that the mounds excavated are certainly temples supports the myth and the claim that there was a magnificent capital. There are still many more mounds that could be excavated, but through the surveys of 1980, they are all suspected by archaeologists to be more remnants of temples. The importance of the information gained from the mounds is that the temples certainly played a very significant role in the Chandella Empire. Also, the similarities the Bijamandal temple had with Lakshmana in
plan and sculptural elements and tantric influence suggests it was built around the same
time period, which is also the peak of the Chandella reign.

**ARCHITECTURE**

The temple archaeological analysis of temple architecture includes analysis of the
temple plans, the ceiling architecture, the shift in construction material, and the sculpture
contents of the temples. The architecture definitely demonstrates support for the first part
of my hypothesis, showing the pattern between the Chandellas “peak” and architectural
evolution. The architectural complexity shows very minimal decline as the Chandellas
lose their power, perhaps indicating the Chandellas chose quality over quantity, because
the number of temples built in the later years of the Chandella Empire is little to none.

For the purpose of this research I have compiled Table 1, which explores the
progression of temple construction over time. The table expresses a very condensed
description of the temples and their contents that allows us to correlate change to year.
The table explores the hypothesis by putting the temple names, dates, plan complexity,
religious expression, and sculptural content together in one visible location.

As the data was compiled for the temple it should be noted that different sources
had the temples dated differently. The temple names were also spelled slightly differently
because of the translation process. For example Matangeshvara is dated to circa A.D.
900-925 (Deva 1967:22-23) and in A.D. 1000 (Desai 2000:88). The dates used in this
paper were chosen by supporting evidence given in research materials, but it is likely not
all the dates are flawless. The discrepancy between spellings of temple names was
disregarded for the purpose of this project, because the argument of spelling temple
names is not significant to the archaeological record and will only hinder research.

In order to demonstrate the effectiveness of the analysis used for the table, there is a comparison of two temples specifically that represent a very distinct evolution in the material aspects of temples, right as the Chandella Empire became powerful (Early 10th Century). The two temples to be compared are the Varāha Temple (Figure 4) and the Lakshmana Temple (Figure 5).

The reasons for comparing these two temples is because they were built right in succession and obviously reveal many distinct differences that could reflect the growing stability and wealth of the Chandellas. The Lakshmana Temple was built circa A.D. 930-950, almost immediately following the Varāha Temple that was built circa A.D 900-925 (see Table 1). In context with the Chandellas, this is the time period that the dynasty turned very quickly into a powerful empire. To recall, Harsha, who was the first of the Chandellas to be a ruler to an Empire, took control in A.D. 905. His successor, Yasovarman was known for power and conquests of territory of many other groups of medieval India. Finally, Dhanga in A.D. 950 was said to have lead the “peak” of the Chandella Empire (Prakash 1967:4-5).

It is likely that the Varāha Temple was built under Harsha, who had the power to establish an autonomous empire. Under Harsha it would be expected that he did have extensive power and resources, but according to the historical records, Yasovarman and Dhanga held stronger influence and power than had ever been seen before (in the Chandella lineage). The material elements of the temples built during this transition reveal a tremendous evolution.

By looking at Figures 4 and 5, the temple plan can be evaluated. Varāha is a small
temple, containing only of a main assembly hall (mandapa), whereas the later Lakshmana is a temple of many compartments, with subsidiary shrines. Figure 5 does not show a side view of Lakshmana that would contain five parts. The roofs are seen as very different, because the Varāha is much shorter and is a pyramidal type rather than tall śikhara that is visible of the Lakshmana. Table 1 is referring to these visible differences and, in general, as the list under “Temple Plan” in Table 1 gets longer, the temple is considered as more architecturally complex.

The next difference referred to on Table 1 is “Religion/Deity”, which expresses who the temple is dedicated to. In the case of Lakshmana and Varāha the only noticed difference on the Table is that Lakshmana is Tantric, whereas Varāha is not. It should be noted that this table does not for certainty reveal the temples’ religious dedications, but rather expresses interpretations primarily based on previously researched archaeological remains.

The final aspect of Table 1 is “Sculptural Notes” which may seem rather complicated, but is an attempt to summarize the visual experiences and extensive sculptural data of each temple. Varāha has ornamental carving that refers specifically to the carvings of the platform that can be seen towards the bottom of Figure 4. Varāha also is well known because it contains a large three-dimensional statue of Varāha the boar in the center of the temple.

The sculptural notes on Lakshmana reveal one of the inscriptions used by many historians and archaeologists to piece together the information of the Chandellas is located at this temple. There is little granite at base, which indicates a transition into more use of sandstone allowing for more intricate carvings (see Materials). The four subsidiary
Figure 4: Varāha Temple
(http://image30.webshots.com/30/2/73/83/265227383uwWaad_fs.jpg 2005)

Figure 5: Lakshmana Temple
(http://image30.webshots.com/30/2/73/83/265227383uwWaad_fs.jpg 2005)
shrines are mentioned in order to allow the reader to have a sense of the grandeur of the temple. The reason the resemblance with another temple is listed is to piece together general continuities in architectural and materialistic styles. The intricate sculptural and friezes cannot be seen clearly in Figure 5, but if with a close examination of the bottom of the image, there are multiple rows of sculptures. This increase is represented through the bullet within this section of the table. Finally, the erotic images are mentioned because these are the primary indicator of a Tantric influence.

The sculptural notes are very complex and contain plenty of information for the reader, but these very simple descriptions of each temple is needed to understand the material evolutions. Without the additions of what is present and unique at the temples does not allow for a proper comparison of the temples, even though it may be a much simpler comparison.

In conclusion of this comparison of the material aspects of Varāha and Lakshmana temples, any reader can see there is an immense evolution from Varāha to Lakshmana. This evolution is not just from one temple to another, it includes all of the temples and shrines mentions within Table 1. However, the distinction between these two temples describes the main material differences I intended to evaluate, as well as maintains the chronological connection with the Chandellas Empire. The material aspects can be evaluated and should be correlated with the historical sources in order to be able to understand if the material transitions of the temples built by the Chandellas can reflect their strength and to understand in general if temples are suitable indicators of influence and strength of Empires around the world.
Table 1: Summary of Architectural Complexity, Religious Pluralism, and Sculptural Notes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TEMPLE</th>
<th>DATE (circa)</th>
<th>TEMPLE PLAN</th>
<th>RELIGION/ DIETY</th>
<th>SCULPTURAL NOTES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Chausath Yogiṇī | A.D. 850-900 | • Shrines have tiny Śikharas | Yogiṇī Hinduism (Tantric) | • Made of Granite  
• Simple Style  
• Three Yogiṇī’s Statues  
• Once believed to have 67 Shrines (only 35 survive) |
| Lālguṇān Mahādeva | A.D. 900    | • Mandapa  
• Cella  
• Pyramidal Structure | Siva Hinduism | • Statue of Nandin at temple  
• Sandstone and Granite |
| Brahmā          | A.D. 925    | • Mandapa | Siva Hinduism | • Comparable to Lālguṇān Mahādeva  
• Sandstone and Granite |
| MātangeŚvara    | A.D. 900-925 | • Mandapa |                      | • Sandstone  
• Plain and Elementary Designs  
• Like Brahma, more elaborate  
• Persian inscriptions considered insignificant |
| Varāha          | A.D. 900-925 | • Mandapa  
• Pyramidal Roof | Vishnu Hinduism | • Ornamental carving  
• Representations of Visnu, as Varāha the boar. |
| Lakshmana       | A.D. 930-950 | • Mahāmandapa  
• Mandapa  
• Ardhamandapa  
• Antarla  
• Cella  
• Śikhara | Vishnu Hinduism (Tantric) | • Inscription dated A.D. 953-54  
• Very little granite at lowest course  
• Four subsidiary shrines  
• Resembles Kandāriya  
• Intricate sculptural elements (friezes)  
• Erotic images |
| PārŚvanātha     | A.D. 950-970 | • Mahāmandapa  
• Ardhamandapa  
• Mandapa  
• Śikhara | Jain (Tantric)  
The first Tirhankara | • Inscription mentioning Dhanga A.D. 955  
• 3 rows of intricate sculptural scenes (friezes)  
• One or two erotic scenes  
• Largest and best preserved of 4 old Jain temples  
• Shares some images with Lakshmana |
| Ghantai         | Late 10th Century A.D. | • Mahāmandapa  
• Ardhamandapa  
• Mandapa | Jain | • Buddha image- however temple attributed to Jain  
• Sixteen symbols that indicate Svetambara tradition  
• Inscription A.D. 1085  
• Very Intricate Sculptural scenes. |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TEMPLE</th>
<th>DATE (circa)</th>
<th>TEMPLE PLAN</th>
<th>RELIGION/DIETY</th>
<th>SCULPTURAL NOTES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Khakhra Matha</td>
<td>10th Century</td>
<td>Mahāmandapa</td>
<td>Vishnu Hinduism</td>
<td>Two short inscriptions written reading names.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devī Jagadambā</td>
<td>A.D. 1000-1025</td>
<td>Mandapa</td>
<td>Vishnu Hinduism</td>
<td>Part of the Platform of the Kandariya Mahadeva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chitragupta</td>
<td>A.D. 1000-1025</td>
<td>Mandapa</td>
<td>Surya Hinduism</td>
<td>Architecturally between Viśvanātha and Kandariya temples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viśvanātha</td>
<td>A.D. 1000</td>
<td>Mandapa</td>
<td>Siva Hinduism</td>
<td>Similar to Lakshmana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nandī shrine</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Pyramidal Roof</td>
<td>Siva Hinduism</td>
<td>Part of Viśvanātha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pārvati Shrine</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Cella</td>
<td>Vishnu Hinduism</td>
<td>Part of Viśvanātha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shantinatha</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Jain</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kandāriya Mahādeva</td>
<td>A.D. 1025-1050</td>
<td>Mandapa</td>
<td>Siva Hinduism</td>
<td>Largest Temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siva Temple</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Mandapa</td>
<td>Siva Hinduism</td>
<td>Same Platform as Kandāriya Mahādeva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāmana</td>
<td>A.D. 1050-1075</td>
<td>Mandapa</td>
<td>Vishnu Hinduism</td>
<td>Inscription of Harsadeva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šādinātha</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Mandapa</td>
<td>Jina Šādinātha</td>
<td>Temple ruined- only has surviving parts</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

28
Table 1: Summary of Architectural Complexity, Religious Pluralism, and Sculptural Note

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TEMPLE</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>TEMPLE PLAN</th>
<th>RELIGION/DEITY</th>
<th>SCULPTURAL NOTES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Javari   | A.D 1075-1100 | • Mandapa  
Anatarla  
Mahāmandapa  
Ardhamandapa  
Śikhara | Vishnu Hinduism | • Resembles Chaturbhuja  
• Smaller temple, but resembles larger temple sculptures |
| Chaturbhuja | A.D. 1100 | • Mandapa  
Anatarla  
Mahāmandapa  
Ardhamandapa  
Cella  
Śikhara | Siva Hinduism | • Intricate sculptures lack expression of details |
| Dūlādeo  | A.D. 1100-1150 | • Mandapa  
Anatarla  
Mahāmandapa  
Ardhamandapa  
Cella  
Śikhara | Siva Hinduism | • Many individual features distinguish temple from others  
• Has exceptional work  
• Lacks depth relief of outside figures |

Compiled from information from Deva (1967:20-43), with supplements from Zannas (1960:87-158).

Temple Plan

The evolution of the temple plans in Khajuraho supports the first part of my hypothesis, that temple architectural complexity increases as the Chandella reign gained power, because the temple plans become more complex as the Chandella reign reached their peak. The temples have progressed from simple shrines only containing a mandapa (assembly hall) into large temples of five rooms. However, the second part of the hypothesis, that the architectural complexity will decline as the Chandella rulers lose power, is disputed because there is no decrease of architectural complexity in correlation with the decline of the Chandella empire.

As expressed in Table 1, the temple begins with a very simple construction of a mandapa and cella (room where deity is displayed) with a pyramidal structure roof. The temple constructed of just a mandapa is typical until the mid 10th century A.D. The four and five compartmental temples were not present until the Lakshmama temple was built between circa A.D. 930-950. This change from a simple temple plan to a more complex,
A multi-compartment plan can be seen in Figures 4, 5, and 6. The images of the temple floor plans are not to scale, but still represent the shape of the temples. The temples that were built during the mid 10th century A.D. consisted of the mandapa, mahāmandapa ("great" assembly hall), ardhamandapa (porch), antarla (in front of cella), and cella.

**Figure 6: Temple Plan Evolution from Early (A.D. 900-925) to Late (A.D. 930-970)**
The presence of a śikhara (tower-like dome) also demonstrates the evolution into a more architecturally complex temple. Like the five compartmental temples, the śikhara is not present in Khajuraho until Lakshmama was constructed. Instead the roofs were covered by a pyramidal shape (see Figure 4), however over time the śikharas got more complex by being taller and covered in more intricate designs. Temple Kandāriya Mahādeva of circa A.D. 1025-1050 consists of a śikhara and many smaller duplicate śikharas. In Khajuraho, śikharas never decline in complexity, and remain present until the last temple is built.

Table 1 shows some inconsistencies with the evolution of the temple construction that could dispute the hypothesis of correlating with the power of the Chandella Empire by having simple plan or lack of a śikhara on a later dated temple. This can be refuted on the table because all of the temples lacking complexity of temple plan are either part of the platform of another larger temple, or are incomplete ruins of the original temple (see sculptural notes).

**Ceilings**

Table 2 demonstrates the typical ceiling styles of Khajuraho along with the dates they were built. The ksipta vitāna (“thrown-in” ceiling) with kola (cusps) courses is the most common, yet also one of the least sculpturally complex designs. In order to divide the ceilings for discussion, the date of construction must be considered. There are three ceiling styles that were not found constructed in Khajuraho before circa A.D. 1000, the ksipta vitāna with floral cusps, the ksipta vitāna with nine arranged squares, and the ksipta vitāna with diagonally arranged squares.
Table 2: Ceiling Architecture Distribution Between Temples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categorization</th>
<th>Number of Temples with this Ceiling Style</th>
<th>Dating (circa)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Samatāla vitāna decorated with padmaśila</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>A.D. 925-1025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ksipta vitāna of Nābhicchanda order decorated with kola courses</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>A.D. 950-1075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ksipta vitāna of Nābhicchanda order decorated with gajatalu courses</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>A.D. 1000-1110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ksipta vitāna of Nābhicchanda order in a set of diagonally arranged squares decorated with kola courses</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>A.D. 1000-1100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ksipta vitāna of Nābhicchanda order in a set of nine arranged squares decorated with kola courses</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>A.D. 1000-1100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ksipta vitāna of Nābhicchanda order in a set of eight circles intersected by a big circle in the center</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>A.D. 950-970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sama-ksipta vitāna decorated with figural groups in the boxes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10th Century A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karotaka of Sabhmarga order</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>A.D. 950-970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ksipta vitāna of Nābhicchanda order made of three diminishing squares decorated with kola courses</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>A.D. 950</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Assuming my hypothesis is correct, the most complex ceiling styles should correlate with the peak of the Chandella reign circa A.D. 950-999. The styles of ceilings show an evolution, but do not show a correlation with the decline of the Chandellas. Complexity of ceiling architecture is distinguished by the different sculptural elements of the ceiling itself.

The ksipta vitāna decorated with arranged squares can be attributed to a more complex architectural style than the samatāla (flat) ceiling decorated with padmaśila (floral cusps) because it has more intricate design and is not flat (see figure 2).
The ksipta ceiling with nine arranged squares is more complex by having more intricate sculptural elements than the ksipta ceiling made of three diminishing squares and has a larger number of squares that are all different designs. The most complex of the ceiling designs (ksipta with nine arranged squares) was dated to circa A.D 1000 correlating with the increasing complexity after the Chandellas gained power.

![Ceiling Architecture Images](image)

a) Samatala ceiling decorated with padmaśila  b) Ksipta ceiling with nine arranged squares

c) Ksipta ceiling made of three diminishing squares

(Singh 1994:80-85)

**Figure 8: Ceiling Architecture Images**

The evolution of sculptural complexity is not the only aspect of importance with the evolution of Khajuraho ceilings, some temples contain multiple styles of ceilings indicating a greater complexity of the temple themselves. The temples with multiple ceiling styles are more complex architecturally because they have more elements within their construction.
According to Table 3 the first part of my hypothesis is supported by the evolution of ceiling styles within the temples. The earliest temples have only one ceiling style type, whereas only temples built after A.D. 1000 have four ceilings styles. It is important to note the two last temples built within the Chandella Empire only have two ceilings, which correspond with the historic accounts of the decline of the Chandella reign. The last two temples built by the Chandella reign support the second part correlation hypothesized, that architectural complexity will decrease as the Chandellas reign declines.

Material
The earliest temple, Chausath Yogini, constructed circa A.D. 850-900, was the only temple made entirely of Granite. Every other temple at Khajuraho is primarily
constructed of sandstone. There is an evolution eventually omitting granite from the temples over time. The first set of temples including Lālguān Mahadeva and Brahma, constructed circa A.D. 900-925, are made with granite at the base and sandstone at the upper levels of the temples. Over time as the larger temples including Lakshmana, Pārśvanātha, and Ghantai are made with even less granite at the base and large quantities of sandstone above.

The first part of the hypothesis indicating that the increase of power of the Chandella reign correlates with temple complexity is indicated by the replacement of material. This may be because as sandstone replaced the granite, it was accompanied by many more sculptural elements. The granite used is coarse local granite that is unsuitable for intricate ornamental work (Deva 1990:25). However, there is never any steady decline as the Chandella reign begins to dissipate. The material used does not revert back to the coarse local granite used in the construction of the earlier temples.

**Sculptural Content**

Turing again to Table 1, the sculptural notes follow the peak of the Chandella reign. The earlier temples have designs that are characterized as plain and elementary, while the later dated temples are become much more life-like and three dimensional. The Kandariya Mahadeva, for example was built between A.D. 1025-1050 with more complex designs and intricate sculptural elements than had been seen before. It is important to note however, that Dūlādeo, the latest temple built under Chandella reign, lacks depth relief of the outside figures. This minor detail is one of the only supporting pieces of evidence that Khajuraho temple architecture shows a decline of complexity as the Chandella influence declined.
The hypothesis that religious pluralism would increase as the Chandellas gained influence was supported and disputed by the results. Referring back to table 1, there is a chronological list of the temples and which religion and/or deity they are dedicated to. The list indicates the temples primarily were dedicated to Hindu deities. Around the same time as the peak of the Chandella reign the Jain temples were built, supporting the first part of the hypothesis.

The first temple built in Khajuraho gives support to the claim the temple construction correlated with the Chandella Empire. As previously mentioned, medieval India was characterized by chiefs struggling to gain power. The Yogini temples constructed between A.D. 850 and 1200 were an attempt to ensure success in military conquests. The Yogini temple of Khajuraho was built as the Chandella chiefs were attempting to assert their power in the region (Desai 1996:83).

The hypothesis that the religious pluralism of the temples at Khajuraho corresponds with the rise and decline of the Chandella Empire has supporting and negating factors, to both parts. Religious pluralism both within individual religions and among different religions in Khajuraho increases at the peak of the Chandella reign, supporting the first part of the hypothesis. However, like the architectural complexity the decrease of the power of the Chandellas does not correlate with the religious monism.

Buddhism

The only evidence in Khajuraho that indicated a Buddhist presence was a single image of the seated Buddha on a double petal lotus leaf dating to the 9th century A.D.
(Mitra 1958:203) found at Ghanti temple (Deva 1990:251). This indicates Buddhism was present, but no temple has been uncovered that was dedicated to Buddhism. It should be noted however, that there is evidence of religious pluralism of Buddhism in the Chandella society at Mahoba where images of the Buddha, Bodhisatvas, and Tara have been found. The images have been dated to the 11\textsuperscript{th} and 12\textsuperscript{th} century A.D. (Mitra 1958:203-204). Buddhism held little if any influence at all to the temples of Khajuraho and therefore cannot be analyzed for the purpose of this hypothesis.

The lack of Buddhism may refute my hypothesis that the temples of Khajuraho will have more religious pluralism as the Chandellas reach their peak, because the presence of Buddhism is very minimal for a religiously plural society of India. The lack of any temple dedicated to Buddha is not what was anticipated, refuting ideas that multiple religions would have a major presence within Khajurho. However, the one Buddha image does support there may have been some religious pluralism, leaving this specific evidence inconclusive.

**Hinduism**

Hinduism is a religion that can be very complex to the western mind, because of the large diversity of beliefs and deities within the religion. Looking exclusively at the representation of Hinduism of the temples at Khajuraho, there is worship of Siva, Vishnu, and Surya. The specific deities worshiped were worshiped in many different forms, but for the purpose of this research the individual forms will not be examined. This hypothesis is focused on the general trend of religious pluralism of Khajuraho, not every specific incarnation each deity. The reason for omitting this data in my research is
because there are too many specific incarnations to feasibly study for this project, and it is possible to examine general trends of religious pluralism without investigating each specific incarnation of each deity.

The greatest indication of religious pluralism within Hinduism is the temple dedicated to Surya, the sun god. Surya is not one of the three traditionally worshiped deities as discussed previously. The mere presence of temples dedicated to a variety of gods indicates a potential form of religious pluralism. From the beginning of temple construction in Khajuraho, temples were dedicated to both Siva and Vishnu. Directly following Dhanga’s reign, Chitragupta that was dedicated to Surya, was built between circa A.D. 1000 and 1025. This supports the hypothesis because, right during the peak of the Chandella reign, another type of deity worship becomes present in Khajuraho. This does not signify separate religions, but with the idea that everyone has an ista-devatā, the temple dedicated to Surya could be directed towards a group with different religious expression.

In addition, the presence of a temple to Surya indicates Tantric-Vedic worship that opposes the Kapalika sect (Desai 1996:72). While at the same time there is evidence of Kapalika sect in Khajuraho through the explicit erotic art on some of the temples (Zannas 1960:80). This disconnect, indicating there was a very Puranic influence focusing on the Vedas, as well as the opposing extreme Tantric influence on the temple dedications reveals the religious pluralism of the time. This supports the hypothesis because the Chandellas were responsible for building temples to two opposing sects of one religion.
Jainism

Primarily only three temples can be identified as Jaina structures: Ghantai, Ādinātha, and Pārśvanātha. While Jain temples are a minority in Khajuraho, the mere presence of them supports the hypothesis. According to the hypothesis religious pluralism of temples should be seen within the peak of the Chandella reign, around circa A.D. 950, which is exactly the time period the Jain temples are attributed to.

As other aspects of research also indicate, the decline of the Chandella reign was not indicated by a decrease of religious pluralism. The last temple attributed to the Jain faith is contemporary with Vāmana dating to A.D.1050.
CONCLUSIONS

The mystery of what constitutes evidence of complex society is an ongoing investigation that has no simple answer. By studying Khajuraho, India a pattern of the rise of the Chandella Empire with growing complexity of temple architecture and religious pluralism can be found.

As the Chandellas gained power they gained the resources needed to build monumental architecture. During the peak of their reign countless temples were constructed that represented many different deities and revealed an evolution of architectural styles. The temples evolved from simple one compartment buildings made of granite with minimal sculptural elements into five compartment buildings with tall śikharas made of sandstone covered in countless lifelike images.

The hypothesis that the architectural complexity and religious pluralism of the temples correlates with the growth and decline Chandella Empire was tested and partially supported. Through the ceiling architecture, temple plan, diversity of Hindu deities, and construction material there is a transition and evolution that correlates to the time period when the Chandella’s reached their peak.

The decline of the Chandella Empire does not correlate with decline in architectural complexity or religious pluralism, but rather simply with temple construction. According to the approximate dates of the still existing temples, temples were created at a less frequent rate as the Chandellas faced political turmoil. Even so, the latest temple built, Dūlādeo, was perhaps one of the most complex temples built. The temples’ construction dates correlate with rise and decline of the Chandella Empire, just not precisely as predicted. It is probable the Chandella rulers choose to build fewer, grand
temples instead of many small temples, because they did not have the resources to build many grand temples.

In the case of Khajuraho, the concept that monumental architecture is an aspect that characterizes complex societies does appear to be supported. It seems unlikely that the growth of the Chandella Empire correlates so precisely with the evolution and high frequency of temple construction is a coincidence. From this study there is no evidence of a cause-effect relation between complex societies and monumental architecture, but they can be seen as an indication of one another.

This model could be used with certainty with an area that has similar historical records to support the data. However the model should be tested more thoroughly before this is applied to temples without historical data. The model served its purpose for the comparison of the temples in Khajuraho with the Chandellas, but one case study is not enough to use it without question.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Dr. Connie Arzigian for the tremendous amount of assistance she gave me in putting together the information for my research and for helping me be prepared for each senior thesis assignment. Thanks to Dr. Christine Hippert for reading and Dr. James Theler for correcting and giving constructive feedback for me to improve my paper and have it all make sense. Finally I would like to acknowledge the rest of the staff of the Archaeology and Anthropology department for their assistance and willingness to meet with me and provide feedback.
REFERENCES CITED

Agarwal, Urmila
1964 Khajuraho Sculpture and their Significance. New Dehli, S. Chand and Co.

Bhaskarananda, Swami

Desai, Devangana
2000 Khajuraho. New Delhi, Oxford University Press.

Deva, Krishna
1967 Khajuraho. New Delhi, The Director General Archaeological Survey of India.

Dundas, Paul

Joshi, M.C.

Lal, Kanwar
1966 Apsaras of Khajurho. Delhi, Asia Press.

Mishra, P.K.
2001 Khajuraho-With Latest Discoveries. New Delhi, Sundeep Prakashan.

Mitra, Sisir Kumar

Powell, Barbara

Prakash, Vidya
Seth, B.R.
1970 Khajuraho in Pictures. Delhi, Asia Press.

Punja, Shobita

Smith, Michael E. and Katharina J. Schreiber

Singh, Amar

Trigger, Bruce G.

Zannas, Eliky