

Dated Figure of King Jayavarmā, The Tradition of Figure Making and The Historical Importance of This Discovery

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During the month of May 1992, while digging the foundation for a modern house in the Machāgala area (Children Burial Place) of Maligaon, about hundred meter west of the place, from where the so called Yaksha image was discovered in 1965 by the present writer, excavating before the Manmaneshwari temple, wonderful discovery of a figure of King Jayavarma had been made. This figure has been carved over a pale sandstone. The figure belongs to the Kushan. This is the earliest pre-Lichhavi figure having inscription on its pedestal in Brahmi Script and in sanskrit language. It bears the date in Saka Samvat 107 (A.D. 185). Thus it has become the first dated image as well as the first historical epigraphic record of Nepal Mandala (Kathmandu Valley). The labourers while digging the foundation of the house

broke the figure into several pieces. But now it has been beautifully repaired and displayed in the art gallery of National Museum at Chhawani, Kathmandu. The figure from head to feet is thus completely restored, except the right hand after the upper arm (the wrist, palm and fingers) which have been broken and lost for ever. This huge life size figure measures 174 cm (5 feet 3 and half inches) in height and 71 cm. (28 inches, near the two elbows) to 49.5 cm (19 and half inches) broader at the pedestal. It has been carved over a single piece of stone ¹

It is to be noted here that the area from where the figure has been found, is historically very important. Within this area are remains of two reported palaces named Managriha of King Manadeva built around 459 A.D. which was used till 643 A.D., up to

1. Two Lichhavi inscriptions, both belonging to the rule of King Bhimārjundeva and (Mahāsāmanta) Vishnugupta from Yangālhiti (dated samvat 64=A.D. 642) and Bhringāresvara (dated samvat 65=A.D. 643) record about the ancient tradition of bringing huge stones from the quarry to the place of enshrinement by manual pulling (Bhagavato Vishnor Jala Sayana rupanispādanayogya Vrihatsilākarshana Vyāpar, the work of pulling the huge stone fit for carving the Vishnu image in reclining pose (to be kept) within a pond, Dhanavajra, 1973, PP. 442 and 449). Big stones for images are also recorded in the Gopal Vamsāvali (P. 22) as it reads 'Vrihat Silāmaya Vishnu and Mahāsīlāmaya Vishnujala sayana'.

the rule of Lichhavi King Bhimārjundeva. The other palace was built by King Amsuvarma around 607 A.D. and was used till 735 A.D., the period of Jayadeva II². The possibility of the third palace with the figure gallery (Devakula or Chitrasālā) of Varma kings has been indicated by the discovery of this present image as well as the headless figure of another king, most probably of the same dynasty.

Description of the Portrait

The figure (pratima, murti)³ of Jayavarma is carved in the standing (Sthānaka) and in Samabhanga (straight erected) pose over a rectangular (49.5 x 27 cm) stone pedestal (pith, vedibhadra or āsand). He has an oval (Tilākṛiti) shaped face, big open eyes with bow like eyebrows also described as 'Vipulaksha 'pankajayataksha', long eye like lotus flowers, Buddha Charita, Act-5 V. 84). He has prominent nose, nicely carved lips (adharostha) and well shaped

chin (Chibuka), His ears are longer, head circular (ātapatrena sadrse sirasi, Mahābhā, XIII, 348, 38; Varahamihira) and long neck (Kambugriva, like the top of a conch shell-Pratimāmānalakshanam on Atreya and others, J.N. Banerjea, 1974, 605). He is wearing a round cap (Sirastraka, Manasāra, Acharya, 1927, 67; Dhanavajra, 1973, 258, inscpt. dated 595 A.D. calls it-'Sirobibhushana'), which has a flat band with floral decorations (Chitrāṅkit pattikā) around the lower edges, having two rope like small hanging ends on the backside to loosen or tie the cap⁴. After the cap the plaits of hair are hanging around the neck. The decoration of the cap, which has a foliated band (Patra-Kalāp) is more visible on the right side.

The figure has two stout long hands (described in the Buddha Charita, Act-3, V. 24, as Vyāyat pinabāhu'), among them the lower portion (arm, wrist, palm and fingers) of the right hand is broken

2. The Handigaon coronation inscription of Amsuvarma dated Samvat 30 (A.D. 608), some burnt bricks with name reading-'Shri Mahāsāmantansuvarmanaha' from Handigaon (Ancient Nepal No.-30, 1968, Notes and News) and the inspt. of Jayadeva from Nakshāl Nārāyanachaura (between 715-735 A.D.) clearly prove that both the Lichhavi Palaces were situated closely in the area of ancient Vishālānagara. Most probably the compound wall of Managriha had been seen by the writer below the new telephone exchange building which was erected by the side of a broad moat.
3. The words used for figure are Pratimā, chitra, Kṛitākṛiti, Pratibimba, Murti and Sālika. Pratima can be found in the Srimad Bhāgavad, 11-27-12; Bhasa (2nd-3rd A.D.) in his Pratimānātaka (Age of Imp. Unity, 1968, 262) calls it Chitra and Pratimā; P.K. Acharya, (Dict, 1955, 362) defines the word-Pratima, as denoting an image, an idol, a bust and a statue; Suprabhedāgama (Ch. 34, V.I-2) defines Pratima, where all the limbs are visible; the Vishnudharmottara Purana (Ch. 43, V. 33) describes portrait of kings made with Chiselling (Yathachitram tathai vaktam Khatapurvam Narādhipa); Kālidās in Raghuvamsa (Ch-14, V. 15) says that one can keep the memory of dead persons making their portraits or paintings ('Chitrāvaseshākṛiti'), Sivaramamurti, Amaravati sculptures, 1956, 55). In Nepalese inscriptions we have the words like-Kṛitākṛiti (Changu inscpt. dated 505 reads 'Pitroh Kṛitākṛiti'); Pratima (thava pratimā-sthāpanayānā, inscpt. of Pratapa Malla dated 1669 A.D., Regmi, iv, 1966, 138-39); Pratibimba, 'Sauvarna Pratibimba Samsāra hemnā--divangātāyā pratimājananyā; Regmi, III, 1966, 58, inscpt. dated 1440 A.D.; Murti-has been called in an inscpt. dated 1703 A.D. of queen Bhuvanalakshmi, Sanskrit Sandesh, Part 6, PP, 34-36; and Sālika (in the same inspt.) reading, 'thava Sālika lunadayakā).
4. Andrea and Riccardo (An Inscribed statue of year 207 from Maligaon, Kathmandu, East and West, -ISIAO, Rome, Decem, 1996, PP. 300-301, Note-5), like to call it a floral crown of rolled decorated cloth tied with simple knot, and have compared the head-dress with Mathura Surya (Bangdel calls it a king, 1982, PL-36) of 1st Cent. A.D.) The outer rim of the Cap of Mathura king is more prominent and roundish than Jayavarmas cap, but it is more closer to the cap of Bhārhut warrior, 2nd Cent B.C. (Age of Imp. Unity, 1968, fig. 37). Similar cap can also be marked on a t.c. figure from Bhita (Marshall, Excavations at Bhita, IAR. 1911-1912, PP. 29-94).

and lost for ever. But the upper arm (Bahumula), the sharply curved elbow including the half of the fore arm raised upwards, are visible. On the upper arm there is a Mayura- Keyur (also called Kataka in the Manasara Silpasastra, Acharya, 1927, 67), an armlet having the decoration of fan--tailed peacock ⁵. Asvaghosa in his Saundarānanda (Ch. x, ver 8, 1st cent A.D.) describes about this type of Mayura-Keyur. There is also lower portion of stem, in the shape of tapering slim cone (probably stem of a lotus bud described as 'padmakosha nāda'). Such lotus buds can be found in the right hand of Mathura seated royal figure in scythian dress (1st Cent A.D.) and in the Vaisnavi image from Kirtipur, Nepal (Bangdel, 1982, P. 27, PL-36 and PL-37, PP. 124-125). There are also such representations which can be found on the obverse of coin of later Eucratidian prince

displaying a city goddess of Pusklāvati holding a lotus in her right hand (1st Cent B.C. or 1st Cent A.D.; Age of Imp. unity, 1, 1968, P. 118). Another representation can be found on the reverse of the coin of Huvishka where Mahāsena (Kumara) having four hands hold in his right upper hand a lotus flower (T.N. Mishara, Ancient Nepal, No.,-75, 1983, P 25 No. 4) In Buddha Charita (Act. IV, ver. 2 and Act V, V. 57) there are description of folded hands like lotus buds ('padmakoshnibhai Karaih' and 'Pratisankuchitārvinḍa kosha') ⁶.

There are thick earrings (Karnakundala or Chakrakundala also described as manikundal in Harshacharita, Act-2) in his ears, which have ovalish twisted floral bands. According to Andrea and Riccardo (1996, 300), such earrings are present on the ears of Nagarajas and Bodhisattvas at Amaravati.

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5. The Mayur-Keyur can be clearly seen on the right hand of Sri-Lakshmi standing over lotus flowers on the mouth of a vase, carved on the Mathura-red-sandstone of Kushan period. It has been dated by Coomaraswamy as 2nd cent A.D., now displayed in the Lucknow Museum (Coomara, yaksa, Delhi 1971, II, PL-19). Mayur Keyur is also present on the hands of Mathura Bodhisattva figure of Kushan period (J. Ph. Vogel, Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura, Allahabad, 1910, P. 58, A. 45, PL. X) V.S. Agrawal (Ancient India No.-4, 1947-48, P. 127, PL-XXXVII-B, No-90, dated as 300 A.D.) has also marked this ornament (Anga-bhushana) on the t.c. figure of Vishnu from Ahichchatra. He describes about an armlet on the upper arms in the Character of Kushan style of a framed peacock-head as worn by Vishnu.' Mr. Agrawal also says that such circular fanned mayur are generally found in the Kushan period images. On the coins of Huvishka the three figures of Skandha-Kumāra, Visākha and Mahāsena with the legend reading-'Kumaro', has been found (J.N. Banerjea, Dev. of Hindu Iconog. 1974, PP. 145-46). Fan-tailed peacock with the legend-'Skandha-Surasya' has been found on the oval seal from Bhita (Marshall, Exca. at Bhita, IAR, 1911-12, P. 58, No.-83), Andrea and Riccardo (1966, 302) have described this Keyura as having 'a palmeate in the centre with seven leaves'. This peacock fan can be compared with the mediaval period stone image of Kartikeya having circular bands, from Ombahal tole of Kathmandu (Bangdel, 1982, PL. 32, P. 120) Also a yaksha figure from Amin has lotus-buds in the right hand, also raised above like Jayavarma figure (Yaksas, I, PL-7).
6. Similar figures with right hand raised like Jayavarma and sometimes holding flowers can be marked in the figures from Bharahut; S.K. Sarasvati, A survey of Indian sculptures, Calcutta, 1957, PL-IV, No.-28. In the figure of Sudarsana Yakshi a lotus bud whose head is turned downwards can be marked. This position can also be marked in the figures of Srimādevatā (PL-v, fig. 29), Indra as Śānti (PL-V, a Bodhagayā rail figure) and a Dvārapāla from a toran post of Sanchi (PL-VII< fig-41). V.S. Agrawal (Ancient India, No.-4, P. 112, fig. No.-6, a terracotta mithuna plaque from Ahichchatra, dated between 200-100 B.C.) describes about a flower in the right hand of male figure. Sivaramamurty draws out attention towards a 'King holding in his hand a 'Liārāvinda' (a sportive lotus; Amaravati Sculptures, 1956, PP. 101-102, PL-XXVIII, fig. 3) In the Buddhacharita (Act I, V. 17) Yakshas are described as holding golden lotuses (Kānchana padmahasta yakshādhipāh). But Andrea and Riccardo (1996, 303) have described the missing hand as holding fly whisk (Chauri). The Chakravartin figure from a relief of Jagayyapeta stupa holds a wheel, (Basham, the wonder that was India, 1963, P. 84, Fig. ix).

Let us examine about this circular object carved on the frontal top of this Kundala. Sivaramamurti (Amaravati Sculptures, 1956, 108-109) reports about such Kundalas called 'Karnaveshtana' (Ramayana, V, 15, 42; also Kasika on Panini, V, 1, 99) and describes about full-blown lotus carved on the stalk, which is twice curled on the earlobe and then hangs freely, carved on the earliest 2nd Cent B.C. inscribed sculptures from Amaravati. Rea in his excavation report of Amaravati (PL-XXIX, fig. d) has also mentioned about such Kundalas. Kalidas in his Meghaduta (II, 11) also mentions about such golden earrings⁷.

Around the neck of Jayavarman is seen a broad necklace (Kanthasutra and Kanthikā). Men wearing such flattened circular neck ornaments can be seen at Bharahut, Ajanta, Amaravati, Sanchi and in the Mauryan sculptures. Sivarāmamurti calls them as the oldest type in India (Amaravati Sculptures, 1956, P. 34, and PP. 110-111). This is also found around the neck of Lakshmi from Amaravati. Another type of longer Kanthāhāra (necklace) which is V shaped, is also found around the neck and on the chest of Jayavarman. Similar necklace can also be found around the neck of Maitreya, (a red sand stone) figure from Mathura dated around 1st or 2nd Cent A.D. (Sarasvati, 1957, PL-XI, No.-54), Vajrapāni image from Mathura (Coomaraswamy, Yakasa, I, PL-15, No.-2) Parkham yaksha (Mathura Museum, 3rd-2nd Cent B.C.) and Karttikeya figure from Mathura (Kushana period, Bangdel, 1982, PL. 122).

There is a thick bracelet (Kanakana, Valaya, Manasara, Acharya, 1927, 67) around the wrist of the

left hand of Jayavarman, which is composed of five or six bands and bears decorative patterns. Sivaramamurti (Amaravati Sculptures, 1956, iii) calls it-'Phalaka Valaya', where as, it is addressed in Sakuntalā (Act-VI) as 'manibandhana', in the Mudrārākshasa (Act-IV, Ver. 5) and Jātaka named as 'Ratna Valaya'. The Gāthā-Saptasati (I, 80) mentions about highly decorated and perforated bracelet (Jālavalaya). Johnston (Buddhacharita, 1972, II, P. 62) quotes about a 'hemmanijāla Valaya'. From Bharahut, Ajanta, Amaravati, Sanchi, and Mathura, (between 200 B.C. to 200 A.D.) we can find men wearing many banded phalaka or ratnavalaya (comparative chart produced by Sivaramamurti, Amaravati, 1956, 38-39). From 200 A.D. onwards the Valayas can be found to have only three, two or one band. This feature also place the figure of Jayavarman within the range of 200 A.D. Similar four banded valaya (bracelet) can be seen in the right hand of Kārttikeya image from Mathura belonging to the Kushan period (Bangdel, 1982, PL-122, P. 210). This image has many similar features of Jayavarman. The other Kubera image in the Mathura museum, also belonging to Kushan period has five banded bracelet (Bangdel, 1982, PL-78).

His left hand is in akimbo position (Triangular pose) and is placed over his waist (Katyā-valambita). This is a common feature of early images including yakshas. Bānabhatta in his Harsha Charita, has described this pose as-'Kativinayasa-Vāma-Pāni'. V.S. Agrawal has used this term while describing a terracotta figure of an standing woman from Ahichchhatra (dated between 100 BC-100 A.D.).

7. V.S. Agrawal (quoted by Sivaramamurti, Amaravati, 1956, 109) has named such Kundalas as 'Mrinālakundalas'. He describes about the terracotta figures wearing such Kundalā as having 'a lotus stalk curled twice to form the earring and then terminating in a full blown lotus at the top'. Similar lotus Kundalās have been narrated by Asvaghosa in his Buddha Charita (composed around 1st Cent. A.D., ch. V, ver. 53; Manikundala--mukha Padma-Satapatramivardh Vakranādam') as earrings inlaid with jewels and on the face was carved a lotus with half curved stalk'. These earrings were used by the women employed to entertain prince Siddhartha in his palacial chamber playing music.

Jayavarma is wearing only two cloths (Vasan, Buddha Charita, V, 51 and 64), an *uttarāsang* or *uttariya* and an *adhovastra* (the lower garment). The *Uttariya* (*uttara*, *Sātaka*, *Uttarānga*, and *Upari-vasana*) is arranged into smaller fold and worn across the abdomen, left chest and taking around the left shoulder as well as top of upper arm, falls in the similar folded fashion from the left-side of the body and up to the back of left leg. The other end of the garment (*pattāmsukottaranga*-the folded silk-cloth) is placed on the back side. It has been described as-‘*Parivritta Satavallika uparivasana*’ (Coiled upper cloth). *Sivaramamurti* (*Amaravati* sculp. 1956, 65-66) draws our attention towards this *uparivasan* used in *Upavita* fashion, which has been described in the *Krishna Yajurveda*. There, a noble brahmana is said to have raised his right hand after adjusting his upper garment of cloth or *ajinam* (deer Skin) across his shoulders in the *upavita* (Sacred thread) fashion and closes or clinches his left hand (‘*ajinam vaso vā dakshinata upaviya dakshinam bāhu muddharate vadhatte savyamiti*’, *Taittiriya Aranyaka*, II, 1). *Sivaramamurti* says that this concept is very early one and Vedic, which had been adopted in iconography for Buddha as well as for *Chakravarti King's* figures (*Amaravati* sculp. 1956, P. 66). The beginning of such folded

Uparivasana (Upper garment) can be found in the *Patna yaksha*, *Yaksha Kuvera* and *Supavas* figures from *Bharahut* and kings images (*Coomaraswamy*, *yaksas*, I, PL-2, figures 1 and 2; PL-3, figures 1 and 2; dated between 200-150 B.C.).

The king has a flat waist-band (*Udarabandha*, *Kakshyābandha* and *rasanā*) made of folded cloth, which is a tradition for the early figures of *Bharahut*, *Ajanta*, *Mathura*, *Sanchi* and *Amaravati* between 200 B.C.-100 A.D. This Sash was also known as *vethaka* (*Digha Nikaya*, *Rhys Davids*, I, P. 130; III, 2, 9), *Katibandha*, *rasanākālāpa* (in the *Raghuvansa*, Ch. 16, V 56; *Mrichchhakatia*, I, P. 119), *Kāyabandha* (*Cunningham*, *Bharahuta Stupa*) and *pattikā* (in the *Vinayatexts*, *chullavagga*, III, PP. 142-144). This is a ribbon shaped flat piece of cloth which has cross-bands forming lozenges. This band has two knotted criclets from where two flat but short-tassels, are hanging over the right thigh. V.S. Agrawal calls these circlet as-*netrasutra* and the flat hanging tassels have been addressed as *phalipat* (*Harshacharit*, quoted by *Sivaramamurti*, *Amaravati*, 1956, 113). V.S. Agrawal has also marked similar cloth girdles with graceful knotted loops on the frontal portion in the terracotta figures of *dampati* (dated between 100 B.C.-100A.D.) from *Ahichchhatra* (*Ancient India*, No.-4, P. 113, No.2)⁸.

8. The beginning of such hanging tassels and the circular knots can be marked in the *Parkham Yaksha*, where the thick cloth knots and the two hanging flat ends are placed just the centre of two thighs on the frontal side (*Age of Imp. Unity* 1968, PL. XXI, fig. 50). *Coomaraswamy* has very rightly remarked ‘The *Parkham* image is of great importance as the oldest known Indian stone sculpture in round. It establishes a formulae which can be followed through many succeeding centuries. Very similar hanging flat tassels of the same size as on the *Jayavarma Portrait* be seen over the right thigh of *Saranath Bodhisattva* (dated 81 A.D.) of *Friar Bala* (*Age of Imp. Unity*, 1968, fig. 55). Also this kind of hanging tassels are present in *mathura Kartikeya* (*Bangdel*, 1982, PL-122, P. 210) and *Mathura Sri-Lakshmi*. (2nd Cent. A.D.; now displayed in the *Lukhnow Museum*). The short tassel is placed over her right thigh but the other longer end has been arranged between the two thighs, almost touching her heavy anklets (*Coomaraswamy*, *Yaksa*, 1971, II, Pl-49). Another *yakshi* from *jaggayapeta*, 2nd Cent.B.C. has similar circular knots and long hanging tassels, both hanging between the two thighs (*yaksa*, 1971, II PL-42 No.-2). Also such short hanging tassels can be found on the right thigh of *Chamdayakshi*, *Bharahut* (*Yaksa*, II, PL-10, fig. 1) and *Srimādevata*, *Bharahut* (*The Age of Imp. Unity*, 1968, PL-XVIII, No. -1). These hanging cotton tassels are very popular at *Bharahut*, where most of the figures have these hanging ends. After *Bharahut* it is also a popular motif of *Mathura* figures between 200 B.C. and 200 A.D. A flying ribbon with two knotted ends tied on the back has been described in the *Harshacharita* as ‘*Pristh-prenkhat-patachchara-karpata-ghatita-galita-granthih*’ (the knot fastened by a ragged cloth swinging behind him was hanging loose’-*cowell* and *Thomas*, *Harshcharita*, P. 41; also *Agrawal*, *Ancient India*, No. 4, 1947,-48, P. 124; *Harshacharita*, *Nirmayasagar Press*, 1925, P. 52).

Then there is the lower garment (dhoti, antariya) which has three frontal folds, two falling on antariya the left and right thighs up to the feet, and the central piece has multiple vertical folds, similar to the folded palm leaves (tālavantaka) or can also be called satavallikā, displaying number of folds (which is called Kocha in maithili language). The lower garment reaching up to the feet has been addressed as- 'aprapādina', in the Harsha Charita and Panini (V, 2, 9; Amaravati Sculptures, 1956, 118). On the back of Jayavarma figure the dhoti has again three separate parts and the folded central portion (called-dheka in Maithili) has been inserted inside the waistband, which is a usual method of wearing dhoti.⁹

There are many regular horizontal flat alternating decorative bands ('alankrita pattavastra', Mandasor insp. of Kumaragupta I, A.D. 436, Upadhyaya, Ancient Indian Inspts. 1961, II, 60). On the dhoti and within these flat bands are either floral motif or perching birds in rows. Asvaghosa in his Buddhacharita (Act. VI, ver. 59) has beautifully described about the band of golden geese stamped or embroidered over the surface of cloth (ansukan Kānchan hanschinham). Similar alternating horizontal flat border and rows of flowers on the body of the dress of a dampati plaque (dated as 100 B.C.) from Ahichchhatra have been called by V.S. Agrawal as phullavalli (Ancient India, No. 4, P. 113, No.-9).

The long bare feet (Pādābhyām, Shree pādai, Nriptesh charana, Lichhavi Inspts. Dhanavajra, 1973, P. 62) of King Jayavarma are quite well proportionate. He has broad chest and relatively slim waist¹⁰. On the whole, the figure of Jayavarma exhibits sturdy, elongated but delicately modelled body.

On the back side of this image has following elements, which are only chiselled through shallow lines-

1. Part of the Cap with its flat decorated broad band. This band was either fastened or loosened with the help of two roundish cords, having short hanging tassels. Below the cap are arranged nicely the falling hairs up to the neck.
2. The oblique folded band of upper garment (uttariya) are arranged across the backbone. The other end is hanging on the back of the shoulder.
3. Part of the waist band are having decoration of small lozenges (diamond figures).
4. The lower garment (dhoti of adhovastra) with its central folded bands are laid into the waist-band.

In the figure of King Jayavarma we find the earliest tradition and some features of Yaksha figures. The figure has been deeply cut on the frontal portion and only shallow chiselling has been done on the back side. This figure is heavy and voluminous. The physical features of this figure has been copied from

9. In the Manibhadra Yaksha figure from Pawāyā (Pāwāpuri) the folds of dhoti on the back is also inserted within the waist band. But this figure is equally decorated and carved in round on the back (Age of Imp. Unity, 1968, PL-XXII, fig. 56).
10. The Sukranitisāra (Ch. IV) describes about the form of bodies to be carved, as a guideline for the artists. Accordingly, the face is to have ovoid shape like an egg, forehead like a bow eye-brows should follow the line of a nim (Margosia) leaf or a bow. Eyes like a wagtail, a deer's, a Saphari fish, or a lotus petal. The nose should resemble a sesame flower (tilaphula) or the beak of a parrot (Sukanāsā), the neck is compared to a Conchshell, the shoulder to have the form of an elephants head (gajatunda), the arms with the trunk of a plaintain trees and the thigh should resemble the trunk of a young elephant (Karabha). The Chāngu inscription of king Manadeva (dated 464 A.D.) describes the body of god Vishnu and the king in the following way- 'Vipula prodvritta Vakshah Sthalah--padma bahuruchirah' (the broad and rounded chest as well as hands like lotus flowers). Similarly, King Mānadeva has been described as having- 'Shreemanchchāru Bhujah' (Having beautiful hands). 'Kanakas lakshnāvādāta Chhaviḥ' (his apperance like dazzling gold) pinasro vikachasito (having broad shoulders), 'utpaladala praspardhamanekshanah' (eyes like blown blue lotuses), and the body of the king like god of Love (Sākshāta kāmavāngavān Narapatih).

the images of early Yaksha, Bodhisattva and kings, which were evolved between 200 B.C.-200 A.D., within the Indian Sub-Continent. It is to be noted here that like the Yaksha or Naga images, the portraits of ancient kings and queens after their death (divamgatāyā pratima', Regmi, III 1966, 58-59, Insp. dated 1440 A.D.) or sometimes even alive (Regmi, IV, 1966, 94, Insp. dated 1654 A.D. 'Pratapamalladevana---thvate sahitana luna dayakāva sālika tayā.') were made from very ancient times. The Epics, the Vinayapitaka, Pratimanataka of Bhasa (2nd-3rd Cent. A.D.) have details about making the king's images, which have been corroborated by the discovery of eight inscriptions with effigies of Satavahana kings at Nānāghat within a figure gallery (of 1st Cent. B.C.) It is further supported by the inscription of a Mitra Panchala King Dhanadeva (1st Cent. B.C.) who had erected a temple enshrining his father Phalgudeva's portrait. Not only that, there are many such figures of donors at Karle made during 1st Cent. B.C. (Age of Imp. Unity, 1968, PL-XXV, fig. 64) and at other places.

The figure of Jayavarma has some close parallels which have been carved during the Kushan period. One of the close matching figure is the standing figure of Bodhisattva from Saranath made during 81 A.D. (Third year of Kanishka rule, Age of Imp. Unity, 1968, PL-XXII, No. 55). The whole body of this Saranath-Buddha-Bodhisattva image including the chest, waist band (Kāyabandha) with hanging tassels, hands (the right hand of this image is also broken), thigh, legs and feet, the navel and the uttarasang or Uttariya (in this case it is not in close folds like Jayavarma image but stretched covering the entire left hand from bāhumula to the wrist, and falls down from left side in the similar fashion) used in the upavit fashion. The pedestal, the pose and size of the feet are similar, except the neck and the head which are comparatively shorter. The Bodhisattva figure is

wearing antaravāsaka (lower garment like petticoat) and uttarāsanga, whereas Jayavarma is wearing a dhoti and an Uttariya or Uttarasanga. There is also a lion figure (denoting Sakya Singha) carved between the two legs and the pedestal inscription describes that the image was made during the rule of King Kanishka and his two Saka governors (Maharajasya Kanishkasya Bodhisattvo--pratisthāpito--Bhikshusya Balasya).

The next figure from Mathura school which also belongs to the Kushan period, has also some similarity with the Jayavarma image. This is the Karttikeya image of Mathura red sand stone (Bangdel, 1982, P-122). This image has long legs, waistband with two hanging flat ends on the right thigh, right hand with fingers raised above the shoulder, having four bands of valaya, golden wristlets with many jewelled bands, V shaped hāra and is possibly also wearing padmakundalās on both the ears. This is also an inscribed figure. The differences between the two figures can also be marked. This Karttikeya figure is short in stature, it has different kind of head dress (Mauli) showing a roundish floral fanlike band, having a roundish face, and the lower edge of the dhoti ends just after the knee (long Kachhā type Yaksas, I 1971, PL-16), The thick twisted cotton Uttariya is wrapped around the waist in slanted way (some similarity can be traced with Yaksas from Mathura; Yaksa, I, 1971, PL-16) and on the left side forms a twisted circular knot with two hanging ends. Within this heavy and thick Kakshyabandha is the thin cotton udaraband whose two flat ends are hanging over the right thigh like the Yaksha or Fire god (dated 1st Cent A.D.) from Mathura (Yaksas, I, PL-16, NO.-2).

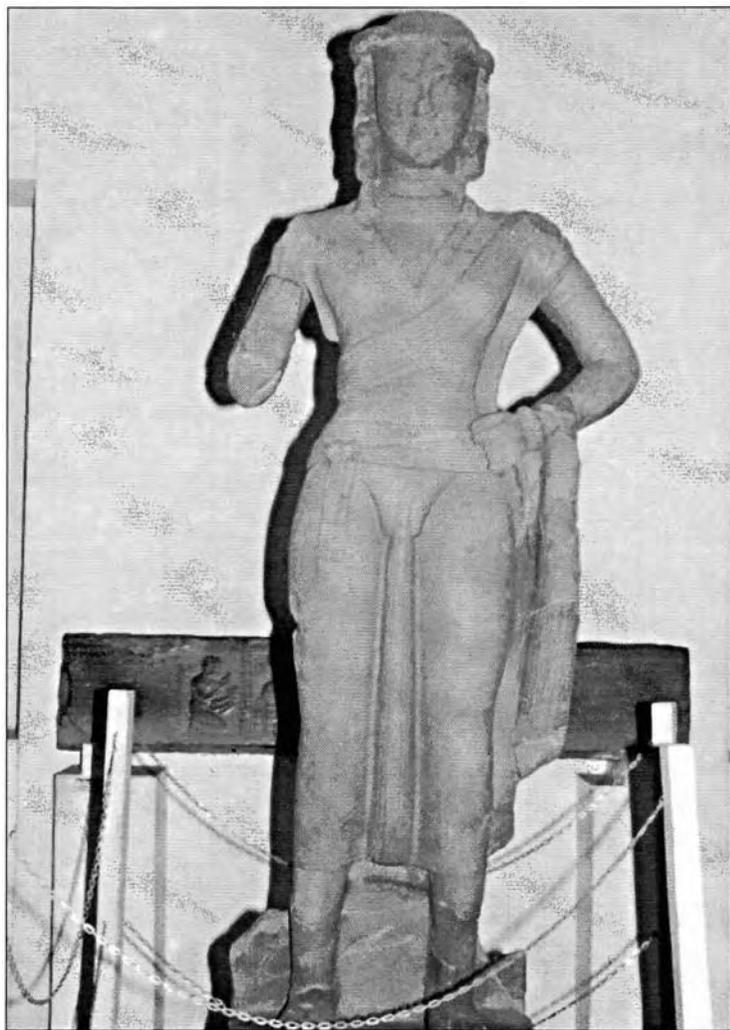
The other figures having comparative parallels with the figure of Jayavarma are the Yaksa figure from Kankali Tila, Mathura (1st Cent A.D., Coomara swamy, Yaksas, I, PL-16, No.-1), and Vajrapāni Yaksa with head missing from Mathura, Kushan

period, dated by Coomaraswamy as, early 2nd Cent. A.D. (Yaksas, I, PL-15, No.-2).

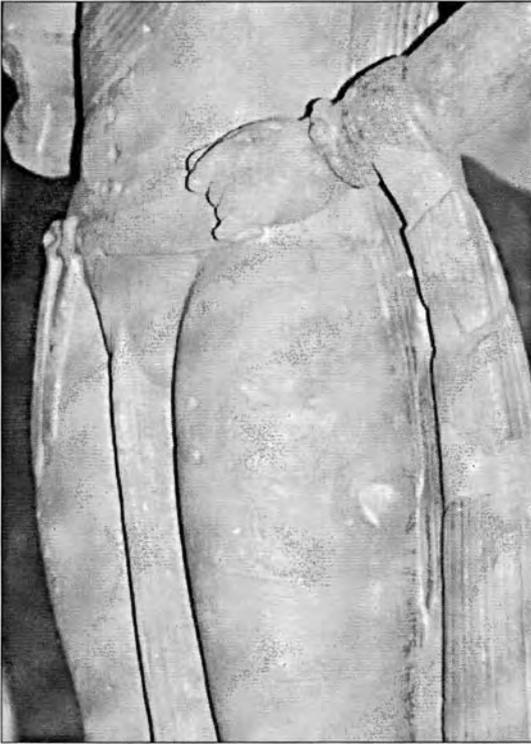
The figure of Jayavarma has been made following the ancient ideals of a Hindu King, as Chakravarti, and in semi-devine character, because this was made after his death.¹¹ The Sukranitisara (IV, 147) says- 'beautiful is that image carved with all the limbs and which has been made following the cannons (Sarvāngaiḥ Sarvaramyohi Sāstramānena yo ramyāḥ). The Brihatsamhita (L VIII, 29) recommends about the dress and ornaments to be carved on the body of the portraits befitting the tradition of respective countries ('Desānurupa-bhusana-Vēshālankāra-murtibhiḥ Kāryā). The Visvakarmiya silpasāstra (Acharya, Manasara, 1927, 98) has a chapter devoting about the height of men in different ages (Narochchata pramānam). There were some fixed norms of iconometry in the ancient canons. The ideals of divine figures according to Varāhamihira (Brihatsamhita, Chap. Mahāpurush Lakshana) were- 'depicting the full fleshy limbs and the joints of the body'. (Māmsaiḥ purnāngsandhiḥ Sarvāngasandhayo yasya, Banerjea, 1974, 312; foot not, 3). Similar laws for making images can also be found in the Sukranitisāra (IV, 4, 146), which recommends to hide the joints, bones, veins, and arteries from the body of the images (Gudhasandhyasthi dhamani Sarvadā Saukhya Varddhini). The Matsyapurana (Ch. 42, ver. 61-62) describes about a Chakravarti King fulfilling all the qualifications (Chakra varttinah Sarvalakshan purnate). Varāhamihira refers about five types of men named as Hamsa, Sasa, Rucaka, Bhadra and Mālavya. Among them Mālavya was the best among men and has been called as- 'Kings of

men'. (nripesha). Varāhamihir further tells us that such men who are 100 to 105 anguli (about 7 feet) high are the Mālava variety of men. They are alone in uniform and are called 'Nyāgrodha parimandala' type. Utpala calls them a monarch (Sārvabhaum Rājā). Matsyapurāna (Ch. 145, V. 10) further describes- 'men having long hands are worshipped (or regarded) as Gods' (Samahatājānubāhu daivatair bhi pujayate) In the Kādambari (quoted by Johnston, Buddhacharita, 1972, II, P. 44) it is said that- 'the glory of brilliant signs is the quality of great men' Sahaja bhusanair iva mahāpurush Lakshanair). Asvaghosa in his Buddhacharita (IV, Ver. 4) describes the prince Siddhārtha as 'the glory of the brilliant signs on his person, as of ornaments born on him (Sobhitam Lakshanair diptaiḥ Sahajair bhushanairiva). The Vinaya Vastu (Gilgil-Mss. Ind. Hist. quat XIV, 1938, P. 422) describes about the beautiful body of prince Siddhārtha in the following way. It says that his head is like a round parasol, he has a rectangular broad forehead, long hands, twin eyebrows drawn over a parallel line and a prominent nose bridge (Chhatrākara Sirah dirgha bahuh vistirna lalātah ygmabhru uttunga nāsāḥ). G.N. Banerjea (Age of Imp. unity, 1968, 392) describes about the Gandhara and Mathura Buddha figures being derived from the Indian conception of a great man (mahāpurusha) bearing some distinctive marks (Lakshanas) on their bodies. The Iconographic and iconometric texts, though, of much later date, named Sambuddhahasita-Pratimālakshana (Banerjea, Hindu Iconog. 1974, 590-59/; Wegler, Publications of Nepal German MSS Project, Stuttgart, 1989, 615¹² delineate the various signs and bodily measurements of such

11. It is to be noted here that the dead kings have been addressed as divine beings (Daivat; Parama-daivat Vappabhattāraka mahārāja, Insp. dated 506, Dhanavajra, 1973, P. 91). The other inscription of Nirapeksha who had made the portraits of his parents in A.D. 505, prays gods to impart godhood to his parents (Punyena ten pitridaivat bhaginome, Dhanaraja, 1973, P 79). The Vāyupurāna (Ch. 97. ver. 1-4) describes about the portraits of dead persons as- 'mansuya praktikitevās' (deities originally human by nature or deified human beings).
12. Pratimālakshana, reads- 'lakshanāncha pravakshayāmi narānām hitkāmyayā/Lakshanam Sādhayet Sarva devaprāsāda nirmmitam/Pratimā prāsādaschaiva Sastramastrādi yojayeta/; Devapratimā Lakshanama, speaks about the — 'Nyāgrodhaparimandala' figure of Buddha to be made (Wezler, 1959, 615).



Dated Figure of King Jayavarma



Left hand of King Jayavarma



Back side of King Jayavarma

ideal images. The figure of King Jayavarma also depicts some of the above recommendations while making this figure.

Ancient Tradition of Making Portraits

The Svetasvatara Upanishad (4–19) says that those who were very famous did not had their portraits (Na tasya pratimā astiṃsya nāma mahad yashah). Patanjali (2nd Cent. B.C.) while explaining the word Kāshyapa mentioned by Panini (400 B.C.), says that it signifies a statue of Kāshyapa¹³ The Manasara silpasastra (Acharya, 1927, 79) has chapter dealing images of sages (Muni-Lakshana-Vidhāna). Manasara describes about the portraits and measurements of Seven such ancient sages, they were—Agastasya, Kāshyapa, Bhṛigu, Vashistha, Bhārgava, Vishwāmītra and Bharadwāja. There is no doubt that the above silpasastra though compiled during 5th-6th Cent. A.D., has recorded the ancient most tradition of making portraits. The Mahābhārat (compiled between 4th B.C.-4th A.D.) refers about the iron image of Pāndava prince Bhima (Ayasi pratima, Ch. 12, V. 23). In the same Epic we find Ekalabya making the clay image of sage Drona, whom he had chosen as his teacher. Mahabharat also refers about prince Usha, who was a gifted painter and had received a title as 'Chitra-Lekha'. Balmiki Ramayan (Uttara-Khanda, 91, 5, 25) mentions about the fire sacrifices performed by Rama, where a golden figure of queen Sita (Kanchanimmana patni) had been represented. Mahābhārat also records about the statue of sage Kāsyapa. The Pratimānātaka written by Bhasa (1st-2nd Cent. A.D. Act. III, PP. 46-50) mentions about the figure of king .

Dasarath kept within the figure house (Pratimāgriha or statue hall), within the palace, after his death, Similarly, Kālidās in his raghuvamsa drama (Act-XIV, V. 15) also describes about the tradition of making statue and figure in paintings, after death. He says that the portraits preserve the memory of the dead person (Citravaseshākṛiti). The great kings like Ajātasatru and Udayana who were the important kings and contemporaries of Lord Buddha had their portraits sculptured on the stupas at Bharahut (Cunningham, I, PL—XVI), Amaravati (Siva Ramamurti, PL. 34, fig 1; PL. 35, figures 1-2; Pl-1, fig. 1) and Sanchi (D. Mitra, 1978, PP 38-49). The Vinayapitaka refers about Amrapāli, the famous courtesan of Buddha's lifetime at Vaisali. When her palacial residence within the mangogrove was completed, she invited famous painters from various countries to paint the figures of kings and merchants of the period, on the walls of her residence. It so happened that by seeing the painted figure of King Bimbisara, she fell in love with him and married him¹⁴.

There are also portraits and inscriptions recording about them in the ancient periods. The earliest figures were made in wood, gold, stone and in paintings, of Faraoh Kings of Egypt between 1600-2000 B.C. The figure of King Hammukhi of Babylonia was also made around 1792-1750 B.C. Within the Indian sub-continent the earliest inscribed portraits of Sātavāhana kings with their wives and sons, have been found from Nānāghat, but now they are almost destroyed¹⁵. D.C. Sircar while mentioning about them writes- 'in the Nānāghāt pass there were

13. Indumati Mishra, Pratima Vijyāna, Bhopal, 1972, PP. 49-50.

14. C. Sivarammurti, Amaravati Sculptures, 1956, P. 55; the Age of Imperial Unity, 1968, P. 528 and P. 262.

15. Sivarammurti, Amaravati Sculptures, 1956, P. 9 and P. 11; Sivarammurti Writes 'the labelled portrait-sculptures at Nānāghat of Simukha and (Sri) Sātakarni of the Sātavāhana family (who) was the contemporary of Khāravel, lived in the second Cent. B.C. It is the earliest Indian figure sculpture whereas, D.C. Sircar places the inscription of Nānāghāt to 1st Cent B.C. (The Age of Imp. Unity 1968, P. 192, and PP, 196-97). V. Upadhyaya, Ancient Indian Inscriptions, Delhi, 1961, II, P. 29. The inscription reads— "Rāyā Simuk-Satvāhano Sirimāto/Devi Nāyanikāya Rayo Cha Siri Sātakanino./Kumāro Vēdi siri/Mahārathi Tranakiro/Kumāro Hākusiri. Kumaro Sakti Siri (1)." According to Sircar (Age of Imp. Unity. 1968, 197) the name of Krishna who was a brother of King Simuk is lost.

some relievo figures, now destroyed, with label inscriptions above their heads, The eight labels give the names (of) the royal pair, in the nominative.' The next figure is at Kondane which had been carved by a sculptor Balaka (Amaravati, P. 11), who belonged to the period of King Krishan Sātavāhana (1st Cent. B.C.) At Karle we find two donor pairs sculptured within a framed panel. Their portraits also belong to the same (1st Cent B.C.) period (The Age of Imp. Unity, 1968 PL (XXV, fig. 64). In north India also we have an inscription from Ayodhyā of 1st Cent. B.C., belonging to the King of Koshala named Dhanadeva, who had enshrined the figure of his dharmaraja father Phalgudeva within a temple¹⁶. The Indo-Greek, scythian, Kushan and Gupta coins mostly bear the figure of kings of those dynasties. A figure of Tosā (Tosāye patimā) a saka lady along with a large stone temple (Sailam Srimadgrhamatulam) had been erected during the period of Kanishka, which has been described in an inscription (Banerjea, Hindu Icono. 1974, 94). An interesting record of Huvishka from Mathura mentions about a royal figure gallery (pitāma devakula) of his grand father, possibly of Kadaphises I (Age of Imperi, unity, 1968, 150). The figure gallery of the Kushanas have been found from Mat near Mathura, from there three statue of Kushan kings-Kanishka, possibly of Wema Kadphises and

inscribed statue of Huviska have been found. They are clad in central Asian or scythian dress and have been carved either standing or seated¹⁷. The figure of Kanishka in bronze had been carved on the Buddha's relic-casket found from the Peshawar chaitya (Sarsvati, 1957, 75).

There are several examples of such portraits and portrait galleries also from mediaeval period in India and Nepal. In the Karnataka state, stone images (Silāpratima) of king with his three queens have been recorded in an inscription¹⁸. Percy Brown informs us about the donor portraits on pillars, carved in south India from earliest times and the figures are mostly in life-size. Although, they are generally held attached to the front of the pillar-shaft. The images of donors and other persons have been found from Srirangam, Srivilliputtur (Ramnad), in the Brihad-Isvara at Tanjor and in the Pudu-mandap at Madura¹⁹. At Mount Abu in Rajasthāna, there is a Jain temple with the image of Ādināth in white marble, which is surrounded by ten statues of the founder Vimala and his family, built during eleventh century A.D., (also having inscriptions). Here all the male figures are seated on she elephants, whereas, the wives have been given thrones of spotless stones²⁰. An inscription from Mathura belonging to the rule of King Chandragupta II (dated A.D. 380, Gupta Sam. 61) mentions about

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16. V. Upadhyaya, Ancient Indian Inscription, 1961, II, P. 25; The inspti, reads 'Kosalādhipeṇa--Dhanadevena dharmaragyapituh Phalgudevasya Ketanam Kāritam.' DC. Sircar (The Age of Imp. Unity, 1968, P. 173) also thinks that the Ayodhyā inscription of Kosala King belongs to the 1st Cent. B.C. and the coins having the name of Dhanadeva belongs to the same king. A sealing of 1st Cent. B.C. with the name reading 'Phalgunimitrasya' has been found from Rājagṛhāt, which confirms about the historicity of king Phalgudeva (J.N. Banerjea, Hindu Iconog. 1974, 188).
17. Amaravati Sculptures, 1950, P. 53; Sarasvati, Indian Sculpture, 1957, P. 67; The Age of Imp. Unity, 1968, P. 523, PL XXIV, fig. 60; G. verārdi, Excavations At Harigaon, 1992, P. 30, J.N. Bnerjea, Ind. Iconog. 1974, P. 94; Bangdel, Early Sculptures of Nepal, 1982, 49; Alberuni calls this dress as Turkish, having a short or long tunic. a high hat, boots and arms (Age of Imp. Unity, 1968, P. 149).
18. Epigra. Carnat, Vol-IV, No.-86, P. II and P. 18; P.K. Acharya, Dict. of Hindu Architecture, Delhi, 1995, P. 636.
19. Percy Brown, Indian Architecture, 1959, P. 97, PL-LXXVIII, fig. 2.
20. P. Brown, 1959, P. 121; P.K. Acharya, Dict. of Hindu Archit. 1995, 152; Mount Ābu Inspts. No.-1, Vol-64; Luders, Ep. Indi. Vol-VIII, PP. 200-212 and P. 218; The insp. reads- 'murtinam iha prīsthatāh kari-vadhū-prīstha prīstihājūshāntaumurtir vāme āsma-khattaka gatah kāmta sameta dasa '(the statues placed on the back of female elephants--he caused to be made ten images of those (Persons mentioned above), together with wives on Khattaka (throne of spot less stones). It is to be noted here that king Pratāpa Malla (of Kathmandu) had also made his figure along with his family members riding over elephant on the bank of Ranipokhari in Kathmandu.

the making of portraits of Saiva teachers (mahesvara āchāryās), which were enshrined within the Kapilesvara temple ('gurunām chakrityārth---Kapilesvaraw garva yatane guru (nama pratima) pratisthapito', V. Upadhyaya, 1961, II, 51). A very interesting inscription from Trisirpalli cave describes about the corporal body (statue) of Satya Sandhi, which was made by stone-chisels (Sila-Kharena janita Satya Sandhasya bhautiki murtih-Acharya, Dict. of Hindu Archit, 1995, 510).

In Nepal, after Jayavarma's statue, we have an example of Lichhavi period portraits of a pair in Chāngunārāyan. The portraits are dislocated or laying within the inner-chamber of Changu temple without any notice. But the inscription describes about a person named Nirpeksha who had made the statues of his dead parents in 505 A.D., during the rule of King Manadeva I.²¹ In western Nepal, at Padukāsthāna (near-Dullu-Dailekha) there is a figure of a king holding bow and arrow. At the same place is a figure

of queen with folded hands (anjalimudra), wearing tunic and undergarments. There is another figure at Sirasthāna, standing erect with folded hands. At Nabhisthāna there is a royal figure wearing turban, long tunic, jāmā and a waist band (udarabandha). Within the entire Khasa-Malla territory of western Nepal there are several portraits of soldiers killed in the battle, each having his name inscribed²².

These portraits are either alone or carved by the side of a pillar²³. During Late-Malla and Shaha periods, large number of portraits were made within the Kathmandu Valley. Before all the three Malla City palaces, portraits of kings have been carved and placed over pillars with royal dress. Royal portraits of king Pratap Malla along with his wives and sons in seated posture over a pillar, can be found at Hanumanadhoka palace. An inscription with three portraits of the same king, dated 1648 A.D. have been placed before the Krishna Temple at Kathmandu (Regmi IV, 1966, 88). Another figure in gold, of

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21. Dhanvajra Vajrācharya, Lichhavi Inspts. , 1973, P. 79, No. 19; the inscription reads 'Pitroh Kritakritiriyān Nirpeksha Nāmnā Kritivā-- Vidhivadatra--- Yadastipunyam punyena tena Pitridaivata Bhagino me /Pitroh pravāshagatayor dhruvamastu yogah anyatra janmani' (The person named Nirpeksha made the portraits of his parents, as recommended in (Silpasāstra) laws. As a reward of this merit, he wished to meet his devine departed parents, in his next birth). Here the portraits have been symbolized as the Sārūpya or Sāyujya class of devotees, who are united with the gods. It is to be noted here that the Bhagavatpurāna (IX, 4, 67) and Mānasāra Silpasāstra (Bhakta Lakshana-Vidhāna-Images of Devotees, Acharya, 1927, P. 80) describes about four classes of devotees (Salokyadi-Chatusthaya), who attain four stages of holiness (Sanctity) and are named as-Salokya, Samipya, Sārūpya and Sāyujya. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that a Brahmin couple named Mulavasu and his wife Pāksaka during the rule of sodasa (A.D. 15) had excavated two ponds at Mathurā. Verārdi. 1992 P 15.
22. Ram Niwas Pandey, Making of Modern Nepal, New Delhi, 1997, P. 706, fig. 27 and fig. 35, Padukāsthāna Dullu; figs -19 and 20 from Dadeldhura. Prayāg Raj Sharma, Preliminary Study of the Art and Architecture of Karnāli Basin, West Nepal, Paris, 1972, P. 31, PL XV and PL XVI, o.-17; Royal person, Nābhishthāna, also P. 31 and P. 46. Some of the inscriptions on the statues read-'Om svasti visu ko vira Stamba'. Sidharaut ko vir Stambhah'. These pillars and portraits are also found in the Kumaon-Gardhawal region and Rājasthāna.
23. P.K. Acharya, Mānasāra, 1927, Allahabad, Chapt.- Stambha-Lakana Vidhāna, P; 45; Acharya, Dictionary of Hindu Architecture, 1995, P. 56; such pillars or statues are called viragala, virastambha, Virakantha (Mānasāra, 1927, 445; Suprabhedāgama, Ch. 31, V. 59), and Virashāsana. They are generally found in the chālukya architecture, Kumayu, Garhawal and Rajasthan regions.

queen Sansāradevi has been placed within the Pashupati temple²⁴. There are also painted statues of king Pratapa Malla (at Svayambhu) and Jayaprakash Malla.) on the wall of the Shrine of Kumari, at Vasantapura).

The portraits can be divided into three divisions, which comprised within the first category images of sages, kings and individuals. In the second category comes the statues of devotees and the third type belonged to the portraits of dead soldiers killed in the battle field. The portraits of devotees (Bhaktas) have further four subdivisions. These Bhaktas are mostly shown in anjalimudra (with folded hands) and sometimes in a kneeling position. Asvaghosa in his Buddha Charita (Act-V, Ver. 28) Calls them- 'Pranipatyā cha Sanjali' (making salute with folded hands). The four type of devotees (Bhaktas) are namely, Salokya, Samipya, Sarupya, and Sayajya, (Mānasāra, LIX, 1927, 80). They have been explained by the Bhagavat Purāna (CL.IX, 4, 67) in the following way-Salokya means living in the same world (as the deity), Sarupya means being in conformity (with the deity) and sāyujya signifies as being united (with the deity). Mānasāra silpasastra (ch. Bhakta-Lakshandvidhāna, Acharya, 1927, 80) gives further clarification of these four terms and recommends

about the measurements of their images. Most of these types of Bhakta images are found within the Kathmandu Valley. Most probably the Bhakta images put before or within the temples belong to the categories of sarupya and sayujya types²⁵.

The portraits of Bhaktas were generally put before or inside the temple, but the images of Kings and noble persons were kept within the halls of palaces or specially made temples (chitra-Sālā, Pratima griha, Ketana and Devakula)²⁶. There are also evidences of these portrait galleries made separately near the monuments. Examples of such figure galleries can be found from Nanaghat of the Satavahana Kings, from Mat belonging to the Kushana Kings and at Mount Abu having portraits of Vimala and his family members (Percy Brown, 1959, 121). The Visvakarmiya Silpa (Acharya, Manasara, 1927, 98) in chapter IV describes about a special hall to enshrine images of Siva and other gods (Siva-Lingādi pratisthārtham sabhā-nirmānādi). Whereas, the Matsyapurāna (Chap. 269, Ver. 29, 34-35, 48, 53) gives detail about chitra sālās (art-galleries) established within a Sarvatobhadra Building having five storeys and sixteen corners and 30 cubits (30 hands, 45 feet) broader (Acharya, Mānasara, 1927, 115). The Brihatasamhitā (III, 20, JRS, NS. Vol-VI, P. 283,

24. Regmi, Mediaeval Nepal, 1966, II, PP. 58-59; The inscription dated A.D. 1440 reads- 'Divamagatayā pratimā Jananyā-- Sansārahemnā Kṛitīm' (made a figure of the dead mother Sansāradevi in gold). One of the figure inscription in the Hanumānadhoka palace dated 1669 A.D. reads- 'Talejumāju Pritima--Jaya Pratap Malla-- Thva Loha Khambha dayakavaluna thava pratimāsvapatni--svaputra-- chyamasena lun pratimā daykā Regmi, IV, 1966, PP. 138-139 (with due respect to the Taleju mother goddess, King Pratāpa Malla made eight statues of his own, his wives and his sons, in gold and placed them over a stone pillar). Similarly, there is another inscription with portraits at Chāngu of king Bhupāendra Malla and his queen Bhuvan Lakshmi Devi in NS. 824. (A.D. 1703). The inscription reads- 'Sansthapita Kananirmit murti esha Bhupala bhatri sahita'- (Sanskrit Sandesh, Part-6, P. 38).
25. There is an image of Rishikeshha made (sarira pramāna pratimā) after the death of royal prince Rājamalladeva (dated (1467 A.D.), another of queen Sansāradevi (dated 1440 A.D.) and the inscription dated N.S. 521 (A.D. 1400) after the death of Jaya Simharama, describes about the establishment of Gopi Nārāyan images in gold (suvarna pratimā dayakam Jaya Simharāma badā mahatbhāros pratirupa lin yānam, Dhana Vajra, Purnima-14 130-133).
26. The Chitrasālās or chittāgārasālās (in Pali) are mentioned in the Rāmāyan, Mahābhārat and in the Vinayapitaka. Where as, the Pratimāgriha has been referred in Raghuvansa (Purah parārdhya pratimāgrihāyayāh upositai vāstuvividhāna'. (made the pratimāgriha within the city as recommended in the vāstusāstra). The inscription of Dhanadeva refers about the temple (Ketanam kārītam) where the figure of his father Phalgudeva was enshrined (V. Upadhyaaya, Ancient Indian Inspts. 1961, II, 25). The Mathura inspt. of Huvishka refers about his 'Pitamaha-devakula' (royal gallery of figure statues-Age of Imp. unity, 1968, P. 150)

footnote-2; Acharya, Dict. P. 561) mentions about a picture gallery (Vithika) to be made outside the main building. The Kiranatantra also refers about the picture gallery. Whereas, Mānasāra recommends to build it before a road. The portraits were made with chisels²⁷.

The Inscription on the Pedestal of Jayavarman Image.

Like the figures of Sātavāhan kings (2nd-1st Cent. B.C.) and the figure of Kushan King Kanishka from Mathura (Sarasvati, 1957, 67, Fig. 52), the image of King Jayavarman has also inscription in Brahmi Script and the language being Sanskrit, over the frontal face of the pedestal stone. Many scholars have read the inscription but with different readings and dates. The first epigraphist to read this inscription was Shyam Sunder Rajavansi who along his father Shankarman had published it in the following way 'Samvat 107 Shree panchadevapka maharajasya Jayavarmana', meaning, Samvat 107 in the fifth month, the fourth king Jayavarman. Shankarman Rajavansi has explained the meaning of 'Panchadevapka' as denoting 'Falguna Shukla Chaturthi' (Gorkhapatra, May 25, 1992; Ancient Nepal No. 135, October-November, 1993). The next reader Dinesh Chandra Regmi reads it as-'Paramadev (anka) Maharajasya Jayavarman (nah)'. On paleographic ground he has dated, it between 464

A.D. 360 A.D., anyway, before the Lichchhavi King Manadeva (Madhuparka, 25, 5, Sep.-Oct. 1992). Hemarāja Shakya has published it as -'Paramadeva pka maharajasya Jayavarmah' (Rajamati, 10-29, May 25, P.5). Andrea de castro and Riccardo Garbini (East And West, Decem. 1996, Vol-46, Nos. 3-4, P. 311) have read it as-'Samvat 207 gripa (7) divā 4 mahārājasya Jaya Varmmanah'. Their translation of the above line is like this-'of the great king Jayavarman, on the fourth day of the seventh fortnight of Summer, in the year 207.' Mohan prasad Khanal accepts the reading of Shankarman but explains the term 'panchadeva and Mahārāja' as denoting the lord of mahārāja, i.e. Kuber²⁸. He further takes the term 'panchadeva' to mean 'Panchika' (Kuvera) as Buddhist deity. It is to be noted here that-Bangdel from his hectic search of most ancient images within the Kathmandu valley has not been able to find a single image belonging to Buddhist faith which can be dated in the pre-Lichchhavi period. As we know, yaksha and yakshinis are the ancient most hoard of pre-Hindu as well as pre-Buddhist idols, which had been later-on adopted by all the creeds (Hindus, Buddhists, as well as, the Jains). This has been well explained by Coomaraswamy in his book entitled yaksas²⁹. Therefore, the figure with name (Jayavarmanah) and dates along with the other so-

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27. The Nāsik cave inscription of Pulāmavi (dated 22=A.D. 152) describes that the inscription was engraved with chisels (takanina katā). Naturally the rock-cut cave monasteries and the portraits must have been made with the similar tools (B. Upadhyaya, Ancient Inspts, 961, II, 34). There is another evidence from the Heliodorus Garuda pillar at Besnagar (dated 2nd Cent. B.C.) where few discarded or lost iron chisels were found from its foundation (P.C. Brown, Ind. Archit, 1959, 21).
28. The four great kings according to the Hindu tradition were-Yama, Varuna, Kubera and Vasava. Kubera is the lord of north direction and supposed to be the god of wealth (V. Upadhyaya, Ancient Indian Inspts, 1961, II, P. 29). The inscription of Nāganikā (1st Cent B.C.) reads 'Chatunam cha lokapalā nam Yama-Varuna-Kubera-Vasavānam'.
29. A.K Coomāraswāmy, yaksas, Delhi, 1971, Part I, P. 29. Coomāraswāmy writes— 'In early Indian art, so far as the cult images are concerned, one iconographic type stands out predominantly, that is the standing figure with the right hand raised, the left on the hip. Sometimes the right hand holds a flower or chauri or weapon; sometimes the left grasps the robe or holds flask, but the position of the arm is constant. Stylistically, the type is massive and voluminous, and altogether plastically conceived,...without introspection or spiritual aspiration. Of this type are the early images of yaksas. And it is also this type which provides the model for the cult images of other deities such as Siva or Buddha.'

called yaksha or yaksha-Bodhisattva figure discovered from the same place, are not at all yaksha figures, as we have discussed this subject elsewhere, in this article.

Kasinath Tamot and Ian Alsop (1996-1997) reads the inscription as- 'Samvat 107 Sri-pan-cadevapka maharajasya Jayavarma. In their latter additions and updated readings the meaning of the inscription appears in the following way- 'In the year 107, the great king Jayavarma, the fourth (?) Great Lord'. Thus we find that, these writers have been influenced by Mohan Prasad Khanal (Nepali Kalā, 1995) and have accepted the figure of king Jayavarma as the image of a dikpāl.

Let us compare some similar Lichchhavi and other inscriptions from India and Nepal.

The Saranath Image inscription during the rule of King Kanishka (Samvat 3- A.D. 89)- 'Maharajasya Kanishkasya Sam 3 he 3 di 20 (+) 2'.

The Jeda inscription of Kanishka dated A.D. 89.

'Sam 10 (+) 1 ashadasa masasa di 20 utara phagune'

The Ara inscription of Kanishka II, dated A.D. 119.

'Maharajasya rajatirajasa devaputra-- Vajhishpa-putrasa Kanishkasa Samvatsare-- 20(+)
20(+)
1 jeshtha māsasa divase 1'.

The Buddha Image pedestal Inscription dated A.D. 129.

'Maharajasya devaputrasya Huvishkasya Samvatsare 50 (+) 1 hemanta masa 1 diva.'

The Copper plate of Patika, date A.D. 156

'Samvat Sarye athasatimaye 20 (+) 20 (+) 10 (+) 4(+)
4 maharajasya mahantasa mogasa pane masa masasa divase panchame 4 (+) 1.

The Kalawān copper plate, dated 213 A.D.

'Samvatsarye 1(+)
100(+)
20(+)
10(+)
4 ajasa sravanasa masasa divase trevise 20 (+) 1 (+) 1 (+) 1.'

The Nasik Cave Iscpt. of Nahapana, dated 120 A.D.

'Siddham Vase 40 (+) 2 Vaisakha mase rayo Kshaharatasa Kshatrapa. Nahāpanasa.'

The Nānāghāt Inspt. of Queen Nāgānika (1st Cent. B.C.)

'Namo Samkanasana-Vasudevānam Chanda-Surānam--Chatunam chamlokpālānam Yam Varund-Kuvera-Vasavānam/kumāraravasa kha (da) sirisa ra (yo)..1'.

Inscription of Narvarma from Lāzimpāt, Kathmandu, dated A.D. 466

'Samvat 388 Jyesth māse sukladivā 14-- bhṛityena bhaktimahata Nara Varmmanāmnā.'

Inscpt. of Lazimpāt (Dhovichaura), dated 467 A.D.

'Om Samvat 389-- Vaisakha Shukla diva 2-- raja Shree Mānadevah'.

Inscpt. of Kshema Sundari, Lāzimpata, dated A.D. 468

'Shree Mānadevo nripah--Samvat 390 Jyesth mase shukla pakshe diva 7'

The inscription of Kushan King Vasiska from Sanchi has been dated as— 'the fifth day of hemanta, falling in the purnimānta month of Mārga Sīrsa of the year 106 A.D. (Year 28 of Saka era; Sircar, The Age of Imp. unity, 1968, 148, foot note-2).

When compared with the Kushan, Saka and Lichchhavi inscriptions it becomes quite clear that the inscription of Jayavarma is closer to the Sakas than the Kushan inscriptions. The Lichchhavi inscriptions of King Manadeva I closely follows the Jayavarma inscription in depicting the year, month, date and have adopted the same Saka era.

The Jayavarma inscription reads in the following way- 'Samvat 107 Shree pancha divapka maharajasya Jayavarmmanah.' The inscription can be translated in this way 'year 107 in the month of Phālguna on the 4th day (during the rule of) the great King Jayavarma.'

So far is the question of maharaja³⁰ in the above inscription, it definitely means to denote king Jayavarma and not a Dikpala or Kubera which is clear from the earlier and contemporary inscriptions of India.

The Historical Importance of the Inscribed Portrait of Jayavarma

During recent years about twelve important inscriptions have been discovered from the Kathmandu Valley. But the finding of King Jayavarma's inscribed portrait dated 185 A.D. (Samvat 107) has pushed back the history of Nepal around 274 years. Until few years ago, Nepal Mandal (Kathmandu Valley) was thought to have been urbanized only in the Lichchhavi period. But the antiquities discovered from the recent archaeological spade works as well as the exploration and exposition of many pre-Lichchhavi sculptures within the valley have proved that the wave of second urbanization (between 600-300 B.C.) within the entire uttarāpath had also influence the Nepal Mandal³¹. The cultural heritage of the valley, the excavated materials from Harigaon (Deo, 1965; Verardi, 1992, PP 13-17) have proved about the large scale of foreign migration in the Nepal Mandal, between 2nd .B.C. and 4th cen. A.D.,

from Punjab, Rajasthana, Mathura, Ayodhya, Kausambi and Kapilavastu regions.

The Lichchhavis from Vaisali might have entered the Nepal Valley around 410 A.D. If the Lichchhavis would have been ruling within Nepal at the time of Samudra Gupta inscription of Allahabad (around Circa 365 A.D.), the great Emperor who had proudly addressed himself as a 'Lichchhavi dauhitra' (the grandson of the Lichchhavis) would not have placed Nepal among other countries whose kings were frequently visiting to salute the supreme monarch and therefore, their taxes were omitted (Kāmarupa, Nepal-Kartripurādi pratyanta nripatibhih-- sarvakara dānāgyākarana-pranāmāgamana paritoshita). We find the Lichchhavis ruling at Vaisāli as a provincial governer of the Kushan Kings. After the fall of the Kushan power a Lichchhavi Chief or King had married Prabhudāmā, who was the daughter of Saka Mahākshatrapa Rudrasimha and sister of Mahākshatrapa Rudrasena (199-223 A.D.) from Ujjain (Māwā)³². It seems that the Lichchhavis in the Vaisāli region were still popular and politically alive when the Bhilasad pillar inscription of Kumara Gupta I. (410-450 A.D.) was engraved because the word 'Lichchhavi' has been mentioned in this inscription

30. The kings in the Asokan and latter inscriptions have been addressed as- rājā (Mānaserā stone inspt 'Piyadasi rājā aha), Lājā (Kalasi, and Delhi-Topara inspts.). Mahārāja (Vesnagar pillar inspt, 2nd Cent B.C. - 'Maharajasa Antalikitasa'; Insp. of King Menāndar from Shinkot Pakistan, 1st Cent. A.D., reads- 'Minedrasa Maharajasa'): The Hāthigumpha cave inspt. of Kharvel (1st Cent. B.C.) reads 'Maharajabhisechanam---mahāvijayo rājāKharawelsiri'; Rājā (The Nānāghat cave inspt. of the Sātavāhana king reads- 'Rāyā Simuka Sātavāhano--- Rayocha Siri Satakanino; The Nāsika Cave inspt. of Pulamāvi reads 'Rāyo --- Siri Pulumayisa'). The inscriptions of Kushan Kings have also these terms denoting king. The Sāranāth inspt. of Kanishka dated 3rd year (A.D. 81) mentions-'Mahārajasya Kanishkasya'. The Arā inscription of Kanishka II, son of Vajhispa has-'Maharajasa---Kanishkasa.'
31. T.N. Mishra, 'The Nepal Mandala, its earliest settlement and the Architectural feature of the Lichchhavi Capital city,' Nepalese and Italian Contributions to the History and Archaeology of Nepal, Edi. By G. verardi, ISIAO, Roma, 1997, PP. 55-61.
32. The Saka Kshatrapas had started to mix through matrimonial alliances with other Indian ruling clans in different areas of Jambudviap. The Scythian (Kardamaka) Princesses were married in the families of Satvāhanās of Dakshinapath, the I Kshvākus of Andhrapath and the Lichchhavis of Vaishālī (Sircar, The Age of Imp. Unity, 1968, 185 and 187). A seal from Vaishal reads- 'Rajno Mahākshatrapasya Svāmi-Rudrasinghasya duhitu Rajno mahākshatrapasya svāmi Rudrasenasya Bhaginyā-Mahādevyā Prabhudamaya'/the seal of the chief queen Prabhudama, daughter of King Mahakshatrapa Svāmi Rudra Singha and sister of king Mahakshatrapa Svami Rudrasena - Upendra Thakur, Hist. of Mithila, 1956, 181-82.

also (Upadhyaya, 1961, 53 II)³³. The first authentic archaeological document for the beginning of Lichchhavi rule in Nepal is the Pasupati Pillar inscription of Manadeva I, dated samvat 381 (A.D. 459). This was the period of rule of Skandhagupta (451-467 A.D.) in India when the Gupta Kings had left to mention about the Lichchhavis of Vaisali in their inscription. This proves that the Lichchhavis had shifted or were supplanted in Nepal after the Bhilasad pillar inscription, possibly during the rule of Kumara Gupta I, who must have had helped them in Nepal. The Gupta administrative and architectural terms as well as the similar religious sects are mentioned in the Lichchhavi inscriptions of Nepal. This also indicates the possibility of the close ties which existed between the Lichchhavis of Nepal and the Guptas of India.

The excavations conducted before Manamāneshvara temple at Tangāl (S.B. Deo, 1965) and close to the Satyanārāyan temple at Hādigaon (H. Verardi, 1992) as well as the sculptural survey and studies within the valley conducted by Lain Singh Bangdel (Early Sculptures, 1982) clearly points out that the Nepal valley was well civilized and urbanized before 1st-2nd Cent. A.D.

The excavation reports of Deo and Verardi point out about the different foreign cultural elements which were introduced in the valley during 1st Cent. B.C. Among those antiquities, mention can be made about the pottery similarity from the valley with Ahichhatra (Deo, 1965, 17, 20, 27, 35). G. Verardi

(1992, 116-118) has also marked few potsherds and a makaramukha from Harigaon which compare with Sirkap, Mathura, Ahichhatra, and Kausambi. Some of the t.c. human figures from Harigaon (P. 115 and P. 118, Verardi 1992) have also derived some features of Kushan terracotta figures found from Ganga basin. Mention can be made about a Mathura red sandstone tool or weight (Verardi, fig. 84-85 HSN-191, PP. 114-115 and P. 17) where there is faint trace of carved figure depicting Krishna killing demon Keshin, from a layer dated as 1st Cent. B.C. It is to be noted that similar Krishna-Keshin Vadha stone pieces have been found from Mathura and west Pakistan (in the Gandhara region).

The frequent discoveries of Kushan coins from the ancient habitation sites in the valley and the Oeso (Siva) type of Kanishka Coin found from the Handigaon excavations (Verardi, 1992, 17, 185) have further proved that the Kushan Kings had some hold in the valley. It is to be noted that Walsh had also collected two copper coins of Wema Kadphises and Kanishka from the valley (Walsh, 1908, 6,8,9). The present writer was also shown some Kushan coins collected from Chavahil area in 1968. R. Veldettaro (The Coinage of Nepal, 1985, 15, foot note-4) had collected coins of Wema Kadphises, Kanishka, Huvishka, Vasudeva and Kushan imitated coins from Nepal³⁴.

G. Verardi (1992, 16-17) commenting on the excavated materials from Harigaon writes, 'The objects unearthed from a tank include some undoubtedly belonging to the Saka Parthian material.

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33. A.S. Altekar (The coinage of the Gupta Empire, 1957, 1-3) has expressed that 'the Guptas during the years 260-300 A.D. under Srigupta and Ghatotkach Gupta were ruling in the south-east Bihar as feudal chiefs of the Kushana kings. Around 300 A.D. Chandragupta after the fall of the Kushanas entered into matrimonial alliance with the Lichchhavis of Vaisali. The chief queen of Chandra Gupta II was Druva Swāmini (Mahadevi Shree Dhruva Swamini' a seal from vaisali). She might be a Saka princess.
34. Kushan coins have been found in large numbers from the excavations at Tilaurakot (Kapila Vastu) and Lumbini as well as there are many sites in the region from where this period of coins have been collected. On the east of Gandaka in the Terai region the present writer had collected forty two Kushan Copper Coins from Rangapur in the Rautahat district. The Coins belonged to Kuzul Kadphises, Kanishka, Huviska and Vasudeva. Those coins were from a hoard comprising 500 Kushan Coins; T.N. Mishra, Ancient Nepal, No. 75, 1983, PP. 20-28.

Some of the pottery and the makar-dragon which is direct copy of well known 1st Cent. B.C. Gandhāran iconographies in turn harking back to the Iranian Senmurv. The link with Saka-Parthian culture is unmistakable.' He further adds that 'in Kathmandu Valley the Kushanas or the local elites ultimately depending on their rule, found political support in Saivism. We see the elites emerging in the valley in Kushan times, and possibly under Kushan influence.' While writing about the Lichhavi coins. A. Cunningham (coins of Ancient India, 1963, 114) has expressed that- 'the types) of Nepalese coins) seem to be indigenous and quite different from the contemporary coinage of the Guptas. Perhaps the recumbent bull of the coin of Pashupati may have been copied from the money of the Guptas and Nine Nagas (Navanāga). In weight the coins -- corresponding in this respect, as well as in size and style of letters, with the contemporary copper coinage of the Yaudheyas. Both were direct descendants of the Kushans.' Rhodes, Gabrisch and Valdetaro (1989, 13-14) have also indicated that the Lichhavi coins have derived inspiration from the Kushan copper coins.

The large number of sculptures made under the influence of Kushan (Mathura) school within Nepal

Valley (between 100-350 A.D.) also certify about the close contact which existed between the Valley and Mathura as well as with Mālawa regions. (Krishnadeva, 1984, 15; Bangdel, 1982; Pal, 1974; T.N. Mishra, 1997, PP. 56-59; Bangdel. Aryal and Mishra, 1996, PP 9-10, P. 99 and P. 102) The people having swami ending name titles within the Kathmandu Valley, who had made many images and temples or were placed on higher governing positions, were most probably from the Saka-Parthian stock³⁵. An inscription (between 506-532 A.D.) mentions about a Saka Brahman (Vajrācharya, 1973, 582, Brāhmana Saka Bhattasya putrasya--kritih). The name of this Saka Brahman is not available, but it is said that he had made an image of Vārāhi, probably during the rule of King Vasantadeva (506-532 A.D.). Another inscription dated 530 A.D. (Samvat 452) in the Pasupati area mentions about Brahmana Punyagomi (Dhana, V.P. 14) who had made a Pārthiva-silā (a stone altar to receive offerings). There was another Brahmana named Visvasen whose wife was Suvarnagomini, mentioned in an inscription which is dated as 647 A.D. (Dhana. P. 472). Another inscription dated 528 A.D. mentions brahmin Viprasena, Dhruva Sena, Vriddhi Sena and Vedabhata who had donated lands for the

35. D.C. Sircar (Indian Epigraphy, 1965, 333) writes- 'the earlier Saka rule subordinates of the Kushanas, who ruled in Western India. Called themselves Kshatrpa or Mahākshatrpa and also Rājan and Svāmin'. The Mora inscription of Saka Mahākshatrpa Raju vulas, son of Mahākshatrpa Sodasa, has been mentioned as- 'Svamin mahākshatrpa Sodasa'. Similarly, the Girnara inscpt. of Rudradamana addresses- 'Rāgyo mahakshatrapasya Sugrihita nāmnahan Svāmi Chastanasya pautrasya--- Svami Jayadāmnah putrasya rāgyo mahākshatrapasya---Rudradāmnō' (B. Upadhyaya 1961, II, 44). There were many important persons mentioned in the Lichhavi inspts. having name titles with svami. They are Vijayavāmini, the wife of a big bussinessman named Samrād in A.D. 502 (Dhanavajra, 1973, P. 67). It is to be noted here that a seal from Vaisali reads— Mahārājadhirāja Shree Chandragupta patni mahādevi Dhruvasvāmini'. Dhruvasvāmini was the chief queen of Chandragupta II (U. Thakura, Hist of Mithila, 1956, 186; AS. Altekar, The coinage of the Gupta Empire, Varanasi, 1957, 32); Khudusvami in 545 A.D. had received lands from Manamati (Dhana, P. 175); In A.D. 565 we find a government officer born from a high family, Sva-mi Vārta (Prakrista Kula Janmanā), had build a temple of Harihara in the Pasupati area (Dhana, 199); There was a person named Vindusvāmi appointed as chief of army (Mahābalādhyaksha) in A.D. 612, under king Ansuvarma (Dhana, P. 340); Similarly, Varāhasvāmi was Mundasrinkhalika Pāsupatāchārya (a Saiva teacher), and a member of Saiva trust, between 626-633 A.D. (Dhana, P. 427); Ramasvami was a dutaka under King Narendradeva in 647 A.D. (Dhana -472); Madhusudana Svami was a member of Panchāyat of Brijjikrathya in 649 A.D. (Dhana, P. 475.) one Devasvāmi with other made an image of vishnu in 750 A.D. (Dhan, P. 591); In A.D. 849 Kumārasvāmi had enshrined an image of god (Dhana, P. 595).

maintenance and worship of the image and temple of sage Vaisampāyana (Dhana, P. 138) ³⁶. All these examples indicate that possibly the earliest hoard of Brahmans (either the Gomis, the Senas or Swamis) in the Kathmandu Valley might have been from both the Saka (Sākaldvipi) and Abhira tribes. As we know that both the hoards of people were living in Iran and had entered India about the same time (in the 1st cent. A.D.) A manuscript from the Archives, in Nepal named Kubjikāmata (Wezlar, 1989, P. 85, XLIIB) discloses about the authors fear that the Magas (from Sythia and Persia) would one day become equal to the Brahmans.

Apart from those Brahmana senas there were also senas who were of Kshatriya cast. we have one Rajaputra Vikrama Sena in A.D. 613 as dutaka (Dhana, P. 343). Rajaputra Surasena was married to Bhogadevi, sister of King Ansuvarma before 617 A.D. and there was a Sivaling called Surabhogesvara, possibly enshrined after their death (Dhana, P. 357). Similarly, there were great traders and sāmantas, named as Guhamitra who was a big businessman (Vanijām sārthavaha) dealing foreign trade and had enshrined an image of Indra called Divākara (sungod, Dhana, P. 59); Other sārthavāhās were Urudhi, Ratna Sangha and Prabhusangh who had enshrined many Sivalingās between 477-480 A.D. (Dhana, P. 50 P. 55). There was a man named Dharmapāla whose wife, had made a nunnery and temple of Buddha between A.D. 607-623 (Dhana, P. 454). Most of the above mentioned persons might migrated from (Madhyadasa or Antaravedi countries/have like) Kausambi, Ahichchhatra and Ayodhya, in the Koshal-

Pāñchāl region between 2nd cent. B.C.-5th. Cent. A.D. (Law, Age of Imp. Unity, 1968, 172-177).

Apart from the name titles there are also some elements which prove the cultural contacts between the Nepal Mandal and Punjab, Rajasthan, Malawa, Mathura, the Khasa regions of western Nepal and the Panchal region. The recently discovered inscription dated 489 A.D. (samvat 411) from Patan, Svathatola mentions about a shrine of Bhimādevi, which is one of the names of Umā or has been called sivaduti in the Matsyapurāna and Markandeyapurana. Bhimāsthān is also mentioned earlier in the Mahābhārata and her shrine had been seen in the Punjab region during 7th cent. A.D. by the Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang (Banerjea, Hindu Iconog, 1974, P. 33 and P. 135; Watters, I, 1973, I, 221, Mahesvar's spouse Bhimādevi, 'Bhima temple'). There is a shrine of Batuka Bhairva in Patan. On the silver coins of Kuninda chief Dharaghosa (1st Cent. B.C.-1st Cent. A.D.) there is representation of Visvamitra (Siva). A bronze seal from Taxila has inscription reading- 'Badusa Visvamitra', meaning Batuka Siva (Banerjea, Hindu Icon, 1974, 121; Sircar, Imp. Unity, 1968, P. 161, Foot-Note-4).

The inscription from Pasupati temple (Kathmandu; between 626-635 A.D; Dhanavajra, 1973, P. 426), mentions about-'Bhagavatah chhatrachandesvarasya-Kugrame' and the legend reading-'Bhagavatah chatresvara mahātmanah'. It is to be noted here that Ahichchhatra and chhatravati was the capital city of this tribe and chhatresvara Siva was their titulary deity. (Banerjea, 1974, 118; sircar, 1968, 161, 171, foot note-1)

36. It is interesting to note here that the Karadanda inscription of Kumaragupta I (A.D. 436) mentions about his minister Prithvisena, who was the son of Sikharaswami as well as grandson of Vishnupaita bhatta (B. Upadhyaya, Ant. Inscpts., 1961, II, 55). This discloses that the Sena, Swamin and Bhatta brāhmanās were of the same stock of people and perhaps they were Sākaldvipi (Iranian) Brāhmanas. It is to be noted here that Rudra Sen II was the nephew of Mahakshatrapa Damajadasri, Kshatrapa Vijayasen ruled between 239-251 A.D. and Kshatrapa Visvasen ruled within 293-305 A.D. (The age of Im. unity, P. 189).

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Pāñchāl region between 2nd cent. B.C.-5th. Cent. A.D. (Law, Age of Imp. Unity, 1968, 172-177).

Apart from the name titles there are also some elements which prove the cultural contacts between the Nepal Mandal and Punjab, Rajasthan, Malawa, Mathura, the Khasa regions of western Nepal and the Panchal region. The recently discovered inscription dated 489 A.D. (samvat 411) from Patan, Svathatola mentions about a shrine of Bhimādevi, which is one of the names of Umā or has been called sivaduti in the Matsyapurāna and Markandeyapurana. Bhimāsthan is also mentioned earlier in the Mahābhārata and her shrine had been seen in the Punjab region during 7th cent. A.D. by the Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang (Banerjea, Hindu Iconog, 1974, P. 33 and P. 135; Watters, I, 1973, I, 221, Mahesvar's spouse Bhimādevi, 'Bhima temple'). There is a shrine of Batuka Bhairva in Patan. On the silver coins of Kuninda chief Dharaghosa (1st Cent. B.C.-1st Cent. A.D.) there is representation of Visvamitra (Siva). A bronze seal from Taxila has inscription reading- 'Badusa Visvamitra', meaning Batuka Siva (Banerjea, Hindu Icon, 1974, 121; Sircar, Imp. Unity, 1968, P. 161, Foot-Note-4).

The inscription from Pasupati temple (Kathmandu; between 626-635 A.D; Dhanavajra, 1973, P. 426), mentions about-'Bhagavatah chhatrachandesvarasya-Kugrame' and the legend reading-'Bhagavatah chatresvara mahātmanah'. It is to be noted here that Ahichchhatra and chhatravati was the capital city of this tribe and chhatresvara Siva was their titulary deity. (Banerjea, 1974, 118; sircar, 1968, 161, 171, foot note-1)

36. It is interesting to note here that the Karadanda inscription of Kumaragupta I (A.D. 436) mentions about his minister Prithvisena, who was the son of Sikharaswami as well as grandson of Vishnupaita bhatta (B. Upadhyaya, Ant. Inscpts., 1961, II, 55). This discloses that the Sena, Swamin and Bhatta brāhmanās were of the same stock of people and perhaps they were Sākaldvipi (Iranian) Brāhmanas. It is to be noted here that Rudra Sen II was the nephew of Mahakshatrapa Damajadasri, Kshatrapa Vijayasen ruled between 239-251 A.D. and Kshatrapa Visvasen ruled within 293-305 A.D. (The age of Im. unity, P. 189).

records about Bhogavarma who had made water-channel in the past (Dhana, P. 452). Among all the Vermas the most able administrator and scholar was king Amsuvarma who had entered into the state administration as Sāmanta in 594 A.D., in the same year he became a Maha-Sāmanta and in 608 A.D. We find him coronated as king of Nepal and ruled the country till 623 A.D. Dhana Vajra has expressed that the Varmas belonged to Chandra Vamas (Dhana P. 296). There are many more Varmas like Vipra Varmagomi (in A.D. 595, Dhana P. 261), Amritavarma (Dhana, P. 366), a state employee named Vibhuvarma in 623 A.D., Chandra Varma (in 661 A.D.) working as Mahāpratihāra (Dhana, P. 481). Rajaputra Janardanavarma as dutaka in 657 A.D. Priyavarma in 752 A.D. and Amritavarma in 785 A.D. had donated water channels (G. Verardi, Handigaon Excavations, 1992; Dhana, P. 594). All the above persons with Varma titles in the Lichchhavi period and even during the mediaval period had played very important roles in the society were a different hoard of people than the Lichchhavis. They were in no way connected to the Lichchhavis but had matrimonial relations with them.

In the Indian history we find varma ending titles connected with the Vemaka or audumberas (King Rudravarma, in 1st Cent. B.C. or 1st Cent. A.D., Age of Imp. unity 1968, PP. 161-162, foot note-2, a Saka King Sridhara Varman ruling in the Malwa region, between 279-320 A.D. (Imp. unity, P. 188); a king of Kaushambi named Bhima Varma in 208 and 217 A.D. (Imp. Unity, P. 176); A Nala King named Bhavadatta Varman (Imp. Unity, P. 177); A ruler of Ayodhyā named Bhānuvarma (Cunningham, coins of Ancient India, 1963, P. 78, PL-VI, fig. 14); The Nasik inscription mentions about Saka Ganapaka Visvavarma and Agnivarman in the 3rd Cent. A.D. (Imp. Unity, P. 226); there was a Satrap Aspaverman, son of Indravarman serving under Ages II and

Gondophernes (Imp. Unity, 1968, P. 133); The inscriptions of Samudragupta and his successors mention about many Varmas serving under them. There was a Maukhari King Bhogavarma, a feudal Chief under king Harsh Vardhana (U. Thakur, Hist. of Mithila. 1956, 202-203). Even we find Bhaskar Varma, King of Kamarupa, who had helped the Chinese envoy in capturing Mithila. During 8th Century A.D. a King of Chamba named Meruvarman, according to an inscription had enshrined an image of Mahishamardini Durga (G.N. Banarjea, 1979, Hindu Icono, P. 498). From the above list of Varma kings we find that they belonged to the audumbara clan, they were Saka kings, kings of Ayodhya and Kausambi, from the Nāla tribe and from Maukhari clan. Kings having Varma titles have ruled the Khasa Malla territories of Western Nepal. So far the question of identity of King Jayavarma is concerned, the final decision can be made only after the availability of some more concrete evidences, but from his Kushan school of early portrait and the finds of Harigaon excavations, as well as the availability of early sculpture in the Handigaon-Maligaon area it can be speculated that he might have come from the Saka family. This is also confirmed from the discovery of Mathura red sandstone art pieces and materials similar to Gāndhāra region which have been excavated at Harigaon by G. Verardi. Though the portrait of Jayavarma is more Indianized, still it has features of early Bodhisattva figures made during the Kushan rule in Mathura. It is also possible that the Varma kings might have ruled in the Nepal Mandal as provincial governors of the Kushan Kings or had some sort of relationship with them.

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