

Nalanda, Srivijaya
and Beyond:
Re-exploring
Buddhist Art in Asia





**Nalanda, Srivijaya
and Beyond:
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Buddhist Art in Asia**

Edited by Gauri Parimoo Krishnan

ACM ASIAN CIVILISATIONS MUSEUM



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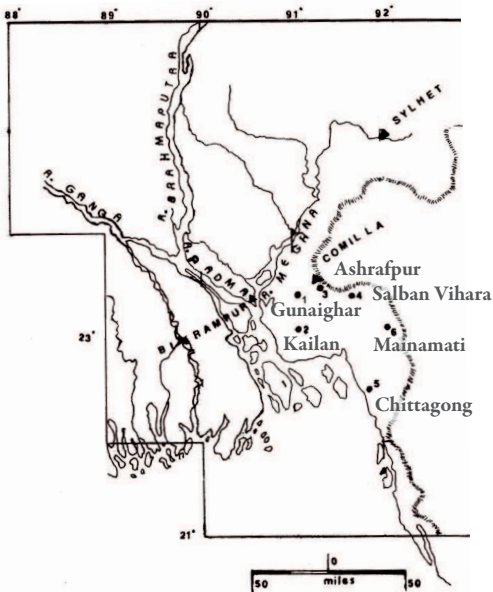
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3

Mainamati: An Enigmatic Centre of Buddhism in Southeastern Bangladesh

Suchandra Ghosh

Mainamati, an important Buddhist site of Bangladesh, was located in early times within the subregion of Samatata that embraced the Comilla-Noakhali plain (fig. 1). A study of the land grants and the extant remains of archaeological sites suggest that with the beginning of the early medieval period, this region began to experience some sort of building activities in the form of *vihāras*, and huge donations were given to these religious institutions.



1. Map showing the regions and findspots of inscriptions

The term “Samatata” appears in the fourth century in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta as a frontier state together with Davaka (valley of the Kapili-Yamuna, Kolang rivers) and Kamarupa (Gauhati region of Assam)¹, thereby indicating its proximity to Assam. The Gunaighar copper-plate dated 507 suggests that Maharaja Vainyagupta was ruling in the region.² The copper-plate mentions a division called *uttara mandala* and a *jayaskandhavara* at Kripura, which was likely to have embraced a small and compact area within the broader region

of Samatata. Meghna, which practically separates Samatata from the rest of Bengal, formed the western boundary of Samatata and this explains its separation from Vanga as a geographical entity, as well as its association with Davaka and Kamarupa as frontier belt of Samudragupta's empire.³ Chinese travellers like Xuanzang (seventh century) and Sheng-chi (second half of the seventh century) also mention Samatata in their records.⁴ In the period following the disintegration of the Gupta Empire, we have only numismatic evidence to prove Sasanka's rule in the Samatata area. No other sources refer to Sasanka's rule in the area concerned. In the second half of the seventh century, three local powers, known as the Ratas, Nathas, and Khadgas ruled Samatata and its environs. Towards the end of the seventh century or in early eighth century, the Khadgas were supplanted by a Deva family. From the seventh century till sometime in the ninth century, Samatata maintained its independence as a local kingdom of the trans-Meghna region, and all the rulers during this period patronized Buddhism. Political control then passed to the hands of the Chandra dynasty when Samatata became a mere administrative unit rather than a kingdom.

A few words about the discovery of the site will be in order. In 1929 Nalini Kanta Bhattasali, curator of the Dhaka Museum, reported for the first time that many of the hills in the area were crowned by ruins and speculated that they were probably the remains of temples and stupas. The hills continued to remain in obscurity till T. N. Ramachandran, superintendent of the archaeological section of the Indian Museum, carried out a rapid survey of part of the hills and published an article, "Recent Archaeological Discoveries along the Mainamati and Lalmai Ranges, Tippera District, East Bengal", in 1946. Later, the Department of Archaeology of Pakistan carried out a further survey that revealed over fifty sites.⁵ Thus the Lalmai-Mainamati complex as a major centre of Buddhism came into public knowledge. Scholars like F. A. Khan, B. M. Morrison, M. Harunur Rashid, Abu Imam, and others continued exploration of the site.

The aim of this paper is to holistically discuss this important Buddhist monastic centre in present-day Bangladesh. We shall largely use four sets of data, which help us in understanding the magnitude of the presence and practice of Buddhism in the region. These are epigraphy, remains of monasteries, sculptural finds, and textual records.

The beginning of the sixth century witnessed the creation of Buddhist sacred structures on the initiative of the local rulers in the Comilla-Noakhali area. Inscriptions from the region are replete with donations to *vihāras* and *vihārikas*. The first example of a grant of land in favour of a community of Avaivarttika Mahayana monks (*mahāyanikvaivarttika-bhikshu-sangha*) residing in a *vihāra* called Āśrama, dedicated to Avalokiteśvara, comes from Gunaighar in the Comilla area of Bangladesh.⁶ Avaivarttika

is a quality of a bodhisattva usually connected with the eighth stage (*bhumi*), because he cannot turn back and must go on to full awakening.⁷ We have reference to such non-returning bodhisattvas from two other copper-plate inscriptions of the Pala period, both belonging to the subregion of Pundravardhana. Thus the earliest reference of non-returning bodhisattvas was found in Samatata. This land grant of King Vainyagupta was intended to maintain the worship of the Buddha and to repair the cracks in the monastery. We have reference to an already existing Raja-Vihāra (*raja-vihāra kshetram*) as one of the boundaries of the land to be granted. Raja-Vihāra is normally translated as “royal monastery”. Is it possible to surmise that this particular monastery was directly under royal supervision or control, whereas Āśrama Vihāra in the same locality was a mere beneficiary? The Kailan copper-plate of Sridharana Rata⁸ refers to a sizeable grant of land for charity. The copper-plate states that the *Mahāsandhivigrahadhikrita* Jayanatha distributed twenty-five *patākas* of land between a Buddhist monastery, thirteen Brahmanas, and he himself as a beneficiary. Sridharana Rata was a Vaishnava but his minister was a Buddhist. Royal patronage cut across personal religion of the rulers. The dynasty that supplanted the Ratas was the Khadgas. The Ashrafpur copper-plates of Deva Khadga (circa 675)⁹ record an endowment of nine *patākas* and ten *dronas* of land in favour of four *vihāras* and *vihārikas* (*vihāra-vihārika-chatushtaya*), headed by the revered preceptor Sanghamitra. It appears that this was actually a cluster of sacred structures in the form of monasteries. Again, plate B, the donor of which was prince Rajaraja, the son of Deva Khadga, shows that six *patākas* and ten *dronas* were transferred to the monastery of Sanghamitra, the same beneficiary of the first plate. Thus there is no denying that the monasteries under Sanghamitra were important enough to receive patronage from the Khadga rulers. Another grant from Balabhatta¹⁰, of the same dynasty, recovered from the Salban Vihāra, shows endowment of twenty-five *patākas* land for *vihāras*, stupas, and repair of and for the Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha. The land was donated at the request of *Mahāsandhivigrahadhikrita* Sri Yajnavarman, who was a devout worshipper of Buddha. This epigraph describes the world-famous (*bhuvanavismayani*) Mahabhogasrama and eight *vihāras* adorned with a large number of white coloured *chaityas* where Buddhist philosophy and works on Buddhist religious thought were taught and discussed. Here too we find cluster of monasteries of varying importance. Along with the copper-plates, a small *chaitya* made of bronze was also found. This is perhaps a votive *chaitya*. The donation of votive stupas was quite common.¹¹ The Khadga inscriptions provide evidence that this dynasty patronized Buddhism and endowed property to Buddhist monasteries in the Lalmai-Mainamati hills.

The Deva dynasty followed the Khadgas in Southeastern Bengal as paramount power. The Devas were also devout Buddhists. The Deva copper-plates found in the Salban Vihāra monastic complex and a terracotta sealing that says simply: “of the order

of the noble monks of the monastic establishment of Sri Bhavadeva”, indicate that the monastic establishment at Salban Vihāra was known as Sri Bhavadeva Mahāvihāra during the eighth century.¹² The Devas patronized this monastic complex after the Khadgas. The royal patronage was substantial enough that the monastery was named after the ruler. A land grant of Bhavadeva records a permanent gift of seven and a half *patākas* of land in favour of the *ratna-traya* of the Vendamati Vihārika. The expression *ratna-traya* indicates the Buddhist trinity of Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha worshipped in a Buddhist religious establishment. The Rata, Khadga, and Deva copper-plates mention the *ratna-traya* establishment. Three main stupas unearthed at the Kutila Mura site at Mainamati have been taken to be the remains of this *ratna-traya*.¹³ However, this is open to question. From the Mainamati copper-plate dated 1220 and issued in the seventeenth regnal year of King Ranavankamalla Sri-Harikaladeva,¹⁴ it is learnt that Dhadi-eba, a minister of the king, donated a piece of land in favour of a *vihāra* dedicated to Durgottara (a form of the Buddhist goddess Tara) in the town of Pattikera (Patikara or Paitkara is a paragona near Mainamati). Pattikera, which was within Samatata, formed a separate kingdom. Dhadi-eba is noted as shining in the good practices of the Sahaja cult. From his name, and also the name of his father, Hedi-eba, it has been surmised by some scholars that the family might have been of Burmese origin. He called himself an adept in the practices of the Sahaja cult, one of the Tantric cults. That the region of Pattikera was already famous in the Buddhist world before the thirteenth century is attested by the painting of a sixteen-armed Cundā with the legend Pattikere-Chundavarabhavane-Cundā on a manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrika Prajñāpāramitā*, copied in the year 1015.¹⁵



2. Central shrine of Salban Vihāra. Mainamati, Comilla district, Bangladesh

Remains of monasteries loom large in the landscape of Lalmai-Mainamati. The monasteries were of great size and perhaps they were centres of socio-religious-educational and cultural activities. Unfortunately, we do not have as much textual support for the educational and cultural activities at Mainamati as we do for contemporary Nalanda, and thus it has remained peripheral to the study of Buddhism. As at Nalanda, individual monasteries were grouped together to form a cluster. Within this cluster of monasteries, the three largest structures are Salban Vihāra, Bhoja Vihāra, and Ananda Vihāra. The earliest dated site is the Salban Vihāra, which has been carefully excavated by the Department of Archaeology and the archaeological museum located near it. The site is made up of four distinct parts: a central shrine (fig. 2), minor buildings within the courtyard, an enclosing quadrilateral containing monastic cells, and a subsidiary shrine outside the monastic walls.¹⁶ Four phases of building or rebuilding were detected for the monastic cells. Of the subsidiary structures located in the courtyard, the most important was a large pillared hall with two attached chambers. Morrison has suggested that this was perhaps the community dining establishment of the monastery in its later stages.¹⁷ The inscriptions recovered from Salban Vihāra suggest that this monastery was perhaps in use from the early sixth to the eighth century. That this monastery received immense patronage of Bhavadeva, or that he built a part of it, is evident from a sealing that reads “Sri Bhavadeva Mahā Vihāra Ārya Bhikshu Sanghasya”. Thus, here we have a monastery that is named after the ruler himself, whereas in case of Nalanda or Raktāmrittikā we have the name of the place.

At Bhoja Vihāra, the central temple, a few cells and the gateway complex of the monastery have come to light. A colossal seated bronze Vajrasattva has been found here and will be discussed later.

Ananda Vihāra perhaps surpassed Salban Vihāra in size but unfortunately it is mostly gone. Excavations have revealed the remnants of the gateway complex on the northern side and patches of wall on the southern side. The central shrine seems to be still intact, rising some fifteen feet above the surrounding ground level. The monastic cells were arranged in rows in four wings around the courtyard. A frieze of terracotta plaques in situ has been found from the basement wall of the western projection of the shrine.¹⁸

At Lalmai, Itakhola Mura occupies a central position in the southern cluster and is pre-eminent in height and probably the largest in ground plan. Instead of a temple in the centre of the quadrangle, a rather detached and complex shrine is situated outside, on the south of the *vihāra*.¹⁹

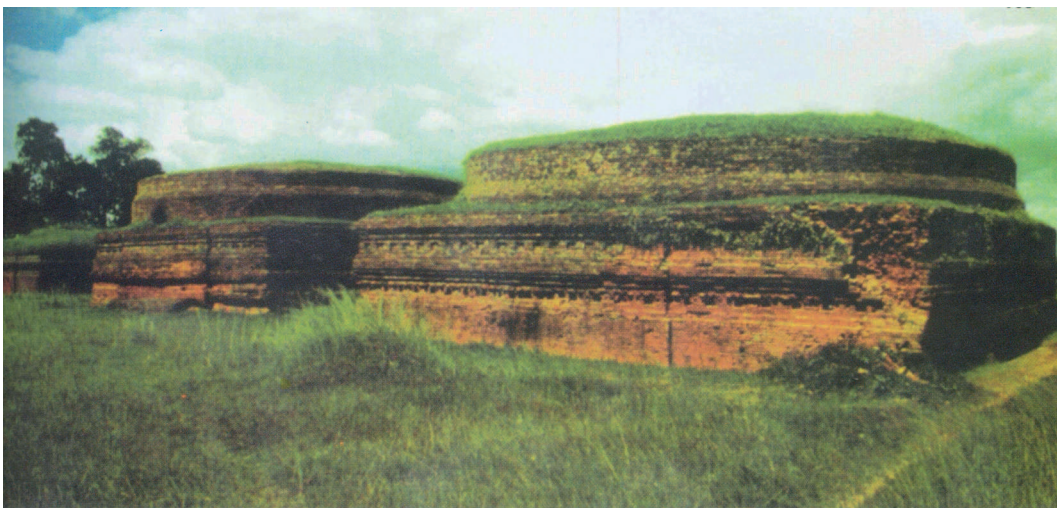
Three stupas (fig. 3) approached by a wide staircase, located on top of a low hill, are worth mentioning. The site is known as Kutila Mura. Behind the stupas lie nine votive stupas of various sizes. The construction of the central stupa is unusual and has been described:

the ground plan of the middle stupa is the form of a *dharmacakra*, the hub being represented by a deep central shaft, around which spokes of brick walls formed eight deep cells or box chambers. Inside the central shaft and the box chambers, hundreds of enshrined miniature stupas and unbaked clay sealings were found.²⁰

The presence of enshrined miniature stupas and clay sealings would suggest that Buddhists regularly frequented this site. Kutila Mura stands in relative isolation, three quarters of a mile from the nearest building site.

Built over three phases another important monastic structure was the Rupban Mura Vihāra²¹ (fig. 4). Originally of oblong shape, this monastery was made almost square, with additions of cells in the next phase of its construction. The monastery was arranged in two parts with separate courtyards. This kind of arrangement is hardly seen in a monastery. The temple, which is located around thirty metres west and northwest of the monastery, was also built in three phases.

Apart from these major monastic sites, the environs of Mainamati can boast more than fifty sites, which is a pointer to the practice of Buddhism in the locale.



3. Three stupas at Kutila Mura, Mainamati, Comilla district, Bangladesh



4. *Rupban Mura, Mainamati, Comilla district, Bangladesh*

The numerous monasteries may also suggest the major influx of people from outside the region. Since we do not have any text referring to the *vihāras* in Lalmai-Mainamati as a centre of Buddhist learning, we cannot be sure of its educational aspect. But the epigraphic evidences and the nature of the extant remains indicate that it was a vibrant and well-sustained monastic centre.

The recovered sculptural materials from Mainamati excavations are indicative of royal patronage of Buddhism, and lend support to the conclusion drawn from epigraphy and extant remains that Buddhism was predominant in this region. We have sculptures in stone, bronze, stucco, and terracotta. The stone sculptures suggest that apart from redefining the Gupta idiom, the artists of Southeastern Bengal, particularly those active at Lalmai-Mainamati complex, closely emulated the late fifth-century Sarnath Buddhas and their derivatives in Eastern India.²² This is clearly evident from a 2.44-metre-high Buddha image in sandstone, found in situ in the main eastern chapel of Rupban Mura (fig. 5). According to Gautam Sengupta, this image illustrates the artist's ability to translate Sarnath archetype in local medium. This image has been dated to the early seventh century on the basis of stratigraphic and artistic considerations.

The large collection of stone sculptures from Kutila Mura was recovered from the deep shaft in the foundation of the central stupa. These were fashioned in soft grey shale, which disintegrates easily, and thus have been damaged. These works of art indicate the beginning of a distinct iconographic tradition of the region. Two stone reliefs depicting Buddhist scenes deserve our attention. They depict scenes that are related to Buddhist tradition. One relief represents Buddha in *vyākhyānamudra*, seated on



5. *Buddha image in sandstone, found in the main eastern chapel of Rupban Mura, Mainamati Museum, Mainamati, Comilla district, Bangladesh*

the principal lotus. There were eight other lotuses accompanying the subsidiary figures. The composition is dominated by springing lotuses occupying the space. The other relief has the same compositional pattern as the earlier one, and depicts the four-armed Avalokiteśvara seated on the principal lotus with attendants of the deity on smaller lotuses (fig. 6). Avalokiteśvara is distinguished by *Jatābhāra* and a three-quarter profile view of the face. Sengupta opines that the elaborate and innovative treatment of the base



6. *Avalokiteśvara seated on the principal lotus with attendants of the deity on smaller lotuses from Kutila Mura, Mainamati Museum, Mainamati, Comilla district, Bangladesh*

is important, as this became a visual formula within a short period of time.²³ From Bhoja Vihāra, two free-standing single images with stela background, one representing Akṣobhya in typical *bhūmiśparśamudrā* and the other Amitābha in meditation pose, have been recovered in excavations of 1994 and 1995.²⁴

The bronzes of Mainamati, bearing a variety of iconographic types, were mainly Buddhist, though a few Brahmanical icons were also present. The religious practice of the region is clearly manifest from this art. Though they were recovered mostly from Salban Vihāra, others were found in excavations at Ananda Vihāra, Rupban Mura, and Itakhola Mura, in addition to the colossal image found at Bhoja Vihāra. The bronzes depict deities belonging to Mahayana and Tantric Buddhism, with its large and complex pantheon. The images indicate the transformation of the popular religion from Mahayana to Tantric

and ultimately to polytheism in which Buddhism became inextricably linked with Brahmanical and aboriginal forms. The bronze sculptures could be dated on the basis of style, stratigraphy, and iconography to the period from the seventh to eleventh century. The Mainamati bronzes mostly represent the Tantric Buddhist pantheon: five Dhyāni Buddhas and their emanations, the bodhisattvas, and Taras. Most popular among Dhyāni Buddhas in Bangladesh were Akṣobhya and Amitābha, and among bodhisattvas, Avalokiteśvara, Padmapāṇi, and Manjuśri. It is important to discuss here a colossal Vajrasattva image (fig. 7) recovered from Bhoja Vihāra. The exquisitely chiselled image is decorated with various ornaments fitted to a bodhisattva.

A late addition to Tantric Buddhist pantheon, Vajrasattva belongs to the family of the Transcendent Buddha Akṣobhya.²⁵ Interestingly, Akṣobhya is the Buddha of the eastern direction and Vajrasattva faces east. He was evidently the consecrated deity to whom the Bhoja Vihāra shrine was dedicated. It is noteworthy that an independent shrine may have been dedicated only to him for his worship. Few images of Vajrasattva have been found in India, as Vajrasattva is far above any of the five Tathāgatas and thus beyond any possible representation. In the opinion of Claudine Bautze Picron, the presence of such a large image at Mainamati should probably be understood in the context of the unifying function of this being, because to have him present means to have all five Tathāgatas present.²⁶ This sculpture may be dated to the ninth, or at the latest, early tenth century, a period when the Chandras ruled the Mainamati area. No donative inscription was found on the sculpture, but there is no doubt that the donor was a very rich person, either a merchant or a royal dignitary. A remarkable bronze votive stupa (fig. 8) was found during excavations at Salban Vihāra at Mainamati with four female deities on four sides, each seated under a shrine, placed against the drum of the stupa. A large life-size bronze head of Avalokiteśvara was collected from the Mainamati hills near Kutila Mura. Its identification is based on the miniature figure of Amitābha on his exquisitely ornamented crown. This has also been dated around tenth century which suggests that the Chandras perhaps patronized the making of such huge bronze figures.



7. *Bronze Vajrasattva from Bhoja Vihāra, Mainamati Museum, Mainamati, Comilla district, Bangladesh*

Contemporaneous with the late phase of Mainamati bronzes are the objects found at Jhewari in Chittagong. The large horde of bronzes found in this village attests to the affluence of a Buddhist establishment. Jhewari figures are almost without exception Buddhist in affiliation and represent Buddha in different mudras.²⁷ Six of the bronzes bear undated votive inscriptions which have been assigned palaeographically to ninth and tenth centuries. The inscriptions refer to the dedication of the images of Buddha in the Buddhist shrines. In most cases, the donors were Buddhist monks.



8. Bronze votive stupa, found at Salban Vihāra, Mainamati Museum, Mainamati, Comilla district, Bangladesh

The accounts of the Chinese monks form another source that supports Buddhism being a vibrant religion in the region. We learn from Yijing's account that the Buddhist monk Sheng-chi visited Samatata and found that more than four thousand Buddhist monks were living in the capital of Samatata and enjoying the patronage of King Rajabhata.²⁸ It is interesting to note that during Xuanzang's visit, he claims to have come across only two thousand Buddhist monks. Royal patronage of Buddhism may have initiated this sharp increase in the congregation of monks in the area. According to Sheng-chi, the king was a great admirer of the "Three gems" and was a zealous *upāsaka*.²⁹ This Rajabhata is normally identified with Rajaraja, the son of Deva Khadga. Sheng-chi is said to have made one hundred thousand Buddha images everyday in clay and recited one hundred thousand *ślokas* from the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sutra*. We learn that during royal processions, the monks and the lay devotees, followed by the king, would carry an image of Avalokiteśvara in front of the procession. We have mentioned earlier that Avalokiteśvara was revered in this region and we have impressive representations in sculptures. Thus, Buddhism received strong royal patronage in Samatata. It is worth noting that Sheng-chi is said to have lived in Raja-Vihāra and received special honour and respect from the king. Is this the same Raja-Vihāra referred to in Vainyagupta's inscription? We can only assume, but cannot be sure.

Finally, it is perhaps necessary to address the question of choice of this site for Buddhist monasteries. It appears that the selection of this region for Buddhist monasteries was guided by the factor of landscape. It has been seen that the construction

of big monasteries required social organization, with a sufficiently strong economic base to support.³⁰ Monasteries were normally located in regions that had huge agricultural base with proper irrigational facilities. It was linked to generating an agricultural surplus capable of supporting a residential population of monks, as those who occupied the various monasteries were not growers of food and essential commodities. Thus the very existence of a monastic complex implies that there was an area of surplus food production. Land grants were given to the monasteries for their own sustenance. Moreover, there was a close relation between Buddhism and trade, and Buddhist monastic sites were found, most of the time, along the trade routes.³¹ Mainamati fulfilled all these conditions. Even large water reservoirs were found associated with Salban Vihāra, Ananda Vihāra, and Bhoja Vihāra. The wealth to build such large brick structures was accumulated from the agrarian resources and trade and commerce of the region. We must remember that Samatata experienced extensive monetization from at least the sixth century. Hoards of gold and silver coins have been unearthed here. It will appear from the land grants that some of the rulers of Samatata were keen on expanding the agrarian base of the region by creating new settlements. This is reflected in their choice of land that was granted. Wealth drawn from agriculture was used to support monasteries. Moreover the capital of Samatata, Devaparvata, was an important riverine trade centre of Southeastern Bengal.³² It was located in the Mainamati ridge. Five inscriptions describe Devaparvata as a politico-administrative centre of different rulers and refer to its location on the banks of Kshiroda, identified with present-day Khirnai. Of these, the Paschimbhag copper-plate of Srichandra, dated in his fifth regnal year (circa 925–75), mentions that Lalambivana (present-day Lalmai, close to Mainamati), located in the vicinity of Devaparvata, was searched by hundreds of sailors for medicinal herbs. Thus, the landscape of Devaparvata played a key role in the economic growth of the region. It had the requisite location and resources to support its development. Being situated on the ridge, it had a commanding position and, as the river Kshiroda surrounded it like a moat, it was an ideal location for a royal city. On the other hand, the rich Meghna plain provided the agricultural base of the area without the capital city being directly affected by flood. The region had abundance of water and very rich vegetation. The presence of Lalambivana in the vicinity provided rich forest resources.³³

Mainamati was also a suitable choice for construction of Buddhist monasteries because of its network of communication with other centres of Buddhism. Through Pundravardhana it could reach the centres of Buddhism in the land-locked Ganga Valley. It also had definite connection with the Arakan region (presently a province of Myanmar). Samatata's linkage with different regions of Southeast Asia is partially known from Xuanzang's account when he speaks of six areas that were linked with Samatata. These are Shi-li-cha-ta-lo (Srikshetra in Myanmar), Kia-mo-land-kia (Kamalanka,

identified with Pegu and the Irrawaddy delta in Myanmar), To-lo-po-ti (Dvaravati in present-day Thailand), I-shung-na-pu-lo (Ishanapura, to the east of Dvaravati), Mo-ho-chen-po (Mahachampa in Vietnam), and Yen-nio-na-chen (identification uncertain).³⁴ Buddhist monks and merchants from Samatata could perhaps use the important maritime port of Samandar in the present-day Chittagong area and finally traverse the Bay of Bengal for the countries of Southeast Asia. The making of Mainamati as a centre of Buddhism began during the sixth century. The site was already established in the seventh century and continued to flourish as an important seat of Buddhism under profuse royal patronage until the eleventh century. All the sites in the Lalmai hills, when excavated, will be a marvel to the world of Buddhism. It may be argued that Southeastern Bengal, particularly the Samatata (present-day Noakhali and Comilla) and Harikela (present-day Chittagong) region, which had a long history of the presence and practice of Mahayana Buddhism, was an important centre of Buddhism along with Bihar-West-Bengal, China, and Sri Lanka.



NOTES

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- 1 Sircar 1993, p. 266.
- 2 Ibid., pp. 340–45.
- 3 Bhattacharyya 1977, p. 67.
- 4 Islam 2003, p. 39.
- 5 Morrison 1974, p. 11.
- 6 Sircar 1993, p. 341.
- 7 Personal communication from Peter Skilling. I am thankful to him, Claudine Bautze-Picron, and Stefan Baums for helping me understand the concept of the term “Avaivarttika”. The Jagjibanpur Plate of Mahendrapala and a new copper-plate inscription of Gopala II, edited by Ryosuke Furui 2008 refer to Avaivarttika.
- 8 Sircar 1947, pp. 221–41.
- 9 Laskar 1906, pp. 85–89.
- 10 Gupta 1979, pp. 141–48.
- 11 Excavations at Bodhgaya have revealed moulded, three-dimensional, miniature clay stupas in vast quantities. See Cunningham 1892.
- 12 Sircar 1951, pp. 83–94.
- 13 Husain 1997, p. 218.
- 14 Bhattacharyya 1933, pp. 282–89.
- 15 Mitra 1971, p. 244.
- 16 Morrison 1974, p. 20.
- 17 Ibid., p. 22.
- 18 Haque 2007, p. 156.
- 19 Ibid., p. 156.
- 20 Khan 1963, p. 17.
- 21 Haque 2007, p. 157.
- 22 Sengupta 1989–90, p. 125.
- 23 Ibid., p. 125.
- 24 Husain 1997, p. 180.
- 25 Bhattacharya 2000, pp. 131–32.
- 26 Personal communication from Claudine Bautze-Picron. I am extremely thankful to her.
- 27 Mitra 1982, pp. 25–28.
- 28 Takakusu 1896, pp. XXXIII, XLVI, LIII, 44.
- 29 Lahiri 1986, p. 85.
- 30 Sarkar 1987, p. 634.
- 31 Ray 1994, pp. 121–61.
- 32 Chakravarti 2002, p. 167.
- 33 Ghosh 2009, pp. 352–58.
- 34 Watters 1961, p. 201.

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