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Bengal and Southeast Asia: Trade and Cultural Contacts in Ancient Period

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The labors of a few generations of Indian, South East Asian and European scholars have brought to light valuable data regarding the trade and consequent cultural contact between Indian subcontinent and the South Asian countries, both mainland and the archipelago. The contact resulted in very profound influence – mainly in the spheres of religion, art, culture and society and the intensity of this “Indianisation” have led scholars to designate the area as Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East (1) or parts of “Greater India” (2) or even the unchallenged dean of Southeast Asian classical scholarship G. Coedes titled his work as “The Indianised States of Southeast Asia” (3) (*Les Etats hindouisés d’Indochine et d’Indonésie*). The geographical situation of the Indian Subcontinent combined with its eastern sea-board; the monsoon wind facilitated this contact. The affinities of the climate and agriculture had made the contact easy and meaningful. Thus scholars have found justification in grouping together the countries of Monsoon Asia as opposed to Western and Central Asia (4).

It is only in comparatively recent times that the region roughly east of India and south of China, but excluding Australia and the Pacific Islands has been called “South-east Asia” (a term which does not go beyond the Second World War) and the area was seen as an entity in its our right, distinct from the rest of Asia. This fact had long been realized by the Chinese, who had always referred to South-east Asia in its entirety by one name, Nan Yang, the Southern Seas. It is now considered to be beyond any doubt that Indian Chinese influences played dominant role in shaping the culture and civilization of this area. The Indian strand is so clearly discernible that scholars called these areas as “Farther India” or “India beyond the Ganges” (5), and which the Indian scholars now call with justifiable pride “Greater India”.

Without going into a detailed discourse it may be asserted on good grounds that the seamen, traders or immigrants were the founders of first Indian settlements, who preceded the Brahmanic or Buddhist priest. The Sporadic influx of traders and priests became a steady flow that resulted in the founding of Indian kingdoms practicing the arts, customs and religions of India and using Sanskrit as their sacred language. Thus Indianisation, through an “osmosis” process was essentially the expansion of an organized culture that was founded upon the

Indian conception of royalty, characterised by Hinduist or Buddhist cults, the mythology of the Puranas, and the observance of the Dharmasastras and expressed in the Sanskrit language and the art and architecture connected with the Hindu-Buddhist culture and beliefs (6).

The purpose of this paper is to bring together the scattered pieces of information available in the local and south-east Asian sources of the part played by Bengal (7) in this process of “Indianisation” of South East Asia. While doing this I am aware of Coedes remark: “Whence came the Indians who emigrated to Farther India and where did they embark? – the Indian historians have not always approached it with the desired objectivity: if they were natives of Madras, they attributed the honor of having colonized “Greater India” to the Tamil lands, if they were from Calcutta, to Bengal”. (8). Our attempt is simply to high-light the contributions of Bengal to this process of Indianisation without in any way venturing lay the sole claim for Bengal.

The geographical situation of Bengal places it very well at the doorstep towards the Suvarnabhūm, the “Land of Gold”, an appellation often found in its ancient literature. Bengal, situated in a transition zone between South-west and South-east Asia, has lot of common traits with Southeast Asia: rice and fish is the staple diet, betelnut and betel-leaf chewing is common, the lungī (sarong) is the main dress for men, and there are similarities in the way many tropical articles, such as bamboo, are used. Bengal belongs naturally more to humid, tropical Southeast Asia than to the very alien, arid western parts of Asia. Bengal, through which flow some of the biggest rivers which in turn created this largest delta in the world, forms the capstone of the arch formed by the Bay of Bengal and because of the Tibetan massif to the north it is a comparatively narrow land-bridge between the subcontinent of India and the subcontinent of southeast Asia, enjoying this situation, Bengal commanded trade with South East Asia from the beginning of the Christian era, if not earlier, both by land and sea.

There are evidence of the existence of overland trade routes between Bengal and the lands to the east and southeast. Chinese priests are reported to have come to India from Szuchuan via Upper Burma in the 3rd – 4th centuries A. D. The accounts of Chank-Kien (126 B. C.), the Chinese Ambassador to Afghanistan, Shung-she (420-479 A. D.) and Kia-tan (785-805 A. D.) refer to a land route from Tonkin to Kāmarūpa. It crossed the Karatoya and passed through North Bengal and running across the Ganges to people about the route from Szuchuan to Kāmarūpa. The route ran from Bengal to southern China through Assam,

Manipur and upper Burma. (9). This Route was used for overland journeys of men and merchandise between Bengal and the countries of mainland Southeast Asia.

There was another land route from south-eastern Bengal (Samatata) to Pagan in central Burma through Surma and Kachar valleys (Sylhet-Silchar), Lusai Hills, Manipur and northern Burma. A second land route connected Chittagong with lower Burma (Ancient Sriksetra) through Arakan. It was through these two routes that the kingdoms of Pagan and Sriksetra in Burma had political, trade and cultural links with the adjacent Chittagong-Comilla area of south-eastern Bengal. Traditions on both sides bear ample testimony to this contact (10).

The facilities for movement afforded by the sea-coast of Bengal made the sea-routes easy and favoured by the traders. Bengal entered the field of foreign trade by sea long before the commencement of the Christian era, and it played a prominent role in the sea-borne trade and cultural expansion of India, especially towards Sri Lanka and the countries of South East Asia. Since our focus in this paper is only on the latter area we shall concentrate our attention on this aspect alone.

On the evidence of some early Chinese records it has been postulated that a regular sea-borne trade existed between Tonkin and the lower reaches of the Ganges (11). On the evidence of Kan-Tai (Fu-nan-chuan) it is clear that in the middle of the third century A. D. a regular maritime route existed between China and Tamralipti (12). The Milinda Panha (which in its present form dates back to about 5th century A. D.) refers to overseas trade between Vanga and different countries of the east. Although not all the places mentioned here can be identified with certainty, there is little doubt that commercial relations between Bengal and countries of the east such as China and South Burma did exist (13). Stories in the Mahajanaka Jataka refer to voyages between Tamralipti and Suvarnabhūmi (land of gold, possibly lower Burma) (14). It was from this port of Tamralipti that the Chinese pilgrims undertook enterprises for the land of the north eastern side of Sumatra, southern shores of Malacca to the city of Palambang (15). The account of I-tsing (Seventh century A. D.) clearly shows that the sea-port from Tamralipti to Canton was dotted with a number of thriving ports (16). It appears that from Southeast Asia mainland Kedah was perhaps the point of departure for the voyage across the Bay of Bengal. From Kedah to Nicobar Islands, where the route bifurcated: one branch led to Tamralipti while the other to the ports of Sri Lanka (17). We learn from Somadeva's Kathāsarit-sāgara, which contains reference to merchants from Tamralipti carrying on overseas trade with distant countries like Lanka (Sri Lanka) and Suvarnadvipa

(Sumatra) (18). It may be mentioned here that ancient Indians designated Indo-China and Malay Archipelago by the general name Savarnabhūmi or Land of Gold. They also used the name Suvarnadvipa or Island of Gold to denote particularly the islands including Malay Peninsula. Particular regions in Indo-China (Such as Burma and Siam) and Malay Archipelago were also called respectively Suvarnabhūmi and Suvarnadvipa. These designations, however, indicate the Indians, like the Arabs, believed that this region produced gold in large quantities or was rich in precious commodities; “they regarded the lands as veritable mines of gold, literally or figuratively” (19).

From the cumulative evidence mentioned above, it is apparent that Tamralipti was the most important for the sea-borne trade of Bengal at least from the beginning of the Christian era down to the 11th-12th century A. D. Tamralipti has been identified with Tamruk on the Rupnarayan River in the Midnapore district of West Bengal. Archaeological relics bear testimony to the antiquity of the place (20).

Taking Tamralipti as the centre, we find radiating from it three principal routes of overseas trade; two in the south-easterly direction towards southeast Asia and the other to the opposite south-westerly direction past the coast of Kalinga (Orissa) and Coromandel to South-India, Sri Lanka and beyond to the west. Following one of the two south-easterly routes one would have voyaged along the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal right up to Malay Peninsula and then through the Malay straits or across the narrow isthmus of Kra, to southeast Asia as far as China; and the other route was a coastal voyage to Paloura near modern Chicacole and then right across the Bay of Bengal to the opposite Coast (21).

It would be pertinent here to mention that besides Tamralipti there were other ports of embarkation on the eastern shores of the Indian subcontinent: one at Paloura near Gopalpur (Ganjam) in Orissa and three near Masulipatam (Madras) from which ships sailed across the Bay of Bengal to the Far East (22).

There are a few epigraphic evidence clearly establishing the part played by the people of Bengal in the commercial and religious-cultural activities in the South East Asia. It appears from the Kalyani inscription that the settlements in Suvarnabhumi (Lower Burma) was apparently colonized by people from Bengal, the Golas (Gaudas), which became the Mon and Burmese appellation for all foreigners from the west (23). Two Sanskrit inscriptions found in Cambodia exhibit so completely all the peculiarities of the Gauda style that George Coedes, the editor of epigraphs, expressed the view that the records were composed by a Pandit who

either belonged to Bengal or was trained there (24). Coedes has gone even so far as to say, in the general context of the paleography of inscriptions found in Southeast Asia, that “a wave of Bengali influence from the end of the seventh century to the beginning of the ninth century has been attested to by the short lived used of a pre-Nagari script”. (25).

A very interesting Sanskrit inscription comes from the northern part of Province Wellesly in Malay Peninsula written in a 5th century script, which records to gift of a mahānāvika (great captain of a ship). Buddhagupta, an inhabitant of raktamrttikā, and a prayer for his successful voyage (26). This mahānāvika Buddhagupta’s native land Raktamrttikā can now be identified on good grounds in the region of Murshidabad district of West Bengal (27). Report evidence from archaeological excavations leave little doubt about the identification of Karnasuvarna, capital city of Bengal king Sasanka (late 6th and early 7th century A. D.) and Raktamrttikā mahāvihāra, the Buddhist monastery which stood on its suburb on the bears of the description left by Huen Tsaug. Karnasuvarna and Raktamrttika have been identified called Rengamati and Kansonā on the right bank of the Bhagirathi near Chiruti Railway Station in the Murshidabad district of West Bengal (28). On the basis of this identification we would rather argue in favour of Buddhagupta’s country of origin to be Bengal, rather than in any part of Siam or elsewhere. The inscription, in rather chaste Sanskrit; the script, which earlier was thought to be of south Indian origin, is now considered to be Brahmi of north-eastern India; the representation in the centre of the inscription of a stupa with seven umbrellas and the wishes or the prayer of a successful voyage accompanied by the Buddhistic sutra in the beginning of the slate-stone epigraph – all these are significant traits which would indicate Buddhagupta’s origin definitely in India and in Bengal. The practice of carrying a “wish-inscribed document” for successful voyage is common in Bengal (29). The location of Raktarttika on the Bhagirathi, the canal of the Ganges linking up to the port of Tamralipti, the gateway to South East Asia adds to the possibility of Mahānāvika Buddhiagupta hailing from Bengal. The tone and purport, language and script of the inscription would rather place Buddhagupta in India and possibly Bengal. An additional argument in favour of Bengal is that the names ending in Gupta are very common in eastern India rather than anywhere else.

We need not elaborate any more on the point of trade relationship and contact that existed between Bangla and South East Asia. There is no doubt that it was through trade Bengal established that it was through trade Bengal established its contact with the mainland southeast Asia and the Archipelago, “as though by means of a gossamer, golden thread” (30). We are not in a position to be certain about the thickness of the “golden gossamer”.

It must be put in clear terms here that the growth of various Hinduised Kingdoms in mainland southeast Asia and the islands, which grew under the local headmen and native rulers as a result of the “Pacific penetration” and “a gradual infiltration by means of trade” (31) and not by large scale Indian migration. It was not a case of political colonization (32). But Indian idea of kinship with its adjunct administrative paraphernalia were definitely borrowed and number of Indianised States and Kings of South East Asia that a Brahmanic “Conquest of the southern seas” (33) took place. The rulers of these states in order to cater to their various regal needs welcomed the influx of Brahmanic gentry and they came with the traders and colonized the realms of culture and religion, in the broader sense of the two terms, and the impact of Indian civilization is very much apparent.

We have definite evidence of a connection between a king of Bengal and his South East Asian contemporary. The Nalanda copper-plate grant of the Pala King Devapala (C. 821-861 A. D.) (34) records the grant of five villages to be endowed to the monastery built at Nalanda by Balaputradeva, the Sailendra king of Java and Sumatra. This record also shows that the Buddhist seat of learning at Nalanda was held in high esteem in the South East Asian World, which must have prompted Balaputradeva, king of Suvarnavipa (son of Samarāgravira) to build a monastery at Nalanda and to request his contemporary Pala ruler of Bengal and Bihar to grant five villages to defraying the expenses of the monastery. One may also postulate the presence of a large number of Buddhist devotees from South East Asia at the Nalanda Vihāra.

It is also interesting to note that the coming of the Sailendras was marked by an abrupt rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism in the area. The Chandi Kalasan (778 A. D.) located in the plain of Prambanam is dedicated to the Buddhist goddess Tara. Manjusri, whose image was established nearby a few years later, is a synthesis of the three Buddhist jewels (Triratna) and the Brahmanic trinity (Trimurti) and all the gods. This popularization of the Mahāyāna Buddhism in South East Asia is in all probability an extension of the Buddhist school which gained ground in eastern India (Bengal and Bihar) more or less at the same time. The close connection with Nalanda facilitated the diffusion.

Missionary activities must have been one of the important focal point in the cultural contact. We have already referred to Kumāraghosa, the preceptor of the Sailendra King, who hailed from Bengal (Gauda). The famous Buddhist preacher from Bengal, Atisa Dipankara, whose name is famous for the spread Buddhism in Tibet, is reported by Bu-ston to have

visited Suvarnadivpa during the years 1011-1023 A. D. and followed the teaching of Dharmakīrti, the Buddhist teacher in Srivijaya kingdom (37). Atisa completed a Tibetan translation of a commentary on the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* composed by Dharmakīrti (38) *Nāgara Kṛtagāma*, a Javanese text, composed in 1365 A. D. when the Majapahit kingdom in Java reached the height of her political greatness and established her unquestioned supremacy over Malay Peninsula and Malay Archipelago, has an interesting passage: “There came unceasingly in large numbers people from all lands such as Jambudvīpa, Kamboja, Cina, Yavana, Campa, Karnataka, Gauda and Siam. They came in ships with merchandise. Monks and distinguished Brahmanas also came from these lands and were entertained” (39). In this passage Jambudvīpa is of course, India. But the specific mention of two particular regions of India, Karnāṭaka and Guada, definitely indicate a closer intimacy with them.

It is also interesting to note that the expansion of Mahayānā Buddhism in the countries of Farther India coincided roughly with the advent in Bengal and Bihar of the Pāla dynasty. The discovery of images and sanctuaries of various manifestations of the Bodhisattvas in Burma (40), in Malay Peninsula (Ligor), in Java (Kalasan, Kelurak) in Cambodia (at Prasat Ta Keam) (41) prove that Mahayana Buddhism gained grounds in South East Asia in the last quarter of 8th and early 9th century A. D. “probably under the influence of Pala dynasty and the teachers of the university of Nalanda” (42). The principal characteristics of Mahayānā Buddhism have been: (i) a syncretion with Hindu cults which was to culminate later in Java in the cult of Siva-Buddha and (iii) the importance attached to the redemption of the souls of the dead, which gave Javanese and Balinese Buddhism the aspect of a veritable ancestor cult (43). If we follow up the history of Buddhism in South East Asian countries a uniform pattern is neither discernible nor expected. But one thing may be said in general terms that in Indonesia there was a gradual rapprochement between Mahayānā and Brahmanical religion. Two Buddhist texts in Java *Sang hyang Kamahayanikan* and *Kamahayanan Mantranaya* contain exposition of the Mahayānā form transcending to Tantrayana or Vajrayana (44). The case in Bengal was similar. Tantrayana history of Buddhism in India, though legendary in character contains a good deal of historical data about the state of Buddhism in its late phase. His exposition led scholars to comment that Buddhism “almost completely surrendered precisely to those beliefs and practices, as a direct rejection of which the Buddha himself had preached his original creed...being an elaborate worship of all sorts of gods and goddesses of popular pantheon” (45) and this transformation has been termed as “mystic forms generally referred to as Vajrayana and Tantrayana or Sahajayana and Kalachakrayana” (46). These broad

similarities in the fate of Buddhism may not indicate anything positive, but may be taken to be suggestive of eastern flow of Buddhist and practices from Bengal (or eastern India) to South East Asia.

The existence of close relations between Bengal and some parts of South East Asia follow from the influence that can be delineated in the various forms of art. However, it would be wise to admit at the outset that the points of affinities in various fields of artistic production the exotic influences play a minor part; the indigenous elements are found to predominate. The inspiration and form may have their origin outside but the end-results are always very much local and are bound to take on a look that is quite different from their models which inspired them. Added to these are the local conditions tastes and traditions.

Keeping this point in our mind, we may try to lay down a few points delineating the influence of Bengal in different forms of art. In doing so we are conscious that this is a field where very little work has been done and there is ample scope for further work, where collaborative efforts of scholars may yield good results.

In the field of plastic art, early examples of Buddhist sculptures in Farther India evidence a southern preponderance. But scholars have noted in examples of subsequent periods influences of Gupta art, then of Pala and Sena art of Bengal, as well as the influence of Orissa on the images of Burma and Java (47). The development of bronze technique most of which belong to the Pala school of art, had definite influence on ancient Javanese art. It may be true that the Hindu-Javanese bronzes in general have not developed from Pala School, but Pala images have enriched the art of Java with a number of motifs and types. There is much similarity in the composition and in the dress of these two kinds of images. Most probably the Javanese casters took the Pala images as their model (48). We have earlier spoken about close relation between Nalanda and the Sailendra Empire of Java-Sumatra. An eleventh century Sailendra King, Chulamanivarmadeva, built a Buddhist temple bearing his name at Nagapathinam on the Kájarāja I (49). A large number of Pala bronze sculptures were discovered from South East Asian countries to Nalanda and Hagapathinam carried these small Pala bronze images and thus the art style and designs of Bengal became popular in Java Sumatra and Burma (50). Scholars are now thinking in terms of the development of a new school of sculptural art in North-east India in the 7th century (Post-Gupta and pre-Pala) A. D. and the style rapidly spread to Java, China and also to Japan (51). A collection of bronze sculptures from Mainamati-Chittagong area of Bangladesh mainly the Jhewary (Chittagong)

collection of 1927; assigned to Pre-Pala and post-Gupta period, proved the existence of a local Centre of Buddhist art, in south-eastern Bengal, forming a valuable link in the chain of development and its migration to Burma (52).

In the realm of architecture, we may venture to delineate a few points of influence between Bengal and the countries of South East Asia, more specifically Burma and Indonesia (Java). An unusual form of temple architecture, of which at present there are three extant examples, became popular in Bengal and Bihar in the late 8th century A. D. The excavations at Paharpur (53) unearthed the first example of this type of temple (See Figure I attached at the end of this article) which occupies the centre of a square monastery, Somapura Mahāvihāra built by Pāla King Dharmapāla (C. 781-821 A. D.). The ground plan is in the form of gigantic angles of projection between the arms of the cross. The temple rose in several terraces with a circumambulatory walk, enclosed on the outer side by a parapet wall around the monument in each of the two upper terraces (54). The entire establishment of the monastery and the central temple at Paharpur was from the very start well-planned and homogeneous, the result of a premeditated development. “While terraced religious edifices are not uncommon in India, the one at Paharpur is more elaborate than any of its extant counterparts. The style of its architecture is perhaps inspired by the earlier terraced stupas, with four projected niches containing images of Buddha facing the cardinal directions” (55). Regarding the plan of the temple Dikshit has made a plausible suggestion that a four faced Jaina temple, which earlier existed at the site, may have furnished the barest model (56). S. K. Saraswati would like to find its origin in the Sarvatobhadra structure defined in Indian literature on architecture (57).

Though a decision on the point of the origin of the Paharpur temple may be difficult to arrive at, it is no doubt certain that this plan got currency in Bengal and Bihar in the 8th century A. D. Two other definite examples of temples with a cruciform plan as at Paharpur have also been unearthed: one at Mainamati (58), the remains of the Salvanavihara of Bhavadeva (last quarter of the 8th century A. D.) and the other at Antichak (59), the remains of the famous Vikramasila-mahavihara of Dharmapāla (c. 781-821 A. D.) (See Figure II appended for the ground plan of the Mainamati example). The excavation at two other sites at Mainamati has also revealed central temple structures with a cruciform plan (60).

These extent examples leave little doubt that the peculiar cruciform plan of the central shrine of the Buddhist vihāras was in vogue in Bengal in the 8th century A. D. Its counterparts

in the other areas of India have not so far been reported, but scholars have found architectural efforts of similar nature in Burma and Java and thus the “Paharpur Plan” seems to have influenced the Buddhist edifices in Farther India.

The nearest example is furnished by the temple of Ananda (Anantapanna “infinite wisdom”) at Pagan, at great achievement of Kyanzittha (c. 1086-1112) (61). It is related that the king, during whose reign many Buddhist and Vaisnava monks went to Burma from India, heard from the Indian monks’ description of the temples and being inspired by them he designed and built this masterpiece of Burman architecture. The truth of these traditions cannot be ascertained but the plan and execution of the Ananda temple speak of its eastern origin. It may differ in details of execution, the character and tone may also not be the same, but the inspiration could very well be linked with similar edifices in Bengal. The period of Kyanzittha could very well be the period of eastern expansion, either voluntary or forced, of Buddhism from Bengal towards south-east Asia.

The plain around Pagan, about one hundred square miles in area, is full of ruins of temples. A few of them, in a fair state of preservation, have a similar plane to that of Ananda, prove that the inspiration for Bengal in this area was fairly widespread and dominant.

Dikshit refers to Chandi Loro Jongrang and Chandi Sevu of Prambanam in central Java, offering the nearest approximation to the plan and superstructure of the Paharpur temple. “The general view of the former with its angular projections, truncated pyramid shape and horizontal lines of wall decoration reproduces some of the prominent characteristics of Paharpur. The inner plan of the Chandi Sevu shrine strikingly resembles that of the central shrine and the second terrace at Paharpur, while the disposition of the outer temples of the Java example resembles that of the monastery at Paharpur” (62). (See Figure III appended to this paper).

Chandi Sevu, the biggest Buddhist sanctuary after Borobudur, was constructed in the 9th century A. D. when this region had a close connection with Bengal. We discussed this connection earlier. It is quite likely that monks visited Bengal. The Paharpur example, being a recent construction of colossal volume with a novel structural plan hitherto not practiced, may have attracted the attention and evoked admiration of the Buddhist devotees from far off islands. The other Sailendra temples in the nearly Kedu plain also contain elements of similarity with the remarkable edifice of Chandi Sevu.

By far the most famous colossal and dazzling of the group monuments assigned to Sailandra in Central Java is the Borobudur, the foundation of which cannot be traced before the middle of the ninth century A. D. (63). Its massive square plan with gradually diminishing terraces rising to the open sky above may not apparently be linked with the Paharpur example. But one cannot ignore any influence from the west as the nearer Chandis had signs of clear borrowing from the Bengal examples. In general terms, it may be a legitimate hypothesis that the Bengal shrines of 8th-9th centuries may be considered to be an influencing factor for these southeast Asian Buddhist edifices. The local tradition along with other loan factors from other parts of India may speak for the variation of details and deviations here and there. The products of art specially architecture, can never be expected to copy the model in entirety, the variations and deviations are natural; and the distance could very well explain great degree of deviation and non-similarity.

The foregoing discussion, we believe, would leave little doubt that in the process of “Indianisation” of South East Asia, Bengal had a fairly important role to play. The trade link, both over-land and overseas, in its train facilitated the movement of priests, Brahmanical and Buddhist, and important people. The artistic achievements of Bengal, which country was long considered to be the foundation head of religious knowledge and teaching, acted as a source of inspiration for the various religions of South East Asia. This influence from Bengal, though difficult to isolate from amongst the other strands, cannot be ignored. It was a historical process clearly delimited in time and space that touched vast and diverse regions and lasted several centuries and it involved successive waves and what we have today is the end result and rarely are there clear records of the chain of events that produced it.

NOTES

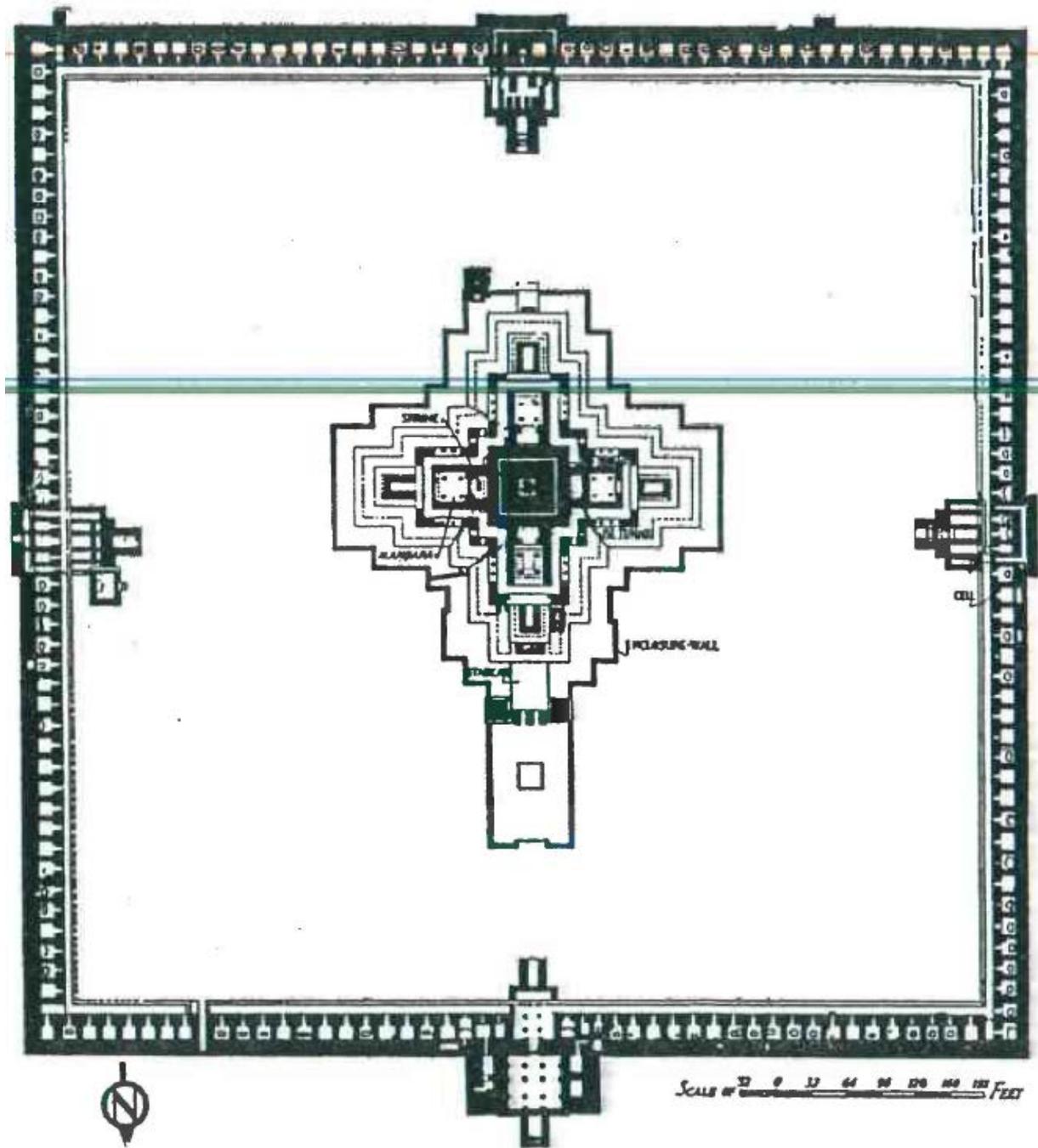
1. R. C. Majumdar: *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East*, Dacca, 1927, 1937, 1938.
2. R. C. Majumdar: *India and South East Asia*, Delhi 1979, Chapter I, 1-15; U. N. Ghosal: *Progress of Greater Indian Research*, Calcutta, 1943.
3. G. Coedes: *The Indianised States of Southeast Asia*, Honolulu, 1968 (edited by W. F. Vella and Eng. Tr. By Susan Brown Cowing)
4. A. L. Basham (ed): *The Civilisations of Monsoon Asia*, New Delhi, 1974, 8-10.
5. G. Coedes: *op. cit.*, xiv-xvii
6. For details of the process of Indianisation see *Ibid.*, Chapter II, 14-35.
7. 'Bengal' in this paper, has been used in the historical sense, i. e., in the sense what recent history would recognize as the new country of Bangladesh and State of West Bengal in India.
8. G. Coedes; *op. cit.*, 29.
9. Niharranjan Ray: *Bangalir Itihasa (BI)*, *Adi Parva*, (in Bangala), Calcutta, 1356 B. S., 116-117; R. C. Majumdar: *Champa (History and Culture of An Indian Colonial Kingdom in the Far East, 2nd-16th century A.D.)*, Delhi, Reprint, 1985, xiii-xiv; A. Bhattacharyya: *Historical Geography of Ancient and Early Medieval Bengal (HG)*, Calcutta, 1977, 106-107; P. C. Chowdhury: *The History and Civilization of the People of Assam, Gauhati*, 1959, 381; *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient*, Hanoi, iv, 1904, 142-143.
10. Niharranjan Ray: *BI*, 119; M. Enamul Haque & Abdul Karim : *Arakan Rajsabha Bangala Sahita*, Calcutta, 1935, 4 ; G. E. Harvey: *History of Burma*, London, 1925, 42; B. Bhattacharya: *Bengali Influence in Arakan, Bengal Past and Present*, Calcutta, Vol. XXXIII, 1927, 134-44.
11. A. Bhattacharyya: *HG*, 108-109.
12. L. Petech: *Northern India According to the Shun-Ching Chu*, Rome, 1950, 53-55.
13. P. Wheatley: *The Golden Khersonese*, Kuala Lumpur, 1961, 181, 269-272.
14. R. C. Majumdar: *Champa*, xi.
15. J. A. Takakusu : *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago by Itsing*, Oxford, 1896, XXV, XXXIV, XLVI, 144n, 185.
16. P. Wheatley: *op. cit.*, 44-45.
17. A. Bhattacharyya: *HG*, 112.

18. C. H. Tawney (tr.): Kathasaritsagara, London, 1925-28, VI, 211. The text composed in Kashmir in the second half of the 11th century A. D. may contain older traditions.
19. R. C. Majumdar: Hindu Colonies in the Far East, Calcutta, 1973 (Reprint), 4-5; Suvarnadvipa, Dacca, 1937, Pt. I, Bk. I, Ch. IV, 37 ff.
20. A. Bhattacharyya: HG, 88-89.
21. R. C. Majumdar: History of Ancient Bengal, Calcutta, 1974 (Reprint), 346.
22. R. C. Majumdar: Hindu Colonies in the Far East, 13.
23. Indian Antiquary, 1894, 256.
24. R. C. Majumdar: History of Ancient Bengal, 582.
25. G. Coedès: op. cit., 30.
26. JASB, Letters, Vol. I, 14ff.
27. The character of the script resembles the Brahmi script of the 5th-6th century A. D. (A. Bhattacharyya: HG, 110, Fn. 38); N. J. Krom (Hindoe avaansche Gaschiedenis, 1962, 73) long ago suggested that it should be sought for in India. R. C. Majumdar (Suvarnadvipa, 82-83) and Niharranjan Ray (BI I 191-192) also surmised that Raktamrttika should be identified with Rangamati near Chiruti in the Murshidabad that earlier scholars favoured its identification in the region of Siam or its neighbourhood. (Kern, JASB, XVII, 1848 62-72; G. Coedes, op. cit., 51; P. Wheatley, op. cit., 36).
28. S. R. Das: Rajbadidanga, Calcutta, 1968, Preface III, 56-57; D. C. Sircar: Epigraphia Indica, XXXVII, 25-28.
29. Niharranjan Ray: BI, 191.
30. J. C. van Leur: Indonesian Trade and Society, The Hague, 2nd Edn. 1967, 92.
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41. G. Coedes op. cit. 1 89-94.
42. Ibid., 96.
43. Ibid.
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50. A.K.M. Shamsul Alam 1985, 35. Sculptural Art of Bangladesh, Dhaka, 1985, 35.
51. Ibid., 72-73; A. J. Bernet Kempers: Ancient Indonesian Art, Amsterdam, 1959, 11.
52. A. K. M. Shamsul Alam: op. cit., 91-92.
53. K.N. Dikshit: Excavations at Paharpur, Bengal, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 55 I Delhi, 1938. Paharpur (lat.25 2'N.; long.89 3'E.) is in Rajshahi district of Bangladesh.
54. For detailed description see K.N. Dikshit; op.cit., 7 ff. ; Debala Mitra : Buddhist lot:munents, 240-243; S.K. Saraswati : Architecture of Bengal, Calcutta, 1976, 79-85; c.c. Das Gupta Paharpur And Its Monuments, Calcutta, 1961, 6 ff.
55. Debala Mitra: Buddhist Monuments, 242.
56. K. N. Dikshit: op. cit., 7
57. S. K. Saraswati in History of Bengal, Vol. I, edited by R. C. Majumdar, Dacca, 1943, (2nd Impression, 1963), 510.
58. F. A. Khan: Mainanati, Karachi, 1963; Barrie K. Morrison : Lalmai. A cultural centre of Early Bengal, Seattle & London., 1974, 23; Debala Mitra, Buddhist Monuments, 243-246. Mainamati (lat. 23 25'N.; long. 91 7'E.) is near Comilla, Bangladesh.
59. Ibid., 57, Fn.I; Frederick M. Asher : 'Vikramasila Mahavihara' Bangladesh Lalitakala, Dacca, Vol.I, 1975, No.2, 108-110, Pl. XXXII.

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Plate No. I



Paharpur: Somapura-mahāvihāra, plan

SALBAN VIHARA MONASTERY, MAINAMATI

General plan

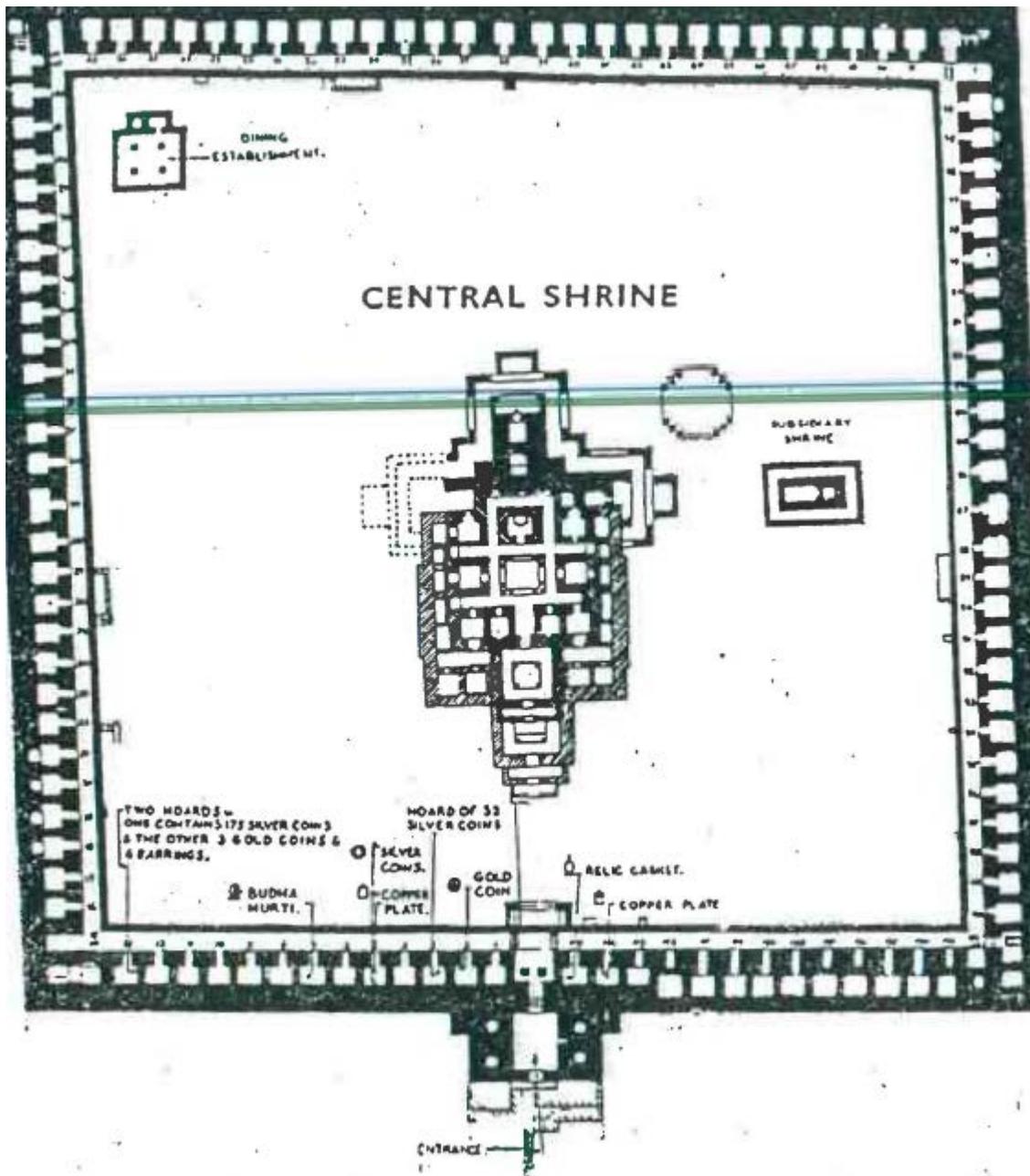
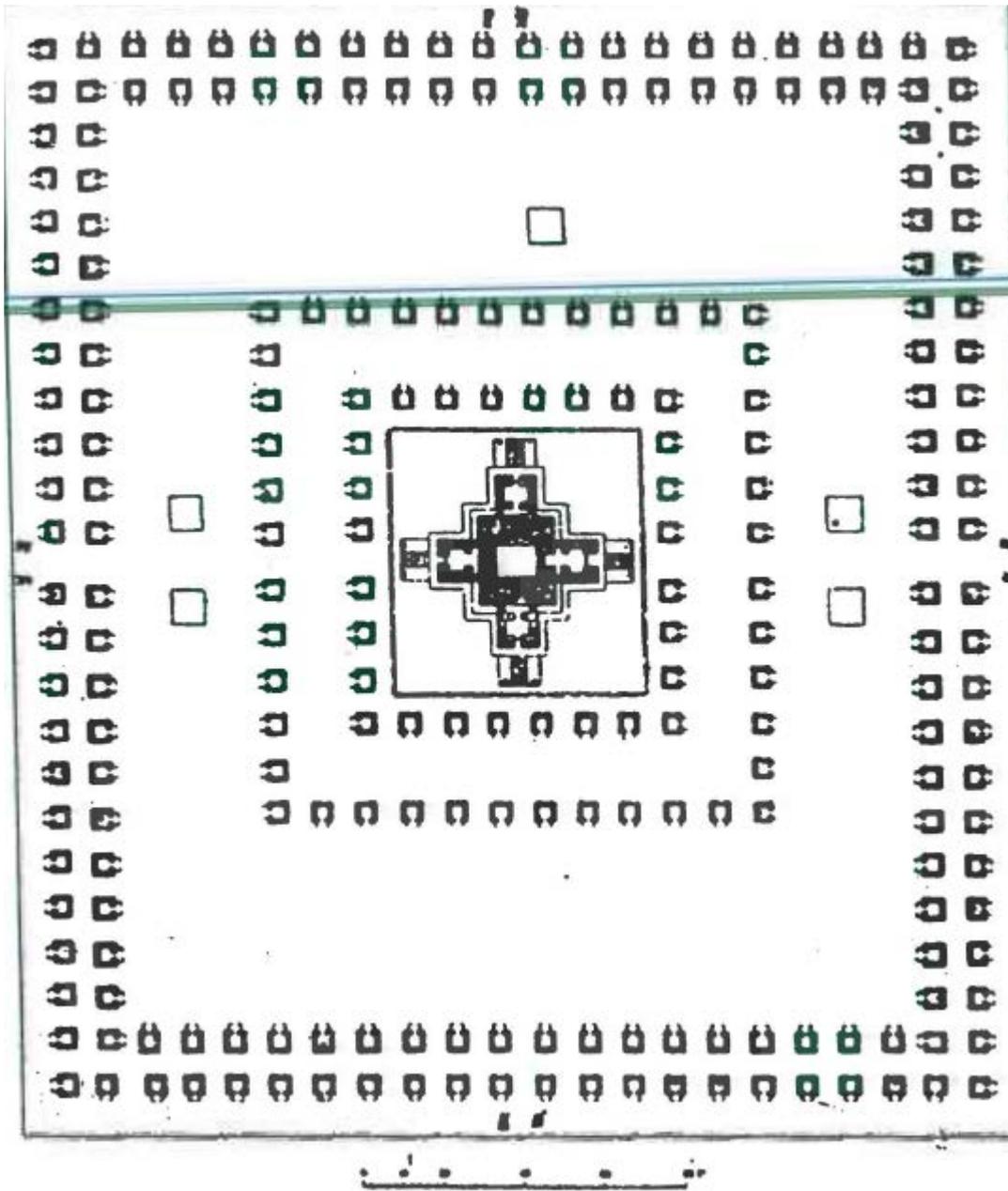


Plate No. II

Plate No. III



General Plan of Chandi Sevu (Java)