



icich 2025

CROSSCURRENTS: THE KALINGA SOUTHEAST ASIAN LINKAGES



PROF. UPENDRA PADHI

Crosscurrents: The Kalinga-Southeast Asian Linkages

Edited by
Prof. Upendra Padhi

Crosscurrents: The Kalinga-Southeast Asian Linkages

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*Published by **Prof. Upendra Padhi**, Director, Institute of Media Studies
and Chairman, 3rd International Conference on “Kalinga & Southeast
Asia: The Civilisational Connect”. Printed at Saraswati Communication,
Bhubaneswar*

₹1180/-



Preface

In my days as a student of History Honours in the Utkal University in the mid-50s, the history of Odisha's maritime past was dominated by myths, memories and mysteries. It is only now that scholars have provided us with historical evidence and credible accounts of the saga of Kalinga and South East Asia. The current publication represents a unique effort by historians from the opposite shores of the ocean – from India and South East Asia – to update the available information on the subject.

Odia children, from time immemorial, have grown up observing the Boita Bandanaon - Kartik Purnima with a symbolic launch of miniature boats and lamps in the rivers, lakes and water bodies across the state. The festival of Khudurukuni is still observed, bringing poignant memories of families of merchants who suffered the consequences of their long absence overseas.

Odisha's ancient temples have numerous sculptures of Kalinga's ships at sea. Stories have also come down through generations of the intrepid and adventurous merchants called Sadhabas who bravely crossed the "seven seas and thirteen rivers" and sailed to Java, Sumatra, Bali and Borneo bringing

back ships laden with gold, precious stones, spices and other merchandise.

It is fairly recently that scholars have been able to patch together evidence to present a clearer picture of the maritime record of Kalinga – a history stretching from 5th Century BCE until the 15th Century CE. It is a magnificent story which should fill every Odia heart with proprietary pride.

There was a time when the Bay of Bengal was called the Kalinga Sea. Kalidasa referred to the King of Kalinga as ‘Mahodadhipati’, the Lord of the Ocean. In his poems, he describes ships laden with spices from distant islands lying in Kalinga ports.

Historical accounts from Greek and Chinese sources have identified the major ports of ancient Kalinga. These were, among others, Tamralipti, Palur, Pithunda, Dantapura and Kalinganagar. Evidently, Kalinga had many more international ports in the 5th Century BCE than Odisha has in the 21st Century!

Recent excavations at port sites have revealed artefacts which prove that Kalinga’s network of trade extended from the Roman empire in the west to South East Asia and China in the east. Its footprints are discernible even today in South East Asia, especially in Myanmar, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

The Institute of Media Studies (IMS) of Utkal University deserves to be felicitated for convening an international conference in May 2025 on Kalinga’s maritime history. A major outcome of the conference is an authoritative publication on the current state of knowledge on the subject.

One of the overseas scholars has provided a fascinating account of Kalinga's role in the dissemination of Hinduism and Buddhism in the Malay-Indonesian region. And yes, there was indeed another Kalinga kingdom known as 'Kerajaan Keling' located in Central Java! Many centuries later Java was the scene of a unique blending of Hindu, Buddhist and Islamic practices referred to as "Islam Kejawen".

Another scholar from the region cites copiously from Indonesian literary sources to explain how the term Kelang, which was specific to Kalinga, expanded over the centuries to also include people from Andhra and Tamil Nadu and eventually all Indians from everywhere.

Indian historians have made a major course correction infirmly rejecting terms like "Colonisation" and "Indianisation" used by earlier scholars. This was not only factually incorrect, it was deeply offensive to the people of South East Asia. As Sasmita Rani Shashini and Patit Paban Mishra have asserted, "....cultural flow was neither unidirectional nor uniform, rather it was a process of mutual adaptation."

The historians have also brought out new revelations of Kalinga's influence in specific regions like Myanmar, Cambodia and Bali.

This is a book which will be treasured by scholars and laymen alike.

I found South East Asia to be one of the most fascinating regions I have encountered during my diplomatic career.

My thoughts go back to 1996 when I was deputed as a Special Envoy of India to meet the leadership of Myanmar,

Vietnam and Cambodia and discuss bilateral issues. I was greeted in all these countries with great warmth and courtesy reflecting their high regard for India. It was however in Cambodia that, in addition to discussing official issues, I was also given an educational briefing. A courtesy call on King Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia turned out to be an extensive tutorial on the ancient ties between India and South East Asia, especially with Cambodia.

After explaining that the meaning of the mighty river Mekong was ‘Ma Ganga’, the King proceeded to describe the ethnic and cultural ties that connected his country and the region to India.

It is humbling for me to learn from contemporary historians that ancient Cambodia had also sent an Ambassador and Special Envoy to Kalinga, almost seventeen hundred years before my own mission! Yes, it was King Fan Chan of Funan (as Cambodia was then known) who sent his relative Su Wu as an Ambassador to King Dhamadamadhara, the Murunda King of Kalinga in the 3rd Century CE.

South East Asia is today a part of the greater Indo Pacific region which is virtually the geopolitical and geoeconomic hub of the world. As of 2025, three of the top five economies of the world are located in the Indo Pacific:

- No. 2: China: GDP \$ 19.5 trillion
- No.4: Japan: GDP \$ 4.4. trillion
- No.5: India: GDP\$ 4.3 trillion

It is estimated that by 2028, India will overtake both Germany and Japan to become the third largest global economy.

Why are these figures relevant for Odisha?

Notwithstanding the global economic turmoil caused by the US tariff war with China and the rest of the world, India sees opportunities for significantly expanding its economic stakes in the Indo Pacific. As a fast-growing economy under the Indian umbrella, it is equally an opportunity for Odisha. The state enjoys a strategic location closest to the region. To grow at a faster rate, Odisha needs markets abroad for its varied products and its skilled manpower.

The Government of India is pursuing a vigorous Act East Policy (AEP) under which the country's political, economic and strategic ties are being strengthened with ASEAN and its individual member states. Odisha, with its deep historical and cultural ties with the region, can and should be a major stake holder in the AEP.

The Sadhabas were pioneers who made a mark for Kalinga and India in South East Asia. The time has come for the descendants of the 'Sadhabas' today to repeat the achievement of their ancestors.

Amb Lalit Mansingh

Former Foreign Secretary,

*Ambassador to USA and High Commissioner to the UK,
Founding Chairman of the Kalinga International Foundation*

EDITORIAL

The maritime tradition of Odisha, a state on the eastern coast of India, is one of the most fascinating and historically significant aspects of its cultural heritage. Odisha's long coastline, spanning approximately 574.7 kms (2025 figure) along the Bay of Bengal, has been a crucial conduit for trade, cultural exchange, and exploration. This tradition, which dates back over two millennia, reflects a rich legacy of seafaring, commerce, and cultural diffusion.

Across the vast maritime stretch of the Indian Ocean and Bay of Bengal lies a civilisational story that transcends time, borders, and even empires. It is a tale of cultural osmosis, spiritual exchange, and enduring legacy—one that positions the eastern Indian region of Kalinga (modern-day Odisha) as a key protagonist in shaping the cultural and historical contours of Southeast Asia. This volume, *Crosscurrents: The Kalinga-Southeast Asian Linkages*, seeks to retrace the footprints of a forgotten yet formidable cultural journey—rekindling an epochal narrative of shared heritage, mutual influence, and ancient connectivity. What began as voyages of commerce and exploration evolved over centuries into a rich tapestry of exchange involving language, script, religion, art, and architecture.

The cultural map of Asia is not delineated by rigid political borders, nor by the imagined separations of modern statecraft. Instead, it is inscribed in the movement of peoples, in the shared iconography of temples, in the mirrored philosophies of distant lands, and most enduringly, in the rhythm of the sea. The Bay of Bengal, once a bustling highway of ships and stories, serves as the watery spine of this historical landscape. And at its heart lies Kalinga—an ancient kingdom on the eastern coast of India, today largely coinciding with the modern state of Odisha. This volume is an attempt to rediscover and reinterpret this vital region's long and intricate engagement with Southeast Asia. It is not merely a regional study; it is a panoramic re-reading of transregional currents that reshaped the civilisational landscape of Asia from the early centuries of the Common Era through the medieval period. Kalinga's story is a story of convergence—where trade and transcendence, commerce and culture, and empire and ethics coalesced into a uniquely influential maritime tradition. Through this introduction, we aim to lay the intellectual and historical groundwork for the essays that follow, emphasizing the interdisciplinary and intercultural importance of Kalinga's civilisational ties to Southeast Asia.

Geographically blessed with a long coastline, navigable rivers, and rich natural resources, Kalinga developed a thriving maritime culture. Far from being an insular society, it emerged as one of the most outward-looking regions in ancient India. The region's ports—Tamralipta, Manikpatna, and Palur—became nodal points in the vast commercial networks that linked eastern India with the Malay Peninsula, the islands of Indonesia, the Mekong Delta, and the coast of Vietnam.

This connectivity was neither accidental nor recent. Textual evidence from ancient Indian epics and Puranas, accounts from Chinese travelers, inscriptions, and indigenous maritime traditions all point to Kalinga's deep entanglement with the sea. The celebrated Boita Bandana festival of Odisha, wherein miniature boats are floated in rivers and the sea to commemorate ancestral voyages, is not a folkloric curiosity but a living cultural memory of seafaring enterprise. More than just an economic engine, Kalinga's maritime spirit was civilisational in its outlook. The ships that set sail from its harbours carried not just goods, but ideas—scripts, spiritual texts, architectural blueprints, and social practices. In this sense, the sea was not a boundary; it was a bridge.

Trade was the foundational vector of Kalinga's interactions with Southeast Asia. Spices, precious stones, textiles, ivory, and metalwork from Kalinga were in demand across the Indian Ocean world. But with trade came cultural sedimentation. The merchants of Kalinga were often accompanied by monks, craftsmen, and scholars, whose presence left a deep imprint on Southeast Asian societies. Buddhism played a particularly central role in this dialogue. Kalinga, especially during the post-Ashokan period, emerged as a major centre of Buddhist learning and propagation. Monastic institutions at Ratnagiri, Udayagiri, and Lalitgiri became international centres that received and sent monks across Asia. Through maritime routes, Mahayana and Vajrayana ideas found resonance in the courts of the Srivijaya and Sailendra dynasties in Sumatra and Java, the Dvaravati culture in Thailand, and in the Khmer temples of Cambodia. Alongside Buddhism, Hindu practices and

iconography also spread widely. The presence of Shaivite and Vaishnavite elements in temples across Southeast Asia—such as the Prambanan temple in Java or the temple complex at My Son in Vietnam—testify to a pluralistic cultural dialogue. These influences were not imposed; they were adapted and absorbed, resulting in a complex and creative localization.

One of the most visible traces of the Kalinga-Southeast Asia connection lies in art and architecture. Scholars have long noted the stylistic and structural similarities between temple forms in Odisha and those in Southeast Asia. The curvilinear spires (*shikharas*) of Odishan temples have analogues in parts of Thailand and Java. Similarly, the iconography of deities, motifs of serpents and lotuses, and even the format of religious murals reflect shared visual languages.

Such parallels are not mere coincidences. They are markers of sustained interaction and intentional borrowing. In many cases, artisans and architects travelled across regions as part of royal or monastic delegations, leaving behind not only their skills but their schools of thought. The result was an aesthetic continuity that complemented spiritual and social exchange.

Inscriptions in Brahmi script discovered in sites such as Cambodia and Indonesia provide linguistic confirmation of these cultural flows. Furthermore, the use of Sanskrit and Pali as liturgical and administrative languages in several Southeast Asian kingdoms points to the intellectual prestige associated with Indian—especially eastern Indian—traditions.

Maritime connectivity was not limited to economic and religious spheres; it also played a role in diplomacy

and statecraft. Several dynasties of Kalinga, including the Sailodbhavas and the Somavamsis, maintained symbolic or direct relations with polities across the sea. Royal emissaries, matrimonial alliances, and even joint religious patronage created enduring links. There is evidence to suggest that the Srivijaya Empire, based in Sumatra, not only received Indian religious teachers but may have also engaged with Kalingan courts in shaping their own Buddhist institutions. Similarly, the Pagan Empire in Myanmar, under Anawrahta and his successors, actively drew from Indian sources to shape its Buddhist identity—sources that included eastern Indian monasteries closely linked to Kalinga.

Material culture provides the most incontrovertible proof of transoceanic contact. Excavations at sites like Manikpatna and Sisupalgarh have unearthed foreign coins, pottery, and other artifacts that attest to long-distance trade. At the same time, Buddhist relics and temple remains at Ratnagiri and Udayagiri show stylistic influences that suggest interaction with Southeast Asian forms.

Epigraphic evidence is even more revealing. Inscriptions in Southeast Asia referencing Indian teachers, rituals, and institutions show how deeply Indic—often Kalingan—ideas had been absorbed. Many of these inscriptions are not simply copies of Indian originals; they are local creations inspired by Indian models, reflecting a two-way cultural synthesis.

Moreover, oral traditions and folklore across coastal Odisha and parts of Southeast Asia—particularly in Bali and Thailand—retain memories of seafaring ancestors and mythic voyages that mirror one another. These intangible cultural

echoes complement the physical traces and provide a more holistic view of the civilisational connect.

The history of Kalinga and Southeast Asia compels a rethinking of historiographical models. For too long, Indian history has been written with a northward gaze, privileging land empires and political centres. Similarly, Southeast Asian history has often been approached in isolation or through a colonial lens. What this volume proposes is a different vantage point—a littoral perspective that views the sea not as a barrier but as a cultural continuum.

This approach aligns with the emerging field of Indian Ocean studies and transregional historiography, which highlight the interconnectedness of Asian societies long before colonialism or globalization. Kalinga's story is an exemplar of this paradigm. It challenges narrow definitions of culture and empire, and shows that civilisational influence can flow through ritual, art, and mutual curiosity rather than through conquest.

India's Act East policy, for instance, can draw strength from this historical memory. Cultural diplomacy based on deep historical ties can foster more meaningful relationships than transactional agreements. Rediscovering Kalinga's role in shaping Southeast Asian culture also empowers local communities in Odisha to reclaim their place in global history. Moreover, recognizing the contributions of eastern India to pan-Asian culture offers a more balanced and inclusive understanding of Indian civilisation itself—one that moves beyond the Ganga-centric or Delhi-centric models that have dominated mainstream narratives.

This edited monograph is structured to reflect both the diversity and the unity of the Kalinga-Southeast Asia connection. The chapters are written by historians, archaeologists, linguists, and cultural theorists, each bringing a unique lens to the subject. From textual analysis of inscriptions to comparative studies of temple design, from maritime archaeology to religious anthropology, the volume is a mosaic of scholarly approaches. Some chapters delve into specific regions—such as the influence of Kalinga on Java or Cambodia—while others explore thematic dimensions, such as Buddhism’s maritime transmission or the evolution of Indian scripts in Southeast Asia. Together, they form a comprehensive and multi-layered narrative.

To study the civilisational connect between Kalinga and Southeast Asia is to sail back in time, not as nostalgic voyagers but as seekers of deeper understanding. It is to recognize that civilisations are not isolated peaks, but shaped by wind and water, by memory and encounter. This volume opens a vast and fertile field for further exploration. The sea, after all, never stops moving. And neither does history.

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Designing Artefactual Interaction Between Odisha and Southeast Asia (Up to 1300 CE)

Dr. Krishnendu Ray

THE CONTEXT

Several archaeological sites of the early Indian subcontinent such as Mehrgarh (c. 7000 BCE) in Pakistan, Rajghat (c. 800 BCE) in Uttar Pradesh, Mainamati (7th -13th centuries CE) in Southeastern Bangladesh, Nagapattinam (7th century CE) in Tamil Nadu and many others drive home the visible signs of the diverse activities of past humans. These activities are represented by innumerable material artefacts they made for their practical purposes (Friedman 2007: 6-10). These physical objects include the harvesting tools like sickle blades, structure with barley and wheat grain impressions from Mehrgarh (Chakravarti 2017: 13-6); black and red ware, black-slipped ware, iron implements, plain and painted Northern Black Polished Ware, pottery discs, terracotta human figure from Rajghat (Ghosh 1989: 360-2); gold, silver and copper coins, terracotta sealings, stone-bronze-terracotta-made Buddhist images like Dhyani Buddha, Manjusri, Tara from Mainamati (Rashid 2008: 91-111) and literary compositions by Appar and Sambandar referring to large ships (Vangam), fortified walls, roads, buildings and Nagai Karonam temple at Nagapattinam (Kulke et al 2010: 107-8). These artefacts bring out the fact that humans made these objects with some intentions

(Katz 1993: 223-32) in order to meet their surrounding physical conditions represented by land, water and forest. The purpose was understandably to make these objects affordable, functional and thus useful. In other words the making of these artefacts shows their involvement for realizing their goals through ‘relationships and interactions’ (Chakravarti 2009: 129-56; Csikszentmihalyi 1993: 23) in the social space. These social interactions made it necessary for them to design their artefacts so as to effectively as well as meaningfully communicate their artefactual messages to the users of the society they belonged to. Therefore the concepts of design and communication may briefly be stated in order to suit the present context.

CONCEIVING DESIGN

As apparent from the above, humans have not only produced, but also modified or changed both material objects like brass-made dishes, oil lamps, a lamp-stand, a brick platform, storage jars etc from a Buddhist vihara of southeastern Bangladesh (Rashid 2008: 63) as well as non-material things like a 2nd century CE Bangarh (West Bengal) inscription (“saṣyādi-dhṛitasthālī” meaning “a vessel containing grain” Mukherjee 1990: 44) and early Indian laws related to pledges and documents (Muller 1889 / 1996:72-9). It may be noted that the user experienced the needs of putting oil in a lamp for lighting/worshipping, holding a lamp on a stand, keeping something essentials in a jar and conveying a message and so planned or designed both the physical and non-physical artefacts in order to solving their problems or satisfying their purposes mentioned above (Ulrich 2006: 2, 6). A terracotta sculpture (c. 1st century BCE) from Chandraketurgarh (North 24 Parganas district, West Bengal, India) portrays the three persons cutting crops by using the sickle (Haque 2001: 319, 381, plt. B886, fig.2). Significantly, the sickle was made useable by making it handled one and thus the artifact was developed for facilitating the task of cutting. Beside agrarian, non-agrarian or industrial wants were also fulfilled by utilizing the desirably designed things.

Thus, it appears that seats and jewellerys like wristlets, anklets, waistbands, footwear etc, were designed in order to fulfilling the wants of some people of early Bengal (Haque 2001: 318, 339, C881, fig. 6). We find the people of the early Indian subcontinent to have made these objects in order to fulfill their agrarian, non-agrarian and cultural needs in the changing socio-economic circumstances through the ages. In other words, they made things in order to meet the challenges of their surrounding socio-cultural circumstances collectively called ‘cultural context’ (Johansson, 2003: 2). Therefore, in tune with Colin Renfrew and Chris Scarre it may be said that both the physical and non-physical objects made, used and or modified by humans constitute the ‘symbolic storage’ (1998: xi) which preserved their thoughts, ideas and experiences acquired through the ages. Through these diverse artefacts they have talked and thought about themselves (Tilley 2013: 7). Thus, design may be conceived of as a way through which artefacts were made technologically so as to solve social problems in the real life situations (Wu 2017: S3578, S3587). These problems are essentially related to communicating ideas and or experiences to others in society. Therefore the idea of communication in the social sphere may now be attended to.

IDEA OF COMMUNICATION

As said above, material artefacts having no relation with alphabetic words constituted the non-verbal media through which people communicated their experiences to one another. They also communicated their thoughts verbally through inscriptions. Both these verbal and non-verbal modes of communication may be artefactually supported by a terracotta seal (c. 3rd century CE) with the images of a masted ship, a svastika symbol and Kharoṣṭī-Brāhmī mixed characters (Tasvodajana Hovaji (no) na T (r) apya) translated as “of [the ship of the class of] Trapyaka, belonging to (i.e owned by) the power conquering (i.e powerful) Tasvodaja family” from Chandraketugarh (Mukherjee, 1990: 47, figs. 11). Thus, an artefact being the result of human actions

conveys some messages about diverse human activities. Therefore it is not difficult to understand that these artefacts constitute texts which verbally as well as non-verbally convey some messages to the seal user. But these messages are derived from the context in which the artefact is or was made; in other words, the relationship of the artefact with other objects (Dhavalikar 2006: 1). Similarly, between Kalinga and Southeast Asia, both mainland and maritime, the messages of artefactual interactions are writ large in valuable scholarly contributions.

HISTORIOGRAPHICAL RELEVANCE

Taking cue from this we may refer to certain beads made of carnelian and agate from Myanmar, Vietnam and probably Thailand. These beads bear the shapes of the tiger, deer, bird, and lion. Particularly, our attention has been drawn to the lion-shaped bead as it signifies the Buddha as the Lion of the Sakya clan. So also is the case with the deer-shaped bead from Vietnam reminiscent of the deer park where Buddha preached his first sermon. Thus, through these material artefacts the Indian Buddhist ideas were communicated to the people of the Sa Huynh cultural site of central Vietnam during the period from 500 BCE to 100/200 CE (Dzung 2011:11, 4; Coomaraswamy 1923: 17; Glover 1994: 140). Another site named Khao Sam Kaeo of southern Thailand has yielded dishes with rouletted designs, knobbed vessels, black polished dishes and jug with rims etc. On the basis of these ceramic materials it has been suggested that the Indian craftsmen, particularly potters were present in the site of Thailand during the period from c. fourth century to the second centuries BCE (Bouvet 2011: 47-81). Several archaeological artefacts like Northern Black Polished Ware (NBPW), stamped ware, rouletted ware, glass and stone beads, knobbed ware etc have been highlighted to display inter-connection between early Bengal and Thailand through the Bay of Bengal maritime trade during the fourth century BCE to the fourth century CE (Husne Jahan 2012: 205-28). Significantly, knobbed ware goods from

western, central and southern Thailand, on the stylistic ground, have been taken into account in highlighting interactions between the Indian subcontinent and mainland Southeast Asia during the mid-first millennium BCE (Silapanth 2018: 131-51). Kalinga's relation with Southeast Asia is also recorded in the Geography by Ptolemy. In this connection the author has referred to a number of ports like Paloura from where ships set sail to Southeast Asia. In connection with Kalinga's relation with Thailand our attention has been drawn to an ivory comb (1st-3rd century CE) from central Thailand following the fame of the elephants of Kalinga (Behera 1999: 162-3, 6, 70). Scholars like Sila Tripathi (2009: 77-90), Benudhar Patra (2013: 226ff), Balaram Tripathy (2007: 27-41), Pareswar. Shahoo (2007: 23-6) etc have drawn our attention to ancient Kalinga's (the Kunlun people) active artefactual relations with Southeast Asian lands. In the context of India-Southeast Asian relations, Indian concepts like Brahmanical divinities, epic personalities, jaya, vijaya etc are available from some names such as Rājasimha the king of Funan (4th century CE), a 5th century CE Kambuja preceptor named Vidya Guru, a sixth century Sumatran king Vijayavarman, an 8th century Indonesian king Jayavarman, etc (Raman 2006: 212-5). Early Indian religio-cultural thoughts and beliefs are available from several artefacts represented by the Brahmanical divinities like Visnu, Sivalinga, Ganesa, Surya, Mahisasuramardini, Lakshmi, gold plaques with Brahmanical deities from several sites like Go Thap, Da Noi, Cat Tien of south Vietnam. To note particularly, the Brahmanical divinities on gold plaques are represented by Siva Mahesvara, Sivalinga, the Matsya, Varaha and Kurma incarnatory (avatars) images of Visnu, Brahma, Surya (the Sun god). The Brahmanical beliefs are visually developed through material artefacts from about the fifth-fourth centuries BCE to the fifth century CE; particularly the culture sites of Da Noi and Cat Tien are dated to the period from the CE fourth to the eighth century (Lien 2011: 407-29). The Sanskrit language appears to have served as a lingua

franca for the peoples of Southeast Asia as a whole, who spoke different languages like the Mon, Siamese, Laotian, Pyu, Thai, Cham etc (Sarkar 1980: 80-5, 242-6). Thus, references have been made to the Indian epic literature, Jatakas, Dharmasastras through which early Indian ideas were communicated to the multilanguage-speaking peoples of Southeast Asia.

OBSERVATIONS

It goes without saying that in the social space human beings have always resorted to interaction in order to sustain themselves. Archaeological artefacts from different sites, mentioned above, point out the fact that people of early India, particularly Odisha and Southeast Asia have meaningfully interacted with one another for coping with their surrounding conditions through the ages. Meaningful interaction requires effective communication which they have ensured by designing their artefacts both material and non-material. In due course, therefore, a brief introduction to an artifact becomes pertinent to the present research.

THE IDEA OF AN ARTEFACT

It appears from the above that humans have fulfilled their needs and wants by employing primarily material objects through the ages. As mentioned above, according to Friedman, an artefact consists of two parts such as ‘arte’ meaning skill and ‘factum’ meaning ‘to make’. Therefore an artefact is an object created/made by humans (Friedman 2007: 6). It is the artifact by means of which people have satisfied their requirements and expectations, affirmed their sense of form, extended their physical and psychic power over nature and fellows and created the symbols of meaning (Fleming 1974: 153). It appears that an artefact has been made with skill and or through knowledge and therefore can be an inscription, a literary text, a tiny bead, an NBPW object, a sculptural relief or an architectural building etc for the fulfillment of certain practical purposes (Tuan 1980: 462; Katz 1993: 223). The gold plaques with the Brahmanical divine images as noted

above may be designated as feeling or motivational artefacts for its users (Viola 2021: 230, 232-3). In this way an artefact being the result of human actions also constitutes a text containing the information about human activities. For, the word text has recently been meant as ‘any cultural object of investigation’ (Wilson 2012: 342). Thus, the artefactual text may be attempted to read with a goal.

AIM OF THE PRESENT ESSAY

This is how the present essay is directed towards designing artefactual interactions between Odisha and Southeast Asia.

THRUST AREA

The references to the use of the ship symbol on the inscribed terracotta seal from Chandraketurgarh (c. 3rd century CE) reading “the journey to (or in) three directions of (i.e by) Yasoda, who has earned food-wealth” (Mukherjee 1990: 45, Sl. No.6) might have motivated the Southeast Asian user, particularly those of southern Thailand to adopt the same in connection with the overseas business transactions. For, seals of stone or metal were used in maritime trading activities (Ray 1994: 113). So also probably the case with the user of the terracotta seal with the two-masted ship impression from Nakhon Pathom of southern Thailand (Ray 2014: 147). In this connection Kalinga’s involvement in maritime relations with Southeast Asia from the early Christian era do not escape our notice (Tripathi 2002: 117-26).

The ship carried not only merchandises, but also early Indian Brahmanical religious ideas and beliefs. This may be supported by the artefacts from southern Vietnam in the early Christian era. Thus, we find Sivalinga motif to have been communicated to the people of southern Vietnam. Significantly, this Sivalinga motif was designed by using the tortoise shell and other potsherds as found from Go Thap site. Even terracotta was also used to design the linga (phallic symbol) motif as found from Oc Eo. The more important is the fact that a huge number of the forms of linga and linga-yoni (phallic-womb) have been found from

the region (Lien 2015: 4-5 figs. 5-6). It may be important to note that tortoise shell and terracotta were possibly easily available and cheap materials and therefore understandably used and designed for serving the religious needs of the many ordinary poor people of the region. The people of the region also believed in other Brahmanical gods and goddesses like Brhma, Ganesa, Harihara, Laksmi, Mahisasuramardini. Our attention has been drawn to several very small sized (not above 30cm) four-handed fifth century Visnu images with Cakra (Wheel), Sankha (Conch), danda (the Rod) and a ball from southern Vietnam. Stone was used to preserve this Vaisnavite belief of the devotees (Lien 2015: 5, fig. 9). The very small size of the god is significant to note. Probably it was meant for the portable use of those who believed in and accepted Visnu. Interestingly, some stone-made moulds of Brahmanical symbols like elephant etc and emblems have been found from Oc Eo. Following these religious artefacts it has been suggested that workshops were established and the concerned artisans served the religious purposes of the local people of the region (Lien 2015: 4). It may be noted at the point of these religious sculptures that the people concerned obtained some ideas about such Brahmanical religious imageries in which they developed their beliefs and their beliefs were artefactually designed and served by the artisans concerned.

It is not unlikely that by about the fifth century CE they acquired such religious ideas from the Indian literary heritage in Southeast Asia represented by Vedas, Vedangas, Purana, Mahabharata, Ramayana, Dharmasastras like the Manava-Dharmasastra etc (Casparis and Mabbett 1999: 281; Sarkar 1980: 92-126).

It appears from the above that in the realization of the Odisha-Southeast Asia inter-relationship the most important factor is crossing the huge sea in which unknown fears are at every step. Naturally, the question arises about getting over the perils of the sea journey. Now, in the context of India, particularly

Odisha-Southeast Asian interactions we find the Buddhist deities of Bodhisattva, Avalokitesvara and Tara to have been worshipped. It is learnt that if the god Bodhisattva is worshipped, the desired results are obtained. One of the foremost deities of Bodhisattvas is Avalokitesvara (“the merciful Lord; the watchful Lord; With pitying look”—Liebert 1986: 29). The consort of this Avalokitesvara is the goddess Tara who causes to rescue, save or lead across (Bhattacharyya 1977: 174; Liebert 1986: 295). In the Saddharmapundarikasutra (c. 5th / 6th century CE) it is found that if one falls into the ocean and thinks of Avalokitesvara, he never sinks down (Dutt 1986: 264, 24.6). In other words, Avalokitesvara had become the savior by the time. Significantly enough, we find this religious belief to have been designed in bronze in Thailand in the second half of the seventh century CE. We have bronze-made small Bodhisattva images from different parts like Suphanburi, Ratchaburi of Thailand (Ray 2015: 121). Probably the image of the god was made small for those who were engaged in overseas exchange activities. Odisha also did not lag behind in the material artefactual manifestation of belief in Avalokitesvara. The significant references to the fifteen forms of the god found from different parts like Lalitagiri (Lokanatha), Ratnagiri (Cintamani Lokeshvara), Udayagiri (Amoghapasa Lokeshvara), Acyutrajpur (Khasarpana Lokeshvara) etc of Odisha are indicative of the growing acceptability of Avalokitesvara in several forms to the people of ancient Odisha. At the same time we also find people to have invoked the goddess Tara as saviour also in many forms such as Khadiravani Tara, Simhanada Tara (both from Ratnagiri), Durgottarini Tara (Lalitagiri, Ratnagiri) (Ray 2021: 179-80; Misra: 7). Understandably,

In view of the deity as saviour the shift from Avalokitesvara to Tara may have been due to the compilation of the Aryamanjusrimulakalpa and Guhyasamaj or Tathagata Guhyaka (c. 5th-6th century CE), the growing momentum of Tantric Buddhism (seventh century), places like Kanheri in the western Deccan as

well as also in Odisha reflecting the Tantric form of Buddhism and also “an emphasis on the female principle---of tantra—concept of absolute reality in terms of non-duality of binary opposites such as male-female, right-left –etc.” (Bhattacharyya 1977: 182, 185; Ray 2013: 59). This brings us close to the available twelve forms of the goddess Tara from different sites as mentioned above. In the context of ancient Kalinga’s Southeast Asian connection the most relevant form of Tara is its well known image as Asta-maha-bhaya (c. 8th century CE) (Ray 2013: 58) who saves people from eight great perils such as fear from the elephant (hasti-bhaya), fear from the snake (sarpa-bhaya) as well as also fear from falling from the drowning boat into the ocean (Mitra 1983: 445). In this connection it may be noted that stone having been easily available was preferred to sculpt the religious belief and thus we have from Ratnagiri the illustrious Asta-maha-bhaya Tara image (1.645m. high, & 1.016m wide) with eight perils on the two sides of the goddess of which the fear from sinking into the ocean (jalarnava-bhaya) significantly matches the context of the present discussion (Mitra 1983: 353, 444-5).

This belief in the deliverance by the “Saviouress” goddess Tara, of safety for a man as well as also merchants and navigators in the sea is likely to have reached the people of maritime Southeast Asia through the watercraft as depicted in the Odishan art (Jordaan 1998: 165; Tripathi et al. 2018: 39-52). Interestingly enough, according to an eighth century epigraphic message, it is said that a temple (called Candi Kalibening or Kalasan) was dedicated to the goddess Tara in central Java. Our attention is also drawn to the bronze-made Tara images from Java and Sumatra. Thus, we find the belief to have been visually designed island Southeast Asians in bronze. This suits the goal of the present inter-regional connectivity across the sea (Jordaan 1998: 163, 165, 167; Ray 2021: 183).

We find artefacts to have been designed in order not only to communicate to others the message of acquiring merit, but also to motivate them to acquire the same. According to Pali Canonical

literature merit can also be acquired by paying respect to the three gems such as the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Saṃgha. The Indian ideology of acquiring merit also appears to have been artefactually designed and followed in Southeast Asia. Thus, we have a 7th-8th century epigraphic record from Nakhon Sawan province, Thailand, reading *namo buddhassa namo Dhammassa, namo Saṃghas (sa)* (Revire 2014: 242). In connection with the inter-regional exchange of ideas and or experiences through artefacts it may be noted that linguistic assimilation also took place. In this connection we have two inscribed clay tablets (c. 8th or 9th century) from Mueang Fa Daet of Kalasin province of Thailand. The inscription is as follows *wo' [or wo] kyāk piñ 'u) pajhāy'ācāRyya guna wikhyāt [or wikhyā(t)]*. The Sanskrit word for merit is *punya* and this spelt in this inscription as *piñ* attested by Old Mon. Similarly, the word *'u)pajhāy* is derived from the Pali language in which it is *Upajjhaya* and *'ācāRyya* occurs in the Sanskrit language as *Acarya*. The English rendering of these two epigraphic records has been as follows—"this is the 'holy merit' of the preceptor and/ or teacher who is /are well known by his / their virtue". It is however unown whether the inscriptions refer to one or two individuals (Revire 2014: 246-7). Understandably, the Sanskrit and Pali words were assimilated into the Old Mon with a view to meaningfully communicate the message to the people concerned.

IN LIEU OF CONCLUSION

The above discussion points out the fact that both physical (clay, stone, gold) and non-physical artefacts (inscribed messages) available so far were crafted and semantically designed so as to provide them with meanings for an effective exchange of thoughts and ideas between the people of India, particularly Odisha and those of both mainland and island Southeast Asia. In other words the designer approached the making of the artefact by taking into consideration "how, when and where the item" was used by the user (Amant 2015: 15). Certain principles of semantisation

also appear to have been followed while designing the artifact for the user. These principles are such as function, style, needs, particularly priorities, experiences, specific cultural contexts, and social connection/organization of the user. This is how meanings were connected with the artefacts (Siefkes 2012: 67, 81-90, 96) for a meaningful inter-regional dialogue in the social sphere.

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Ancient Kalinga, Maritime Power, and the Indianization Process of Local Culture and Local Wisdom in Indonesia: A Socio-Historical Perspective

M. Syafi'i Anwar

INTRODUCTION:

Historically speaking, ancient Kalinga or Odisha (c.1100-261 BCE) was widely recognized for its capacity in developing its maritime power and influence in the world. For instance, in relation with European countries, Odisha's maritime power was known for its capacity in maintaining sea trading with traders from Portuguese, Dutch, French, British, and others. Meanwhile, in Southeast Asia countries, ancient Odisha was widely recognized for its ability for not only developing maritime contact, trading, and networking with their fellow traders in Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia, Cambodia, Myanmar, and others. It was also acknowledged for its brave to sail in boats and visit far away in South East Asian seas and lands of Indonesian archipelagos such as Bali, Java, Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, and others for trading (Patra, 2004; 2013; 2016)

Notwithstanding that Odisha's maritime power has significant role in the transformation of Indian culture in Indonesia. In this regard, along with its maritime power, traders from India are able to develop cultural relationship with Indonesian communities in various islands. They were also able to engage with local culture

and local wisdom that have been exist in Indonesia for several centuries. Historical evidences show that through Odisha's maritime power, traders from India are able to transform Indian cultures and civilization to the Indonesian communities. In fact, there are certain cultures, traditions, and local wisdoms which are strongly influenced by Indian cultural values and civilization which, in certain level, creates "Indianization" of Indonesian tradition and culture. However, it is also clear that such Indianization take places peacefully and even create mutual respect and harmony between Indian and Indonesian cultures (Dash and Biswal, 2024, p.122).

This paper will demonstrate socio-historical perspectives related to the legacies of Kalinga's maritime power and its relation with Indianization process in Indonesia, especially in connection with local culture and local wisdom. In fact, the Indianization processes, which are also rooted from Hindu-Buddhist beliefs and traditions, have been implemented in various in Indonesia, particularly in the island of Bali. Moreover, they have also accommodated by Muslim saints and preachers Wali Sanga in spreading Islam, particularly in Java, which creates a more inclusive and tolerance Islam in Indonesia.

THE ROOTS AND SPREADS OF KALINGA'S GLOBAL MARITIME POWER

Maritime studies considers that Kalinga's military power comprises about many aspects of ancient maritime structure, ports, trade routes and imperium, navigation, articles of import, shipbuilding technology, direction of monsoon winds, and other maritime issues. It is able to sail coastline on the east, south and west, adjoining the Bay of Bengal, the Indian Ocean, the Saudi Arabian Sea, and other part of oceans and ports. Consequently, it is acknowledged as "a first-class maritime power". This is because they are able to develop commercial, cultural, and political contact with foreign countries and archipelagos such as South Asia, Vietnam, Sri Lanka, Rome, and other European countries. Yet, the ancient India had established colonies in various regions in

Southeast Asia. As a result, immigrants from India who migrated to Malay Archipelago are called as “Kling” or Keling, which is basically rooted from the name of Kalinga (Dash & Biswal, 2024, p.122; Patra, 2004, p.10).

Indeed, the people of Kalinga has given contribution to the process of colonizing Southeast Asia and even it is recognized further “Greater Kalinga” for several centuries, reaching several islands and countries which is surrounded by the Indian sea. Thus, Kalinga had significant contribution to both colonization and Indianization of Southeast Asia (Patra, 2004, p.10). In relation with Indonesia, Kalinga was particularly known for its relation with Bali; an Indonesian island which is dominated by Hinduism. Studies related to the relation between Kalinga and Bali has shown that there was intensive interaction between the two. Most of Kalinga sailors at that time knew and mentioned that Bali as Narikela Dwipa. Meanwhile, many Balinese inscriptions stated that Bali as the island of coconut (wanuari rumaksan ringnyu) and it was also the center of Kalinga’s commercial and maritime activities (Patra, 2016, p.35).

Kalinga’s sailors used to sail and visit Bali Island and as they settled in Bali dispersed Hindu culture and tradition there. This was the main factor why the whole island of Bali was Hinduised, despite there are other minority religious groups in Bali. Moreover, the link of this magnificent past has been well-preserved in the festival of Odisha and to be called as Bali yatra, or named as biota bandana festival, which was celebrated as during the Purnima or full moon in the month of Kartika (October-November). Currently the people of Odisha in Eastern India used to celebrate this festival with ceremony, particularly by sailing boats of banana peel in the rivers, ponds and seas. Such festival reminds the memory of voyages of the adventure of Kalinga and create romantic and nostalgic feelings of Odisha’s people (Patra, 2016, pp.35-36). Furthermore, it is also crucial to mention here that between Kalinga and Bali there was shared values, cultures, monuments, arts, clothes, dance form,

religious activities, and other traditional events, in terms of religion, Kalinga had significant role in the evolution of Hinduism in Bali. For instance, in one of the Bali districts called as Karangasem, fashioned themselves as Brahmana-Bouddha-Kalinga. It is clear that such evidence shows that the ancestors of Karangasem people are from Kalinga (Patra, 2016). The above evidences, however, show that Kalinga and Bali had contact and communication for centuries. In fact, the existence of religious beliefs in Bali, despite it has been strongly influenced by Hinduism, Balinese also still maintains indigenous and local practices based on their ancestor legacies as the result of Kalinga and Bali in the past.

In terms of Hinduism, it is crucial that there were several kingdoms in the Indonesian history which show that those kingdoms were associated with Hinduism such as Kutai Kartanegara (East Kalimantan), which was established in 4th century AD, Tarumanegara (4th AD), Kalinga (6th AD), Sriwijaya (7th AD), Ancient Mataram (8th AD), Majapahit (13th AD). From these six kingdoms, it is worth noting that one of them, Kalinga kingdom, is also popular due to its story about a just ruler namely Queen Shima. This was because this female Queen was quite strict in ruling her administration, particularly in upholding justice, maintaining rule of law, punishing thief, and keeping her administration on the right track and uncompromised with her people who did criminal action. There was a story in which a King from China wanted to test Queen Shima and her people by putting box of gold money on the street. No one of Kalinga people who dared to take the money. However, the son of Queen Shima kicked the box of gold money. Due to this incident, Queen Shima decided to kill her son. Nevertheless, her ministers strongly requested to Queen Shima in order not to kill her son because he did not take the money. Rather, he only kicked the box of gold money. Finally, the Queen decided to cut his son's leg. Such a story was widely regarded as a sample of a just woman ruler who was committed to upholding justice not only for the people, but also addressing to

her family. Indeed, Queen Shima practiced to do justice and great local wisdom (Okezone, 14 Mei 2024). The Kalinga kingdom is popularly known as Keling kingdom (Kerajaan Keling) or based on the information rooted from Chinese news, it was called as Ho-Ling kingdom, which was located in Jepara, Central Java region.

INDIANIZATION AND ITS IMPACT TO LOCAL CULTURE AND LOCAL WISDOM

Furthermore, it is crucial to note here that Kalinga and various kingdoms in Indonesia from 4th to 13th AD gave significant impact to the Indianization of local culture and local wisdom. Defining Indianization, Harry Parkin Indianization pointed out that,

“Indianization refers to the expansion of an organized culture which was founded based on the Indian conception of monarch, and it was characterized by Hindu or Buddhist cult, the mythology of the Puranas, and the observance of the Dharmasastra, and expressed itself in the Sanskrit language (Parkin, 1978, Thus, Indianization is a process of an act, process or result of Indianizing <https://www.yourdictionary.com/indianisation>, accessed 5 January 2025).

Meanwhile, Eric Ringmar points out that Indianization refers to the process in which the cultural practices of the Indian subcontinent, along with aspects of socio-political system, influenced the rest of Asia and Southeast Asia, China, Japan, and Central Asia. In fact, Indianization is not an official policy and it is difficult to state exactly when the Indianization began and developed further. The Indianization was rooted in the third century CE in which there was a well-established-contact between ports around Indian Ocean (Ocean. Ringmar, <https://books.openedition.org/obp/9086?lang=en>, accessed on 8 March 2025).

In terms of Indianization in Indonesia, it was not merely one episode in the history of Indonesia, but is the history of the archipelago during the first 15th century. It is the long constructive period of Indonesian culture between the late Neolithic civilization and the coming of Islam which was also followed by Islamization

process. Hence, it was clear that Indian religions, particularly Slavistics sect of Hinduism and Buddhism came through Indian and Malay trade exchange, intermarriage, political invasion and religious missionary. In this regard, the evidence of Indianization in the Indonesian history can be traced back through three main aspects: (1) political force, (2) culture, and (3) religion (Rahman, 2014).

In terms of political force, the Indianization process can be seen from the most outstanding Indianized kingdom after Hinduized Tarumanegara and Hindu Mataram was Sriwijaya (650-1350AD); a Mahayana Buddhist kingdom in Sumatra (Palembang). This kingdom was able to control the maritime traffic and trade between of Southeast Asia, until its decline in the 13th century.

Meanwhile, in relation with culture, it is clear with architectural legacies of Borobudur, Prambanan, Sewu and mystical life of Javanese society. Moreover, the cultural effect of Indianization is also related to the concept of loyalty which is rooted from the Javanese concept of aristocracy, which is called as priyayi. Given to this reality, noted anthropologist Clifford Geertz in his muchacclaimed work *The Religion of Java* (1960) pointed out that there was Indian roots of Javanese priyayi. It is also worth noting that the shadow Puppet or wayang kulit is popular for Javanese society, which plays crucial role in worshipping gods, encouraging spirit, harmonizing the community. It also performs the Ramayana and Mahabharata epics, which are very popular in the Javanese communities. Likewise, Javanese and Balinese dances, traditional batik design, and Sanskrit language are also influenced by Indian culture.

Furthermore, Mahayana Buddhism and Hinduism, particularly Shaivism are considered as dominant in the process of Indianization in Indonesia. In fact, both Hinduism and Buddhism were success in influencing the Indianization of Indonesian society due to their adaptation and accommodation of indigenes religious beliefs and cultures. Similar to India, Indonesian also has mystical tradition.

For instance, the gamelan orchestra (traditional ensemble of Javanese society), is influenced by the Hindu mythology practices. In addition, the Borobudur temple near Yogyakarta, is also influenced by Buddhism spirit from India. The development and influence of Indianization were exist from six to fifteen century and were declining after the coming and spreading of Islam to Indonesia, starting in thirteen century, which steadily resulted the process of Islamization, particularly in Java. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that such Islamization process was not based on military ways. Viekke (2003) argued that Islamization happened due to education and cultural transformation (Rahman, 2014).

In relation with the above process of Indianization, it is also crucial to discuss this process related to its influence to local culture and local wisdom. Accordingly, it would be noting that the Indianization, particularly in Southeast Asia was merely a cultural transformation. This thesis can be seen in two perspectives. The first perspective is based on the notion related to “senders” and “receivers” of Indian cultures in Southeast Asia. In this regard, as Monica Smith argued, the sources of Indian influences were very diverse and the adoption of local cultures dependent on circumstances and need. In addition, Smith also pointed out that the motivation for adopting Indian culture was merely based on the consideration for legitimizing rule of the local political power. Moreover, it also part of showing cultural autonomy to resist Chinese expansion in Southeast Asia (Smith: 1999, 1-26; Prasodjo, 2022, p.22).

Nevertheless, Smith’s perspective is sharply criticized due to its tendency to such “colonialist” approaches. Contrary to Smith’s perspective, some scholars pointed out that the process of Indianization was merely based on the selective Indian cultural elements which created innovative and dynamic character of Southeast Asian society. This process is called as “localization”, referring to a condition in which foreign elements; particularly Indian cultures were captivated by the local cultures. As a result,

the “new” culture was the meeting between local and foreign cultures. In this regard, there was a local cultural statement, which is resulted from the meeting between local and foreign cultures. However, it is also clear that the local cultures as the recipients have crucial role in the transformation process of Indian culture. Consequently, as Wales argued, it is manifested as “local genius”, which is basically rooted in the “internal development approach”. Hence, this approach is to criticize the over emphasis tendency of Indianization theories, which mostly refers to the main role of Indians in disseminating the influence of their cultures in Southeast Asia. This approach argued that before the influence of Indian culture in Southeast Asia, the local communities had its own socio-political roots, in which the Indian culture was adapted. Evidences related to this perspective can be seen from the Khmer, Cham, Burmese, and Javanese kingdoms, which were rooted in the prehistoric times even before the Indian elements came in Southeast Asia (Prasodjo, 2022, pp.22-23, cited from Wales, 1974, 18).

Meanwhile, Indian historian Patit Paban Mishra seems to share with this perspective. He argued that there was cultural rapprochement between India and Southeast Asia. However, cultural rapprochement was not transplantation one to each other. Rather, it was due to the genius of local people who chose other culture to be considered as consistent with the indigenous culture or could be formed into its own believe. In this respect, Mishra gives a sample of cultural rapprochement between India and Java. Instead of living imprint of Indian cultural influence on Java, he pointed out that Javanese is not fully influenced by Indian culture. Rather, it has successfully maintained its own identity. “The Javanese had developed before they came into contact with Indians. It can be seen from the cultural phenomenon such as wayang, gamelan orchestra, batik work in textiles, monetary system, rice cultivation, and others (Mishra, 2021, pp.6-7; 2005, p.46, Patra, 2013, p.60).

Furthermore, it is also crucial to discuss the Indianization process to local culture in Indonesia. In fact, based on the historical

studies, Indian culture has dominant influence in Indonesia, particularly in the western part of Indonesia. This can be seen in the peoples' daily lives in social, cultural economics, and political activities until now. In this regard, it is crucial to state here again the role of Hindu and Buddhism, the two great religion originated from India in spreading Indianization processes in Indonesia, particularly in influencing local culture. This is because these two religions have given significant contribution for local cultures in Indonesia as they adopted elements of Indian culture. As stated by Edi Sedyawati, the former Director General of Culture of Indonesia's Ministry of Education during her visit to India. She pointed out that Hinduism and Buddhism had penetrated Indonesian's cultural life with new ideas in the art, science, architecture, sculpture, astronomy, linguistics, politics and philosophy (Sedyawati, 2021).

In general, the visual art comprises sculpture, painting, carving, communication, calligraphy, and architecture. The material used can be stone, metal, ceramic, etc. The first manifestation of Hindu or Buddhist statues to be made locally was in Central Java in the 7th or 8th century, which were still exists until present time. This can be seen from the stone statues of Hindu deities in Dieng Plateau and Gemuruh in Wonosobo. Similar stone statues are also found in Cibuaya, West Java, and Garuda Wisnu Kencana, Bali. In fact, stone statues which portray deities of Siva, Visnu, Harihara and Brahma are similar with stone statues in India. Stone statues of Buddhist temples such as Borobudur, Mendut, Ngawen, Plaosan, and Hindu temples of Banon and Prambanan are also similar with Indian style and models. These cultural legacies have been exist until now. Meanwhile, during the pre-historic era, the scripture of that age is characterized by simplicity of design, angularity of lines, and rigorousness of stances. In additioin, stone statues in East Java are rooted from aesthetic and technological characteristics from Indian culture (Sediawaty, 2021).

In terms of theatrical art, Ramayana ballet, also performed at Prambanan temple is also rooted from classical Indian sources.

It is rooted from Ramayana saga, which is written by Valmiki in the Sanskrit language. Rooted from Indian culture, Ramayana has become a source of artistic and philosophical inspiration in Southeast Asia. In Indonesia, Ramayana can be found Javanese and Balinese dances and are used to be performed along in the form of drama and dance along with gamelan orchestra. Beside to be performed at Prambanan temple, Ramayana ballet can also be found in Yogyakarta city, particularly at Hyatt Regency Hotel. Many tourists both from local and international communities enjoy watching Ramayana ballet and local administration used to utilize it for promotion and performance exhibition (The Jakarta Post, 17 October 2012).

Another example of the influence of Indianization on local culture is Subak; an irrigation system organized by local communities for maintaining water and rice fields. In the Subak system, the temples are the focus of a cooperative water management which shaped the landscape over past thousand years is an integral part of religious life. In this context, Subak system is part of temple culture. In fact, since the 11 century the water temple have managed ecology of rice terrace successfully. Moreover, Subak is based on the Balinese philosophical principle called as Tri Hita Kirana which comprises a combination of the spirit, the human world, and nature. Thus, the congregation of water temple, which manages the Subak landscape aim to sustain the harmonious relationship with natural and spiritual world, which is manifested into series of religious rituals and artistic performance. Thus, the Subak philosophy is based on the balance between God Al Mighty, humans, and nature. In general , there are three main components of Subak, namely (1) parhyangan, which means the relation between human and God, (2) pawongan, the relation between human with another human being, and (3) palemahan, the relation between human and all elements of nature/environment (Nerawati, 2020, pp.136-139)

In terms of parhyangan, it is related to the religious

teaching that humans are God's creation. Realizing this teaching, humans must be grateful, ardent, and always prostrate to God's Almighty (Ida Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa). Gratitude and devotion should be expressed in the form of praise for God's greatness. Meanwhile, *pawongan* is associated with the relation between one to another human being, in which every human being need assistance and cooperation with others and based on the spirit of good and harmony. The relation must also be based on the spirit of mutual respect, mutual love, and mutual guidance (*saling asah, asih, asuh*), which can create good relationships, safety and peace for the society and prosperity for the country (Nerawati, 2020, pp.136-137).

In terms of *pawongan*, it is worth noting that human being interaction needs collaboration, communication, and togetherness in order to achieve unity and solid work, which can be found in Reg Veda X 191. 2 below:

Sam gaccdhvam sam vadadhvam
Sam vo manamsi janatam
Deva bagham yatha purve
Samjanana upasate

The free translation of the above teaching is that, "as human beings, you should walk together; talk together, in the same way as your predecessors share their duties. So that is how you should exercise your rights" (Nerawati, 2020, p.138).

Finally, *palemahan* refers to the relation between human and environment, which is based on the teaching that human must be caring to environment conditions and therefore it must be maintained properly, and not to be contaminated or damaged. Leaf and plantation should be remain green. Thus, *palemahan* comprise ethics education to know everybody rights and his environment, which strengthen the relation between human, God, and the environment based on religious teachings and ritual ceremonies as practiced by the Balinese during their agricultural activities as at Bedugul Temple, and other agricultural activities such as

Ngenda, Penanduran, Tulung-Tulung, Pangisehan, etc. During Ngenda, forests should not be cut down and animal should not be hunted because it will create imbalance of the nature (Nerawati, 2020, p.138-139).

Furthermore, it is also crucial to state here that the Subak system shows a democratic and egalitarian system focused on water temples and control of irrigation. This is because most Subaks are based on written legal code, called as awig-awig, which formulate detailed the right and responsibility of Subak membership. In this regard, awig-awig, such a traditional customary laws and regulations, which maintain management and traditional protection related to conservation of cultural properties. Such laws and regulations are adopted by Bali Province local administration No. 5/2005, which protect sacred sites such as temples and other religious sites based on awig-awig (UNESCO, World Heritage Convention, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1194/>, accessed on 5 March 2024)

Another form of Indian cultures which influence local wisdom values in Indonesia, particularly in central Java, can be found in the Javanese society. In this regard, it is worth noting that Indian cultures are influenced by the Hindu-Islamic acculturation. Based on study conducted by Islamic Economic Study Program at UII (The Indonesian Islamic University) Yogyakarta, there are three rituals main which are strongly influenced by the Hindu-Islamic acculturation such as (1) Merti Dusun, (2) Nyadran, and (3) Wiwitan (Soya Sobaya, et.al, 2023, pp. 57-66), which can be found in Yogyakarta, Solo, Kendal, and other cities in Central Java. In general, Merti dusun, Nyadran, and Wiwitan can be described as follows:

MERTI DUSUN

Merti Dusun is originally ritual based on Hinduism that has been adapted and acculturated to Islam. It is a worship ritual dedicated to Dewi Sri (Goddess of Food) and Dewa Sadana (Goddess of Clothing), which used to conciliate ancestors as well

as preventing disease epidemic within the community. In fact, Merti Dusun is the result of the fusion of Javanese-Hindu Traditions with Islamic wisdoms in Java, which was spread by Walisongo (nine Saints) in Java. Indeed, the role of Walisongo was quite significant in spreading Islam in Java. In this regard, Merti Dusun is seen as a symbol of gratitude for God's blessing, nourishment, and peace (Sobaya. et.al,2023, pp.60-61).

NYADRAN

Nyadran is rooted from Hindu-Buddhist tradition similar to Craddha/Shraddha which means “based on faith”, which is to be held annually aims to show respect to descendants. In fact, the Wali Songo adopted nyadran tradition as their part of dakwah strategy for introducing Islam to the Javanese society. Such as dakwah strategy was accepted and harmonized with the nyadran values. Later, nyadran was accommodated and steadily filled with Islamic teachings, particularly the Prophet Muhammad's birthday (maulud). The philosophy behind nyadran is that it is a ritual aims to gratitude God Almighty for the given sustenance toward the relation and friendship between living humans and relatives who already passed away. (Sobaya, et.al, 2023, p.61, cited from Winarni, et.al.2013; Arinda R, 2014).

WIWITAN

As a tradition, wiwitan aims to bringing sesajen (offering) to the rice fields prior to harvesting the rice itself. This tradition is basically a form of thankfulness to God for the abundant harvest to be given to the farmers and their families. In so doing, they used to place rice on the door of their houses, showing that the farmer families always be thankful for God's blessing. In addition, the farmer families also used to provide sesajen made from seamed mixed vegetables with peeled coconut and chilli peppers and to be given to other people who participate at the wiwitan tradition. Many farmers in Java and Bali have practiced it from the ancient period until present day (Sobaya, et.al, 2023, p.61, cited from Nafi'ah, 2016; Nisa, et.al, 2022).

HINDU-BUDHIST TRADITIONS AND “ISLAM KEJAWEN”

In relation with the above evidences, it is clear that the Islamic acculturation of Indian cultures and Hindu-Buddhist traditions, particularly in Javanese society, run well, peaceful, and relatively lack of tension and conflict. Hence, Javanese society who practices the above three rituals as described above and other form of Islamic acculturation towards Hindu-Buddhist traditions which were rooted from India is called as “Islam Kejawen”. In fact, IslamKejawen incorporates pre-Islamic traditions and Hindu traditions. In relation with this tendency, it is worth noting that Islam, especially in Java, is influenced by Sufismor mystical Islam, which is able to make adaptation to local culture, local wisdom, and local belief. In ritual practices, Islam Kejawen followers adjust elements of Javanese culture, and in praying activities, they mixed with Arabic and Hindu-Buddhist traditions. Accordingly, the mixed rituals are practiced by the Javanese society especially, particularly related to pregnancy and childbirth rituals, marriage ceremonies, and death rites. In terms of pregnancy and childbirth rituals, they are carried out when the unborn baby is within the worm until the moment of birth. The purpose of these rituals is pray for the well-being of both mother and the unborn baby. As the pregnancy reach 7 (seven) months, Javanese used to do mitoni(Lestari, et.al., 2023, pp. 194-195).

After the mother gives birth, Javanese people carry out puputan. As the baby is 35 days old, they will conduct selapanan, which performs reciting of Qur’anic verses along with offering tumpengan (a cone-shaped rice dish), jenang abang putih (red and white doorcase), market snack and kemenyan (incense). Meanwhile, in terms of marriage, it is carried by the two families of the bridge prior and after the marriage, aiming to request bless the bridge. Then, the death ritual performs praying for the late family who have already passed away and used to be conducted through “nelung dino” (three days), “mitung dino” (seven days), “matang puluh dina” (forty days), “nyatus dino” (one hundred

days), “nyewu dina” (one thousand days), etc. Traditionally, such rituals are followed by tahlilan (reciting of phrases in praise of God Almighty repeatedly). The Javanese society believes that within three days, the spirit of the death is still around the house. (Lestari, et.al; 187-206).

Given to these phenomenons, it is clear that Islam Kejawen is to be influenced by Hindu-Buddhist traditions. In this regard, it would be make sense if many native and foreign scholars of Javanese society and Islam Kejawen consider that the role Wali Sanga is crucial in spreading Islam in Java. Wali Sanga is widely acknowledged for their strategy in adopting Islamic teachings with local cultural norms, local wisdom, and traditional values that have been exist in the past, despite such values are rooted in the Hindu-Buddhist traditions. They develop inclusive and gradual understanding of Islam. Contrary to conventional assimilationist approaches, Wali Sanga conduct acculturation of Hindu Buddhist traditions, belief systems, and mixed rituals for the Javanese society. Such a strategy creates religious harmony, resulting mutual respect, tolerance, and peaceful coexistence between Muslims and non-Muslims at that time (Afandi, 2023, pp.103-107).

There are a lot of examples in which Wali Sanga show their inclusive approaches in spreading Islam. However, for this discussion, there will be two selected examples among those Wali, they are Sunan Kalijaga and Sunan Kudus. Sunan Kalijaga or Raden Sahid is popularly known for his dakwah preaching by using wayang kulit (puppet), in which used to be rooted from the Mahabharata and Ramayana stories and epics. Those stories and epics are then inserted by religious teaching and be connected with Islamic heroes (Afandi, 2023, pp.117-118).

Meanwhile, Sunan Kudus or Ja’far Sadiq is popularly acknowledged for his respect to Hindu and Buddhist teachings. In relation with the Hindu teachings, he requested Muslims for not slaughtering cow because he considered that cows are sacred animals for Hindu adherents. The legacy of his call for not

slaughtering cow remains exists until now. There will be no sate sapi (cow kebab) and most Kudus people used to each sate kerbau (buffalokebab). Moreover, he built “Menara Kudus” (The Kudus Minaret) in which the architecture like Hindu temple and it is placed side by side with the mosque. In respect to Buddhism, Sunan Kudus also built a padasan (place of ablution) with eight showers. Interestingly, on top of every shower is placed a statue of the head of Kebo Gumarang, which is related to Buddhist teachings “the eightfold path or asta sanghika marga” (Afandi, 2023, pp.118-119).

Due to his inclusive dakwah strategy and as well as accommodating and respecting Hindu-Buddhist beliefs, cultural tradition, and local wisdom, Sunan Kudus is successful in spreading Islam. His inclusive approach and pluralist commitment give significant impact for the Kudus communities in creating religious harmony, tolerance, and mutual respect among religious adherents.

CONCLUSION

From the above discussion, it is clear that Kalinga’s maritime power has relation with the Indianization process in Southeast Asia, including Indonesia. The significant influence of Kalinga is in Bali, which can be seen from the share values, cultures, traditions, clothes, dances, and religious activities. In this regard, there is no doubt in arguing that there was contact and communication between Kalinga and Bali. Although Bali society is strongly influenced by Hinduism, Balinese people still maintain native and local traditions and practices based on their ancestor legacies from Kalinga. The existence, role, and function of Subak in Bali shows this tendency. To a certain level, Subak is also influenced by Hinduism spirit. However, the Balinese people also use their own philosophical values based on the principle of Tri Hita Karana, which comprise the balance between God, human and nature.

Meanwhile, it is also crucial to state here that both Hinduism and Buddhism have breached Indonesia’s cultural life related to art, science, architecture, linguistic, politics, and culture. Moreover, these two religions from India have also influenced local culture

and local wisdom in Indonesia, particularly in Java, which can be seen from the rituals of *merti dusun*, *nyadran*, and *wiwitan*. These three rituals are basically rooted in the Hinduism and Buddhism.

Notwithstanding they have been accommodated by Muslim preachers and saints (especially Wali Sanga) with Islamic teachings through acculturation processes. The result was such a mixed beliefs, traditions, and rituals which combine Islamic teachings with those from Hinduism and Buddhism spirits. Furthermore, Wali Sanga also disseminated the flexibility of Islamic teaching in response to local religions, local cultures, and local wisdoms wisely, despite they fully understand that those are rooted from Hinduism and Buddhism. In fact, the Wali Sanga's *dakwah* strategy was effective in recruiting Javanese people to join Islam. Moreover, their *dakwah* strategy created inclusive, moderate, and tolerance attitudes which give significant impact for religious harmony and coexistence in the society. Consequently, the Indonesian Islam is widely regarded as --- to borrow a journalistic report of Newsweek magazine phrase more one than two decades ago, "Indonesian Islam is Islam with the smiling face" (Newsweek, September 1996). Unfortunately, since the collapse of Soeharto's New Order regime in 1998 and the Bali Bombing 2002, the image of Indonesian Islam was declining due to the rise of conservative Islamic movements, which are mostly rooted from the Middle East. These conservative Islamic movements, however, are associated with the strict, legal, and exclusive *shari'a* minded.

Based on the socio-historical perspectives as discussed above, it is clear that to a certain level, Indianization processes give significant contribution towards the format of Islamization in Indonesia, which is committed to moderation, tolerance, and respect to religious others.

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Rediscovering the Global Encounters between the Kalings and Indo-Malay World

Nia Deliana

ABSTRACT

Studies on the global maritime encounters between India and Indo-Malay worlds have long been insufficient. For centuries, People of Kalinga was once popular within the Indo-Malay world for being the power of influential merchantilism and client to sovereignties across the Indian Ocean. Despite the significantly diverse available materials originated from the Indo-Malay world, that numerous grandeur prototype images were long misunderstood and forgotten for the changing spatial and temporal internationalism. It was in the 19th century, under the ecosystem of colonialism that sought the power to a maritime hegemonic global order, people of Kalings started to be known as the Kelings, as a result of the overlapping latinized writing of the Jawi led to new political construction of identity of the Kalings. Although there were problems with the nature of the knowledge produced on the identities, this does not imply that the Indo-Malay reference to the Kalings meant exclusively appointing to the flow of the people from the Kalinga kingdom. Instead, it signifies inherited collective memories on the multicentric global maritime encounters with the coastal lines of Kalinga and Coromandel Ports. This paper examines the Indo-Malay world portrayal on the the global

encounters with the Kelings merchantile agencies. It investigates the geographic memories of the Kelings, the global maritime tales and texts circulated in the Indo-Malay world. It seeks to understand the changing identities resulted from colonialism and the rise of nationalism in owning and disowning of the internationalism with the Kelings. By utilizing the archival materials that consists of newspapers and manuscripts from diverse centuries, it is expected that this study would provide an additional contribution to the understanding of historical global international relations between India and Indonesia.

Keywords: Global IR, identities, knowledge production, Kalings and Coromandel coasts, Indo-Malay world.

1. INTRODUCTION

Debate on the origins of the Keling persisted throughout many decades. More scholars convinced that Keling is a word derived from the historical relations with the Kalinga Kingdom located in the maritime line India's Eastern coastal region which encompasses the whole current territory of Odisha. Kalinga kingdoms existed around 1100-261 BCE, ruled by several dynasties and empires. Although Kalinga War against Ashoka in 261 BCE led to its collapse, People of the Kalinga continued to hail in oceanic economy from the maritime line of Odisha and the Coromandel coasts to South and Southeast Asia.¹ The Maritime societies of Southeast Asia, particularly the Indo-Malay World knew them as the Kelings. The Indo-Malay world referred here is included geography of Indonesian Archipelago and Malay world that encompasses part of the Philippines and Thailand beside Singapore and Brunei Dar al Salam.

Kelings identified as a race belonged to South Indian and the Subcontinent speaking diaspora societies are probably as old as trans-oceanic commercial networks in the Indian Ocean. It

1. R.C. Majumdar, *Indianization of Southeast Asia*, (Calcutta: Firma KLM Private Ltd, 1963).

entails layers of rise and fall of orders, powers and civilizations that complete historical evidence have faded into the mists of time. The knowledge somehow preserved within the Southeast Asian societies, such as that of the Indo-Malay archives. The source informs that by the time the text was written in the 18th century onwards, Kelings was noted as people who dwelled throughout the Coromandel Ports. The author of Hikayat Abdullah, first published in 1849, described Keling language as non-Malay tongue that he himself was obliged to learn. The reference to Keling as a race of Tamil speakers arose new in the 20th century, when nation state contestation of rights heightened between the colonial categorized 'indigenous', 'settlers', and 'foreign' groups.²

These texts vary into several types of literature known as hikayats, prose, and syair, widely circulated in Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, and Brunei. Although prolonged debate exists on fact and fiction, this is beyond the scope of this chapter, which examines the global identity of the Kelings proliferated through classical texts in Acehnese, Javanese, and Malay. It evaluates the localization of the trans-oceanic tale and transformation of images resulted from the changing maritime global order in the Indian Ocean. By relying on archival qualitative methodology, textual analysis from 10 newspapers and 44 manuscripts is implemented, ranging from the period of 18th to the 20th century with the substantial context to the period of 14th century. It is expected that this chapter contributes to the narrative of historical global international relations between India and Indo-Malay world.

1.1 MAPPING THE BENUA KELING

Numerous scholars have tried to locate the origination of Keling. Most of the scholars show a divide of opinion bifurcated

2. A. H. Hill, *The Hikayat Abdullah: Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1970), 45-6; Fikiran, "Beri Pelajaran Free kepadaSemuanya", *Majlis Guru*, March 1930, 48-49, <http://mcp.anu.edu.au/N/SK/230.html>.

between those who believed it was originated from Java and those who convinced it was South India.

Coedes argued that the name of Kalinga resembles that of the Keling used by the Malays and the Cambodians to designate the Indians.³ Krom and Groenevelt believed that Kelings derived from South Indian geographical names, Kalinga, that now mapped as part of Coromandel Coastal areas including Orissa and Madras.⁴

Royal kingdom establishment in Java, Sumatra and Banjarmasin was owed to the flow of South Indian waves. Word Keling in Indigenous sources is recorded the earliest in 9th century Java's transcription. Benua 'Quelins' that frequently appeared in early Malay and foreign sources are believed to be referred to Kalinga in Eastern Coastal area of India, which specifically attached throughout centuries to ports of Coromandel including Masulipatnam, Portonovo, Nagore, Pulikat, and etc.⁵

In contrast, Van der Tuuk disagreed with the above ideas and believed that Kelings were originated from Java, relying on the fact that Keling was found as a name of a village in Eastern Java of Kediri.⁶ Schrieke supported this idea by adding that the Keling such as presented in Hikayat Banjar was the ones from Northern

3. G. Coedes, *The Indianized State of Southeast Asia* (Honolulu: Hawaii University Press, 1968), 30.

4. N. J. Krom, *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, 2nd ed. (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1931), 98nt; W. P. Groeneveldt, *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca Compiled from Chinese Sources* (Batavia: W. Bruining, 1876), 114-144.

5. Jane Drakard, "An Indian Ocean Port: Sources for the Earlier History of Barus", *Archipel* (Annee 1989): 65-67; Lombard, *Kerajaan Aceh*, 44; Burton Stein, "South India: Some General Considerations of the Region and its Early History", in *The Cambridge Economic History of India c. 1200-1750*, eds. Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 14-18.

6. H. N. Van der Tuuk et al., *Kawi BalineeschNederlandschWoordenboek* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1899), 282-283.

Kediri,⁷ in contrast to the finding of Johannes Jacobus Ras whose major work is on Hikayat Banjar and Kotawaringin.

The absence study on interpreting trans-continental relations on the presence of area named after Keling probably where the disagreement layed. For Van der Tuuk justification became irrelevant as Keling named after a village accounted to be existed almost equally in Southeast Asia. Not only name of village, in fact, mountain, hilly side, market, land, and housing had been preserved perhaps, naturally by the locals, as an address to their identification.

Another reason triggered by the intense degradation of South Indian mercantile flows to Java since the Dutch monopoly in the area. As Raffles stated in 1817 that:

*“The natives of the Coromandel and Malabar coasts, who reside on Java, are usually termed Moors. They appear to be remnant of a once extensive class of settlers; but their numbers have considerably decreased since the establishment of Dutch monopoly and the absolute extinction of native trade with India, which we have reason to believe was once very extensive. Trading vessels, in considerable numbers, still continue to proceed from the Coromandel Coast to Sumatra, Penang and Malacca, but they no longer frequent Java”.*⁸

In Aceh alone, as revealed by Dutch topographical works, Kelings was named after rivery villages in the capital and northern side, whereas for district and mountain could be found in the western areas. More places owned its name as Keling could be further traced in Sumatra, Malaka, Pinang, Singapore, Cambodia, Vietnam, and Brunei Darussalam. Kampung Keling now can still be found in Padang, Jepara, Ponorogo, Brunei, Pontianak, for instance.

The dispute of the place of origins was also triggered by the fact that large number of maps in the Indian Oceans was

7. B. Schrieke, Indonesian Sociological Studies: Ruler and Realm in Early Java (The Hague: W. van Hoeve Ltd, 1957), 21.

8. Nasution, The Chulia in, 110 (As quoted from Thomas Stamford Raffles, The History of Java, vol. 1 (London: John Murray, 1817), 75).

transformed, thus simultaneously erased, as recreation in colonial topography and hydrography works expanded, especially during the British colonial rule in the regions across the Indian Ocean.

The name of Kalinga in South India remains presence till the British rule who changed on map ‘Kalinga Sagar/ Kalinga Odadhi’ into the Bay of Bengal. Buddhist Scriptures preserved the word the Bay of Bengal as Kalinga Mahodadhi in 7th Century, and well-penned in 1575 map of the Mughal Empire.⁹

With the erasure of Kalinga as the marker of its oceanic bay only during the late 18th century, it would be easier to understand on why the people in the Archipelago’s address remained preserved in texts and spoken knowledge up till today. One of the reasons was the information gained from the independent South Indian merchants who routinely trade through its agents or established mixed marital family in the regions, for a further generational cycle in the Indian Ocean, such as the case of Syaikh Abdul Qadir’s sons’ migrations to Ambon-Maluku, Malacca and Java (Sedayu and Semarang).¹⁰

Numerous classical literatures called on number of visits to Keling as part of the story setting. The mentions are mostly elaborated in a legendary mystical explanation intended to contribute to the audience immense onto its fantasy. Geographical appointment of Keling was not perceived as highly important. An 18th century Islamic Javanese tale, *SeratKandha* for instance

9. Kartik Chandra Rout, “Maritime Heritage of Ganjam,” *Odisha Review*, November 2013, 1-5, <http://magazines.odisha.gov.in/Oriissareview/2013/nov/engpdf/41-45.pdf>; Prafulla Chandra Mohanty, “Maritime Trade of Ancient Kalinga,” *Odisha Review*, November 2011, 1-3, <http://magazines.odisha.gov.in/Oriissareview/2011/Nov/engpdf/39-41.pdf>; Orissa Post, “Kalinga Sagar was Renamed as Bay of Bengal by Britishers”, *Orissa Post*, July 25, 2019, <https://www.orissapost.com/kalinga-sagar-was-renamed-as-bay-of-bengal-by-britishers/>

10. Keling is a current village under the city of Semarang in Java. On the family spread elaboration. (Hill, *The Hikayat Abdullah*, 7).

elaborate that ‘Negeri Keling’ is meant as negeri seberang which help shaping clue that it was out of Java separated by sea.¹¹ The text narrated on how figures of the tales made journey to “Nagri Keling”,¹² precisely a tale of a Javanese prince, Raden Miluhur who was into a journey to Keling for the purpose of establishing a family; wife and offspring. The journey was aided by two heavenly recluses, called Jatipitatur and Pituturjati who abetted discovering a suitable Keling princess and turned later on as the guardian of the soon born son, Inu Kartapati.¹³

In fact, the earliest record referring to a royal return to Keling was during the Majapahit period. Kritavijaya, who married with a presumably Muslim Champa royal woman, left Majapahit shortly after his replacement between 1451 or 1453 and lived in Keling for unclarified reasons.¹⁴

Serat Kanda mentioned that Mihulur’s father had established ‘negeri orang-orang Keling’¹⁵ in Southeastern Kalimantan.¹⁶ Further the attachment to Keling within the royal lineage of Raden Miluhur’s son is supported a clue through a Malay Arabic scripted folklore authored between the late 18th and beginning of 19th century. This folklore is known as HikayatCarang Kulina where portions of the

11. Johannes Jacobus Ras, *Hikayat Banjar Hikayat Banjar*, trans. Siti Hawa Salleh (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka Kementrian Pendidikan Malaysia, 1990), 175.

12. Denys Lombard, *Nusa Jawa: Silang Budaya Jaringan Asia*, trans. Winarsih Pertaningrat Arifin, RahayuHidayat, and Nini Hidayati Yusuf, 3rd ed., vol. 2 (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama., 2005), 93.

13. Sumaryono, “Transformasi Karya Sastra Panji keDalam Seni-seniPertunjukan”, Seminar Naskah Kuno Nusantara Cerita Pani SebagaiWarisan Dunia, PNRI Jakarta, (28-29 October 2014): 13-14, <http://digilib.isi.ac.id/4686/>

14. Bijan Raj Chatterjee, *India and Java*, vol. 2 (Calcutta: M.C. Das Prabasi Press 1933), 44.

15. State of the people of Keling.

16. Ras, *Hikayat Banjar*, 175.

contents dedicated to the tale of Raden Inu Kartapati. The point that links to the existential Keling cultural bearing was stated in the beginning of the hikayat where the type of the tale telling was also known among the Keling as Kanda, besides giving sample characterization in Malay, Javanese, and Chinese.¹⁷

Inu Kertapati apparently was also known in several other version of Panji in Malay, Thai, Cambodia, and Bali as Raden Inu, Hino, or Inao,¹⁸ beside his other title Asmarabangun such as chanted in another significant classical literature, Serat Panji Jayakusuma which originated from central Java. This tale narrated story on Panji Asmarabangun and his royal family's journey to Negeri Keling where grandmother from mother's side originated. The Journey was not able to be completed as the shipwrecked by storm and every family were separated and found lives in different islands presumably one of the islands in Indonesia.¹⁹

A rare manuscript preserved in Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta's Museum Negeri Sono Budoyo titled P. Asmarabangun Panji-Keling III where the mark of Keling at the end of his name signified essential lineage of South Indian in Java.²⁰

His names further evolved to be more identified with local sense. The classical mask and batik performances known as Wangbang Wideya for instance identified him as Raden Makaradwaja while in Hikayat Panji Kuda Semirang he was titled as Kuda Rawisrengga. Jayakusuma is his other name in Serat Panji Jayakusuma.²¹

17. Annabel Teh Gallop, "John Crawfurd and Malay Studies", blogs.bl.uk., last modified May 27, 2014, <https://blogs.bl.uk/asian-and-african/2014/05/john-crawfurd-and-malay-studies.html>.

18. Sumaryono, "Cerita Panji Antara Sejarah, Mitos, dan Legenda," Mudra, vol. 26, no. 1 (January 2011): 21.

19. Ibid, 4.

20. Timothy E. Behrend, "Small Collections of Javanese Manuscripts in Indonesia", Archipel (Année 1988): 35-37.

21. Sumaryono, "Cerita Panji...", 21.

A 19th century Javanese folklore written during the reign of Raden NgabehiRanggawasita (1802-1873) of Mataram kingdom,²² SeratParamayoga mentioned a savior from Keling who relieved Javanese people from oppressive king, Dewatasengkar.²³

A 16th century Sundanese poem, Bujangga Manik, tells a story in poetic style on a journey of certain Sundanese called Bujangga Manik to all over Java and Bali. The text mentions 450 names of places that topography in Java based on the tale had been created. Among the place, was mentioned on the vast panorama of Nusa Keling that could be observed from the Mount Papandayan, which is outside Indonesia. Bujangga Manik also encountered a ship he identified as 'Kemuda-KemudiKeling' with the typical characteristics of Keling vessels and mentioned the nakhoda of a marvelous ship where he was passanger to Bali.²⁴

In contrast to the general tales bearing the name of Keling, several classical literatures indeed had earlier shed light on its actual geography. Hikayat Tanah Hitu (1650) is known as one of the gems in local literature originated from Hitu, Ambon. Scholars agree that Imam Ridjali, the author, shall be considered as historian who elaborated narratives concurred well within

22. Sutarman SoedirmanPartonadi, *Sadrach's Community and Its Contextual Roots: A Nineteenth Century Javanese Expression of Christianity* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1990), 51.

23. Darni, Ubaidillah et al., "The Origin of Human Based on Javanese Literary Studies, *Advances in Social Sciences*", Education and Humanities Research, vol. 222 (2018): 298-299; Vladimir Braginsky, *A Comparative Study of Traditional Asian Literatures: From Reflective Traditionalism to Neo-Traditionalism* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2004), 77.

24. J. Noorduyn and A Teeuw, *Three Old Sundanese Poems* (KITLV Press: Leiden, 2006); Jacobus Noorduyn and A. Teeuw, "A Panorama of the World from Sundanese Perspective", *Archipel* (Anne 1999): 57, 210, 212, 215 & 217; Jacobus Noorduyn, "Bujangga Manik Journey through Java; Topographical data from an old Sundanese Source", *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, enVolkenkunde*, vol. 138 (1982): 4 & 413-443.

historical factuality as, not only on reference of tanah Keling, but also on numerous individual names of Portuguese, Dutch²⁵ and vast geographical references that provided coherency to the credibility of historical narratives.

The Hikayat for instance was also in the awareness of Francois Valentyn (1666-1727) who convinced that it is indeed one of the most reliable Malay historical sources as he revealed in his book *Old and New East Indies* (1724-6).

Presumably, narrated events were from late 15th to 17th century, Imam Radjali unfolded journey experiences of his cousin, Mihirjiguna who was a son to Kapitan Hitu, to Tanah Keling. It exposes commercial route from the land of Banda in Sulawesi to the Land of the Kelings. The text quote:

“... Lalu Mihirjiguna tanyakepada jeneral, “kapalsemuhanyaituendakke mana?” Maka kata jeneral, “kapalituendakke Melaka, adake Jambi, adake Laut Mera, adapulange Negeri Holandes, adake Bandar Masilpatani. Maka kata Mihirjiguna, “Beta mintakepada jeneralsementarilagilambat musim, beta endakturut kapal yang ke bandar Masilpatani, maumelihat dunia anah Keling barangseadanyahidupkusehinggadatang musim barat”... Tellahdemikianituberapalamanyadatangketa tanah Keling, kepada negeri Tunahpatnan. Maka naik kedaratberjalanke negeri Pujiciri, menubusdenganharganya dua real seorang, adatengahtiga real, adamenjualdirinyasendiri, adamenjualanaknya. Tellahmenubusitu, makaberlayardari Puduceri, lalu ke pada Tirubambu, dan Tirumulawasir dan Kunmuri, lalu ke pada Nagahpatan. Daripada Feranggi duduk dari situ, makamdinamai San Tumi. Adapun San Tumi itu adasuatubukit, makadidirikangerejanya akantempatberhalanya,

25. The texts also recorded the presence of Frederick de Houtman and his brother Cornelis de Houtman who was known to be arrested by Acehnese woman admiral, Keumalahayati in 1599 was mentioned in the text. Considering the text cover stories from 15th century, this means the writer might well be aware on events involving the Dutch in the region, although no mention of Aceh has been made.

Nyonya Sinyora di Mundi namanya. Kemudiandari padaitumakaberlayarsehinggadatangkankePalikat. Karena disituada Kota Wolanda, iaberhentientahberapalamanya. Lalu iaberlayarke Bandar Masilpatani, ia duduk kepadarumahsyadagar haji Baba namanya, disanalahdimasyhur kannama Mihrijiguanaitu ‘Sultan Karanful’, kipatisyah. Disanalahiamelihatperhiasan dunia semuhanyalengkap, sehinggaibubapakita yang benaritumakatiadakitabertemu. Lain daripadaitutiadapatdiceritakankepadakelakuan yang indah-indah, seperti perbuatan yang kegemarankepada keelokan sertakeinginan hatimanusia. Dan kejahatan sertakebencian pun demikian lagi, dan kesukaan dan kedukaan pun demikian lagi, seperti orang kaya dan orang miskin, dan orang berumah dalam tanah dan orang tiadaberumah selamalamanya, dan orang membuang segalanajismanusi adalam negeri itu. Dan dikerjakan hamam, ada air sejuk dan air panas kepadasuatu tempat harkat kepadasegalamanusia. Apabiladatang pagihari, makamaka mandi dengan air yang panasitu. Jika datang tengah hari maka mandi pada air yang sejukitu. Dan perbuatan pelbagai yang andak dalam dunia semuhanyaiamelihtakarena Masilpataniitu Bandar Kutb Syah yakni raja Gulgonda, tatkala zaman sultan Muhammad Huliakankerajaan di negeri Gulgonda. Tellahdemikianituhattadatangmusim maka iapulang”.²⁶

26. This is a transliteration based on an unnamed author titled *Hikayat Tanah Hitu*. The earliest study on this manuscript is in 1977 in a form of dissertation by the late Zacharias Josef Manusama and an edit book by Jan van Der Putten released in 2004, where conformity in regard to names and places in the text were revealed. Thus, Names of place mentioned to be under tanah Keling had been verified as Masilpatani (Masulipatnam), Tunahpatnam, Pujiciri/Puduciri (Pondicherry), Tirubambu, Trivandrum/Tirumala (Rajanpatnam), Tirumulawasir (Tirumulavasal), Kunmuri (Kanyimedu), Nagahpatan (Nagapattinam), San Tumi (San Thomes), Feranggi (Portuguese), Sinyora di Mundi (Senior de Mundo), Palikat (Pulikat) and Gulgonda (Golconda). See: The original manuscript written in Jawi is kept in Leiden University Library, coded Cod.Or. 5448. See: Hans

TRANSLATION:

“... Then Mihirjiguna asked the general, “Where all these ships are heading to?,” answered the general, “Those ships are heading towards Malacca, Jambi, some are to the Red Sea, some other to Holland, and also to Masulipatnam”. Mihirjiguna replayed, “I request the general, while the season (monsoon) is yet arriving, I shall board the ship that will be heading to Masulipatnam port, for my wishes as far as I could live, to see once the land of the Kelings, until the season fetched” ... sooner after he arrived in the land of the Kelings, in Tunahpatnam. Upward travelled toward Pondicherry, by redeeming with 2 rial individually, some with half rial, other sold themselves or their child. Having made the redemption, sailing made from Pondicherry to Tirumuvalarajapatnam and trimulavasal and Kanyimedu, then to Negapattinam. From Feranggi, was seated a tomb called San Thomes. San Thomes in there was a hill, lays a church Nyonya Seniora de Mundo it was named. Then right after that voyage was made to Pulikat. There it was the city of the Dutch, where he stopped for sometimes. He then sailed to port of Masulipatnam. He stayed in a merchant’s residence called Haji Baba. There he was known as ‘Sultan Karanfil’²⁷, Kipati Syah. He saw in their complete worldly jewelry, that for our parents were correct we were not finding them now. Other than that, nothing was more to be told of beauty, such the favor of men over elegance and heartily desire as likely evil and hatred, happiness and sorrow,

Straver, Chris van Fraassen & Jan van der Putten (Eds.), *Ridjali: Historie van Hitu. Een Ambonsegeshiedenis uit de zeventiende eeuw*, (Utrecht: LSEM (Landelijk Steunpunt Educatie Molukkers), 2004; Sifa al Rijal, *Hikayat Tanah Hitu*, <https://www.yumpu.com/id/document/read/8374180/hikayat-tanah-hitupdf-zoomshare>; Barbara Andaya, “Imagination, Memory and History: Narrating India Malay Intersections in the Early Modern Period”, in *Narratives: Routes and Intersections in Pre Modern Asia*, ed. Radhika Seshan (New York: Routledge, 2017), 17-20.

27. Karanfil is an Arabic word to mean Cloves. Ambon was known as one of the highest produce of cloves during this era.

the rich and the poor, as well as those who settled and those who were nomads, and those who excreted human feces all over the land. And bathhouse was built, supplied with cold and hot water, dignified place for every human. When the morning arrived, the bath is hot water. For the midday fetched, so the bath was cold water. And every single wish desired in the world, he had seen them because Masulipatnam's port belonged to Kutb Syah, the King of Golconda, of the era of Sultan Muhammad Huli²⁸ in the kingdom of Golconda. So there it was until the season fetched him to return”.

By the account of Mihirjiguna, the writer is well aware the exact location of BenuaKeling. It does not matter for the changing rulers and names of state throughout the centuries, the people in the Indo-Malay Archipelago's address had been ingrained into the memorial consciousness and inherited internalized knowledge.

Trade with Negeri Keling of South India was not only visible through Ambon but also Banten. Banten relied on diplomatic trade relation with Denmark who collaborated with private South Indian merchants and shipowners and shared the control markets of cloves and pepper centered in Tranquebar in the Coromandel Coast during its occupation in 1620-1720. The non-military colonialism of the Danes expanded from Serampore of West Bengal, Coromandel

28. The Sultan referred here is Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Syah reigned in 1580-1612. Golconda Sultanate was flourishing in the 17th century where particular notions of cultural expansions, Muslim South India-Parsian hybrids, expanded as far as Siam Empire. Under his son, Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shah (1612-1626), ambassador exchanges occurred between King Narai's Ayuthaya and Golconda Sultanate. Numerous South Indian-Parsians merchants from Golconda Sultanate dwelled within the royal jurisdiction for a period of 20 years up to 1680. With the establishment of mosques and expanded trade under King Narai, the Muslims in Ayuthaya increased to 3000-4000 people. See: Barbara Andaya, "Imagination, Memory", 26; Sinappah Arasaratnam, *Islamic Merchants Communities of the Indian Sub-Continent in Southeast Asia* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya, 1989), 11.

Coasts, Tranquebar, Calicut to Nicobar-Andaman Island between 1620-1869 in which Indian products such as saltpeper, sugar, and Indian cotton textiles dominated the import products of Denmark in the 18th century.²⁹

Sultan of Banten, Sultan Abu al-Fath ibn Sultan Abu al Maali ibn as-Sultan Abi al Mafakhir ibn Muhammad ibn Yusuf ibn Hasan al Din or known as well as Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa (r. 1658-1681), sent a letter to King of Denmark, Christian V dated 1675. In his letter the Sultan mentioned on an occurring problem involving trade in Negeri Keling. He complained on an unauthorized price of 220 picul³⁰ of copper sent from Banten through Danish feitor Pahuli (Paul) who abused the forfeiture in conspiracy with another certain Keling feitor called Mangusyaqub (Magnus Jacob).³¹

In fact, number of the Kelings had found settlement in Banten, regularly sailing ships to Porto Novo by benefitting a good use of the British and Danish protections. Textile markets were mostly at their handle, associating with the Bantenese ruling class. The Kelings marked regular harbour to Javanese ports by relying on 100-150 merchants in peddling trade.³²

In the 19th century, Hikayat Abdullah who was self-claimed Keling-Yaman descendants pin-pointed Nagore as part of tanah Keling, in which played partly as his hometown. It quotes:

29. Ole Feldboek, "The Danish Asia Trade 1620-1807: Value and Volume", *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, vol. 39, no. 1 (1991): 4, 13.

30. Approximately 15,400 kilograms.

31. Pepper, clove, and other fine spices were regular products supplied from Banten such as revealed in 1622, 1639, and 1670. The missing record on the rest of the year was the result of wars occurring in the regions involving Mughal Empire and the Dutch. See: Feldboek, "The Danish"; Titik Pudjiastuti, *Perang, Dagang, Persahabatan: Surat-surat Sultan Banten* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2007), 38-40; P. Voorhoeve, "Two Malay Letters in the National Archives of Denmark", *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 131 (2/3de Afl), (1975): 270-276.

32. Arasaratnam, *Islamic Merchant...*, 18.

“Sebermulaadapunmoyangkulaki-lakiituseorang Arab, negerinyaYaman dan bangsanyaUthmani dan namanyaSyeikh Abdul Kadir. Maka adalahpekerjaanyaitumenjadi guru daripada agama dan bahasa. Maka yaituturundariYamankebawahAnginmakasinggahlahia di tanahKelingdalam negeri Nagur, lalumengajarlah orang2 disanadenganbeberapalamanya”.³³

TRANSLATION:

“There was begun my male ancestor an Arab, his land was Yaman and his race was Uthmani and his name was Syeikh Abdul Kadir. It was his work as a religious and language teacher. He set from Yaman to the (land) below the Wind. There he stopped by in the land of the Kelings, state of Nagur (Nagore). There he taught its people for sometimes”.

1.2 LOCALIZING INDIAN TEXTS

The epic story of Ramayana and Mahabrata originated from Indian Subcontinent has been recorded to touch the land of Southeast Asia as early as the 9th century reaching Sumatra, Java, Thailand, Laos, and Burma. Even after the period of Islamization the story remains within the culture, with the content being additions and reduction to suite the audiences and local social development. Massive numbers of copies were written between 13th towards 15th century. Slightly different versions emerged in the 19th century. Its role as cultural and social entities engrained in numerous forms such as manuscripts, wayang performances, dances, poems, paintings, statues, and cinematography. In the copy versions of 19th century Java, the hikayats are named Hikayat Sri Rama, Rama Caritra, Serat Rama Keling, Serat Rama and more, presented early 19th century.³⁴

HikayatLambuMangkurata.k.aHikayat Raja raja Banjar dan Kotaringin is a chronicle of a kingdom of Banjarmasin

33. Amin Sweeney (ed.), Hikayat Abdullah: Karya Lengkap Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir Munsyi, vol. 3, (Jakarta: KepustakaanPopuler Gramedia & École française d'Extrême-Orient, 2006), 240.

in South Borneo sovereign between 15th-17th centuries. It delivered chains of historical trails on the founding of the kingdom, the rise of royal power, and its conversion to Islam. It further showcased a strong derivation and attribute to the Kelings. The tale told in Hikayat Banjar was in similar plot and tune with Sejarah Melayu and SeratKandha where the main figures named was changed. Hikayat Banjar's AmpuJatmaka was Bicitram Syah in Sejarah Melayu. In fact, Hikayat Banjar, Sejarah Melayu and SeratKandha are literatures that presented the roles of Keling in royal establishment in Java, Malaka, and Banjarmasin.³⁵

AmpuJatmaka was narrated as a wealthy merchant from Keling who came to Java and help rescue the population from oppressing king.³⁶ During his journey to Southeast Kalimantan, he was accompanied by Gujeratis and Keling followers.³⁷

Hikayat Banjar mentions Iskandar the Great was the king of Keling, unlike Hikayat Aceh mentioned as the king of Rum who was in the ancestry lineage of Aceh dynasty.³⁸

Within other Javanese local sources, there emerged a name of Patih Keling in variant chronicles called Babad. Several local sources narrated on the emergence and role of Patih Keling in slightly different version. BabadTjerbon (Cirebon Chronicles) for instance informed that Patih Keling was a Hindu war commander turned Muslim after his encounter with Syarief Kamil who was on

34. Anita Bose, *Ramayana Footprints in South-East Asian Culture and Heritage: Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, Phillipine, Laos, Cambodia, and Myanmar*, trans. Subhakar Bose and Ruchika Yogesh (Kolkatta: Bee Books, 2019); R. O. Winstedt, "An Undescribed Malay Version of Ramayana", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 76, no. 1-2 (April 1944): 62-73, doi: 10.1017/S0035869x00098750.

35. Ras, 133.

36. Ras, 175.

37. Ras, 129.

38. Braginsky, "Turk and...", 80f.9.

a journey to Cirebon. The Syarief took Patih Keling and his soldiers to Cirebon.³⁹ His origination came lighter in Naskah Mertasinga, a chronicle believed to have been written in 1889 accounted history and certain thariqat of Sufi. In this text, Patih Keling experience the encounter with the syarief who was known as Suhunan Gunung Jati in the ocean where he was waiting his king's ashes united with oceans. The text informed that he was a Hindu. The persuasion of Sunan Gunung Jati on the point of the world and afterlife led to decisive combat where Patih Keling embraced Islam after defeated.

Another version preserved under Ras Raffles Malay 30 titled Daftar Sejarah Cerebon (Cirebon Chronicle List) commemorated story on Patih Keling too. Quote:

“...Lalulah kami keKelingbertemudenganmayat Raja Kelingyaituditaruhdiataskendaraan. Maka iaberanyutke sana kemari. Yang lagi didalamnyaituadaseorangpepatihnya. Maka lalu kami katakandia”, Ya Patih Keling, janganlahengkaumembuat yang demikianitu, baiklahengkaumasuk Islam. Menyahut Patih Keling, “baiklah hamba masukkepada agama Islam”. Lalu kami ajar kalimatsyahadat. SetelahnyaiapatihKelingkhidmatlahakandaku. Maka laluakuberjalanhinggasampaikne negeri Pakungwatiyaitu negeri Cerbon yang dimaksudkanjiarahkepadasyaikhmakhdum yang digelarpangeranmakhdum; iaaslinyadariatas angin yang dahuludatangnyake negeri carbon beristrikandidalam kampung makhdum”.⁴⁰

39. A. G. Muhaimin, *The Islamic Traditions of Cirebon: Ibadat and Adat Among Javanese Muslims* (Australia: ANU E Press, 2006), 166.

40. A puzzle of geography lays in this section. The encounter of Bulkia or Nuruddin with Patih Keling occurred after his religious education in Pasai under a certain Syaikh called Barol that come out of the advice from Imam Najmuddin al Kibri of Mekka. This area could be Palembang which was known as the Keling Srivijaya that a strait of sunda was what Palembang and Cirebon. See: Daftar Sejarah Cerebon, 1814, 14-15, Ras. Raffles Malay 30, Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland Online Collections, <https://royalasiaticcollections.org>.

TRANSLATION:

“Then We (Syekh Nuruddin and crew) went to Keling to find the corpse of the ruler of Keling, which is kept on a conveyance, being taken from place to place. And within the conveyance there was a minister, to whom he said “you must not do these things; you must better become Muslim. The Patih Keling replied, “good, I will become Muslim”. Bulkia taught him the tenets of Islam. After Patih Keling had paid homage to him, Bulkia set out and eventually reached the city of pakungwati which was in fact Cheribon where he intent to go on a visit to Shaikh Makhdum who bore the title of PangeranMakhdum. Shaikh Makhdum originated from a land above the wind; he had arrived in Ceribon earlier and settled down in the Makhdum quarter of the city.⁴¹

The chronicle further highlighted that SuhunanGunung Jati commanded Patih Keling to Islamize the kingdom of Padjajaran. Without much of opposition, the king embraced Islam. SuhunanGunung Jati was impressed with Patih Keling credibility that he was married to one of his noble disciple’s daughter. The marriage gifted a son who recorded as mediator or letter bearer to the kingdom of Demak.⁴²

Sejarah Babad Banten recorded the crucial presence of kelings which Guillot believed were Tamils, among the royal business and administration circle. Raja Mudaliar, the

41. I have replaced translation of ‘a land in the west’ with the land above the wind’ originally made for ‘dariatasangin’ which scholars agreed its reference to include South India. In the year of Sarwono’s work published, ‘dariatasAngin’ as a geographical appointment was perhaps presumed as unconvincingly real and accurate stemmed from the native geographical knowledge, perceiving the chronicles is a mixture of facts, myth and legends. See: Modest SarwonoPusposaputra, “HikayatSuhunanGunung Jati: A Hagiography of a Muslim Saint in Java” (Master dissertation, School of Oriental and African Studies, 1976), 45-46.

42. Pusposaputra. “HikayatSusuhunan”, 94, 95 & 129-130.

syahbandar called in the text as AndomahiKeling since the seizure of power in 1526 maintained influences throughout the 16th century. After him, large number of Chinese Muslims held positions as shahbandar. In 1609 a civil war known as PeristiwaPailir took place for about 4 months. AndamohiKeling help fortifying the surrounding ports in Banten.⁴³

From Aceh, during the knowledge of lithographed edition made in Singapore in 1929, Hikayat Gul Bakawali that originally was written in Hindustani had earlier found its translation and modification into the Acehnese literature realm that it's titled renewed to be HikayatTajolMulokin 1882.⁴⁴

1.3 DIMENSION OF IDENTITY

Southeast Asia literary folklore generally identified with its essential moral highlight. It surrounds moral calls regardless adorned to certain religion or not, to stand to the better value of human being was the dominant local culture. It routed the flow of social interactions to its surroundings, included towards family, neighbours, people in general, environment and animals. Perhaps what were given less scholarly attention is the origins of portrayed living figures and geographical settings, besides on ownership, copier, and authorship. It further signifies more importance to look at its circulations, originality, transformation, and disperses of certain part of the text to fit the incumbent stigma or progress compass of a society. Within these complications to add, indigenous texts characterize freedom of circulations and modifications, which may provide an extra challenge to bridge up the red lining dot of the roots. This is particularly true to the realities of indigenous texts that linked to Kelings materials.

43. Claude Guillot, "Libre EntrepriseContreEconomieDirigee: GuerresCiviles a Banten 1580-1609", *Archipel*, (Anne 1992): 43, 64,66, n.34, n.38.

44. P. Voorhoeve, "Three Old Achehnese Manuscripts", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. 14, no. 2 (1952): 335-36.

REGARDING DERIVATIONS IN LITERATURE BRAGINSKY BELIEVED THAT:

“Keling in traditional Malay Literature implies Tamil Nadu, or rather, parts of Dravidian speaking Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh in South India”.⁴⁵

OVERBECK IN 1922 WROTE THAT:

“Negeri Keling, the country of the dark people of the Kalingas, mentioned in the Ramayana and Mahabharata as living on the East-coast of the Indian peninsula, would seem to be the source of this influence”.⁴⁶

Winstedt added to the pattern of existing ideas that stories which he believed as:

“Current in central India, or the lower part of the Ganges Valley, or even the Panjab, as well as tales of Indian animals such as the lion, may have been brought direct to Ceylon by immigrants from Kalinga or Magadha or Bengal”.⁴⁷

Ian Proudfoot’s Malay Concordance Project records 804 mentions of Keling in 109 classical and modern Malay texts varied into manuscripts, texts, newspapers and letters. This fascinating crucial compilation initiative however has limitedly included Acehnese classical texts and additionally numerous other manuscripts, especially in matter of Keling which urgently needs a further scholarly step up. Following is a brief sketch.

Relying on ‘Keling’ at the search input, the engines responses in 7 types of form that described Keling in singular, plural, possession, adjective and verb. Hikayat Hang Tuah⁴⁸ leads the

45. Vladimir Braginsky, *The Turkic- Turkish Theme in Traditional Malay Literature: Imagining the Other to Empower the Self* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015), 84 f18.

46. H. Overbeck, “The Malay Pantun”, *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, (Singapore, Methodist Publishing House, 1922), 10.

47. R. O. Winstedt and D. Litt., “Hikayatsi Miskin or Marakarma”, *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Singapore, Methodist Publishing House, 1922), 45.

48. Kelings in Hikayat Hang Tuah portrayed as grandeur powerful kingdoms in Vijayanegara whose king shared blood bond with the king of Ma-

mentions with 152 times, followed with Hikayat Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir and Sejarah Melayu with 68 and 66 times each. Hikayat Raja Pasai lands Keling word for 34 times while Hikayat Aceh refer only to two times. Keling is used as a verb for the first time in 1935 as revealed in Kitab Suci, a translation of New Testament from Greek into Malay.⁴⁹

Owing to the crucial legacy of the late Ian Proudfoot, the elaboration of Keling images below mapped based on the filtered compiled 109 Malay classical sources ranging from the year 1390-1938. Through the given time span, the rise and degradation of identity in local records are presented.

Identifications of images are varied to several attachments. Firstly, is space such as benuaKeling, tanjungKeling,⁵⁰ negeri Keling⁵¹, tanahKeling, kampung Keling, mesjidKeling, rumahKeling, kedaiKeling, and anginKeling.⁵²

lacca. In Sejarah Melayu, the power contest was displayed between two mighty kingdoms, the Keling of Vijayanegara and Malay Sultanates that ended up with political marriage. See: Andaya, "Imagination, Memory", 34. 49. Ian Proudfoot et al., "Malay Concordance Project", last modified November 16, 2020, <http://mcp.anu.edu.au/Q/mcp.html>.

50. BenuaKeling and tanjungKeling have been mentioned repeatedly in numerous Malay classical texts ranging from 1390-1826). These texts include Hikayat Raja-raja Pasai (1390), Sejarah Melayu (1612), Hikayat Banjar dan Kotawaringin (1663), Bustan al Salatin (1640), Misa Melayu (1718), Hikayat Negeri Johor (1810), HikayatPerintah Negeri Benggala (1811), Silsilah Raja-raja Perak (1826), Hikayat Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir (1849), Tuhfat al Nafis (1866). See: Ian Proudfoot et al., "Malay Concordance Project", last modified November 16, 2020, <http://mcp.anu.edu.au/Q/mcp.html>.

51. SyairPerang Johor (1844) mentions certain hulubalang who was on voyage arrived in the land of Goa, Keling and Sailan sequentially. This inserts idea on geographical accuracy that possibly a common maritime route; WarisanWarkahMelayu (1811) made clear separation between Negeri Benggala, Surat, Mahalangka, Hindustan, and Keling; Hikayat Hang Tuah (1700) referred to "terlalu jauh" (too distant) between the land of Keling and Malaka. The mentions of negeri Kelinghas also been made in texts of HikayatHemop (1750s) and HikayatHasanuddin (1790) that remained per-

Secondly are profiles identification such as hero, warrior, envoy, merchants, sultan, raja, mangkubumi, shahbandar, ulubalang, lebaikeling, royal scribes, nakhoda, panglima, commodore and feitor, orang kaya bakti, native-royal descendants, kapitan, wayang entertainer, soldiers, and Raden.⁵³

Besides that, profiles emerged along with modern-colonial administration included lawyer, plantation master, colonial spy, administrative/costume officer, laundry maid, barber, and coolies.⁵⁴

sistent in 1935 through *Majalah Guru* published in Aug.1935. See: Proudfoot et al., "Malay Concordance".

52. Extended elaborative space dedicated in words are Tanah Keling, Kampung Keling, MesjidKeling, RumahKeling, KedaiKelingrepeatedly mentioned in the following sources: *Hikayat Tanah Hitu* (1650) from Maluku; *Sejarah Melayu* (1612), *Hikayat Hang Tuah* (1700); *Hikayat Syah Mardan* (1720), *SyairTeungkuPerbu* (1835), *Syair-SyairKarangan Abdullah* (1843); *Hikayat Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir* (1849), *SyairTawarikh Zainal Abidin* (1936); *MelayuKeluang*, "Keluang", *Warta Malaya*, Maret 5, 1934.

53. Hero, warrior, envoy, merchants, sultan, raja, mangkubumi, shahbandar, ulubalang, lebaikeling, royal scribes, nakhoda, panglima, commodore/ feitor, orang kaya bakti, native-royal descendants, kapitan, wayang entertainer, soldiers, Raden are the images of works or profiles occupied by the Kelings in Malay Archipelago and Indonesia, informed us on the fact that they were rich, fluids, and ingrained to the natives spectre reflecting the continuous productive role in the area as penned down in numerous following sources such as *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* (1390), *Sejarah Melayu* 1612), *Hikayat Banjar dan Kota Waringin* (1663), *Bustan al Salatin* (1640); *Surat Kesultanan Banten* (1675), *Hikayat Hang Tuah* (1700), *Adat Raja Melayu* (1779), *Misa Melayu* (1780) -referred to *Lebai Hanap orang Keling*, *HikayatHasanuddin* (1790), *HikayatPerintah Negeri Bengkulu* (1811), *Silsilah Perak* (1826), *Pelayaran Abdullah keMekkah* (1854), *HikayatSiak* (1855), *Cerita Bangka* (1860), *Tuhfat al Nafis* (1866), *Hikayat Indera Nata* (1870), *CeritaJenaka* (1908); *SyairTawarikh Zainal Abidin* (1936). See: Proudfoot et al., "Malay Concordance".

54. Following profiles; Lawyer, plantation master, colonial spy, administrative/costume officer, laundry maid, barber, and coolies are occupations that increasingly emerged along with colonial industrial imbibement as reve-

Thirdly is directed to ownership and social cultural bearers such as kapal, automotives, convert (Islam), language/scripts, peranakan, culinary, games,dance, textiles, customary law/ way of dealing, spices, and Keling newspapers.⁵⁵

Identification Keling Islam can be seen through the works of Abdullah such as Pelayaran Abdullah keMekkah (1854), Hikayat Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir (1849), and Ceretera-cereteraKarangan Abdullah (1851), which mention the names of particular Muslims who were Keling. Such religious accentuation is triggered by the fact that Kelings were Hindus and Muslims, as supported by the evidence from 1559 Portuguese account of Fernao Lopez de Castanheda. He described population of South Indian unbelievers or non-Muslims during his visit to Malacca accompanying Captain Major, returning from Pasai. He said:

“There are many traders who, like I said, live in the suburbs by themselves. They are Muslims and gentiles, the latter chiefly from Palaecate (Pulikat) but reside in Malacca and are the richest men and have the biggest trade known in the world at this time”.⁵⁶

laed in numerous newspapers in the 20th century such as MelayuKeluang, “Keluang Letter”, in Warta Malaya, March 5, 1934, 3; Darah Muda, “Kedai Nasi, Hotel, dan TukangGuntingRambut” in Saudara, May 9, 1931, 7; N. n. “TukangGuntingRambutMelayu” in Warta Malaya, January 24, 1935, n.p.; Anak-anakMelayu, “Surat Sembah Anak-Anak Melayu Ke Bawah Duli Raja-Raja Melayu”, Majlis, December 10, 1934, 1; N. n., “Ingatlah Orang melayuInilahMasanya Jika TidakBangsa Kita akanTenggelam”, Saudara, April 25, 1931, 1-2. A rare mention identified laundry occupation is made in Syair Awai (1868) referred to certain Dobi worker called Nana Tambi. See: Proudfoot et al., “Malay Concordance”.

55. Hikayat Raja-raja Pasai (1390); Sejarah Melayu (1612); Hikayat Banjar dan Kotawaringin (1663), SyairSinyor Kosta (1700/1821); Hikayat Hang Tuah (1700), Adat Raja Melayu (1779), SyairteungkuPerbu (1835), Tuhfat al Nafis (1866), Hikayat Abdullah (1849), Hikayat Indera Nata (1870), N.n. Editorial, Jawi Peranakan, July 11, 1887. See: Proudfoot et al., “Malay Concordance”.

56. Fernao Lopes de Castanheda, “History on the Conquest of India by the Portuguese”, in Portuguese Documents on Malaccab1509-1511, trans.

The Keling Muslims on the other hand lived in northern part of Malacca, identified Sultan and the natives as all Muslim. He outlined features of the inhabitants as:

“Light complexioned, well-featured and well-built. The man is by nature gallants- polite and good lovers. The women are beautiful, and all like to live an easy life”.⁵⁷

A conjecture is that the Portuguese learned that Keling were Muslims with fine features, probable to be the Gujaratis (Cambay, Kutch and Surat) who were well-known traders in Malacca⁵⁸, while the non-Muslim of South Indians were simply called as gentiles, a label for a generally Hindus⁵⁹, notifying the knowledge on KelingPulikat at this time. Accentuation on identity contretemps based on belief was seemingly heightening in the 19th century records, such as the one made by the writer of HikayatPelayaran Abdullah keMekkah written in 1854.

Beside what included into such categorization above, numerous other mentioned of unnamed individual Keling as informing involvement in unfortunate events both as victims or actors has not been included.

Beside Ian Proudfoot’s existing compilations, number of other classical literature portrayed implicit or explicit identification of Kelings.

Trade regulation introduced during the period of Sultan Safiatuddin Syah, Adat Aceh recorded on tax over ships (and price

M.J. Pintado, 3rd ed., vol. 1 (Kuala Lumpur: National Archives of Malaysia, 1993), 85.

57. Castanheda, “History on”, 85.

58. Gaspar Correia, “Lendas da India: In Which are Narrated the Great Deeds of Afonso de Albuquerque, Lopo Soares, Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, D. Duarte de Menezes, D. Vasco da Gama and D Andrique de Menezes”, in Portuguese Documents on Malacca1509-1511, trans. M.J. Pintado, 3rd ed., vol.1 (Kuala Lumpur: National Archives of Malaysia, 1993), 351.

59. Correia, “Lendas da” 261.

regulation for obtaining 1 Sultan Stamp) that harboured in Aceh, including kapalKeling, Bengal,⁶⁰ and Malabar.⁶¹

In similar tone, HikayatMalemDagang of 18th century described that:

“Ba’ masa njanrame pi that, peuenjanghadjatdoem hale naNanggroe pi loea’ih, banda pi rame, hanmeune-ne keunanteukapadum-padumkapaidja’ meukat, dumpeuealat pi nadjibapadum-padumkapaj di Klengdjimebakong, beusoe, iMeulabaringonGodjeuratingonBetinggalapadumteumakapaiPigo, habehmeusahongonkoeangkangTjinapadumgoerabnjang di Bintanngonsoeroehanniba’ radjapadum-padumbetra di AnggodjipeudiengmalongonkeusumaPadummkapainyang me cawan, krikai, doelang, pingan raja padum-padumkapai di Keudah, idjamirahmeuneukatdjiba...”.⁶²

THE HIKAYAT’S DUTCH FREE TRANSLATION INSERTED ANOTHER PASSAGE ON KELINGS:

“Now His Majesty embarked, the sails were hoisted and waded into the full sea. A strong breeze made the ships speed forward, some sailors took care of the balance, but some of the (as frightened known) Kelings said prayers. After three days and three nights of ferns, the land had disappeared from view”.⁶³

Another one that bore lineage heritage from Keling is Hikayat Maharaja Boma. According to the record from British Library Southeast Asia Collection, this version copied in 1805 described as originally translated from Keling to Javanese and to Malay.⁶⁴

60. Adat Aceh, 1811, 116, 122, 129, MSS Malay B11, Digitized Manuscript Collection of British Library.

61. Adat Aceh, 122.

62. H. K. J. Cowan, *De HikajatMalemDagang* (s-Gravenhage: KoninklijkInstituutvoor de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde van Nederl.-Indie, 1937), 15.

63. Cowan, “De Hikajat”, 83.

64. Annabell The Gallop, “Mahabrata in Malay Manuscript”, Asian and African Studies Blog, last modified September 15, 2015, <https://blogs.bl.uk/asian-and-african/2015/09/the-mahabharata-in-malay-manuscripts.html>.

As some of the contents were part of Ramayana legendary tales which presumably written in 15-16th century, there is a clear indication on the familiarity of Indian epic shared cultural contact among the Indian Kelings, Malay and Javanese. Beside borrowed story from Ramayana, this hikayat is also known as Hikayat Sang Boma, Hikayat Boma, and Hikayat Samba.

HikayatGumbakMeuh, a moral story on a princess named GumbakMeuh written in late 19th century bore numerous copiers, one of them was the one written in 1325 (1907). It mentioned on that one of the characters, Lila Bangguna where the copier named his son as Banta Seudang, not MirakDiwangga as rhymed in numerous other version.⁶⁵ Bangguna is a South Indian name. Certain family by the name of Bangguna had lived to the end of 20th century in Aceh. Both the background of Author and the copier deserve a further research.

Kelings writers and copiers were one of diverse intersectional fluidity of identities of Malay classical texts. HikayatPelandukJinaka, written in Malay and Bugis dated in 1805 and 1808 is copied by A South Indian-Penang Chuliah, Ahmad Keling. This scribe can be identified as Ahmad Rijaluddin ibn Hakim Long Fakir Kandu, author and scribe of HikayatPerintah Negeri Benggala in Malay Jawi script and brother of Ibrahim who was chief scribe to Raffles. The hikayat was composed by Ahmad Rijaluddin ibn Hakim Long Fakir Kandu about his journey from Penang to Bengal in the company of Robert Scott in September 1811.⁶⁶

Hikayat Raja Babi is an imaginary literature written by Usup ibn Abdul Qadir, completed in 1775 during his 20 days' journey to Palembang. He was a mixed race of Semarang and West Bengalian

65. Petrus Voorheove, Catalogue of Acehnese Manuscripts in the Library of Leiden University and Other Collections Outside Aceh (Leiden: Leiden University Library, 1994), 95.

66. Annabel Teh Gallop, "The Wily Malay Mousedeer "; Asian and African Studies blog, last modified February 10, 2015, <https://britishlibrary.typepad.co.uk/asian-and-african/2015/02/the-wily-malay-mousedeer.html>.

Koch who resided in Kampung Melayu before moving to Pekojan, both located in Semarang.⁶⁷

Hikayat Raja Babi narrated on the life journey of a prince born as a pig. Abandoned by his parents due to his misbegotten nature, he transcended into the world of the otherness, inhabited and ruled by the vulnerable Muslim and non-Muslim goblins, elves, and genies known by similar pattern of gender and whose titles exhibited a hybrid Hindu and Muslim identification. The prince Pig was born with profound magical strength and led wars against the other mystical creatures, becoming feared by his opponents. His courage, vigor and compassion led to reincarnation as the most captivating man on earth, hailed as a victorious ruler of a vast lands and beloved by family and humankind alike, forever after.⁶⁸

Although Hikayat Raja Babi is a rich epic fantasy fiction, it deserves high recognition for allowing the audience to pinpoint the plot and setting of the story that emulates reflections of the accurate sailing route through the concomitant names of states, caves, rivers, and mountains symmetrical to geography of India, Sri Lanka, Sumatra and Java. At least the accurate geographical names provided inspiration to the setting of the story as well as direction to the contestable authors' trans-oceanic knowledge and circulations.

Its popularity resulted in periods of copy initiatives such as the one possessed under Raffles collection in Royal Asiatic Society in Britain and Ireland dated 1813,⁶⁹ followed with another copy

67. Usup Bin Abdul Kadir, *Hikayat Raja Babi*, 1775, f.3r, Add. 12393, Digitized Manuscript Collection of British Library; See also: Annabel The Gallop, "The Malay Story of Pig King", Asian and African Studies Blog, last modified November 18, 2013, <https://blogs.bl.uk/asian-and-african/malay/page/10/>.

68. See: Usup bin Abdul Kadir, *Hikayat Raja Babi*, trans. Arsyad bin Mokhtar (Kuala Lumpur: BukuFixi Publishing, 2015), <https://www.smashwords.com/books/view/537605>.

69. Usup bin Abdul Kadir, *Hikayat Raja Babi*, 1813, RAS Raffles Malay 52, Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland Online Collections, https://royalasiaticcollections.org/mm_raffles_52_1-hikayat-raja-babi/

made in 1842 under the purchase of John Crawfurd,⁷⁰ and modern ones released in 2014, transliterated from Jawi into Latin. In July 2020 apparently Heidi Samsuddin has just turned the 200 years old folklore into animated book, reviving the reminiscence of the epic fairytales.

There had been presumption that there was religious renewal among South Indian and Sri Lankan Muslim in the middle of 18th century onwards. Numerous names of texts copiers were bonding to Keling identification. One of the samples is *Sejarah Melayu* or *Sulalat al-salāṭīn*, a copy of the ‘long’ version written in Malay-Jawi script, ending with the defeat of Johor by Jambi named as *Hikayat Melayu*. It was copied in Melaka by Muhammad Tajuddin Tambi Hitam bin Zainal Abidin, Penghulu Dagang of Melaka in Kampung Telengkira, in 1873. This version of *Sejarah Melayu* ends with the war between Johor and Jambi, starting with *Ceritera Raja Iskandar anak Raja Dara* and ending with *Ceritera Sultan Mahmud Syah yang semayam di Kampar*.⁷¹

South Indian Malay manuscripts copier is another layer of the study that urgently probe crucial attention from related scholarly fields and subjects.

1.4 TRANS-OCEANIC TALES

Another literature that authorizes trans-oceanic genealogical knowledge is *Hikayat Meudeuhak*. There are 3 digitized manuscripts collected from Pidie dated the literature as 18th century origins written in poetic rhymes in Achinese Jawi script.⁷²

Among Snouck Hurgronje’s paper collections, the copy of the text that was recopied by Tgk Noerdin originally dated 1891 during its possession by Leube Banta. Previous copier was Seh Abeudo

70. M. C. Ricklefs and P. Voorhoeve, *Indonesian Manuscripts in Great Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 109.

71. *Sejarah Melayu*, 1873, ff201v-203v, eresources of National Library of Singapore via British Library.

72. *Hikayat Meudeuhak*, 18th century, EAP329/5/7, Teungku Amir Collection in endangered Archives Programme, British Library.

Alem who resided in Gampong Jawa. Hikayat Meudeuhak is dated 1230-1231 H/ 1814-1815 CE and reports the replacement of Sultan Jauhar al-Alam by Saif al-Alam and some other historical events of the period. The texts are written in Malay, Laos and Sanskrit.⁷³

The text apparently found as bearing similar flow of content with literature that originated from South India. It is “derived from Maha-ummagga jataka, Sinhalese sacred text, called as well as Mahosadha Jataka. Its popularity led to translation in Laotian and Malay. The latter translation was known to have experienced additions and reductions as it fitted the local social pattern known as Hikayat Masyhudul Hak with many reprints such as in 1880, 1882 and other coming years.”⁷⁴

Hikayat Meudeuhak is regarded by the Acehnese as a kind of quintessence of leadership sovereignty. The narratives revolved around the honesty and ingenuity of independent young man named Meudeuhak in solving rulership challenges that were in the hopelessness of the king, Wadhiharah. He led numerous wars against his jealous opponent leaders, ended with his victory and succession of power from Wadhiharah.⁷⁵

There is a need of further study on how the literature founded, expanded and reinterpreted between the fluids maritime era connecting South India to Indo-Malay Archipelago.

Hikayat Banta Ra’na or Ra’na Banta or Banta Gumari is another text set to play roles crossing oceanic sphere where Yaman, Hindustan and Cina were the landscape of the events. It tells story on Raja Tajoybaki in Yaman who has a son named Bangta Gumari. He was sent away for trade and was asked to return when the father was sick. The story further mentioned Hindustan that was ruled by Bangta Gumari, attacked by China

73. Voorheove, Catalogue of..., 110.

74. Jan Just Witkam, Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Library of the University of Leiden, vol. 9 (Leiden: The Lugt Press, 2019), 14.

75. Hikayat Meudeuhak, trans. Ramli Harun (Jakarta: Departemen Kebudayaan dan Pendidikan Indonesia, 1983), 226-21.

resulted from a dispute over woman. Some parts of the hikayat are similar with Hikayat Bayan Budiman and Hikayat Bunga Rampai. In one of the existing manuscripts in Leiden, a Keling convert named PanglimaTibang who was renowned Acehese shahbandar was mentioned. The poet said that he was writing this on the request of Tuan de Vink.⁷⁶ Although Hindustan was included as the field of the tale, most of personas were named in Acehese, Sri Lanka and Malay recollection such as the usage of Bangta, Sawang, Sailan, PuteriKeumala, LebaiHitam, Tok Labala, Sakdon Lila, and etc.⁷⁷ This figures naming represents the vast background of knowledge who probably experienced cross-coastal interaction and intermingling in one aspect or more of social spheres.

Legenda Amat Rhah Manyang,⁷⁸ the prose literature from Aceh written presumably in second half of the 19th century depicted a story of a poor Acehese man from Pasie of the North turned wealthy after some mercantile adventure during his youth. His new class status disowned his humble background that his mother was not being admitted to his recognition during a trade-affiliated hometown return. His immoral attitude cursed him to stone upon his departure.

The plot finds popularity not only in Aceh but also in other part of archipelago. In Padang of West Sumatra for instance, the folklore

76. Voorheove, "Catalogue of...", 121.

77. The Late Ramli Harun who was one of the main transliterators of Acehese classical literatures mentioned that HikayatBangta Kumari he received from Ishak Peutua Gam who copied the texts into Jawi from the previous owners in Meureudu. This signifies that there was an active penning activity of the hikayat in the 20th century, or after the effort of PanglimaTibang, that the content was similar as the description in Petrus and Verhoeve'sCatalogue. See: HikayatBangtakumari1 & 2, trans. Ramli Harun (Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1984), 7-11, 7-9.

78. Ibrahim Hasan, Namaku Ibrahim Hasan: MenebahTantangan Zaman (Jakarta: Yayasan Malem Putra, 2003), 38.

is known as Legenda Malin Kumbang. In Brunei Darussalam it was known as Nakhoda Manis, while in Malaysia and Singapore it was known as Si Tenggara or Si tanggang.

It enriched list of items on modern or popular culture where numerous adoptions into movie and tv series finds the spot, as revealed through the work cinema titled a Black and White Malay released in 1961 or the Travel Journey of Si Tenggara released in 1979. Indonesia produced numerous adoptions too. One of them, titled *Kisah Malin Kundang* broadcast in 1971. In 2009 Aceh was back in remembrance of Amat Rhah Manyang, initiated for reproduction as the original texts disappeared due to the tsunami. Children books were reproduced, written by the former of Human Right Minister, Dr. Hasballah M. Saad, who was then a director of non-profit organization called Aceh Cultural Institute.

Legenda Amat Rhah Manyang included what missing in the other circulations. Amat's employer is portrayed as an Indian man who frequented Pulau Pinang for the harbor of his giant ships. His admiration on Amat's tenacity fetched decision to marry his daughter off. It also narrated that the mercantile adventure described as a cycle route between Cambay-Pulau, Pinang and Sumatra where he mingled with other diverse traders such as Arab, Indian, and Keling merchants.

Looking at the inclusion of Pulau Pinang, it may be assured that the story derived from the period between 1786 onwards which dated the beginning of Pulau Pinang as the mercantile antrepot. It provided clues on the truth probability on identification of Amat mercantilism considering the fact Aceh was the sole major provider of pepper between 1770 and 1850s, where the influx of the Kelings and other Indian trading ships recorded to be in highest number.

1.5 NATIONALISM AND INSECURITY IMAGES

Its identification as a race (*bangsa/asing*), negated presence and shared-contribution denouncement only emerged in the texts

written between 1899-1940.⁷⁹ Its language identified as Tamil in 1930, along with product identification by race of its maker such as SirapKeling.⁸⁰

This is the era where nationalism ideology was highly contested. Consciousness to be identifies as ‘us’ and ‘other’ were intensifying, densely contested in newspapers. Such highlighted differences surrounded the status of *peranakan*, contested by the evidence of a birth certificate is a must that it could change the status from being global to national or from being national to foreigner which led to disqualified privilege such as being able to be granted access to British education system/school.⁸¹ Another distinction is made in term of the roots of culture (e.g. words) that originated from Keling.⁸² The pogrom of “us and them” led to the characterization based on skin colour and heightening fear over racial impropriety.⁸³ Instances of anonym article written in Malay reflected fear over the ambitious “Yellow race”, the Chinese. The “Yellow Race” was a common term used by European colonizers to defame the Chinese. Kelings too were pictured as

79. N. n., “MembaikiKerosakanSekolah-SekolahMelayu”, *Majalah Guru*, November 1932, 306-307; Ali Bakri, “Surat Khabar-Surat Khabar MelayudenganPenjualnya”, *Saudara*, March 5, 1931, 4; Darah Muda, “Kedai Nasi, Hotel, TukangGuntingRambut”, *Saudara*, May 9, 1931, 7; Editorial, “MelayuSelaluTercicirkeBelakangPekerjaan dan Jawatan F. M. S. Railway”, *Suara Benar*, October 25, 1932; SyairTawarikh Zainal Abidin (1936) described on a Keling hitter. See: Proudfoot et al, “Malay Concordance”.

80. See for instance: *Majlis*, 1935, 5.

81. Penulis Khas, “Peranakan Tanah Melayu”, *Saudara*, April 11, 1931, 1.

82. E. S. Al-Harahap, “Menghidupkan Bahasa Melayu di Ceylon 2”, *Saudara*, January 9, 1937, 3.

83. See: Qalam, “Pemandangan di Atas Pencarian Anak-anakMelayu di Kampung Ulu Yam Baru”, *Majlis*, July 8, 1935, 9; N. n. “(anon) BahayaKuning di Tanah Melayu. BerbagaiPendapatan Ahli Fikiran Yang MestiDiingat Oleh Melayu”, *Saudara*, March 14, 1931, 1; SyairTawarikh Zainal Abidin yang Ketiga, (Singapore: Ahmad Press, 1936); Paul Dachsel, *Eight Years Among the Malays* (Milwaukee: J. H. Yewdale & Sons Co, 1899), 12-15.

either good or bad based on the measurement of the color of their skin and affiliations, deemed to characterize the future conflict of economic and political rights of Kelings and other ‘scientifically choreographed’ foreigners.

In the matter of content derived from Malay local classical texts before the heightening inunciation of nationalism, there is several that worth further notion.

Syair Dagang Berjual Beli, Syair Potong Gaji, and Syair Tuanku Prabu di Negeri Singapura are among the earliest Malay manuscripts that existed separately in the knowledge of Malay audiences, presumably in the 1830s, before compilation and redistribution in 1841, known as one of literatures that emphasized negative images of the Kelings (and Chinese). The first two syair were written by Tuan Simi or Siami, believed to be Malay translators and scribes of the East Indies companies or the British Colonial Government. The first two that were clearly bore authorship of Tuan Simi noted on the “cunning” of Kelings traders and emphasized the supreme role of “Orang Putih” within the mercantile networks, seeking to “straighten” facts for the Malay native that the Chinese and the Kelings were merely co-workers. This was contextualized in the skepticism of Tuan Simi over the subtle leniency of some educated natives at the favouritism of the British rule.⁸⁴ The last text concentrates on the rumour of illegitimate affairs involving a highly educated Kelings named Tambi Abdul Kadir and the Sultan’s concubine.⁸⁵ Haji Salleh interpretation of the texts probably flexed with existing corrupted knowledge towards the Kelings and Chinese that concurred invisibility of perception to gravitate the text in the context of early 19th century where British colonialism induced intensifying legal articles against the long existing environment of indigenious law on trade, as he inserted

84. Ian Proudfoot, “Abdullah VS Siami: Early Malay Verdict on British Justice”, *JMBRAS*, vol. 80, no. 1 (2007): 1.

85. Muhammad Haji Salleh, “Dua Orang Pengarang Tiga Suara Gelap dan Suatu Sub Genre”, *Archipel*, vol. 42, (1991): 168-9.

that the text was distributed in discrete to reach the British hands for its colonial use.⁸⁶

In 1864, *Syair Tabut* written by Encik Ali is another local literature that metaphorize Keling character as as smart as thief and obstinate towards its enemy. The text narrated celebrative festival of Muharram in Singapore where the author learnt on multi-ethnic religious aimed performances and entertainment where not only the Keling were head of performance troops but also Burmese, Siamese, Bengkahulus, Boyanese, Penangites, Singaporean, and Benggalis each played their significant part. Although the narratives intended to provide general moment of celebratory, the negative image on Keling began engraining as race characterization.⁸⁷

Their changing images in Malay text can also be seen from 1866's *Tuhfat al Nafis* where evolvement character from being a reliable merchant and nakhodas to mad men and defeated, as the result of internal turbulence.⁸⁸

Colonial newspapers and vernacular school added to the already sour taste of belonging in Malaya and attachment to the feeling of disregardment and consolidations increasingly discussed and continuously remain loud and subtle interchangeably up to this time.

CONCLUSIONS

The discussions presented in the previous chapters have raised many intriguing questions that remain to be investigated. Indo-Malay world sources on the Kelings preserved fascinating dynamic images for the gaze of scholarly critics. Over a hundred local texts survive in Malay, Javanese, and Acehnese from the

86. Ibid, 157.

87. Julia Byl et al., "The *Syair Tabut* of Encik Ali: A Malay Account of Muharram at Singapore 1864", *Indonesia and the Malay World*, vol. 45 (2017): 133 & 421-428.

88. Raja Ali Haji bin Ahmad, *The Precious Gift: Tuhfat al Nafis*, eds. Virginia Matheson and Barbara Watson Andaya (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1982), 151-152.

period of the 14th to the 20th centuries, in which Kelings are remembered in terms of descent from the grandeur of maritime global encounters, although mostly specified from the Kalinga and Coromandel Coast, charting their development of political bonds with the natives through blood, power contests, and the continuous flow of maritime expertise and trade goods, which had profound impacts on the Indo Malay World.

The introduction of Islam heightened trans-oceanic interactions, and the dissemination of the new religion embedded the pre-modern concept of racial equality, contrary to the modern supremacy of a single race or nation within a nation state, and the Islamic ethos that the earth is an expansive homeland for all of humankind. Religious fluidity contributed to the shared classical hikayat records describing the trans-island dependency based on mutual exchange, in which images of Kelings emphasize their influential role in prominent positions as traders and multiplexed clients to sovereignties, an image that was interwoven with Islamic themes that became more important for subsequent generations of ethnically mixed Kelings with a firm foothold in the Indo-Malay world. The portrayal of the noble Kelings persisted from the 14th to the 18th century.

Since the second half of the 19th century towards the first half of the 20th century, the portrayal of the Kelings was drastically reoriented which represented the changing political dynamics under colonialism and the rise of nationalism.

I believe during colonialism and in the era of rising nationalism, the changes of international reputation were not only experienced by the Kelings but also by other autonomous influential rival economic network such as the Chinese and the Hadhramis. This is where further research needs to be done.

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Cultural Interface between Kalinga and Bali: A Study in Historical Perspective

Dr. Benudhar Patra

Ancient Odisha, popularly known as Kalinga in ancient times, had brisk overseas contact with different parts of the world. The contact was in multifaceted fields, i.e., via trade, missionary activities and political invasions. In the process, Odishan culture, customs, beliefs, ideas, languages, script and manners, etc. were disseminated in those lands where settlements were made by Odia merchants, missionaries and political adventurers. It is believed that the prosperity of Kalinga was largely due to her overseas trade with distant lands. The people of Kalinga, among all the regions, had maintained sound commercial and cultural relationship with Sri Lanka and the Indonesian islands of Java, Bali, Sumatra and Borneo, collectively known as Suvarnadvipa or the golden island. The Odias, in days of yore, played a pivotal role in the dispersal of their culture and civilization in the Indonesian island of Bali, which formed the most attractive destination for merchants of ancient Odisha. It is needless to say that Odisha and Bali boast of similar cultural traits, like religious beliefs, customs, dance forms, art and architecture, temples and monuments, textile designs, crafts, even food habits, manners and the vocabulary. The inhabitants of Odisha and Bali enjoy several festivals that allude to the deep relationship and faith enjoyed by their ancestors. Festivals like the

Baliyatra and Masakapam Kepesih, are the living testimonies of the cultural linkages between Odisha and the island of Bali. In the present paper, a sincere endeavor has been made to trace out and analyze the cultural linkages of Kalinga with the island of Bali.

The island of Bali is situated between Java and Lombok. In the Chinese sources it has been mentioned as Poli. 1 The Chinese pilgrim I-Tsing,² who stayed at Sri Vijaya, mentions the name of Poli (Bali) among other islands. Bali is the only island, in the whole of Indonesia, where Hinduism, blended with Balinese concepts, is still prevalent. Even now, Bali is a veritable repository of the Hindu culture of India. Hindu Gods like Shiva, Vishnu, Brahma, Indra, Varuna, and Ganesha are worshipped and highly venerated in Bali. H. B. Sarkar³ very correctly says, “Indeed, all known gods of any importance in the Hindu and Buddhist pantheon of India had their heyday in Bali.” Lord Shiva, however, was considered the supreme and the most powerful deity. He was the presiding deity and was considered the elder brother of Buddha. According to traditional beliefs, Bali was the centre of Universe and the abode of Gods. The Balinese verse, which refers to five pious women are very much similar to India i.e., “Om Ahalya Draupadi Sita Dara (for Tara) Mandodari tatha panchakanya smarennityam.” Besides Hinduism, Buddhism was also very popular in ancient Bali. Indian influence on Bali could be marked in composition of works on astrology (Balinese called it wariga). Sanskrit also influenced to a great extent the language and literature of Bali. The Balinese also celebrate Indian festivals like Shivaratri, Saraswati puja, Durga puja, etc. The name Bali is said to have originated from the kingdom of the pious demon emperor Maha Bali (of the period of vamana avatar of Lord Vishnu), who had gifted away the entire world to Lord Vishnu, who came to him in the disguise of a midget.⁴

There is ample proof to testify that the Hindu influence from India reached Bali as a result of direct contact between the two countries. Recent archaeological discoveries indicate that the contact between India and Indonesia, particularly Bali, had been

occurring at least from the beginning of Christian era [Common Era or CE].⁵ The discovery of Indian Rouletted Ware of first and second centuries CE from Sembiran (in north-east Bali) have established the fact that Indian traders were constantly coming to the region. Discovery of Rouletted Ware, glass beads, semi-precious stone beads, potsherds with kharosthi characters, etc. from Bali points to ancient cultural contact between Bali and the different regions of India. Archaeological findings refer to the development of a trading network between eastern coast of India, Sri Lanka and Bali. The Hindu texts such as Vrihat Samhita and Kathasarita Sagara inform us that there were trade relations between India and Bali since time immemorial. However, the earliest Indian literary source which authentically mentions about the island of Bali is the Buddhist text Aryamanjusrimulakalpa (c. seventh-eighth century CE) which mentions “Dvipe varusake chaiva nagnavali samudbhabe yavadvipoba ...” In the opinion of K. S. Behera,⁶ varusake of the text is evidently Sumatra, nagna dvipa is the Nicobar island, Yava dvipa is Java and vali is no doubt, the island of Bali.

Kalinga had close links with the island of Bali. Bali was known to the sailors of Kalinga as Narikela dvipa. Many Balinese inscriptions refer to Bali as the island of coconut. The Poh Inscription of Bali (c. 905 CE) mentions that Bali was the island of coconut (wanuari rumaksan ringnyu)⁷ and once was the centre of Odisha’s commercial and maritime activities.⁸ The sailors of Kalinga made frequent voyages to the island of Bali and had their settlements in the island, which consequently disseminated Hindu culture there. As a result, the whole island of Bali was Hinduised. The reminiscent of this link of the glorious past has been preserved in a festival of Odisha known as the Bali yatra, celebrated throughout the length and breadth of Odisha. It is also otherwise known as boita bandana festival. It is celebrated on the auspicious purnima (full-moon) day in the month of Kartika (October-November). Even today, the people of Odisha celebrate this festival with much pomp and ceremony by sailing boats of

banana peel in rivers, ponds and sea. The lit boats carry betel leaf and betel nuts as token of merchandise and are sent off amidst chanting of nostalgic refrains:

“aa – ka – ma – ba (bha) i
 pana – gua – thoi
 pana-gua-tora
 masaka dharama mo ra”

At Gadagadia ghatta of Cuttack, on the bank of the great river Mahanadi, people of Odisha, irrespective of age, sex and caste, celebrate this festival in great earnest and pomp. On this auspicious day (Kartika purnima), early in the morning, every household floats down in the sea, river, stream or even in the village tank (whichever is near or favourable to them), a gaily decorated sholapith, banana stem or paper boat with all paraphernalia of a real boat/ship to mark the beginning of the voyage of shipping season. The scene of the celebration of the festival automatically creates a nostalgic mood in the minds of the spectators. In the words of A. K. Mishra, 9 “The cold and misty dawn suddenly becomes vibrant and takes on a festive look as men, women and children, attired in colourful costumes throng all waterfronts carrying tiny boats made either of banana peels, or sholapith, or paper, with lighted lamps inside, in a frenzied bid to launch those brightly lit toy vessels on the gentle waves to the accompaniment of ululations (hulahuli) by women, blowing of conch, and occasional burst of crackers.” Again, he observes, “The receding line of the flickering lamps and spectacle of a large number of Oriya [Odia] women, in colourful saris, for performing the rite of ‘Boita-Bandana’ (the ceremonial send-off to the sailing ships) evoke the memories of the voyages of the adventurous Kalingans of yore and create a truly romantic and nostalgic mood.”¹⁰ The small hours of the morning of Kartika purnima were used to be considered as the most auspicious and suitable time for the beginning of sea journey.

Kalinga and the island of Bali have influenced each other’s culture to a very considerable extent, though the share of Kalingans

was more. I. G. P. Phalgunadi, an Indonesian scholar who visited Odisha and did some field work in connection of his research, was pleasantly surprised at many instances of similarity between the culture and life styles of the people of both the places. There are many cultural elements that are similar between Odisha and Bali, e.g., religious activities, dance forms, art and crafts, temples and monuments, textile designs, even food habits, manners and the vocabulary. Temples as socio-cultural centres are common both to Bali and Odisha. The discovery of similar type of Rouletted Ware at Sembiran, located in north eastern Bali and from the sites like Shishupalagarh, Manikpatna, Tamluk, etc. of Odisha suggest trade contact between Odisha and the island of Bali.¹¹ Interestingly, a potsherd from Sembiran with Kharosthi inscription on it is an important discovery. A potsherd with Kharosthi characters also occurs at Manikpatna. Besides, in Bali, there is an inscription of the fourteenth century CE, which is clearly in Odia language and script, spoken and written in contemporary Odisha.¹² P. C. Rath,¹³ on the basis of the language and script used in this fourteenth century CE inscription, alludes that this might indicate “the arrival of a new batch of immigrants in sufficiently large number.” The scripts used in Bali in the tenth century CE were also used in Kalinga. Hence, on the basis of this, the contact between Odisha and Bali can be easily established.

Odisha played a significant role in the evolution of Hindu culture in Bali. A section of brahmanas in the Karangasam district of Bali styled themselves as Brahmana-Bouddha -Kalinga. It seems very likely that their ancestors were immigrants from Kalinga. In this context, it is worthwhile to mention that some words and usages with regard to vocabulary, crafts, religious practices, form of worship, food habits and manners prevalent in Bali are indubitably of Odia origin. There are linguistic parallels between Odisha and the island of Bali. For example, in the coastal districts of Odisha, mother is addressed as bou and father as baba and in Bali the former is called bu (boo) and the latter as bapa. In some places of

Odisha, father is also called as bapa (the author was addressing his father as bapa while his wife is addressing her father as baba). The Balinese term for betel-nut is buah¹⁴ (goah) and in Odisha it is gua or guah. Cina/China is the Balinese word for groundnut, while in Odia it is china or chinabadam. Both Balinese as well as Odias used to call uncooked rice made out of part-boiled (or sun dried) paddy as arua.¹⁵ The plough is called lengallo in Bali while the Odias used the term langala for the same. Another very interesting example is the use of the word peja or pejo; both in Odisha and Bali it denoted the thick fluid which is separated from cooked rice before serving it. The Brahmin priest in Odisha is generally known as Panda whereas in Balinese temples he is called Padanda¹⁶ [meaning the holder of the scripture of dharma for ruling over the people]. In the society of both the places, they (brahmanas) are held in high honour. Even the use of the term beeja for seminal fluid is common to both the Odias and the Balinese. I. G. P. Phalgunadi,¹⁷ expressing his personal observation, says: “I may mention here that I found a number of basic words used by Oriyas [Odias], some crafts, some forms of worship and some peculiar food-habits prevalent in Orissa [Odisha] to be common with Indonesia, especially with Bali and Java. For instance, we call the mother Boo (bu) in Indonesia like Bou in Oriya [Odia] and father as Bapa in Indonesia, Bapo in Javanese or Bapa in Balinese as in Oriya [Odia]. Betel nut is called Goah or Buah in Balinese as in Oriya [Odia]. Ground-nut is called Kacang China in Bali, like Chinabadam in Oriya [Odia]. We worship in Bali three deities, represented by masks, very much resembling the trinity, Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra in Orissa [Odisha]...In Bali, we are especially fond of leaves of sag as in Orissa [Odisha], especially the young leaves of the drum-stick tree, known in Orissa [Odisha] as sajana. We love to cook its sag along with mashed coconut as is done in Orissa [Odisha]. We also love to eat cooked banana-flowers and the core-stem of the banana plant, and also to have our food on banana leaves as in Orissa [Odisha] and Bengal. We

also prepare and eat a cake made of rice-flour with stuffings like those known as manda and enduripitha in Orissa [Odisha], among other such cakes made of rice flour. We worship a knotted bundle of paddy-sheaves as Shridevi, the goddess of crops or harvesting, who is worshipped with the same connotation as Lakshmi, in the month of Margashira in Orissa [Odisha]. Goddess Shri Lakshmi receives regular propitiation when the harvest is over. Lakshmi is regarded as the real owner of the rice fields. In west Java this goddess is known as Devi Pohachi, the Goddess of rice.”

The following table shows the similarities in Odia and Balinese words with their English meanings.

Odia	Balinese	English
ajna	inge	seeking permission in case of replying to elders
arua	arua	uncooked rice made out of part-boiled/sun dried paddy
beeja	beeja	seminal fluid
borokuli/		
barakoli	bokul	a kind of fruit (jujubes)
bou	bu(boo)	Mother
chhuin	tui	a kind of vegetable (especially of drum-stick tree) (sajana)
china (badam)	kacan (cina)/	
	kacang china	peanut
genda	gondan	Snail
gua	buah(goah)	Betel nut
langala	lengallo	Plough
munha	muha	Face
panda	padanda	Priest of the temple
papa/bapa	bapa	Father
para	dara	Pigeon
peja	peja/pejo	thick fluid of cooked rice
Ruti	roti	Bread
sanja	sanja	Evening

Both the Balinese and the Odias, with regards to food habits, seem to have some common likes and dislikes. Both are fond of eating saga, especially sajana saga (young green leaves of drum-stick tree). Other favourite vegetables common to both include, banana flowers (bhanda) and core stem (manja) of the banana plant. The Balinese also liked to have their food on banana leaves as in Odisha. Similarly, cakes made out of rice-flour known as manda and enduripitha are also favourite dishes of both. The habit of chewing betel (pan) and keeping the ingredients of betel in a wooden box are found in both the regions.

The island of Bali, even now, is a repository of the Hindu culture. It is rightly regarded as an 'island of Gods.' As in Odisha, a type of temple structure in Bali is known as meru.¹⁸ The Vasuki temple complex dedicated to Lord Shiva (Parama Shiva), where Shiva is supposed to sit on the head of the Vasuki, was constructed with the belief that Bali is the centre of Universe and Mount Agung on which it was built represented mahameru (highest mountain) or pivot axis of the universe.¹⁹ The kirtimukha motifs of Bali are influenced by that of the Muktesvara temple of Odisha. The standing male and female figures of Pura Sukhavana are akin to early Odishan art. Various forms of worship also show remarkable similarity between the Odias and the Balinese. One such instance is the worship of Goddess Sri or Sri Devi and Goddess Lakshmi respectively, in Bali and Odisha. Although there is difference in the use of the term, yet the form and object of worship is one and the same. Both in Bali and Odisha, the goddess is associated with dhanya and tandula. Hence, the goddess is otherwise venerated as Sritanduli or Sri Dhanya Rajni (the Goddess of rice). In the observation of worship, the people of both Bali and Odisha worship a bundle of paddy sheaves to pay their respect to the corn deity. In Odisha, this worship is performed on every Thursday in the month of margashira (November-December) and is popular as gurubara manabasa or Lakshmi puja. As in Odisha, the practice of animal sacrifice is also chiefly reserved for Kali, Chandi, Bhutas, Rakshasas and other evil spirits in Bali.

Besides the worship of goddesses, along with the worship of Vishnu and Shiva, Buddhism was also prevalent in Bali. As the Mons regarded Vishnu as a sage like the Buddha, the Balinese speak of Shiva as an elder brother of the Buddha.²⁰ In the observation of daily rituals; the Shaivite priests addressed God as Jagannath, Suresvara and Rudra, the last two for Shiva. Hence, the mention of the term Jagannath along with Shiva indicates that Lord Jagannath could be treated as being same as Shiva. (The priests chant shlokas like “Om Ksamam mam Sivadeva, Jagannath hitamkara”) In Bali, some of the rituals began with following shlokas:

Om ksamasva mama Jagannatha sarvapapaniratarāṃ
Sarvakāryam idam dehi pranamāmi Suresvaram.²¹

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Om ksamsva mam Sivadeva Jagannatha hitamkara
Sarevapapa vimutkena pranammyaham Suresvaram.

The Sanskrit of these shlokas is poor. However, our concern is the inclusion of the name Jagannath in the above prayers, which suggests that there was cultural contact between Odisha and Bali. Jagannath, the presiding deity of Odisha, was also worshipped by the people of Bali. Late K. S. Behera who visited Bali in 1992 on the occasion of Kalinga Bali Yatra festival was astonished to see the wide spread popularity of Jagannath worship in Bali.²² At Denpasar in Bali, there is a temple of Lord Jagannath though there is no statue at present except the empty padmasana.²³ The names of Puri and Nilachala were also used in ancient Java and Bali. In Bali, the temple where images were worshipped was called Puri/ Pura.²⁴ Like the famous Ratha yatra (Car festival) of Puri, the Balinese also carry three wooden Gods in a grandeur procession. Masks resembling the three deities, Jagannatha, Balabhadra and Subhadra of Odisha cover the three wooden Gods. ²⁵

The accessory articles of Indian worship such as ghrta/ ghee (clarified butter), kusa (a type of grass used in religious ceremonies), tila (sesame) and madhu (honey) are also used in Bali. However, one of the most important items used in the observation

of religious ceremonies in Bali like that of Odisha and India is the holy water. The rivers of India are so popular among the Balinese that some rivers in Bali are named after the sacred rivers of India, i.e. Ganga, Sindhu and Yamuna. The Balinese thought that those rivers really were in Kling (Kalinga). Along with other rivers, the Mahanadi River flowing in Odisha is considered sacred by the Balinese. They utter “Om Ganga, Sindhu, Saraswati, Vipasa, Kausiki-nadi, Yamuna, Mahanadi, srestha Sarayu mahati.” Mahendratana, another famous river of Odisha, was also held in high esteem in Bali. This river, originating from the foot of the Mahendragiri Mountain, falls in the Bay of Bengal and is regarded as a holy river; similarly, it is regarded as the most sacred river in Bali. Even in the Balinese stutis (verses), the river Mahendratana is mentioned along with other sacred rivers. This may indicate that in ancient times some of the emigrants definitely were from the Mahendra parvata (Mahendra mountain) area of the Ganjam district of Odisha.²⁶ The stuti or shloka runs as follows:

Om Ganga Sindhu Saraswati su Yamuna
 Godavari Narmada Kaveri Sarayu Mahendratana
 Cornavati Renuka Bhadra Netravati Mahasuranadi
 Khyata ca Gandaki Punyah Puranjalah Samudrasahitah
 Kurvantu te mangalam

The significant role played by the Kalinga people from the Mahendra region is also corroborated by the fact that king Jayavarman II, the founder of Khmer empire, was known as Chakravarti Mahendra parvata (Phnom-kulen).²⁷

Besides Hinduism, Buddhism was also quite popular in Bali and probably was first followed in the island. Clay stupikas and votive tablets inscribed with Buddhist dharani of c. eighth century CE are some of the positive evidences of the popularity of Buddhism in Bali. In Odisha, votive tablets with inscriptions and figures of Buddha and Bodhisattvas are known from the excavations at Ratnagiri and Avana in the coastal Odisha. Similar objects have also been discovered from Bali. It is presumed that

these objects were probably imported from eastern India, especially from Odisha. However, the comparative study and chemical analysis of such votive tablets found in eastern India and Bali may throw further welcome light on the subject. Both the people of Odisha and Bali treat banyan tree as holy.²⁸ Palm leaf manuscripts with pictures and writings are also known in both the regions.

Another resemblance between Odisha and the island of Bali is the designing patterns of clothes. The tie-and-dye fabric of Odisha has its close parallel in Bali. Bali is the only state in the Indonesian Archipelago famous for a particular type of tie-and-dye fabric known as patola. Odisha and Gujarat are the only states in India which specialise in this type of weaving. It is believed that the famous Sambalapuri style of textile weaving has influenced the patola tie and dye style of textile weaving of Bali. In Balinese cremation textile, Odishan kumbha designs are there. The keeling cloth, multicoloured striped and checked textiles from Nusa Penida (it is an island South-East of Bali Island, Indonesia) indicate that such textiles were originally imported to Bali from Kalinga.

The similarity in some other social patterns of both Odisha and Bali provide tangible proof of maritime contacts between the two places. Rice is the staple food of both the people. The Hindu stratification of caste system is also to be found in the Indonesian society, though the brahmins and kayasthas (a branch of kshatriyas) are held in equal regard.²⁹ The behavioural features in both places also have much similarity. The youngsters, while passing along elders sitting or standing on the way, bend down separating themselves by stretching down their right hands towards ground. Raising of folded hands, as a common form of greeting, is a practice in both Odisha and Bali. Like Odisha, in the island of Bali, if a guest comes to a Hindu family he is first treated with a betel leaf and a nut. On auspicious occasions like marriage, the Balinese Hindus invite relatives to their house by sending betel leaf and nut as it is in practice in the coastal districts of Odisha.³⁰ In Bali, during marriage ceremony the bride and the groom wear

a type of head dress (mukuta), which is very much like the head dress used in marriage ceremonies in Odisha. Rounding of hair by women in typical bun is alike in the villages of Odisha and Bali. The form of dance and music of the island of Bali also bear many similarities with that of Odisha. The folk dances of Odisha like chaiti ghoda nata (chaiti ghoda dance), danda nata, naga nata (naga dance), kandhei nata (puppet dance), Ramalila, etc. are very much present in both the islands of Bali and Java, though in a slightly different form.³¹ There is also striking affinities between Prahalada nataka performance of Odisha and Barong dance of Bali. Besides, different types of ornaments used by the women in Odisha almost half a century ago are still in use in the remote villages of Bali and Java. Certain rituals are also common to both the regions. One such ritual is the aforementioned Bali Yatra festival. In Odisha, it is regarded as reminiscent of glorious maritime activities of the past, where the young and the old alike sail lamp-lighted boats of sholapith or plantain plant bark. A similar ritual observed in Bali is called Masakapam Kepesih ceremony where infants are helped to sail tiny boats for the souls of their sailor and navigator ancestors. The festivals are held in both countries in the month of November. It is the time when the trade winds are favourable for navigation, of which in all probability the ancient mariners took advantage. It is, thus, evident that there was then a close commercial contact between Odisha and Bali. Besides, a myth associated with the Balinese village of Tenganan refers to earliest ancestors of the village as Kalinga.

Hence, from the perusal of the above description, it would appear that Kalinga had, over the centuries, close overseas contact with the island of Bali. Balinese religious beliefs, though greatly influenced by Hinduism, in reality are not totally Hinduism but intermingling of both Hinduism and indigenous practices. In spite of outside influences, the Balinese have never lost their indigenous practices. Unlike Indian's or Odia's calendar, the Balinese calendars follow five days a week and Saturdays are

considered auspicious marked for worship of Saraswati.³² While the Indians do not consider amavasya as auspicious, the Balinese consider it as auspicious. In spite of such differences, we can say that the Kalingans or the people of ancient Odisha tremendously contributed towards the evolution and development of Hindu culture in Bali.

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Kalinga in Trans-National Migration: A Discourse on Cultural Rapprochement with Cambodia

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ABSTRACT

Indian culture transmitted to Southeast Asia through the Indian traders, Brahmins, and Buddhist monks who introduced elements of Hinduism, Buddhism, Sanskrit, and the arts to the region. This cultural flow was neither unidirectional nor uniform rather was a process of mutual adaptation, with Southeast Asian societies selecting, modifying, and integrating aspects of Indian culture into their local contexts. Odisha known as Kalinga in ancient times played a significant role in these cultural exchanges as it was a centre of maritime trade, art, and religion. The famous maritime expeditions from Odisha brought not only goods but also ideas, rituals, and artistic styles that resonated deeply with Cambodian society. For example, Cambodia's Angkorian civilization exhibits strong influences from Indian traditions in terms of profound impact of Hinduism, particularly the worship of Vishnu and Shiva and the architectural design and iconography of the temple had incorporated some of the stylistic elements of Odisha's temple architecture. The Cambodian society had selectively absorbed the Indian traditions and synthesized it with indigenous traditions

thus resulting in a process of cultural negotiation. Further religion served as a crucial bridge between India and Cambodia and Odisha played a significant role in disseminating religious ideas to Southeast Asia. The teachings of Buddhism, particularly the Mahayana and Vajrayana traditions, travelled from Odisha to Cambodia via maritime routes contributing to the establishment of Buddhist monasteries and centres of learning in Cambodia. The Hindu mythological texts such as Ramayana and Mahabharata were adapted into local folklore, dance, and theatre. The Apsara dance, for instance, owes much to Hindu mythology but has been transformed into a distinctly Cambodian art form. The influence of Sanskrit and Pali on the Khmer language and literature underscores the depth of cultural interaction between India and Cambodia as the inscriptions on Cambodian temples often employed Sanskrit for royal proclamations and religious dedications.

The present article makes an attempt to delineate some of the cultural similarities between India and Cambodia with special reference to the impact from Odisha. The article would contest the Indic centric view that there was total transplantation of Indian culture and argue that there was cultural rapprochement between India and Cambodia in general and Odisha in particular.

Keywords: Cultural rapprochement, negotiation, Hinduism, Culture

INTRODUCTION

Geo-politically, South East Asia is a significant region in India's foreign policy today. The region is of significant strategic importance not only because of its strategic location serving India's interest but also due to strong cultural connections since time immemorial. The region situated towards the South of China and East of Indian Sub-continent comprises of the countries such as Myanmar, Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam, Laos etc. The region shares both maritime and land border with India having strong civilizational linkages. Today the region has emerged as a dynamic economy integrating itself

in the global economy through regional groupings such as ASEAN.¹ Realising the economic potential of the region, India signed India-ASEAN Trade in Goods Agreement on August 13, 2009 for trade in goods and the India-ASEAN Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Agreement (CECA) for trade in services and investment which together form the ASEAN-India Free Trade Area (AIFTA). Apart from this ASEAN is a significant component in India's Look East Policy² to further deepen India's engagement with the region. Keeping in mind China's aggressiveness in the region, it is again crucial for India to strive towards the region's growth and security and secure the region from China-USA power struggle.

Apart from the economic and strategic interest of India in the region, it is all the more important for India to revive the civilizational linkage and reflect upon the deep cultural connections through revisiting the cultural history of India-South-East Asia which was strengthened through trading relationships, transnational migration and cross-cultural movements in ancient times. Beginning from prehistoric times, Indian culture flowed to Southeast Asia until the western hegemony was established in both the regions. A region of ethnic, cultural, linguistic, historical and physical mosaic; external influences like Indian culture have left deep imprints on the indigenous culture of Southeast Asia. The data from India and Southeast Asia is inseparably linked and a comprehensive study of one is meaningless without a thorough knowledge of the other.

ASEAN refers to the Association of South East Asian Nations. Established in 1967, it is a political and economic union of 10 states of South East Asia comprising Brunei, Indonesia, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand, Singapore and Myanmar.

The Look East Policy was launched by the Govt. of India in 1991 was a significant foreign policy approach aimed at strengthening the political, economic, and security ties with the countries of South East Asia to explore the abundant resources and the thriving prospects the region offers.

THE CULTURAL CONNECTIONS

The material and cultural base of autochthonous societies of Southeast Asia was already developed at the time of contact with external forces. On this base was raised a superstructure, the materials of which was largely contributed by the Indians. An interaction between local and external cultures went on. A rapport was established and as acculturation proceeded, elements of Indian culture were absorbed. In course of time, its origin was forgotten. Some of the indigenous beliefs were in harmony with Indian traditions like worship of mountains, rivers and serpents. In fact, the pre-Aryan India and Southeast Asia shared many cultural traits that were similar. Many facets of life in India and Southeast Asia looked alike. They are inter-wined to such a degree that sometimes it becomes difficult to differentiate between them. Indianization is the term generally used for Indian cultural influence upon Southeast Asia. The Indian cultural penetration was by peaceful and non-political methods. Earlier tendency of the scholars had been to regard the process of Indianization as an Indian initiative only. Southeast Asia was at the receiving end, playing a passive role. In 1926, the 'Greater India Society' was established to enlighten the role of India in Southeast Asia. The region was regarded as colony of India nationalist historians. Absence of concrete evidence regarding Indian cultural expansion has resulted in postulating various theories regarding motives and process of Indianization. In spite of objection in certain quarters regarding the use of the term 'Indianization', it has been used in a broader context here with due emphasis on Southeast Asian initiative or indigenization. The consensus is that process of Indianization was accomplished by peaceful means and it was non-political in character. In the present article, an attempt has been made to delineate some of the cultural similarities between India and Cambodia with special reference to the impact from Odisha. The article would contest the Indic centric view that there was total transplantation of Indian culture. The theoretical premise would be

that the whole process of Indian cultural influence was interaction between culture of India and Cambodia.

Cambodia in its heyday corresponded to modern Cambodia, a part of Cochin-China and lower valley of the Mekong river in the basin of Tonle Sap. Laos bound this country of Indo-Chinese peninsula on northeast, South Vietnam on southeast, gulf of Thailand on the south and on northwest by Thailand. The majority of the people were Khmers, ethnically related to Mons of lower Myanmar. During the earliest or pre-Angkorean centuries of Khmer history, there were two successive kingdoms: Funan from second to sixth centuries and Chenla from sixth to the eighth centuries. The Chinese chronicles provide important information about the origin of Funan. It was founded by Indian Brahmana Kaundinya, who married the local female chieftain. In the early history of Cambodia, there was no fixed center of political power. The rulers promoted authority by legitimizing their rule through brahmans and proving their worth in the battlefield. The effectiveness lasted the lifetime of the ruler. In the early centuries of Christian era, small principalities arose across the map of Southeast Asia. Funan was one. The term 'multiplicity of centers' is more appropriate as O.W. Wolters says; "greater unities were very fragile consequences of the prowess of an individual ruler."³ There was in existence an "indigenous, prehistoric 'pre-state' structure."⁴ The coming of Indian cultural influence was convenient for the rulers, who used it to buttress their political authority. This process of cultural interaction later resulted in affecting not only elite but also people in their social and religious life.

The Chinese envoys K'angT'ai and Chu Ying, who visited Funan in middle of third century C.E. and a Sanskrit inscription of third century C.E. throw light on Funan.⁵ K'angT'ai had

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4. Ibid, P. 265.

5. G. Coedes, "The Indianized States of Southeast Asia", Honolulu, 1965, p.37-38.

recorded a legend, which mentioned the coming of Indian Brahmana Kaundinya (Hun-tien) to Funan. Earlier Kaundinya had in a dream visualized God giving him a bow and asking him to go on high seas. Next day he went to a temple and found the bow. He then boarded a ship and reached Funan, which was being governed by the Naga princess Soma (Lin-Ye). She was defeated by Kaundinya, who had the divine bow and got married to him. Then he governed the country from capital Vyadhapura or city of hunters.⁶ This first dynasty by next generation was completely indigenous, as there were no Indian women. The same legend appears in Campa and Kedah. It was given a status of legitimization with ancestry from India as well as local. The reference to moon, water and serpent had indigenous roots and even the word naga was from vocabulary of pre-Aryan, who had cultural affinity with people of Southeast Asia.⁷

After Kaundinya, his descendants ruled Funan. Under Fan Ch'an, its territory extended upto southern Vietnam, central Thailand and portion of Myanmar. He had a powerful navy. The importance of Funan as a sea-faring and trading nation is proved by the port of Oceo, situated near Cambodian-Vietnamese border. Upto sixth century C.E., trade routes between India and China passed through Funanese coast. Embassies were sent to India and China. The envoy Su Wu after a sea voyage arrived in the mouth of Ganga and afterwards went to the capital of a Murunda prince. He came back with an Indian companion, who later met the Chinese envoys K'angT'ai and Chu Ying. When Fan Shun was the ruler,

6. According to Manusamhita(X.8), issues of such marriage between high caste man and low caste women would be a Nisada or a member of hunter community, hence the name of capital as city of hunters. See, H.B. Sarkar, "Cultural Relations Between India and Southeast Asian Countries", New Delhi, 1985, p.135.

7. I.W. Mabbett, "The Indianization of Southeast Asia: Reflections on Historical Sources" in *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, VIII, Part- 2, 1977, p. 146.

relations with China deteriorated as Hunan allied with Camp against Toning, which was under Chinese domination. According to the Chinese chronicles, Chan-tan (Canadian), who became the ruler in 357 C.E. was paying tribute to China.

The second phase of Funanese history begins with arrival of second Kaundinya from the kingdom of P'an-P'an of Malay Peninsula. The Chinese chronicle Liang Shu mentions that Chia Ch'en-ju (Kaundinya), a successor of Candan heard the divine voice to rule over Funan and he changed laws in Funan in conformity with practice in India.⁸ His arrival in Funan, then being welcomed by people proves the high regard in which Indian Brahmans were held. His successors with easily recognizable Sanskrit names enlarged the Indian cultural elements. At the time of Jayavarman, the Indian monk Nagasena reached Funan. The king sent him to China in 484 C.E. to offer presents to the Chinese emperor. Nagasena had mentioned some of Funanese customs like worship of Siva, existence of mountain God cult and presence of Buddhism. Kulaprabhavati, the queen of Jayavarman in her inscription in the southern province of Takeo had invoked Vishnu in the prefatory stanza. Rudravarman was the last king of Funan and sent various embassies to China between 517 and 539 C.E. He dispatched the monk Paramartha or Gunaratna to China with two hundred and forty bundles of Buddhist texts.⁹ He was from Ujjayini and living in Funan. The dominant religion of Funan was Hinduism but the Buddhist constituted an important community.

By the sixth century C.E., an all sea-route developed between India and China. The shift from coastal trade route coincided with appearance of conquerors from the mid-Mekong area, Bhavavarman and Mahendravarman.¹⁰ Both the brothers' career was focused

8. P. Wheatley, "The Golden Khersonese", Kuala Lumpur, 1961, p. 48.

9. H.B. Sarkar, n. 4, p. 153.

10. K.W. Taylor, "The Early Kingdoms" in N. Tarling, ed, "The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia", Vol I, Singapore, 1992, p. 159.

towards the rice-growing areas of Mekong basin rather than maritime trade. The separate tradition for the new kingdom traced its origin from the sage Kambu Svayambhuva and the daughter of Nagas, Mera and the state was called Kambujaafter the sage.¹¹ The Chinese call it Chenla. The rulers-built Lingas of the mountain God Siva-Girisa. The kings came to be deified. There was also the tradition of getting princesses married to Brahmans coming from India.¹² Beginning his career in southeastern Cambodia, Jayavarman II occupied northwestern part, the future site of Angkor. The Brahmanas performed the consecration ceremony for the new ruler in a nearby mountain. Thus, Jayavarman II became the ruler of a new state without being subordinate to anybody. Angkor dynasty was established in 802 C.E.

The new ruler introduced the Devaraja cult. Influences from India, megalithic culture of Southeast Asia, Chen-la, Campa, Indonesia and China could be discerned in the Devaraja cult.¹³ Devaraja means the 'king of Gods' which is God Shiva himself. The famous temple mountains and royal Lingas were dedicated to Siva himself. Devaraja cult was not same as the cult of royal Lingas, which were erected by kings on the temple mountains that were unique of Angkor architecture.¹⁴ The Saivite cult of royal Lingas was later represented on the famous Angkor Wat. Jayavarman II established his capital on Mahendra Mountain and invited a Brahmana named Hiranyadama from Janapadato perform some tantric rites.¹⁵ Shaivism is connected with Tantricism and the

11. R.C. Majumdar, "Kambuja Desa", Madras, 1944, p. 19.

12. At the time of Isanavarman (617-635 C.E.), a royal princess married Durgasvamin of Daksinapatha and the daughter of Jayavarman I and his queen Jayadevi, Sobhajaya got married to Saiva brahmana Sakrasvamin of Madhyadesa. C. Coedes, ed, "Inscriptions du Cambodge", referred in H.B. Sarkar, n.4, p. 154.

13. H. Kulke, "The Devaraja Cult" trans by I.W. Mabbett, New York, 1978, p.1-2.

14. Ibid, p. 3-4.

15. P.C. Bagchi, "Studies in Tantra", Calcutta, 1920, p. 2 & 18.

Brahmana performed ritual according to tantric texts. The object behind the ceremony was that Cambodia would not show allegiance to Java and the ruler would be consecrated as universal ruler or Chakravartin. Hiranyadama consecrated the Linga on Mahendra Mountain and a movable image or ChalantiPratima of this was prepared and ‘venerated as Devaraja’.¹⁶ The untrammelled political authority of the new ruler was asserted.

Jayavarman II was succeeded by Jayavarman III. They were followed by Indravarman and Yasavarman I. The BrahmanaSivasoma was mentor of Indravarman. Yasovarman I was a great builder. The successive rulers in different ways contributed to cultural life of Angkor. At the time of Suryavarman I, Lopburi region of Thailand came under his authority. Suryavarman II (1113-45 C.E.) extended his domain in Malay peninsula and northern Cham territory. He constructed the famous edifice of Angkor Wat dedicated to Vishnu. Jayavarman VII (1181-1218 C.E.) established his authority over Campa, northern Laos and southern Myanmar. He founded the new capital city of Angkor Thom and in the center of city constructed the Mahayana temple of Bayon. He was the last important king of Angkor. There was constant Thai pressure in late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. In the fifteenth century, Angkor was abandoned in favour of sites in the vicinity of Phnom Penh for maritime trading contacts. Though the Khmer empire came to an end politically, some of the Angkorean features in social and cultural domain influenced the new states that were established on the ruins of Angkor.

The Cambodian civilization in Funan, Chen-la and Angkor periods witnessed a good deal of Indian influence. The Khmers accepted some of Indian cultural elements and adapted it according to their necessity. The legend of Kaundinyawas mixed with indigenous myth of moon, serpent and water to give the rule of king’s legitimization. Erection of personal royal Lingas on top of

16. Kulke, n. 11, P. 32.

mountains was a blending of autochthonous mountain cult with Hindu beliefs. Shiva with the Linga as his icon were moulded to the local tradition of prior cults like earth gods and the Cambodian inscription of pre-Angkorean times make reference to 'god of the stone pond'.¹⁷ Shiva in his Linga form was connected with Devaraja cult. He has been also identified with Brahma. There was also prevalence of a Saivite sect known as Pasupatas. The Hindu gods of trinity, Brahma, Shiva and Vishnu were known to the people. Brahma was not popular and only one icon of him has been discovered at Prasatsamrong. The three chief deities of Angkor were Shiva, Vishnu and Buddha. Probably Buddha had replaced Brahma in the Cambodian context. Shiva was being worshipped under different names such as Bhadresvara, Sambhu, Girisa and Tribhubanesvara.

The cult of Vishnu flourished in Cambodia Vishnu had been shown resting on the serpent Anantanaga in the Kusi Cheng temple. Images of the God with his traditional attributes have been found pertaining to Funan period. The sculptural art representing Shiva became more developed at the time of Angkor. The record of Jayavarman's queen Kulaprabhavatimentions the myth of Seshanaga, the serpent on whom Vishnu reclines in rest. She also constructed a temple for the God.¹⁸ The inscription of his son Gunavarman also displays Vaishnavite devotion. He commemorated the foot-prints of Vishnu at Thopmoi, which came to be known as Chakratirthasvami.¹⁹ Vishnu was worshiped as Puskaraksa, Puspavatasvamin and Trailokesvara in Chenla.²⁰ The

17. J.G. De Casparis and I.W. Mabbett, "Religion and Popular Beliefs of Southeast Asia before C. 1500" in Tarling, n.8, p. 283. In the Ba Phnom site, where sacrificial rituals were addressed to a Goddess, who was amalgamation of indigenous Me Sa with Indian, Mahisasuramardini, Ibid, p. 284.

18. G. Coedes, "A new inscription from Fuhnan" in Journal of Greater India Society, IV, 1937, p. 120.

19. D. Daweewarn, "Brahmanism in Southeast Asia", New Delhi, 1992, p. 32.

20. M.M. Ghosh, "History of Cambodia", Calcutta, 1968, p. 59.

kings like Yasovarman, Indravarman, Suryavarman II etc. were patrons of Vaishnavism. Angkor Wat was a magnificent Vishnuite edifice. There was a reference to Visnugraha in the Angkor Thom inscription, which was place of residence of the Vaishnavas. Vishnu along with Shiva was worshipped as Hari-Hara, Hari-Sankara and Sankara-Narayana. There was also Bhakti cult of the Pancharatha sect and an inscription of the time of Jayavarman I refers to a priest of this sect. In the tenth century C.E. this sect occupied an important position in Cambodia. In the inscription during the reign of Rajendravarman (944-961 C.E.), the fourfold emanation (Chaturvyuha) of Vishnu had been referred. Besides the Shiva and Vishnu, there were number of Brahmanical Gods and Goddesses like Aditya, Ganesa, Indra, Sarasvati etc. prevailing in Cambodia.

The Mahayana faith came to Cambodia from the Srivijayan kingdom as well as India. As early as fifth century C.E., Buddhism was prevalent in Funan. Its king Jayavarman sent an embassy to China with presents like the image of Buddha. His son Rudravarman made an invocation to Buddha in one of his inscriptions. I-Ching, the Chinese pilgrim had mentioned that Buddhism was prevalent in Funan. The Siemreap inscription of 791 C.E. refers to the image of Avalokitesvara. Quite a few Buddhist monks from India were residing and Nagasena's visit to China had been referred earlier. Suryavarman I gave much emphasis to Buddhism and he had the posthumous title Nirvanapada. His inscription at Prah Khan invokes both Shiva and Buddha. The Khmer term Esvarafor God appeared in Shaivite cult of Mahesvaraand Mahayana Buddhist cult of Lokeshvara.²¹ The Theravadaschool of Buddhism reached its pinnacle of glory at the time of Jayavarman VII with construction of Bayon temple in Angkor Thom. In 1225 C.E., the Chinese visitor Chou Ta-Kuan mentions the importance of saffron-clad Theravadin monks, who were reciting Pali texts to new entrants in monasteries

21. L.P. Briggs, "Ancient Khmer Empire", Philadelphia, 1951, p. 24-26.

and they were leading a simple life.²² The rulers of Angkor were influencing the life of Buddhist Sangha by endowments.

The Brahmins were playing an important role in the religious life of people. In Cambodia, the chief priest or Purohita had a powerful influence on the royalty. This sacerdotal office passed from uncle to nephew in the maternal line, which was an example of indigenous matrilineal social system. The kings were seeking to ally itself to a particular priestly family by matrimonial alliance: Sobhajaya, daughter of Jayavarman I got married to Brahmana Sakrasvamin. The sister of Jayavarman V, Indralakshmi was married to Divakarabhatta, who was an expert on Vedic sacrifices. The Brahmins were advisors to the king and performed important rituals for royalty. Indravarman I's spiritual mentor was Sivasoma, who had studied the religious texts under the famous Sankaracharya of India.²³ The Brahmana Hiranyadama conducted the consecration of Jayavarman II, the founder of Angkor dynasty. The role of Indian Brahmins Kaundinya I and Kaundinya II had been referred earlier. After the king, the Brahmins were next to be honoured. The royal guru was known as Sivakaivalya and he and his family alone could perform the ceremony associated with Devaraja cult.²⁴ Hiranyadamataught Sivakaivalya the tantric texts like Vrah Vinasikha, Nayottara, Sammoha and Sirasched²⁵ concerning installation of royal God.

Inscriptions from Cambodia attest to prevalence of competence in Sanskrit. The royalty was well versed in that language. Rhetorical and literary conventions were well known to writers of epigraphs, which were unique contribution to Sanskrit literature. They were also well acquainted with Indian epics, Kavyas and

22. Chu Ta-Kuan, "Memoirs sur les - Coutumes du Cambodge de Tcheou Ta-Kouan", referred in J.F. Cady, "Southeast Asia: Its Historical Development", New Delhi, 1976, p. 101.

23. R. C. Majumdar, "Greater India" Bombay, 1948, p. 55.

24. Daweewarn, n. 17, P. 48.

25. Sarkar, n. 4, p. 285.

Puranas. The inscriptions refer to the Vedas, Vedantas, Smritis etc. In the inscriptions, there are references to the Manusamhita and verses from it were reproduced in verbatim. There was study of Sanskrit literature under YasovarmanI, who composed a commentary of Mahabhasya. His Baray inscription gives reference to Indian authors like Vatsyayana, Bharavi, Gunadhya, Visalaksa etc.²⁶ Princess Tilaka was known as Vagesvari Bhagavati because of her knowledge and queen Indradevi was very erudite Sanskrit scholar.²⁷ Suryavarman I was a proficient Vedic scholar. The study of astrology (horasastra), archery (Dhanurveda), medicine (Ayurveda) and music (Gandharvavidya) was also there in Cambodia. The Ramayana and Mahabharata were popular epics in Kambuja. An inscription of sixth century C.E. says that copies of these epics were dedicated by the Brahmana Somasarman before Tribhuvaneshvara for daily recitation.²⁸ Some of the episodes from the Ramayana and Mahabharata were portrayed in the bas-reliefs of Bhavajnana temple. The scholars like Sivasoma, Vagisvarapandita and Kavindrapandita were expert in study and recitation of these epics.²⁹ Some of the Buddhist texts like Pratityotpadana, Brahmaghosa and Sadaharma-arsabha were studied in Angkor. The teacher of king Jayavarman V, Yajnavarahawasa was proficient in Buddhist doctrines. Inscriptions in Pali also prove popularity of Hinayana Buddhism in royal circles. The Buddhist Jataka stories were also very popular.

Many of the Sanskrit words had been absorbed into old Khmer relating to geographical names, names of divinities and persons, administrative terms and terms relating to calendar and number.³⁰

26. Ibid, P. 275.

27. R.C. Majumdar, "Inscriptions of Kambuja", Calcutta, 1953, no. 173 and 182.

28. Ibid, no. 13.

29. Sarkar, n. 4, P. 284.

30. For details see, Daweewarn, n. 17, p. 200-212.

The widely prevalent place names were Sivapura, Visnupura, Yasodharagiri, Sivapada, Visnupada etc. Some of the names of divinities attest the significance of indigenous cults: Jayasrestha, Lingapurāsana and Nagasthana. The various names of Shiva like Utpānesvara, Akālesvara and Amratākesvara are not common in India but were prevalent in ancient Cambodia. The administrative terms in old Khmer were Kulapati (chief of temple), Gramapala (guardian of village), Rajakulamahamantri (minister of royal welfare), Rajakarya (administration), Rāstrāor Desa (country), Sasana (royal order) etc. The Saka era was prevalent in ancient Cambodia. Inscriptions refer to era, year, month, fortnight, Tithi Naksatra etc. Some of the terms were Sankranta (new year), Pratisamvatasara (every year), Chandradivasavara (Monday) etc. Though there are seven days in a week, the Khmer calendar has a thirteen-month year. For calculation, the Khmers developed their own written script and used a counting system based on units of five. Some of the Indian terms were changed in the Khmer version: Garuda (krut), Guru (kru), Ma-Ganga (Mekong) and Nagar (nokor). In the inscriptions, old Khmer was used for description of foundations and enumeration of servants; whereas Sanskrit was used for royal genealogies, panegyrics for kings and donors of various categories.

CULTURAL CONTACT WITH ODISHA

Odisha's connection with Funan was through diplomatic relationship between two regions. At the time of Funanese king Fan Chan (225-250 C.E.) an Indian visitor had arrived in the court of the king. Afterwards the king sent his relative Su-Wu as ambassador to the court of Murunda ruler in India. He embarked at the port of Chu-li in Malay Peninsula and went by sea reaching the mouth of Ganga. Su-Wu arrived at the port of Tamralipti and met the king, who had the title of Mou-luan. The Murundas had set up an independent kingdom in eastern India with Pataliputra as capital after the decline of Kusanas. They became prominent in Kalinga after the Satavahanas in second and third

centuries C.E. The Murunda rule over Kalinga could be attested from the discovery of a gold coin from Sisupalgarh.³¹ On the obverse of it, the name of the king is read as Dhamadamadhara (Dharmatamadharasya), who received Su-Wu.³² The king presented him with four horses. There was regular export of horses from the port of Tamralipta to Funan and Ko-Ying kingdom located in Java-Sumatra region. Yueh-chih or Kusana traders from Vanga region were monopolizing this trade.³³ Therefore, it is not unlikely that Kalinga was involved in this trade. Moreover, the people of Kalinga and neighboring region of Vidarbha were using the port of Palur as point of departure to Southeast Asia. Kaundinya I might have gone to Funan from the contiguous region of Vidarbha and Kalinga. The Kaundinyas, a Vedic tribe, had their homeland in Kaundinyapur in Vidharva.

Shaivism had become popular in ancient Cambodia. He was worshipped under different names like Mahesvara and Tribhubanesvara. Somasarma, the brother-in-law of Chienla ruler Mahendravarman (600-611 C.E.) installed a statue of Tribhubanesvara in a temple. Sasanka, the ruler of Karnasubarna had constructed the Tribhubanesvara Shiva temple at Ekambra Kshetra in Kalinga. This contemporary installation of same God could be a pointer to the close relationship between Odisha and Cambodia. The Buddhist monk Nagasena had mentioned that Mahesvara was worshipped at the top of Motan mountain. Shortly before 500 C.E., the Gangas of Kalinga were worshipping Shiva Gokarnasvamin as tutelary deity on Mahendra

31. The Murunda rule over Kalinga is full of polemics. Sahu strongly believes in the theory of Murunda rule. See N.K. Sahu, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, Bhubaneswar, 1964, p.418. For an opposite view, see B.N. Mukharjee, "The Theory of Kusana rule in Orissa" in *The Journal of Orissan History*, I, 1980, p.1-2.

32. B.B. Lal, "Sisupalgarh" in *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, XV, 1967, p.51-55.

33. B.N. Mukherjee, "New Evidences of Contacts of Ancient Vanga (in Eastern India) with South-East Asia" in *Bharati*, XX, 1993-94, p. 3.

Mountain.³⁴ Worship of Gokarnasvamin and Mahesvarabelonged to same time. Probably Motan Mountain was another name of Mahendra Mountain of Kalinga. The founder of Angkor dynasty had established his capital at Mahendra Mountain, where the BrahmanaHiranyadama had performed the tantric rites concerning Devaraja cult in 802 C.E. Therefore, it could be inferred that the existence of Mahendra Mountain and worship of Shiva in both the regions point to close cultural relationship between Odisha and Cambodia. During the time of Isanavarman I (611-635 A.D) footprints of Shiva were installed, which finds a reference in the Phnom Bayang inscription of 624 A.D.³⁵ The followers of Pasupata sect worshipped the footprints as evident from the footprints of Shiva temple constructed by Vidyavisesain SakaTirtha of Cambodia. In India, worship of Shiva's footprints is rare except in places like Ranipur-Jharial of western Odisha.

Vaishnavism flourished in ancient Cambodia. Gunavarman, son of Funanese king Jayavarman (484-514 C.E.) commemorated the footprints of Vishnu and constructed the Chakratirthasvami Vishnu temple at Thap-moi in Plain Des Jones. In Odisha, Puri is known as Chakratirthaand Lord Jagannatha is Chakratirthasvami. In Medieval Odisha, the kings were sons and viceroys of Vishnu-Jagannatha and they were deified as moving Vishnu or Chalanti Vishnu. Rulers whose predecessors were followers of Shiva constructed two largest temples dedicated to Vishnu of India and Southeast Asia. Jagannatha-temple in Puri by Chodagangadeva and Angkor Wat by Suryavarman II. The institution of worshipping moving images or Chalantipratimawas prevalent in Odisha and Cambodia. In some of the festivals of Jagannatha temple, the Sudarshana Chakra (disc) as Chalanti Pratima was carried around the city.³⁶ In Angkor

H. Kulke, "Royal Temple Policy and the Structure of Medieval Hindu Kingdoms" in Anncharlott Eschmann and others eds, "The Cult of Jagannath and the Regional Tradition of Orissa", New Delhi, 1985, p. 130.

Daweewarn, n. 17, p. 25.

Kulke, n. 32, p. 89-90

also, ChalantiPratima of Linga that was consecrated on Mahendra mountain by Jayayvarman was made and venerated as Devaraja by successive rulers.³⁷ Therefore, cultural affinity to an extent was there between both the regions.

The Khmers had excelled in the field of art and architecture with their stone vault, decorative details, pyramidal mass, splendid lintel stones, carved figures and bas-relief depicting scenes from Indian mythology. Though some of the Khmer monuments had Indian origin, local touch was always there. The walls of the monuments of early period had been engraved with scenes from Indian mythology, but it had been decorated according to Cambodian model. There was also remarkable evolution of temple architecture with the addition of galleries, pyramidal construction in several stages and lofty central towers. The richness of architectural design is found in the temple of Banteay Srei constructed by the preceptor of Angkor king Rajendravarman II (944-968 C.E.), Yajnavaraha. It consists of three tower-shrines on a single terrace with Shiva as the main deity. The Sikharas in the shape of curved arches over the doors are similar to the Odishan temples. In the Banteay Srei and Preah Khan temples, the bullioned openings are very splendid and are akin to temples of Bhubaneswar.³⁸ In Angkorean sculptures, the round eyebrows and deep plump lips are of Odishan variety.³⁹

Angkor wat, built by Suryavarman II is one of the perfect architectural complexes of the world. This Vishnu temple with its five towers, three floors, walls and moats symbolize the cosmos, topped with mount Meru, which is abode of Gods. The whole area is rectangular enclosed by a colonnaded wall. Angkor wat has more than two square kilometers of bas-reliefs representing

37. Kulke, n. 11, p. 37.

38. P. Brown, "India Architecture, Buddhist and Hindu Periods", Bombay, 1971, p. 184.

39. H.G. Wales, "The Mountain of God : A Study in Early Religion and Kingship", London, 1953, p. 182

episodes from the Ramayana and Mahabharata and pictures of life of local people. These are considered pinnacle of Khmer art. The five towers of central temple were symbolic of peaks of mount Meru. Incarnations of Vishnu are portrayed on an elaborate frieze relief. Overall, Angkor wat was a blending of different styles with indigenous innovation. In open part of terrace on each side of entrance, halls small shrines were there, which were similar to Pancharatha (division of shrine tower into five vertical segments) pattern of Odishan temples.

CONCLUSION

The cultural connection between the erstwhile Kalinga (present State of Odisha, India) and Cambodia goes back to as early as 3rd century B.C. Known as Funan in ancient times, Cambodia was strongly influenced by Indian culture, civilization, religion and political organizations. The art and architecture of the Cambodian religious shrines stands testimony to this fact. In this cultural connection the role of ancient Kalinga stands apart since it holds a strategic position in India's ancient maritime trade with South East Asia. The Odishan traders could significantly influence the Cambodians in their socio-cultural life. The presence of temples dedicated to Lord Shiva, Vishnu, Durga and Parvati as well as the uncanny architectural resemblance between the Temple of Jagannath and the Angkor Vat temple of Cambodia speaks the magnitude of cultural influence. Further the similarities in the use of administrative terms in the ancient texts of both Odisha and Cambodia stands testimony to the exchange of political ideas and ideologies and organization of administrative system in both the regions. The use of Sanskrit terms in Cambodian inscriptions testifies the role of Sanskrit literature in Cambodian culture and the awareness of Cambodians about Indian Puranas, Smritis and Epics. Further the influence of Buddhism in Cambodian culture points to the genesis of this cross-cultural connection. Thus, there was cultural rapprochement between Odisha and Cambodia. But it was not transplantation of one culture upon another as was

ISBN: 978-93-342-1473-4

believed earlier. It was the genius of Cambodians, which choose those elements of an external culture that were either consistent with or could be moulded to its own beliefs. The Cambodians were successful in establishing an indigenous base to this cultural rapprochement rather than supplanting their culture with a foreign culture.

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Depiction of Jagannath temple of Puri on the Portuguese Paper Currency

Dr. Sila Tripathi

Over the years, many kingdoms ruled different parts of India and issued a variety of coins in various metals. These coins were under circulation and used as a medium of exchange till the reign of the kingdom. The finding of coins in various regions indicates that the area was under their sway or the people of that region had trade or social contacts with the other parts of India. Sometimes literary and other evidence do not provide all kinds of historical information about the names of all the rulers of all the dynasties; however numismatic enables us to provide information on the names of quite a number of rulers. In India, for the first time, the Indo-Bactrian rulers placed the portraits of the kings on the obverse. Subsequently, the name of the king and his title are noticed on the obverse of the coins and the royal insignia, portraits of kings, gods and goddesses, auspicious symbols, figures and statues are minted on the reverse of the coins. The same trend was also continued by the Muslim and European rulers in India and is being continued to date with some changes. Metals such as gold, silver, copper, lead and their alloys were used for the minting of coins from the beginning of coinage till the European rule in India (Gupta, 1969). In addition to these coinages, Europeans also introduced paper currency in India in 1882 CE.

India had trade and cultural contacts with other countries since early times. However, in the 7th century AD, the sea borne trade passed into the hands of the Arabs and slowly they dominated the Indian Ocean and Red Sea. In the 15th century, the Europeans started coming to India, the Portuguese being the first and subsequently followed by the Dutch, the Danes, the British, and the French for commercial ventures in various parts of India and subsequently indulged in local politics.

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to land on Indian soil in 1498 CE. Alfonso de Albuquerque captured Goa in November 1510 CE, and for almost two centuries, they remained the dominant foreign power on Indian soil. The territories of Dadra and Nagar Haveli were added, subsequently as a cession from the Peshwas, but the importance of Portuguese started falling considerably by the 18th century CE, when they controlled Goa, Daman and Diu.

PORTUGUESE IN ORISSA

Among the Europeans, the Portuguese were the first who started trading settlements on the coast of Orissa. After occupying Goa, Portuguese came to Madras coast for trade settlement but due to the bitter relationship with the locals, the Portuguese were forced to move towards north and settled by establishing a trade centre at Pipli in 1514 CE in Orissa (Fig. 1). Pipli is situated on the bank of River Suvarnarekha in Balasore district. It was the place where Europeans set up their factories for the first time and rose up as a great centre of Portuguese trade. Bruton (1961) mentions that the Portuguese trade continued for more than a hundred years from Pipli port, subsequently, they became the residents of Pipli (Sila Tripathi, 1997). Again, in the year 1636 CE, the Portuguese obtained permission from Mutagad Khan, the Nawab of Orissa (Odisha), to establish an additional residency at Pipli (Raut, 1992). The Portuguese even turned the Pipli port into a slave market where the Arakanese pirates brought their prisoners. The Portuguese proceeded further northwards and established another settlement at Hijli in West Bengal, which was a port. Though it is not known

clearly when the Portuguese came to Hijli, in the later period, the Portuguese made Hijli an important centre for trade and commerce. They were expelled from Hijli in 1636 CE. The Portuguese also had their trade settlement at Balasore on the River Barabalanga in Orissa in 1625 CE (Campos, 1919). However, Balasore never played an important role as a trading centre as Pipli did. The monopoly on trade by the Portuguese continued on the Odisha coast, and subsequently, the Dutch, the French and the English came to Pipli for trade. In the beginning of the 17th century, the Portuguese settlement at Pipli was deserted (Das, 1978). From Master's account it is known that on 15th December 1676, the English leased out the land where the Portuguese houses were situated at Balasore.

The principal articles of export from Pipli port were saltpetre, turmeric, cloth, sugar, rice, cotton yarn, muslin, taffetas raw silk, iron, stone dishes, stone cups, copper pipes, salt, ginger and sandalwood. Orissa was an excellent and extensive cloth manufacturing area. Balasore was also the main centre for the export of such commodities collected from various parts of Orissa. The Principal articles of import into Orissa were lead, quick silver, vermilion, tin, woollen cloth, copper, alum, cowries, coral, dried fish, tobacco, elephants, elephant tusks and various articles of luxury. From Malacca, the Portuguese also brought cloves, nutmegs and mace and from Borneo, the highly prized camphor and cinnamon from Ceylon, pepper from Malabar, silks, coffers, chests, boxes and pearls and jewels from China and cowries brought from Maldives (Raut, 1988).

PORTUGUESE PAPER CURRENCY

Alfonso de Albuquerque ordered minting of coins soon after the conquest of Goa. The Goa mint known as “Casa da Moeda”, supplied the bulk of the currency needs of the entire “Estado-de-India”. In the beginning, coins were struck with die and hammer and hence those were crude and irregular in shape. The materials used were silver, brass, copper, lead, powder,

tin and occasionally gold. Machine minting was introduced in later period.

In Goa, the Portuguese started issuing gold coins from 1510 CE onwards, and this was followed by silver and copper coins. The major denominations include Portuguese Manoel, Leal and the indigenous Pardav, Tanga, Xerafins, Rupia, etc. The coins underwent frequent changes in design because of variations in the purity of metal and the sudden withdrawal of issues. The coins invariably show the year of issue, but the local language was never used on the coins. The most common type of coin is the one with the Holy cross or king and queen on the obverse, along with a circular legend and year and coat of arms on the reverse. The other notable types include the St. Thomas coin in gold and silver and the commemorative coin issued on the occasion of the completion of 400 years of Portuguese rule in India.

The first paper currencies were issued in 1882 CE and those were withdrawn in 1896 CE due to the deterioration of paper. No specimen has survived, and therefore, the pattern is not known. In 1896 CE again, paper currencies were issued, which were uniface. These were printed at Nova Goa. However, a single specimen is known. These were withdrawn and another type of uniface paper currency was issued in 1899 CE, of which a specimen is known. The Banco Nacional Ultramarino started issuing bank notes from 1906 CE onwards denominations of 5, 10, 20 and 50 Rupia. Further, tangas 4, 8 tangas (annas) and also 1 Rupia were issued from 1917 CE. M/S Bradbury & Wilkinson of London printed all these paper currencies. The next issue of denominations of Rupia 1, 2, 2.5, 5, 10, 20, 50, 100 and 500 were started from 1924 CE. In 1945 CE, the new series in Rupia were printed, which lasted till 1959 CE. Escudos were introduced in 1959 CE, which went on till the last possession in India in 1961 CE. Even bank notes under various decrees were issued, which continued till 1961 CE. Besides the Bradbury & Wilkinson, London, printed some notes in 1924 CE and 1938 CE by Thomas de la Rua & Co. UK. The

currency notes usually show the image of Alfonso de Albuquerque on the right side with a legend Banco Nacional Ultramarino and India Portuguese and denominations on obverse and sea motif on the reverse. The denominations are 10, 20, 30, 50, 60, 100, 300, 500 and 1000 Escudos and Rupia. In 1958 CE the currency was changed to a new decimal standard of 100 centavos equalling an Escudo (Jhunjhunwalla 2000).

DESCRIPTION OF THE CURRENCY

On the obverse (Fig. 2a) of the Rupia paper currency the name of the bank 'Banco Nacional Ultramarino' and 'Nova Goa' has been printed in bold upper character. This side of the paper currency can be divided into three parts such as (i) the bust of a tiger in central part, (ii) 'DECRETO No 17154', the native languages denomination panel in Urdu and Hindi, serial number of the currency 'A417777' along with a signature and a ship on the left water mark side and (iii) serial number of the currency 'A417777', the native languages denomination panel in Gujarati and Kannada languages, Lisbon along with the date of issue of the currency in Portuguese have been printed on the right water mark side. 'Uma Rupia' in bold upper character is printed below the bust of the tiger and the signatures of the Vice Governor and Governor have also been printed below 'Uma Rupia'. On the extreme left and right side of the currency 1 has been printed in bold in English, Marathi, Gujarati and Kannada languages. It appears that the trade contact and dominance of Portuguese was prevailing in Gujarat and Karnataka and as a number of Muslim merchants were associated with Portuguese trade and traders and Hindi was the main language of India, hence, Gujarati, Kannada, Urdu and Hindi languages have been printed on the currency.

On the reverse (Fig. 2b) of the currency, the name of the 'Banco Nacional Ultramarino' in bold upper character at the top, the Jagannath temple of Puri at the centre and 'Uma Rupia' in bold upper character has been printed at the below of the currency. At a first glance the temple appears like the Konark temple of

Orissa. However, a close look indicates that the temple printed on the currency is the Jagannath temple of Puri. The main temple (shikhara) and the Jagamohana have been shown clearly. The compound wall, steps leading to the temple and two rooms at the main entrance of the temple are also clearly shown. The bazar outside of the temple selling prasada in clay pots is also depicted on the right side. It is also clear from the currency that the Jagannath temple was depicted on currency before transplantation of the Arunastambha, which was brought from Konark temple and installed in the later period. The Portuguese had trade centres at Odisha. The Jagannath temple of Puri and the Sun temple at Konark were known to the Europeans as the 'White Pogada' and 'Black Pogada' and served as landmarks during navigation. During the Portuguese period, the Konark temple had lost its glory, and probably due to this reason, they did not print the Konark temple on the currency, but the Jagannath temple of Puri is the living temple. Since the people of Odisha have more attachment towards the temple, probably due to this reason the Portuguese might have printed the temple on their currency. The Jagannath temple of Puri was depicted only on 1 and 2.50 Rupee paper currencies. In addition to the Jagannath temple of Puri, the Portuguese had also printed some other temples of India on their paper currencies, which are yet to be identified.

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Maritime History of Odisha

Dr. Subrat Kumar Prusty

In the maritime history of India, Odisha (ancient Kalinga) played a significant role in spreading Indian culture to other parts of the world including Africa, Rome and Southeast Asia. Archaeological findings, explorations and excavations at various sites, epigraphical and numismatic evidences of different periods, and literary records, enable one to reconstruct the maritime history of Odisha. Besides, attacks by neighbouring kingdoms, and unsound economic conditions, geological processes like tectonic activities, sea level changes and sedimentation were also equally responsible for the decline of ports of Odisha. However, the maritime traditions are preserved in the cultural festivals of Odisha, which are celebrated as commemorative traditions. The old traditions are still celebrated in the annual Bali Jatra, or Boita-Bandana festival held for five days in October / November. The celebration of the Boat Festival called ‘Danga Bhasa’ is celebrated in Thailand and Odisha. Here we called it ‘Danga Bhasa’ or ‘Boita Bandana’ but there, this is called ‘Loy Krathong’.

Kalinga was a maritime power in ancient times. Kalidas in his *Raghubansa* referred to the King of Kalinga as “The Lord of the Sea” (Mahodadhipati). The *Aryamanjusrimulakalpa*, a text of Mahayana Buddhism, mention “All islands in the Kalinga Sea” (Kalingaodresu). These accounts clearly indicate that the eastern sea or the modern Bay of Bengal [Mahodadhi] was known in

the past as the “Kalinga Sea” and was dominated by the ships of Kalinga. A portion of Java Island was then known as Ho-ling which is interpreted as a variant of the word ‘Kalinga’. Similarly, the people of Tri-Kalinga who colonized Burma are known as Talaing. Bali and Java were important centers for the spread of Indian culture led by Kalinga from the front. To explore ancient ties with the ancestors’ home, an Indonesian scholar, Dr. I.G.P. Phalgunadi, visiting Odisha, was very pleasantly surprised at many similarities between the cultures and lifestyles of the two people which includes their graceful dance forms, art and handicrafts, temples, monuments and distinctive styles of architecture, the tie and dye weaving technique and elegant textile designs, their cuisine.

The geographical setting of Odisha has also played a vital role in the progress of maritime activity. The Kalinga Sagar (now Bay of Bengal) and the Indian Ocean beyond helped the developing international trade and commerce as well as foreign relations. The littoral region provided suitable facilities for setting up ports and the deltas served as natural harbours of Odisha. Besides, navigable rivers like the Ganga, Mahanadi, Vamsadhara, Godavari and others helped promote hinterland trade and commerce. The hill tracts of Western Odisha supplied precious and semi-precious stones for overseas trade. It was easy for traders of north India to reach the ports of Odisha without any hindrance. From available literary, inscriptional, numismatic and archaeological findings it is possible to locate the ancient ports and reconstruct of the maritime history of Odisha.

Located on the eastern coast of India, the ancient state of Kalinga extended from the Ganges to the Godavari, including parts of modern West Bengal, Odisha, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. The navigable rivers, including the Ganges, Mahanadi, Vamsadhara and Godavari provided access to the interior, where precious and semi-precious stones were found, and their deltas provided natural. From these harbours, the people of the region traded by sea with

Ceylon in the south, with Burma in the east, and further afield with the states of the Maritime Southeast Asia, Indochina and China.

The coastline is unstable. The southwest monsoon carries sediment along the coast, at times forming bars and spits that protect the harbours, at other times eroding the protective breakwaters. The rivers carry silt, extending their deltas and filling the former harbours. For this reason, some of the ports named in ancient times are no longer in existence, or have greatly declined. For example, Chilika Lake was an important harbour, but later became unusable deep water vessels due to silting.

CRAFTS AND TRADE

Being a coastal region, maritime trade played an important role in the development of Odia civilization. Cultural, commercial and political contacts with South East Asia, particularly Southern Burma, Malaysia and Indonesia were especially extensive and maritime enterprise played important figure prominents in Odia folk-tales and poetry. The Portuguese merchant Tome Pires indicates that traders from Odisha were active in the busy port as late as the 16th century A.D. There is evidence to suggest that trade contacts between Eastern India and Thailand may date as far back as the 3rd or 4th century B.C. At least, eight oceanic routes linked the Eastern Coast of India to the Malayan peninsula, and after the Iron Age, metals such as iron, copper and tin, cotton textiles and foodstuff comprised the merchandise. [Ray Himanshu: *The Winds of Change - Buddhism and the Maritime Links of Early South Asia*]. The trade involved both Indian and Malayo-Polynesian ships. Archeological evidence from Sisupalgarh, indicate that there may also have been direct or indirect trade contacts between ancient Odisha and Rome dating to the 1st -2nd century B.C. (or possibly earlier). Huen Tsang refers to Odisha's overseas contacts in the 7th century A.D, and, by the 10th century A.D., records of Odisha's trade with the East begin to proliferate.

Adequate agricultural production combined with a flourishing maritime trade contributed to a flowering of Odishan arts and

crafts, especially textiles. Numerous communities of weavers and dyers became active throughout the state perfecting techniques like weaving of fine muslin, Ikat, Sambalpuri and bomkai silks and cottons, applique and embroidery. Odisha was also known for its brass and bell metal work, lacquered boxes and toys, intricate ivory, wood and stone carvings, patta painting and palm leaf engraving, basket weaving and numerous other colorful crafts. Often, decorative techniques relied on folk idioms as in the painted, circular playing cards known as Ganjifas.

Osabrata and festivals play an important role in the social traditions and folklore of Odisha. Interestingly, most of these festivals are associated with maritime trade. Through this Osabrata story, the past has kept the shining story of Odisha's naval trade alive for a long time to the next generation. Not only the Taapoi or Nishamangalbar or Sudasabrata, but behind every osha, brata and festivals celebrated by Odia women, there are many painful living stories of the naval trade of the past Odisha. Although its rearing is aimed at the welfare of the children or the society, it has symbolically protected the family's commercial traditions by giving them life. 'Kanji Amla Osha' is a self-contained proof of how history is hidden behind this osha. Though it has now been linked to kanji, the favourite food in the rural Odisha countryside, it is indeed a historic monument.

During this osha celebration, married women gather in the courtyard of an elderly woman. There is an area of about three feet square and it is surrounded by a single circle of about six inches wide. Water is filled in the newly mined and made of soil. The live fish is released into the water. The area looks like an island. The island is now decorated with roots-uprooted shrubs. In the middle is a uprooted paddy tree or a banana tree from the root. On a shrub-surrounded island, the wood is kept in care. The seven dried fish are put to sleep in yellow cloth. It is followed by rice, chakuli pitha or pancakes, kanji pani, and four types of curry. After the sathi puja is done, rice curry is grown to the dry daughter-in-law, who

is wearing that yellow cloth. After this, books like Khudurukuni Puja are recited and worshiped for the well-being of the children. Twenty-one days later, Bataosha is also celebrated in the same manner at night. But here, instead of drying, sugarcane, radish, manda pitha etc. are worshiped.”

Prathamashami, eight days after Kartik Purnima, a symbol of utkal naval trade, a day after Amla Navami, and 21 days after that, behind the spiritual principle of celebrating Bataosha is hidden behind a cruel historical fact that happened during the past naval trade. This fact has gradually become a folklore and by the 17th century, it has taken the form of a written or work. But there is no doubt that its antiquity was long protected in oral tradition. In order to consider the basic symbol of this osha katha, the ancient difference of a species through the island's specimen, live fish, uprooted paddy tree, shrub root (Bajar root), dry fish and turmeric cloth has been symbolically given an important information for future generations.

The island could be Sinhalese, Bali, Java or Sumatra, Annam, Cambodia, Malay or Africa, the commercial site of the Odia merchants. Parikha is the drawing of the islands surrounded by water systems. But looking at the island and the water table, it bears a lot of similarities with the construction style of the Ankorabot temple in Cambodia built by Odia architects. Similarly, the live fish is a symbol of Odia's good deeds. Uprooted trees are a natural pattern of uprooting, cutting, clearing and starting paddy cultivation from the forest under the leadership of Odia merchants, which is indicated in the Sinhalese Dathadhatuvanshi texts. Seven of the dry – seven merchant daughters-in-law, without eating or drinking, are in a condition for their husbands. Perhaps this is a poignant sign that the lives of many Odia women are being spent like this. Turmeric is a symbol of sacred deeds. In the context of the blessings of that holy seven women, all these symbols have symbolized only one thing till date that even though there is no easy arrangement for the naval trade across

the river, an Odiani smiles and bid farewell to her life friend in the hot waves of the deep sea.

One of the festivals in Thailand that resembles our boat voyage is 'Lai Krathong'. Some in that country also call it a 'festival of lights' or a 'festival of water goddesses'. This festival is usually celebrated on the full moon day (Kartik Purnima) that falls in the month of November. A boat or vessel is made of banana bahunga or lotus leaves and decorated with flowers. The beautiful Subeshita Ramanis celebrate the festival with great pomp on the banks of rivers or canals near every town and village. The people of the country believe that by celebrating this festival, the goddess of the waterways ' Mae Khong Kha' (Mother Ganga) is satisfied. It has complete similarities with the Festival of Boit Bandana on Kartik Purnima in our state. According to Thailand historical sources, about 700 years ago, in the 13th century, an aristocratic woman (dynastic woman) of 'Sukhathai' first celebrated this festival by placing a light in a flower and floating it in the river. The woman's name is 'Nofabat' and the name is familiar with the people of the village of Gahal in Thailand. Earlier, the festival was celebrated only in the cities of 'Sukhthai' and 'Chiang Mai', but over time it has spread all over Thailand. From the 13th century to the present day, the festival, celebrated on the same day of the year with almost the same goal in the two countries, is an indication of the close relations between the two countries in the past. The then Odia language in the Sri Vijaya Empire, which consisted of all the lands of the whole of Southeast Asia by the then Sailodbhavaraja of Orissa, bears resemblance to the language of Buddhist-charya songs; As a result of the introduction of that language, the 13th-century Thai word 'Laikrathong' may have been a derivative of the present 'Naai Kartika'. Historical data also supports this cultural similarity between the two countries based on maritime sharing.

According to the records obtained from Sukhathai, a prince travelled for a long time to the Indian states of Kalinga, Pataliputra and Cholamandal, etc. as a Buddhist monk before ascending the

throne. This prince, who came to Kalinga, may have introduced some of the festivals celebrated in Kalinga in his kingdom. The possibility that the noblewoman who first introduced the festival of 'Lai Krathong' in 'Sukhathai' is the 'Nofabat' festival (Lovavati) cannot be ruled out by any princess or merchant daughter of Kalinga. Another highlight of the festival is 'Akashdeep'. The millions of skylights floating in the sky on festive night are used for the same purpose, even though Kartik is a little different from the sky that hangs in the front of the high bamboo throughout the month in the villages of coastal Odisha. Sadly, some historians have termed the 'Lai Kratang' festival, which started from the time of 'Sukhthai', as an imitation of the 'Deepavali' festival of Indians. European historians unfamiliar with Odia festivals have agreed with that. Many such folk traditions can be found in countries associated with Kalinga. Similarly, after the Kalinga dynasty Nishank Malla and Sahasa Malla became the king of Sinhala, the development of Kalinga culture reached its peak. While a boita painting preserved in the Temples of Java and Borobudur bears a perfect resemblance to the Utkal Boit, the Boital temple built in Bhubaneswar in the 7th century, the Boita or ship in the Brahmeshwar temple, the mahout with the elephant in the ship, the Ahuladhari sailor and the charioteer in the Jagannath temple Bhogamandap, the main driver of the boat carved in the bhogamandap. Although the Oriyas living in those colonies of Kalinga are now living with a new identity, they have been following the culture of the past without their knowledge.

According to a 6th century A.D source, Kalinga was famous for its elephants, for which it found a market in Ceylon, along with precious stones, ivory, pepper, betel nuts and fine textiles. In return, Kalinga imported pearl and silver from Ceylon [Patel. Kandarpa: Maritime relation of Kalinga with Srilanka. OHRJ, Vol. XLVII, No. 2]. Corn and rice were also exported. Traders imported spices and sandalwood from the east, some if it destined for onward transport to the Mediterranean market. A boat depicted in the Sun Temple

of Konarak in the 13th century contains a giraffe, indicating trade with Africa, presumably carried on Arab vessels [Patra S. K. and Patra B.D.: “Archaeology and the maritime History of Ancient Orissa”. OHRJ, Vol. XLVII, No. 2].

BOITA

In Odisha, the history of her maritime activity and cultural expansion had been completely forgotten, though some stories of sea voyages still cling to the folklore of Odisha. Like the popular stories of Merchants (Sadhava), who went on sea voyages with their flotillas (Boitas) and returned home loaded with treasures. There are also certain customs peculiar to Odisha, which appear to be reminiscent of ancient sea voyages. On the full-moon day of Kartika (October-November), while taking bath in rivers or in tanks in the morning, Odias, men and women, even now miniature boats made of the barks of plantain trees or of the paper with lamps burning inside them.

Boitas (or Voitas) were ships that were built in ancient Odisha in India during the heyday of the Kalinga Empire. Ancient Odia navigators sailed from Kalinga to distant lands such as Bali, Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Philippines, Vietnam, Cambodia, yem, Myanmar and China for trade and cultural expansion.

The Brahmanda Purana, composed before 100 B.C, describes Chilika as a major harbor where thousands of ships came to trade from Ganga sagara, Burma, Malaya, Siam, China, Sumatra, Java, Bali, Borneo and Ceylon. The purana mentions that the ships were protected by sheets of cast copper and propelled by wheels attached to their bottoms driven by a steam engine. Bags that could contain air were inflated or deflated so that the ships could move above or below water.

In ancient Odisha there were two types of trading ship: common ships and special ships, Common ships were further divided into ten categories, and the special into two: high and wide ships and long and wide ships. The ships were 8 to 80 meters long,

5 to 25 meters wide, and 3 to 27 meters high. Rules and regulations regarding construction of ships were recorded in the Sanskrit text titled Juktikalpataru. The Madalapanji records that king Bhoja built many ships with local wood [Mahalik Nirakar: “Maritime Trade of Ancient Orissa”. Orissa Review, September –2004]. The recovery of many woodworking adzes and other artifacts from Chilika Lake shows that Golabai was a boat-building center [Patra S. K. and Patra.B.D: “Archaeology and the Maritime History of Ancient Orissa”. OHRJ, Vol. XLVII, No. 2].

BÂLI JÂTRÂ

Miniature Boitas are used today as children’s toys during the Odia festival of Bali Jatra. Baliyatra literally means a ‘Voyage to Bali’, and celebrates an ancient maritime tradition and the connection with Bali. During the ceremony, men, women and children dressed up in traditional costumes launch tiny boats made from banana peels, paper or solapitha with lighted lamps inside, and Odia women perform the rite of ‘Boita Bandâna’. The festival is similar to the ‘Masakapan Ke Tukad’ festival of Bali, to the ‘Loi Krathong’ festival of Thailand (ritualistic floating of model boats), to the ‘Bon Om Touk’ Water Festival of Cambodia, and to the ‘That Luang’ Festival of Laos all of which involve around the same time of the year.

The maritime trade has been entrenched in the socio cultural and religious life of Odisha for centuries. The traditions like Taapoi episode, Biota Bandana, the festivals like Kartika Purnima, Bali Yatra and Khudurukuni Osha give clear testimony of our glorious maritime heritage. The overseas trade to be remembered one and all in such a big way must have involved all categories of people and must be having sweet and pleasant memories. It is a fact that trade was profitable and that the Odishan economy was prosperous only because of its profitable overseas trade. After the devastations of the ghastly Kalinga war of Ashoka and the corresponding destructions, the Kalinga could rebuild itself in bout hundred and fifty years under Kharavela is an indication of the prosperous economy that

must have come only from overseas trade as otherwise everything in Kalinga was almost destroyed in the war.

ANCIENT PORTS OF ODISHA

Tamralipti: Tamralipti or Tamluk was an ancient port city of Kalinga that existed in its northern border. It was one of the important sea ports of the east coast. There was regular sailing to South East Asia and other countries. It has been identified with the modern Tamluk in the Midnapur district of West Bengal, which formed a part of Odishan empire in the past. Ptolemy has referred to it as Tamalities. Besides Ptolemy, Fa-Hien, Hiuen Tsang and I-Tsing have also referred to this port. As a matter of fact Fa-Hien sailed from this port on his return journey to Sri Lanka. [Samuel Beal [Tr] *Travels of Fa Heien* and Sung –yun London 1964 p.148]. I-Tsing arrived at this port on his journey to India. the author of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* has referred to Tamralipti as a great commercial port on the mouth of Ganga. [R K Mukhejee, *Indian Shipping*, Allahabad, 1964, p 256] Archaeological remains show continuous settlement from about 3rd century B.C.

Palur/ Dantapura: Paloura has been referred to by Ptolemy [G.E Gerini, *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia* (Further India and Indo- Malay Archipelago), New Delhi, 1974, p. 47 and 743] Paloura was an important port of ancient Odisha. It has been identified with the modern Palur village near Rushikulya River of the Ganjam district. It occupied an enviable position on the trade route between India and the South-east Asia and acted as the only port of departure to the Far East on the Coromondal coast in the early centuries A.D. Archaeological exploration by A. Nath of ASI and K.S. Behera around Palur (Kantigarh), unearthed fragments of the Chinese celadon ware, the Roman rouletted ware, amphora pieces etc. Those substantially testify to Palur as a port of international repute [Cf. B Patra, 'Palur Port in Ancient Maritime Orissa,' in *Odisha Review*, Nov. 1996, p. 21]. Recent survey by K.K. Basa [K.K. Basa and K. S Behera, "Maritime Archaeology of Orissa, irr, K.K. Basa and P. Mohanty, (eds), *Archaeology of*

Orissa, vol. 1-Delhi, pp. 574-577.] of Utkal University and others around Palur and in the region south of Chilika Lake yielded interesting evidence relating to the maritime archaeology of Odisha. Among others, the finding of one monolithic granite pillar on a hill-top about 60 to 70m. high near Raghunathpur, which is now worshipped as a Siva Linga is remarkable. It is surmised that it could be a light house for ancient sea-farers. It is reported that at Ourangapatna, a village near Palur, the surveyors have discovered ‘a stamped boat motif’ which is the first of its kind from an archaeological site in Odisha. K.K. Basa is of the opinion that the motif is associated with a stamp, which could belong to a guild. However, on the basis of only this finding it would be difficult to presume that there was a boat-building centre. Palur has also been referred as Dantapura in different sources.

Archaeological exploration has unearthed fragments of Chinese celadon ware, Roman rouletted pottery and amphora pieces, showing that the port carried out significant international trade. An unusual medallion has a Kushana-style king with a Brahmi inscription on one side, and a Roman head with a Roman inscription on the other. A Roman coin of the emperor Tiberius has been found at Salihundam, and other Roman coins have been found at other sites, giving further evidence of trade with the Roman Empire [Sila Tripathi. “Early Maritime Activities of Orissa on the East Coast of India: Linkages in Trade and Cultural Developments”. Marine Archaeology Centre, National Institute of Oceanography, Dona Paula, Goa. 17 November 2010].

Che-li- ta-lo: Chelitalo as a port of Kalinga has been elaborately referred by Hiuen Tsang. He says that it was in the Wu-ta (Odra) country, that it was near the shore of the ocean in the south east of the kingdom, that the town was above 20 li (8 kms) in circuit, that it was a through fare and a resting place for the sea going vessels and that near the city there were many Buddhist monuments around. Huen Tasng himself had visited the city and has described it to be a place from where the glowing light

emanating from the tooth relic of Buddha located in Sri Lanka at a distance of about 20,000 li could be seen by him. Chelitalo as a port has been identified by many in different ways. The most logical identification has been with Manikpatna, [A K Pattanayak, “Maritime History of Odisha: Problems and Prospects“ 2002 pp. 85-86]

Golbai Sasan: The recent excavations conducted at Golbai Sasan in Khurdha District by the Excavation Branch, Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), Bhubaneswar under B.K. Sinha [B.K. Sinha, “Excavations at Golbai Sasan, Dist. Puri, Odisha, in: Puratattava. No-23, 1992-93, p. 48.] has provide evidence of “Copper Age” along with a sequence from the Neolithic period to the iron Age. On the basis of the materials obtained from the excavation, the sequence of culture can be divided into three phases, i.e. period I Neolithic (cir. 1600 B.C) period II-A, Chalcolithic (Evidence of copper, cir. 1400 B.C to cir. 900B.C) and period II B Iron Age (cir 900 B.C.to cir 800B.C.). The earliest level of Golbai has been taced to 2300 B.C. The site is located on the left bank of river Malaguni or Mandakini, a tributary of the Daya, which falls to the Chilika Lake. Its location on the bank of a river which has access into the Chilika Lake supply us some positive evidences of maritime activities in this region. A large number of material remains such as tools of stone, bone and copper have been discovered from this site. The polished tools include celts, adzes, shouldered celt, chisel, etc. The bone tools, made of antler and semimineralised bone comprised digging tools, points, burins, chisels, long points (27 cms.) arrowheads and harpoons. The copper objects obtained from the site include bangle, rings, chisel and a fishing hook. However, among these discoveries, particularly, the bone implements, harpoons and polished stone a dzes indicate a culture where people on lived mainly on fishing, and probably building boats [B. Mohanty, ‘Golbai- A New Horizon in Orissa Archaeology’, OHRJ vol. XXXIX, no. 1 to 4, 1994, p. 163- 164]. Especially, the recovery of a sizable number of adzes

for wood-work gives positive indication that Golbai was a boat-building centre. It is significant that Golbai is the only excavated site wherefrom only the evidence of boat-building has been found. Further, the location of the site on the bank of river Malaguni positively indicate that the Chilika Lake was very close to this place during the ancient period. It facilitated maritime trade of the people of adjoining sites.

Manikpatna and Khalakatapatna: The material evidence from the recent archaeological excavation at Manikpatna, in the northern tip of Chilika and Khalkatapatana, on the left bank of the Kushabhadra near Konarak supply us sufficient clues about Odisha's overseas contact with far off-countries. The excavated material remains also prove that they were international ports having contact with many countries. Manikapatna has recently been identified with the Cheli- talo port of Hiuen Tsang [B.Patra, "A New light on the identification of Che-li-ta- _lo of Huen Tsang-An Archaeological study", Journal of Indian History and Culture 5th issue, Sept.1999, pp. 49-56.]. The discovery of Chinese celadone ware, white porcelain, blue, white and brown glazed porcelain shards, Roman rouletted pottery and fragments of amphora, knobbed ware, Burmese pottery, Ceylonese coins, Siamese pottery, Indonesian terracotta, egg-white Arabian pottery moulded ware, stamped ware, decorated were, kaolin ware etc. at Manikpatna testify to its trade links with far-off countries[D. Pradhan, P. Mohanty and J. Mishra, 'Manikapatna: An ancient and medieval Port on the coast of Odisha' in : K.K Basa and P, Mohanty (eds) Archaeology of Odisha, vol. 1 Delhi, 2000, pp. 473-493.] The discovery of rouletted ware, fragments of amphorae etc indicate its contact with the Roman Empire in the early centuries of the Christian era. The rouletted wares of Manikpatna resemble those of Sisupalagarh and Arikamedu. They are made of fine fabric with well levigated clay and are of grayish white colour. Contact with China is established through the discovery of Chinese celadone ware datable to

different centuries. The trade link with Burma is proved by the discovery of a brown glazed ware, known as Maratuan ware after the name of the place located in Burma. The discovery of two imported wares, i.e a thin egg white glazed pottery and thick Chocolate glazed wares indicate its contact with the Arabian countries. The discovery of one Celonese coin with the legend “Srimad Sahassamalla” (cir. 11th –12th century A.D) from Manikpatna refers to the contact of this port with Sri Lanka. A terracotta animal figure of Indonesian character which is of great importance is also reported from here. The two-lined Kharosthi inscription on a potshard discovered from here has been deciphered as “Dasatradeva” and ‘Khida’ of 2nd century A.D (by B.N Mukherjee)[D. Pradhan, P. Mohanty and J. Mishra, ‘Manikapatna: An ancient and medieval Port on the coast of Odisha” in : K.K Basa and P, Mohanty (eds) *Archaeology of Odisha*, vol. 1 Delhi, 2000, p. 486]. This in fact is the only instance of a Kharosthi inscription in the whole of Kalinga or even in eastern and south-eastern India. Among other notable findings from Manikpatna are a large number of beads of terracotta, agate, soft stone and bone, iron implements such as harpoons, spearheads, sickles, fishhooks, boat nails, iron slags, bangles in terracotta faience, glass beads and conchshells. Besides, terracotta lamps in various sizes and varieties and pottery of grey, red, buff and black coloured ware also find. From the above findings it is evident that Manikpatna was an important port-cum-trading centre for the indigenous as well as foreign sailors and merchants. This, in fact, is the only site in the entire east coast of India from where so many varieties of imported wares have been found.

Manikapatna was a port on the banks of Chilika that flourished from early historical times until the 19th century A.D. Excavations have found many types of pottery from different parts of India, and coins from Ceylon and China. The more modern levels contain Chinese celadon and porcelain, and Arabic glazed pottery [Sila

Tripati and K. H. Vora. “Maritime heritage in and around Chilika Lake, Orissa: Geological evidences for its decline”. Marine Archaeology Centre, NIO, Dona Paula, Goa].

Dosarene: Dosarene as a port has been described in the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea which had good breed of elephants called Bosare. The modern location of the port could be somewhere near Chilka Lake.

Pithunda or Pihunda : In the Hathi Gumptha inscription of Kharavela Pithunda has been described as a flourishing metropolis. The Uttaradhyana Sutra mentions Pithunda as a port town. Ptolemy has mentioned Pithundra as a seaport of Kalinga.

Ptolemy’s Geography of Ancient India, (2nd century A.D.), mentions that major and prosperous ports of Odisha such as Nanigaina (Puri), Katikardama (Kataka or Cuttack), Kannagara (Konarak), and river mouths Manada (Mahanadi), Tyndis (Brahmani), Dosaron (Baitarani), Adams (Subarnarekha), Minagara (Jajpur) and Kosamba (Pipili or Balasore) had overseas trade relations [McCrindle, J.W.: Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy. (Reprint) New Delhi: Today and Tomorrow’s Printers and Publishers. 1985.]. However, the other ports of Odisha, namely Che-li-ta-lo, Kalingapatnam, Pithunda, and Khalkatapatna, also played a dominant role in the maritime history of Odisha. Subsequently, Arab and Persian writers of the 9th and 10th century A.D. throw valuable light on the sea-borne trade and seaports of Odisha. Ibn Khurdahbin, Ibn Rasta and the anonymous author of the Hadud-al-Alam mention the main places and ports of Odisha under the Bhaumakara dynasty, namely Mahisya (Midnapore), Jharkharo (hilly tracts), Odisha (Odisha proper), Ganjam (South Odisha), Kalinganagar and Keylkan. The other post 15th century A.D. ports were Balasore, Pipili, Ganjam, Harishapur, Chandabali and Dhamra which are worth mentioning here due to their role in the maritime activities of Odisha during the colonial period [Tripati, Sila : Ports and Maritime Activities of Orissa (16th to 19th Centuries), Munshiram

Manoharlal Publishers. New Delhi: 1997.pp. 155-164]. Out of all these ports, some were active and continued to be so for long periods. Some ports became prominent during a particular period and perished or lost their significance subsequently. Many ports were used for the export of commodities to far-off countries, while some ports were meant only for internal trade and transport by boats.

LITERARY SOURCES:

Literary sources give evidence of the, maritime trade and sea power of Kalinga. Kalidasa referred in Raghuvamsa to the king of Kalinga as Mahodadhipati or the Lord of Ocean [Nandargikar G.R.: 1948. Raghuvamsa, VI. Mumbai: Nirnaya Sagara Press.] Raghuvamsa (6: 57) further mentions dvipantara (Indonesian Archipelago) from which breezes, filled with the scent of cloves, blew:

Anena sardham viharamburaseh tiresu talivana marmarresu

Dvipantaravita lavanga puspeih apakrtasveda lava marudbhiih

The Ariyamanjusrimulakalpa means to “all islands of the Kalinga sea” (Kalingodresu) from which appears that, in the past, the present Bay of Bengal was known as the “Kalinga Sea” which was dominated by the ships of Kalinga [Sastri, T.G. (Ed.): Ariyamanjusrimulakalpa, 3 Vols, Trivandrum: Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. 1920-25]. Sankha Jataka, Samudra Jataka and Mahajanaka Jataka mention that traders from central India used to come from Benaras to Tamralipti, from where they sailed to Southeast Asian countries [Law, B.C.: Historical Geography of Ancient India, 1967, Paris: Societe Asiatique de Paris].

Mahavamsa mentions that Asoka sent his missionaries to Sri Lanka from Tamralipti. The Vassantara Jataka mentions Kalinga as a great commercial and industrial country, from which rice, fine cloth, ivory, diamonds and other goods were exported even to foreign countries. Kathasaritsagara indicates that Tamralipti was the main port for Chinese trade and commerce.

Buddhist texts mention the contact of ancient Odisha with Sri Lanka from about the 5th century B.C. onwards. Trade between Odisha and Sri Lanka must have continued in the later period, which resulted in the strong political and cultural links between two countries.

The contact of Odisha with China is known from the accounts of Hieuen Tsang, who refers to the commercial activities of the people. Subhakara Simha, son of the king of Odisha, (Wu-ta (Odra) country), went to China carrying with him many tantric texts in 790 A.D., who may be identified with Sivakara or Subhakara of the Bhaumakara dynasty who had sent a Buddhist text for the great Tang emperor of China. The Chu-fan-chi of Chau Ju-Kua written in 1225-26 A.D. refers to Kia-ling seagoing vessels (i.e. Kalinga ships) and their system of trade organisation. Chau Ju-Kua mentions two types of ships plying between Kalinga and Canton.

INSCRIPTIONAL AND EPIGRAPHIC RECORDS:

The excavations at Chandraketugarh, Bangarh and Hadipur, an ancient busieness centre of Kalinga (now West Bengal has yielded Kharosthi inscriptions on seals, plaques and pots. The terracotta seals from Bangarh and Chandraketugarh depict sea-going vessels containing corn flanked by symbols like conch and taurine. Such vessel types are known as asyadidhrta thali, a bowl-shaped vessel filled with corn. Another such vessel has legend in Kharosthi-Brahmi script referring to Tridesayatra, meaning a voyage to three countries or directions. Yet another seal from Chandraketugarh reveals a type of vessel called trapyaka belonging to the wealth-earning Tasvadaja family. It may be noted that trapyaka is a type of ship mentioned also in the Periplus and the Angavijja. The above vessel types as well as flanking symbols recall Satavahana ships. It appears that the Kharosthi script was used by tradersmen settled in the lower Ganga valley of Bengal in good numbers during the third to 1st century B.C. and was mixed up with the Brahmi used by local merchants, developing a mixed Kharosthi-Brahmi writing with North-western Prakrit expressions

[Sarma, I.K. Rare Evidences on Maritime Trade on the Bengal Coast of India, in *Recent Advances in Marine Archaeology* (S.R. Rao Ed.), : 1991. pp. 38-40. Goa: Society for Marine Archaeology].

The location of Asoka's major rock edicts at Dhauli and Jaugada suggests the existence of a coastal route from Tamralipti to the southern part of the Kalinga Empire. It is known from the Hathigumpha inscription (1st century B.C.) that king Kharavela defeated the southern confederacy and "caused the procurement of pearls, precious stones and jewels from the Pandya king". He had developed his territory far and wide [Jayaswal, K.P. : *The Hathigumpha Inscription of Kharavela, Epigraphica Indica*, (reprint) XX: 1983.71- 89]. The excavation at Sembiran has brought to light Kharosthi inscriptions on the potshard which shows maritime trade contacts between Odisha and Bali [Ardika, I.W. and P. Bellwood: *Sembiran: the Beginnings of Indian Contact with Bali*, *Antiquity* LXV(247,1991.): 221-232].

The epigraphic sources of the Malayo- Indonesian region frequently mention a people called "Kling", which evidently derived from Kalinga and scholars generally agree that it denotes the people of Kalinga. The early legends of Java mention "twenty thousand families were sent to Java by the prince of Kling. These people prospered and multiplied". Java was styled as "Ho-ling" in the *Annals of the T'ang* period (618- 906 A.D.). Scholars usually believe that Ho-ling is the Chinese or old Javanese equivalent of Kalinga. This would suggest that Central Java was so dominated by the people of Kalinga that the region was named as Kalinga or Ho-ling.

The Batu (686A.D.) inscription of Indonesia mentions the special skills of people such as puhawang (ships captain), vaniyaga (long-distance or sea-faring merchants), and sthapaka (sculptors). The Kaladi (909 A.D.) inscription mentions wagga kilalan, meaning a group of foreigners which include Kalingas, Aryas, Sinhalese, Dravidians, and Pandikiras. The term banigrama (Sanskrit vanigrama) means a merchant guild, which has been mentioned

in several East Javanese and Balinese inscriptions. Similarly, the old Balinese inscriptions of Semibiran B (915 A.D.) and Sembiran A II (975 A.D.) also mention the term banigrama [Ardika, I.W.: Ancient Trade Relation between India and Indonesia, in Maritime Heritage of India (K.S. Behera Ed.), 1999, pp. 80-89. New Delhi: Aryan Books International.]

The Indonesian inscriptions refer to foreign traders as (banyaga) which includes Kalingas, Aryas, Singhalese, Dravidians, etc. and a merchant guild as banigrama. The Bhaumakara inscription (8th-10th A.D.) refers to samudra Kara bandha (sea tax gate) on the bank of Chilika, where taxes were collected from the sea traders of Odisha.

The inscriptional and epigraphic records of Odisha and of countries also abroad shed light on the maritime enterprises of Kalingans. The Hatigumpha inscription (cir. 1st century B.C.) of Kharavela infers to the existence of a navy which makes it clear that naval powers was wielded by Kalingan rulers. It also indicates that the Magadhan emperor, Asoka invaded Kalinga to acquire sea-ports of Kainga as Magadha did not have any seaport of its own. The very location of the Asokan Edicts at Jaugarh, a place far away from the actual scene of the war i.e. Dhauli is an indication of its association with the port of Palur, a well-known ancient port of Kalinga. The Tugu Rock Inscription of western Java says that a river named Chandrabhaga, probably named after the Chandrabhaga river of Odisha was regulated by a canal [Chhabra, B. C.: Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture, Delhi, 1965, pp. 96-97; H.B. Sarkar, Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java (Up to 928 A.D.), Calcutta, 1971, p. 6.]. The kuki copper plate (840 A.D.) of Java speaks of potters and all sorts of servants of inner apartments hailing from 'Kling' meaning Kalinga [Sarkar, H.B. :Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java (Up to 928 A.D.), Calcutta, 1971, p. 80, 86.]. An inscription of the Bhaumakara period refers to an ocean-related tax called Samudrakarabandha. Besides, the discovery of a pot shard inscribed with Kharosthi inscription from Manikpatna is very significant.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE:

The archaeological excavations at Sisupalgarh, Jaugada, Tamralipti, Palur, Manikapatna, Khalkatapatna, and Kalingapatnam have yielded evidence of foreign contacts during early centuries of the Christian era. The excavations at Sisupalgarh [Lal, B.B.: Excavations at Sisupalgarh, *Ancient India* 5: 1984. 62-105.] Manikapatna, Radhanagar, Chandraketurgarh, Tamralipti, Salihundam, Dharanikota, Arikamedu, Poompuhar, Korkai and Algankulam of ancient Kalinga port have brought to light the evidence of rouletted ware which is datable to 2nd- 1st century B.C. Moreover, rouletted ware is also reported from Buni Complex in North Java, Sembiran in north coast of Bali, Buu Chau Hill and Tra-Kieu in central Vietnam, Kantarodai and Jaffna in Sri Lanka and Mahastan in Bangladesh. This ware was manufactured at Salihundam, Satanikota, and Kesarapalle of Kalinga (now Andhra Pradesh). It is believed that the rouletted ware provides evidence of Indo-Roman trade, and was imported from the Roman Empire. The coarser varieties were made in India. The XRD diffraction analysis [Gogte, V.D.: Scientific Study of Ancient Pottery from Orissa: A Note on Preliminary Results, in *Archaeology of Orissa*, (K.K. Basa and P. Mohanty Eds.), 2000.pp. 681-689. New Delhi: Pratibha Prakashan.] of rouletted ware of South India and Southeast Asia shows that the mineralogical content and the soil samples from coastal Odisha are the same. Their rouletted ware of Manikapatna is similar to that of Sisupalgarh and Arikamedu as far as the mineral content is concerned. Knobbed ware has been reported for the first time from Sisupalgarh in Odisha, then at Jaugada, Lalitagiri, Manikapatna, and Radhanagar [Mishra, J. : Radhanagar: Early Historic Buddhism, Urban Structure and Trade, in *Archaeology of Orissa*, (K.K. Basa and P. Mohanty Eds.), 2000.pp. 507-550. New Delhi: Pratibha Prakashan.].

Subsequently, knobbed vessels have been reported from Kalinga (now northern Andhra Pradesh, coastal Bengal and Assam) [Glover, I.C. : Early Trade between India and Southeast Asia: A link

in the development of a World Trading System, Occasional Paper No. 16: 1990.1-45. London: The University of Hull]. This ceramic is concentrated in the early historic period. Further, Glover (1996) has emphasised that this pottery is associated with Buddhist rituals. Knobbed vessels occur in different fabrics such as fine grey ware, red and black ware. Knobbed ware has a boss or a projection at the centre of the base. The time range of this ware is early centuries of the Christian era. Similarly, the finding of Northern Black Polished (NBP) ware at the port sites and some other sites along coastal Odisha, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu provide evidence of coastal trade on the eastern Indian littoral. The occurrence of Punch Marked Coins (PMC) and the NBP at Gedige and Anuradhapura came to light during the Mauryan period. The recent excavation at Anuradhapura and Mantai in Sri Lanka [Sarma, I.K.: *Ceramics and Maritime Routes of India: New Evidences*, *Puratattava* 21: 1990-91. 37-42] shows the contact of Odisha with Sri Lanka during early centuries of this Christian era. Semi-precious stone beads have been reported from various excavation sites of Odisha and Southeast Asia. About 180 beads of carnelian, agate, chalcedony, glass and terracotta have been reported from Sisupalgarh. Evidences of manufacturing of beads have been reported from Jaugada and Asurgada in Odisha [Mohapatra, R.P. *Archaeology of Orissa*, Vol. II, Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corporation 1986.]. Further, Ban Don Ta Phet, Ban Chiang, Karbi, Khao Sam Kao of Thailand, Tanjong Pawa, Kalum Pong in Malaysia, Salebabu island in Indonesia, Beikthano in Burma, and Palawan island of Philippines have reported semiprecious stone beads [Glover, I.C.: *Early Trade between India and Southeast Asia: A link in the development of a World Trading System*, Occasional Paper No. 16: 1-45. London: 1990. The University of Hull.].

The earliest site to have yielded evidence of Indian contact is the Ban Don Ta Phet in Thailand where a number of agate and carnelian beads have been found. These beads belonging to 2nd to 3rd B.C. appear to have been introduced from India [Higham, C.:

The Archaeology of Mainland Southeast Asia. Cambridge: 1989. Cambridge University press]. The bronze bowls with a knob in the centre of the base found in the burial sites of Thailand give an indication of Indian contact. The shape of these bowls is similar to that of those found in coastal Odisha [Ray, H.P.: Early Maritime Contacts between South and Southeast Asia, *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* XX (1): 1989.42-54]. India was a plentiful source of carnelian so that this semi-precious stones and glass ware were imported from India to Southeast Asian countries in order to manufacture beads, and the same were exported again after being turned into finished products. Further, there is evidence that bronze bowls with a high tin content found at Ban Don Ta Phet were certainly exported from Thailand. The Satavahana rulers had issued bronze coins with a high tin content (23%), and it appears that the tin was imported from Thailand.

NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE:

The discovery of coins along with other archaeological artefacts indicates trade contacts between one region and another. A unique type of punch-marked coins with ship symbol are found from the earliest levels at Chandraketugarh, which are similar to boat symbol coins issued by Satavahana kings. In Northern Sri Lanka, a single-mast boat coin in conjunction with a donatory inscription of 1st century B.C. is found. The ship symbol is noticed on the terracotta sealings and in the graffiti on pottery found from the coastal regions, as well as the trade centres along the Ganga. Similar types of objects from Vaisali depict a boat with a prow, stern, oar, passenger decks and a female standing in the boat. The Roman coins of Tiberius (14-37 A.D.) were found during excavations at Salihundam. Similarly, the excavations conducted at Bavikonda and Thotlakonda in the district of Visakhapatnam reveal Roman coins of Augustus (31 B.C.-A.D. 14) and Tiberius (A.D. 14-37) (Sree Padma 1993). The Roman gold coins of Gordian, Constantine and other rulers found at Bamanghati and Tamralipti show evidence of contact with the Romans [Warmington, E.H.:

The Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India. Delhi: Vikas Publishing House 1974.]. Four denarii, three of Augustus, and one Tiberius coins were reported from Kotppad, and 23 gold coins from Gumada of Odisha [Turner, P.J.: Roman Coins from India, Royal Numismatic Society, Special Publication No: 22, 1989. London.]. One complete and two fragmentary copper coins with square perforation in the centre with Chinese excavation at Manikapatna legend were found from Khalkatapatna, belonging to the 14th century. Manikapatna excavation has yielded a Sri Lankan copper coin datable to 12th century A.D. with the legend Simad Sahasamalla. Similar coins have been reported from Ketchina in Indonesia which maritime networks linking coastal Odisha, Sumatra, and Sri Lanka.

ART AND SCULPTURAL EVIDENCE:

A close study of the art of the Khandagiri-Udayagiri caves reveals the use of West Asian decorative elements such as honeysuckle, acanthus, stepped melons and winged animals, etc [K.S. Behera, "Maritime Contacts of Orissa: Literary and Archaeological Evidence", in: Utkal Historical Research Journal vol. V, 1994, pp. 62.]. Some of the pilasters facing the doorways of the caves of Anantagumpha have also Ghata bases ornamented in the Hellenistic fashion, very similar in treatment to vessels found from excavations in western India. The huge Bell capital from Bhubaneswar imitated from Asokan columns also shows west Asian motifs in its ornamentation [K.S. Behera, "Maritime Contacts of Odisha: Literary and Archaeological Evidence", in Utkal Historical Research Journal, vol. V, 1994, pp. 62.]. The boats and ships are also shown in paintings on illustrated palm-leaf manuscripts preserved in the State Museum at Bhubaneswar. What is important in the depiction of these sculptures is that the design of those Odishan monuments must have been imitated from ships, which they might have seen in the locality. All these works of art provide definite evidence of the unique leadership of Kalinga in the field of shipping, ship-building and maritime activities during ancient times.

The Buddhist art of Odisha, particularly the standing Buddha images of Lalitagiri, had a profound influence on the Buddha images of Thailand. I.C. Glover, the excavator of Dan-Ta-Phet site, recognises sculptural transactions between Odisha and Thailand. The 12th century A.D temple of Wat Mahadhatu of Swankalok shows affinity with the Bhubaneswar temples [P. Brown, *Indian Architecture (Hindu and Buddhist period)*, Bombay, 1971 p. 87.]. Further, the discovery of an ivory comb from Chansen in central Thailand suggested that the comb was exported from India, especially from Odisha, because Odisha was famous for the Tran's oceanic elephant and ivory tusk export. It is also significant that the Srivasta motif of Hathigumpha Inscription of the emperor Kharavela became enormously common in the coins of OcEo in Vietnam [K.S. Behera, "Maritime Contacts of Orissa: Literary and Archaeological Evidence", in: *Utkal Historical Research Journal (UHRJ)* vol. V, 1994, pp. 64.]

Buddhism played a significant role in shaping relations between Odisha and Southeast Asia. Comparative studies of the Buddhist art of Odisha and that of Southeast Asia show several common elements and resemblances. The archaeological excavations at Ratnagiri, Udayagiri, and Lalitagiri in Odisha have brought to light the remains of Buddhist art. The Buddha heads found at these centres and those discount at central Java share common characteristic features of massive form, modelling affinities and facial expressions.

Similarly, the Buddha and Boddhisattava images of Borobudur, Indonesia, and Odisha have common traits. The Javanese Boddhisattavas from Chandi Mendut have their attributes placed on long lotuses in the style distinctive of the Lalitagiri figures in Odisha (Tripathi 2000). Further, the maritime pride of Odisha is also reflected in sculptural representations of boats in the temples of Puri and Bhubaneswar.

The maritime pride of ancient Odisha also inspired artists to depict boats in their sculptures and paintings. The earliest

representation of ships in Odisha is noticed in a sculptured frieze collected from the vicinity of the Brahmeswar temple, Bhubaneswar, now preserved in the Odisha State Museum. The frieze depicts two ships, one is fully represented and in the second one only the frontal part is shown. In the first ship, it can be noticed that there are standing elephants in the front part of the ship. In the centre of the ship, two persons are represented being seated, and two sailors are shown holding oars in the rear end steering the ship. K.C. Panigrahi [K. C. Panigrahi, "New light on the Early History of Bhubaneswar", vol-XVII no. 2, Calcutta., 1950 p. 114.] believes that the long earlobes of the two seated personages show Buddhistic affinity and the persons are a prince and a princess holding something in their hands, probably the relics of the Buddha, and are transporting it to other countries. If K.C Panigrahi is view in ancient time's prince Dantakumara and princess Hemamala had sailed to Ceylon with the Buddha's tooth relic from the port of Dantapura/Palur.

The second ship which is not shown fully depicts a standing elephant on its frontal portion. Below the ship's graphic waves with aquatic and amphibious animals have been depicted. From this depiction, it may be inferred that probably the sculptural panel depicts the transportation of elephants from Odisha by ship to other countries. Further, the sculpture is clearly indicate that the ships of ancient Odisha were well built and was big and strong enough to carry elephants, and that elephants were an item of export among many others. The panel may be dated back to 9th A.D. Near the same Brahmeswar temple, another interesting slab containing an eight armed image of Mahishamardini Durga his under a banyan tree with a boat directed below the pedestal of the goddess. The goddess is supposed to have been engaged in a fierce sea-battle with the ferocious demon Mahisasura. The goddess holds a discus, a shield, a snake and an arrowhead in his four heads. Unfortunately, her other four hands are severely damaged. The scenes represent a naval fight and such naval fight between the goddess and the

demon are extremely rare in the Hindu art. The image is datable to 9th century A.D.

In Bhubaneswar, there is a temple on the western side of Bindusagara tank which deserves mention in this connection. The temple is called Vaital Deul after the peculiar form of its roof resembling a ship or boat capsized [Mookerji, R. K.: *Indian Shipping*, Alahabad, 1962, p-26]. The word Vaitra denoted a ship, and as the roof of this temple resembles an overturned boat it is reasonable to call it as Vaital Deul. [Ganguly, M. M.: *Odisha and Her Remains*, Patna, 1987, pp-134-134.] Ganguly says; “The Mastaka is technically called Voita and hence the name of the deul. The term Vaita is probably a contraction of the Sanskrit word Vahitra which means a sea-going vessel or ship. The external appearance of the mastaka is similar to the hull of a ship reversed, and with the ends removed by planes at right angles to the longitudinal axis. The three crowning members resemble the masts of a ship”. Another magnificent representation of a boat is found in the Lingaraj Temple of Bhubaneswar (11th century A.D). The scene represents a woman steering a boat with an oar [Patnaik, J.K. and Tripathy, B.K.: “Ships and Shipping in Odishan Art”, *Puratattva*, no. 23, 1992-93, p. 61.]. The depiction of women steering a boat is a unique in the history of Indian art. It indicates that maritime activities were so popular among the people of Odisha that even the women were associated with the steering of the boat.

At Konark, on the Beki (parapet) of the Jagamohana of the Sun temple, the Martanda Bhairavas are shown as dancing on boats [Behera K. S. : “Maritime Trade in Ancient Odisha”, in: M. N. Das (ed) *Sidelights on the History and culture of Odisha*, Cuttack, 1977, p-115.]. Another interesting stone sculpture of a full-fledged boat of Odisha, supposed to have been collected from Konark and now housed in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, depicts a boat being rowed by four persons. It is observed from this sculpture that in the middle of the boat there is a cabin with an upraised platform inside, and

a man, probably a royal personage, is seated a bow and arrow in hand. This type of boat on the basis of the location of the cabin is called as Madhya Mandira type of royal pleasure boat as described in the *Yukti Kalpataru* of king Bhoja [Rao, Nalini : “Maritime Art of Odisha,” Presidential Address, Maritime Conference, Gujarat, 1987]. The panel is supposed to have been taken from Konark and is datable to 13th century A.D. The depiction of a giraffe, purely an African animal in the sculpture of the Sun Temple, Konark proves that Kalinga had overseas commercial links with Africa. In those days, either many people from Kalinga sailed to Africa and saw the giraffe or one giraffe must have been brought to Odisha by some merchants enabling many to see it. The presence of the giraffe suggests contact with Arab merchants, who might have been commissioned to bring this animal from Africa to the eastern coast. In the early 15th century, the Chinese Admiral Chang Ho, who visited East Africa, is known to have brought a giraffe to the Ming court of China.

There is also a magnificent representation of a boat in chlorite stone on the Bhogamandapa of Lord Jagannath temple at Puri. The represented scene is of the Naga Keli Utsava (rowing festival) of Lord Jagannath. From the analysis of this depicted boat it can be presumed that the king and his attendants are shown preparing for a rowing festival [Mishra, K. C.: *The Cult of Jagannath*, Calcutta, 1971, p. 136.]. The middle portion of the boat has a cabin and, in its entrance, attendants standing on either side can be seen. Four women are shown seated holding oars. In the rear end, two ladies are depicted. Of the two, one is seen standing a chhatra (parasol) in hand and the other is shown holding something in her hand, probably assisting with a sort of worship to be performed before the rowing festival begins. The boat represented here is also of the Madhyamandira type.

OVERSEAS ROUTES

In early times, long-distance overseas trade was not possible without making halts at intermediate places for water and food.

The ships of Odisha bound for Southeast Asian countries passed via the Andaman and Nicobar islands. Sailors voyaging from Tamralipti, Palur and Kalingapatnam to foreign countries used the Nicobar Islands as a halting station. I-Tsing mentions that it was a month's sail from Tamralipti to Nicobar Islands, and China from Sri-Vijaya was twenty days' sail [Syamchaudhuri, N.K.: *The Social Structure of Car Nicobar Islanders: An Ethnic study of Cognition*. Kolkata: 1977. *Anthropological Survey of India*.]. From Tamralipti vessels sailed regularly, and either proceeded along the coast of Bengal and Burma, or crossed the Bay of Bengal and made a direct voyage to the Malaya Peninsula and then to the East Indies and Indo-China and beyond. In making their voyages to Southeast Asia, the sailors and merchants of Odisha may have sailed around the Malay Peninsula through the Strait of Malacca. The other route must have been from Odisha to South India where one sailed through the area between the Andaman and the Nicobar islands or between Nicobar Islands and Achin, the northern tip of Sumatra, disembarking on the peninsula around Takuapa or at Kedah. The ports of embarkation were Palur, Poompuhar, Arikamedu and Masulipatnam, from where ships sailed across the Bay of Bengal to the coasts of the Southeast Asia and the Far East. Ships used to go to Java from the ports of Odisha and return directly to Sri Lanka and other ports on the east coast of India. Further, these ships sailed to the northeast from Java to reach Canton. This was the route followed by the merchants who traded with the West and the East [Prasad, P.C. : *Foreign Trade and Commerce in Ancient India*. New Delhi: Abhinav Publication 1977.]. There was a regular coastal voyage from the mouth of the Ganga along the eastern coast of India to Sri Lanka.

OVERSEAS CONTACTS AND COLONIZATION (6TH B.C – 15 A.D)

The role of Kalinga in the process of colonization of South-East Asia and Ceylon is supported by various sources. It is believed that the first impulse to the colonizing activity and expansion of

India had its origin in the daring spirit of Kalingans. The spirit of enterprise and adventure was so remarkable among the Odias in ancient times that they have been referred to in the Sanskrit literature as Kalingah Sahasikah (the brave Kalingans). They cherished the ambition of founding colonies in distant lands. Recent researches on Indian colonization have revealed that Kalinga had a major share in the over-seas expansion and colonization. The naval power of Kalinga made it possible for her to establish kingdoms in South- East Asia in the early stages of colonization and finally a great empire during the middle ages [M.N. Das, *Glimpses of Kalinga History*, Calcutta, 1949, p.120.].

Odisha is veritably an *EI dorado* of archaeological remains lying scattered throughout the state. The recovery of some pre-historic tools in Odisha in the 2nd half of the 19th century by V. Ball [V. Ball, *Proceedings of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1876, pp. 120-121.] and exploration of some pre-historic sites, have given us an idea regarding the progress of society from the food gathering stage to settled life and food production.

The excavation of Kuliana, Kuchai and Baidyapur in the Mayurbhanja district of Odisha have yielded evidence of the use of polished shouldered tools, rice and cord impressed pottery in the Neolithic age. In view of the technological affinities of shouldered adzes with those of Southeast Asian countries it is believed that Odisha's maritime connection with Southeast Asia probably began from the Neolithic period [K.S. Behera, "Maritime Contacts of Odisha: Literary and Archaeological Evidence", *UHRJ* vol. V, 1994, pp. 59-60.]. However, the possibility of introduction of shouldered adzes into India through land-route via north-east India cannot be ruled out. The Mahavamsa mentions about the arrival of Vijaya and his 700 followers in Sri Lanka in 5th century B.C. Vijaya is a Kalingan prince, the eldest son of King Sinhabahu ("Man with arms of a lion") and his Queen Sinhasivali with their capital at Singhapura (modern Singur in West Bengal, India). According to The Mahavamsa, Vijaya landed on the same day on which the

Buddha passed away. [See Geiger's preface to *Mahavamsa*] and he landed on Sri Lanka near Mahathitha (Manthota or Mannar), and named the Island "Thambaparni" ('copper-colored palms'). Tradition holds that 20,000 families were sent from Kalinga to Java by Sanjaya, the prince of Kalinga, who further multiplied and prospered. Similar traditions of colonists from Kalinga (ancient Odisha) are preserved in the chronicles of Java [S Rafells: *History of Java*, Vol-II, p-73].

According to A. Bhattacharjee "The most important kingdom of Java during the Tang period was Kalinga, named after the well known province of India. Thus, it is quite natural that the colonists from Kalinga dominated Java or at least a part of it. Anyway, the name Kalinga and the popular belief that the original colonists of Java came from Kalinga indicate a close affinity between Java and Kalinga country". [A. Bhattacharjee, p.26; It is mentioned in *Our Merchant Seamen* (Modern Indian Series: 3, Publications Division, Govt. of India, p.6] that, "The colonization of Java has been aptly described as one of the most glorious achievements recorded in the entire history of the country. About 75 A.D. it is said that a few Hindu navigators sailed from Kalinga and drifting into the wide expanse of the Indian Ocean touched the island of Java. This and the adjacent islands were colonized by these men from Kalinga". Both R.K. Mookerji [R.K. Mookerji, pp.148-149.] and Crawford hold the view that all the Hindu influences in Java were from Kalinga [J.F. Scheltema, *Monumental Java*, New Delhi, 1985, p.35.]. The Buddha images of Borobudur, the greatest monument of the Sailendras in Java, are found to have been modelled on the Buddhas from Ratnagiri in Odisha [D.P.Ghosh, "Relation between Buddha Images of Odisha and Java", *The Modern Review*, Calcutta, 1933, pp.500-504.].

Many Kalingan rulers' ruled over Ceylon and established dynasties there. Starting from Vijaya up to Nishanka Malla (5th Century B.C. 12th Century A.D.) many kings of Ceylon were either from Kalinga or had matrimonial relationship with the ruling

families of Kalinga. There was a Hindu kingdom in central Java, which the Chinese called Holing or Kalinga. The exact share of the Kalingan people in “Greater India” cannot be ascertained but it can be inferred that they had a lion’s share in it. Highlighting the role of Kalinga in the colonization of Southeast Asia, M. N. Das [M.N. Das, p.122.] state that the expansion of Kalinga, politically and culturally, into the lands mentioned, was really a great contribution to the civilization of the East. Spreading Hinduism and Buddhism, Indian literature and art, Kalinga had greatly advanced the movement for “Greater India”. The legacies of the past remain till to day. Even today, the Pacific islanders look towards the shores of India in memory of a very remote age when the people from that side went and civilized them. The remains of Hindu and Buddhist architecture in Malaysia still indicate the cultural conquest of that land by Kalinga. Names like Talaing, Telinga, Kling, Keling and Kalinga continue to exist and are used by the people of Burma and Malaysia.

The peoples of maritime South East Asia - present-day Malaysia, Indonesia and Philippines - are thought to have migrated southwards from southern China Sometime, between 2500 and 1500 B.C.They continued to have contact with Chinese civilisation (well established in the 2nd millenium B.C.), but the influence of the other long-established civilisation of India gradually became predominant among them, and among the peoples of the South East Asian mainland. Indian traders (In early days these Indians came mostly from the ancient Kingdom of Kalinga, on the south-eastern coast of India. Indians in Indonesia are still known as “Klings”, derived from Kalinga.), adventurers, teachers and priests continued to be the dominating influence in South East Asia until about 1500 A.D., and Indians often ruled the earliest states in these regions. Hinduism and Buddhism both spread to these states from India and for many centuries existed there in a state of mutual toleration. Eventually the states of the mainland became mainly Buddhist. [A Short History of South East Asia, Chapter-1 ,p-4]

1. BURMA (MYANMAR):

Burma went by the name of Kalingarat (Kalinga Rastra) in the 7th century BC, and there is evidence of very early settlements in the southern most portions. By the 2nd century AD, the Kalingans were ruling Kalaymyo, the Arakan River valley and Pegu, around the Gulf of Martaban. The remains of a ship excavated at Tante, near Yangon are thought to have belonged to Kalingan traders. Place names and similarities in architecture also indicate close contacts across the gulf of Bengal [Dr. Benudhar Patra “Kalinga and Burma – A Study in Ancient Relations”. Orissa Review. November 2005.] The Buddhagat, the sacred scripture of Burma, describes trade with the Buddhist merchants of Kalinga, leading to missionaries coming to propagate the faith, and then to political domination of parts of coastal Burma by Kalinga during the 4th to 7th century AD. Coins with Hindu symbols found in Pegu confirm this contact [Radhakumud Mookerji, Indian Shipping – A History of the Sea-Borne Trade and Maritime Activity of the Indians from the Earliest Times (1912). READ BOOKS. p. 145ff.]. According to Gerini “Kalinga colonian was established in Burma towards 7th century B.C.” [Gerini: Researches on Ptolemy’s Geography of Eastern Asia]. Prome, the capital of Burma for some time was named Shrikshetra after the name of famous Shrikshetra (modern Puri) of Odisha.

2. JAVA :

The bas relief of 8th century A.D. Borobudur depicts a King and Queen with their subjects, the scene is based on Sailendran royal court. According to R.D. Banarjee, Hindus from Kalinga took a leading role in establishing Hindu culture in Java. An expedition from Kalinga established a colony in Java in 75 B.C. [Durga Prasad Patnaik (1989). Palm leaf etchings of Orissa. Abhinav Publications. p. 3.]. There are also some affinity between Indonesia and Odisha in the domain of art and architecture. Some of the statues of the Buddha at Borobudur (Java) bear a striking resemblance to the Buddha images of Odisha. The Dhyanī Buddhas of Borobudur

reminds us of massive heads of the Buddha at Ratnagiri, one on the slope and another at top of the hills [D. P. Ghosh, 'Relation between the Buddha images of Odisha and Java', in: *Modern Review*, Calcutta, 1938, p. 503].

The stepped tiers of Candi Bima (8th century A.D) in the Dieng plateau in Central Java resembled the Sikharas of Odisha [R. Grousset, *The Civilization of the East India*, Delhi, 1969, p. 314]. A Javanese kris held by the door-keeper of the Parsurameswar temple of Bhubaneswar, amply testifies to the widespread interaction between the regions. These immigrants may have introduced Hindu religion, which was established throughout the island, by 4th century A.D. [Edward Balfour (1885). *The Cyclopaedia of India and of Eastern and Southern Asia*, Volume 2. B. Quaritch. p. 426].

Chinese historians use the name Ho-Ling (Kalinga) for the leading kingdom of Java in the Tang period (618–906 AD). This kingdom may have been founded by new colonists, or may reflect the rise of the earlier colony to power. [Krishna Chandra Sagar (2002). *An Era of peace*. Northern Book Centre. p. 68]. Arab historians described the 8th century A.D Sailendra dynasty of Java as originating from Kalinga, and said that Sailendra was also powerful in Cambodia and Champa (Annam) [Durga Prasad Patnaik (1989). *Palm leaf etchings of Orissa*. Abhinav Publications. P-3]. The Sailendras, the most famous ruling dynasty of Sumatra were not only contemporaries of the Sailodbhavas of Kalinga but were supposed to be their offshoots. It is believed that the Sailendras came directly from India and were connected with the Sailodbhava kings of Kalinga. [Quoted by A. Bhattacharjee, op. cit, p.48.]

A copper plate inscription dated 840 AD says that the servants of the inner palace of King Kuti of Java came from Champa and Kalinga. An inscription of the King Airlangga of Java (1019–1042 AD) says that people came to his kingdom from Kling (Kalinga) among other places. [R.N. Charkravorty (1985). *National Integration in Historical Perspective*. Mittal Publications. p. 98].

3. BALI:

Trade with Bali appears to have started before the Christian era. Bali had many products including cinnamom, long pepper, white pepper and cardamon, pearls and gems, silk, camphor, bees wax and sandalwood that were attractive to Kalinga's traders. Traders from Kalinga brought muslin and other fine cloths, rugs, brocade, armour, gold and jewellery. There is a tradition that the first ruler of Bali was an Indian named Kaudinya, around 600 AD, and this name later became the title for future rulers [Wilhelm von Pochhammer (2005). *India's Road to Nationhood*. Allied Publishers. p. 146. ISBN 81-7764-715-6]. It is possible that the island is named after Bali, a legendary king of Odisha [Sir William Wilson Hunter (1872). *Orissa*, Volume 1. Smith, Elder and co... p. 217]. Traditional masked dances that are performed in Odisha and Bali for the purpose of removing evils and bringing good fortune have many similarities that point to ancient cultural exchanges [John Emigh (1996). *Masked performance: the play of self and other in ritual and theatre*. University of Pennsylvania Press. p. 74. ISBN 0-8122-1336-X]. The trade began to decline in the 8th century AD, as Arabs became the predominant maritime power in the region [Kartik Chandra Roy, Srikanta Chatterjee. *Growth, development and poverty alleviation in the Asia-Pacific*. Nova Publishers, 2006. p. 17ff. ISBN 1-59454-931-1].

The festival of "Bali Jatra", is still celebrated throughout coastal Odisha in memory of the ancient trading links [G.N. Das (1998). *One World One Family*. Abhinav Publications. pp. 31–32. ISBN 81-7017-372-8].

4. MALAY PENINSULA:

Through energetic maritime campaigns, the Sailendra kings of Java were able to take control of the Malay Peninsula and part of southern Thailand. The kings welcomed Buddhist missionaries from India, accepting their teaching of the Mahayana sect, which spread through their territories. However, central and northeastern Thailand continued to adhere to the Hinayana teachings of the Theravada sect,

which had been introduced by missionaries sent by the emperor Ashoka in the 3rd century BC [Promsak Jermsawatdi (1979). Thai art with Indian influences. Abhinav Publications. p. 24.].

Another theory of the introduction of Buddhism to the Malay Peninsula is that after Kalinga conquered lower Burma in the 8th century A.D. their influence gradually spread down the peninsula [A Concise History of Buddhist Art in Siam. CUP Archive]. The Malay language contains many words derived from the Odia language [Reinhold Rost, Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. Straits Branch (1886). Miscellaneous papers relating to Indo-China: reprinted for the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society from Dalrymple's "Oriental Repertory," and the "Asiatic Researches" and "Journal" of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Volume 1. Trubner and Co. p. 92]. In modern Malaysia, Indians are commonly called Klings, a name showing the original influence of Kalinga.

5. CAMBODIA:

Emigrants from Kalinga came to Cambodia in the 3rd century B.C., fleeing from Emperor Asoka. However, after Asoka had converted to Buddhism and sent missionaries to Cambodia, they accepted the teachings and helped establish the religion in the region [Promsak Jermsawatdi (1979). Thai art with Indian influences. Abhinav Publications.p.24].

The early monuments of the Khmers (of modern Cambodia) appear to be of Kalinga [Nadimpalli Venkata Bala Subrahmanya Dutt (1993). Yayoi people and ancient Indo-Japanese relations. Northern Book Centre. p. 45. ISBN 81-7211-048-0]. However, although some of the inscriptions at Angkor Wat in Cambodia are in Sanskrit, others are in the Kalingan script [Robert Needham Cust (1880). Linguistic and oriental essays: Written from the year 1840 to 1903. Trubner and co.]. The design of the Angkor Wat temple shows influences from Odisha [Freeman, Michael and Jacques, Claude (1999). Ancient Angkor. River Books. p. 48. ISBN 0-8348-0426-3].

6. CHINA:

The first record of trade with China is found in the account of Fa Hien (399–411 A.D.) who sailed in a merchant vessel from the port of Temralipti back to China. The Chinese pilgrim Hieun Tsang (645 A.D.) tells of sea voyages from the ports of Tamralipta (modern Tamluk) and Chelitalo to Simhala (modern Sri Lanka) and China. A former king of Odra named Subhakararisha, who had abdicated in order to become a monk, voyaged to China in 716 A.D. (An introduction to Tantric Buddhism). There is an account of the carriage by sea in 794 A.D. of presents by the King of Udra to the Emperor of China. Odisha imported silk from China, and a Chinese coin from the 8th century has been found at Sirpur. Between 813 and 818, three missions were sent from the Javanese nation of Kalinga to the court of Hsien Tung in China, bringing rarities such as a live rhinoceros, a five-coloured parrot and some black boys and girls from East Africa. Far China did not remain aloof from trade connection with Odisha. The Chinese emperor Te-tsang in 795 A. D. received an autographed manuscript of the Buddhist work Gondavyuha, a part of Avatamasaha, from Subhakara Simha or Subhakara, the Bhoulmakara King of Odisha [K. C. Panigrahi. History of Odisha, P. 468]. Cultural expansion of Odisha in Burma and China can easily be imagined from the above observation.

The excavations at Lalitgiri (Lat. 20° 35' N. and Long. 86° 15' E) Udayagiri (Lat. 20° 38' 45" N. and long. 86° 16' 25" E) and Ratnagiri (Lat. 20° 38' N. and long 86° 20' E), the Buddhist sites, have established sculptural link of Odisha with the Southeast Asia and China. The discovery of relic caskets from a stupa at Lalitgiri has been the most significant one in this connection. The systems of preserving of these relics are unique. These caskets consist of four caskets kept systematically one inside the other. It is a feature alien in Odisha but common in China. Further, a sculpture of Astamahabhaya Tara, who protects sailors from ship-wreck, has been found from Ratnagiri [B. Das, "Kalinga and outside world," in: Journal of Historical Research, vol.xxvi, no-1, 1983, p. 18.].

7. SIMHALA (SRI LANKA):

Kalinga had strong ties with Simhala (Sri Lanka). According to the Mahāvamsa, a chronicle written in Pāli language, the ancient period of Sri Lanka begins in 543 BC with the landing of Vijaya, a semi-legendary king who sailed 860 nautical miles on eight ships to Sri Lanka with 700 followers from the region of Kalinga. [“The Great Chronicle of Sri Lanka”. The Mahavamsa, Retrieved 4 November 2011] He established the Kingdom of Tambapanni, near modern day Mannar. Vijaya is the first of the approximately 189 native monarchs of Sri Lanka that the chronicles like Dipavamsa, Mahāvamsa, Chulavamsa, and Rājāvaliya.

The Mahavamsa tells of Sinhapura’s foundation by Sinhabahu, whose mother was a princess of Kalinga [R.C. Majumdar (1996). Outline of the history of Kalinga, Asian Educational Services. p. 6]. It was said that Simhabahu was the ruler of the Kalinga kingdom, but left that kingdom to his mother and her husband, and moved to an uninhabited part of the forest. He cleared the land and settled down to rule a new kingdom. [S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture, Asian Educational Services. p. 75] The town is named by Sinhalese chronicles in connection with Prince Vijaya (c. 543-505 BC), the first recorded king of Sri Lanka [Harihar Panda, H.C. Raychaudhuri as a historian, Northern Book Centre. p. 112] Vijaya’s brother Sumitta became a king of Sinhala of Kalinga. When Vijaya died with no heir, Sumitta’s son, Panduvasdeva was sent from Sinhapura to Sri Lanka, where he was crowned King. The emperor Ashoka sent his son to Ceylon to establish Buddhism, and daughter Sanghamitra to organise the nuns. The Samantapasadika says that she was accompanied by eight families from Kalinga.

The Dathavamsa talks of the friendship between king Guhasiva of Kalinga and king Mahasena of Ceylon (277 – 304 AD). It also talks of the king of Kalinga giving the tooth relic of Gautama Buddha as a dowry to Dantakumara on his marriage to the king’s daughter. Dantakumara took the relic to Ceylon where

it was enshrined in a stupa [Kandarpa Patel. “Maritime relation of Kalinga with Srilanka”. OHRJ, Vol. XLVII, No. 2]. Hinayanic Buddhism flowered in Ceylon in the 4th and 5th century A.D, and the influence of scholars from Ceylon spread through Burma, Siam and Cambodia, establishing the beliefs and practices that continue in these countries today. Kalinga was also strongly affected by Ceylonese culture, in particular by the Theravada teachings of Buddhaghosa, since it lay on the route followed by pilgrims from Ceylon visiting holy places in India. Pilgrims from Kalinga sailed to Ceylon to honour the sacred tooth and visit the monasteries. [Kandarpa Patel. “Maritime relation of Kalinga with Srilanka”. OHRJ, Vol. XLVII, No. 2]. The Chinese pilgrim Hieun Tsang describes these sea voyages from the port of Tamralipta and Chelitalo to Simhala [Bhagaban Panda (1997). “Maritime Activities of Orissa”. Economic History of Orissa, Indus Publishing. p. 117ff. ISBN 81-7387-075-6]. According to the Chulavamsa, the king of Kalinga visited Ceylon during the reign of Aggabodhi II (610–611 AD). King Vijayabahu I of Ceylon (1055–1110 AD) married the daughter of the king of Kalinga. Nissanka Malla, son of king Gaparaja of Kalinga became ruler of Ceylon (1187–1196 AD).

A prince of Kalinga named Magha invaded Ceylon with a fleet carrying 24,000 soldiers and ruled the island from 1214 to 1235 A.D. [Chattopadhyaya, Haraprasad. Ethnic unrest in modern Sri Lanka: an account of Tamil-Sinhalese race relations. M.D. Publications Pvt. Ltd.]. A rock inscription made by Nissanka Malla of Sri Lanka at Dambulla mentions that he was of the Kalinga Dynasty and a descendant from the race of King Vijaya. Another inscription at Ruwanwelisaya describes him as being a member of a royal family of Kalinga, born at Sinhapura, [Rasanayagam, C.; Aiyangar, Sakkottai Krishnaswami (1993). Ancient Jaffna, Asian Educational Services. pp. 322-323. ISBN 81-206-0210-2]

8. ROME AND THE WESTERN WORLD:

In the early centuries of the Christian era Odisha had active trade contact with the western world, especially with the Roman

Empire. The western trade flourished because of the demand for luxury articles of Kalinga in the Roman Empire.

The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea [J.W. Mc Crindle, *The Commerce and Navigation of the Erythraean Sea*, Amsterdam, 1973, pp.140-149; W.H. Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, New Delhi, 1974, pp. 46-49.] (1st century A.D) of an unknown author, besides mentioning the Kalingan port of Dosarene, refers to the trade relation between Kalinga and the Roman world. He mentions Dosarene as producing the best type of ivory known as Dosarenic.

Ptolemy, [G.E.Gerini, *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia*, New Delhi, 1974, p.47.] the Greek geographer during the 2nd century A.D. refers to another famous port of Kalinga named Palur, from where ships disembarked directly across the Bay of Bengal to the South-East Asian countries.

The discovery of rouletted ware from Sisupalgarh [B.B. Lal, "Sisupalgarh-An Early Historical Fort in Eastern India" (Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India), *Ancient India*, No.5, New Delhi, 1949, pp.62-105.] near Bhubaneswar and Tamluk in the Midnapore district of modern West Bengal is very significant in this regard.

The roulette ware was first identified and dated by Wheeler [R.E.M. Wheeler et al, *Ancient India*, No.3, New Delhi, 1949, pp.17-24.] at Arikamedu. These were probably brought into Odisha by Roman merchants.

Roman bullas have been discovered at Sisupalgarh [B.B. Lal, "Sisupalgarh-An Early Historical Fort in Eastern India" (Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India), *Ancient India*, No.5, New Delhi, 1949, pp.101-102.] and Roman coins at Biratgarh and Bamanghati [P.Acharya, *Studies in Orissan History, Archaeology and Archives*, Cuttack, 1969, p.533; P.K. Mishra, *Archaeology of Mayurbhanj*, New Delhi, 1997, pp.4 and 95.] in the Mayurbhanj district, which suggest trade links of Kalinga with the Roman empire. Besides, a gold coin bearing Graeco-Roman motif together with pottery fragments and terracotta figures of Roman origin

have been also discovered from Tamluk [R.C.Majumdar (ed.) *The Struggle for Empire*, Bombay, 1966, p.658.] (The site of ancient Odishan Tamralipti port).

A terracotta Greek tablet containing the thanks-giving of an unknown Greek sailor to the East wind has been discovered at Tilda, situated between Tamluk and Bamanghati. [N.K.Sahu, *History of Orissa*, Vol.1, Bhubaneswar, 1964, p.458.].

The poet Dandi in his *Dasakumara Charita* [Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London, 1904, p.619.] has referred to the coming of the Greeks to the port of Tamralipti.

Apart from this, the recent archaeological excavations at Manikpatna in the northern tip of the Chilka Lake which has brought to light the Roman rouletted pottery and fragments of an amphora substantiate the clue of Odisha's contact with the far off Roman Empire.

Valuable archaeological evidence has been reported from the Khalkatapatana port excavation. The discovery of a thin egg-white glazed chocolate pottery and thick chocolate glazed pottery of the Arabian origin are worth mentioning. The former has mainly bowls and the latter are the fragments of storage jars. These were first noticed in the excavations at Khalkatapatana. [Patra Benudhar, *Maritime Contact of Ancient Odisha with the Western World*, p- 46].

Much of the gold of the Roman Empire had been drained out to India by the third century of the Christian era. [B.Das, 'Kalinga and Outside World' *Journal of Historical Research*, Vol. XXVI, No.1, 1983, p.25.] The acute shortage of gold coins led to the circulation of copper coins in the Roman Empire during the early centuries of the Christian era. It is said that the financial instability resulting mainly from the adverse trade relations with India must have become a potent factor for the fall of the Roman Empire. [Proceedings of Indian History Congress, Vol. XIX, pp.89-90.].

The merchants of Kalinga were in a sense instrumental in bringing about the economic ruin of the Roman Empire and

consequent economic prosperity to the Indian subcontinent. Pearls and diamonds probably constituted two principal articles of export of Kalinga to the western world. The manufacture of the best type of diamonds in ancient Odisha has been referred to by classical writers. The Hirakud region of Sambalpur on the banks of river Mahanadi was famous for the production of diamonds. [A Das, 'The Diamonds of Sambalpur', in N.K. Sahu (ed.), *New Aspects of History of Orissa*, Vol.1, Sambalpur, 1971, pp.1-8.] The diamond of this region was sold as an attractive item in the markets of Rome, Persia, Egypt and Greece. [K.A.N. Sastri (ed.), *A Comprehensive History India*, Vol. II (The Mauryas and Satavahanas) (325BC-300AD) New Delhi, 1987, p.436.]

Gibbon in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* [Quoted by A.C. Das, "Kalinga, the Ancient Maritime Power", *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. XVI, No.4 to Vol. XVII, No.1, (1975), p.10.] has said that the diamond of Sambalpur was much prized in Rome and was sold at a high price in Roman markets.

Pepper was another important item of export to Greece and Rome. Its export was in such abundant quantity that it was called Yavanapriya in Indian literature. Pliny refers to the pepper and ginger of India and their great demand in Rome, where they were sold by weight like gold and silver. Besides, Indian spices like cinnamon, malabathrum and perfumes, precious stones, pearls, silk, muslins and cotton were in great demand in the Graeco- Roman world. Silk, muslin and cotton were sold at fabulously high prices in Rome. [R.K. Mookerji, *Indian Shipping*, Allahabad, 1962, p.85].

Medicinal herbs and ivory were also exported to the western countries from India. Kalinga seems to have supplied all the above articles in considerable quantities. In turn, among the articles of import from the western world, mention may be made of gold, aromatic, ware, glass etc. B.S. Das [B.S. Das, *Studies in the Economic History Orissa*, Calcutta, 1978, p.19.] says that commodities were exported from Odisha to earn Roman gold. He also says that with the shrinkage in gold supply from the Roman

markets during the post-Kushana period the Odishan merchants looked towards the Far East. [B.S. Das, *Studies in the Economic History Orissa*, Calcutta, 1978, p.35].

The people of Kalinga had also contact with the distant lands of Peru and Mexico. R.D. Banerjee [R.D. Banerjee, *History of Orissa*, Vol.1, Varanasi, 1980, p.108.] observed that the people of Kalinga, who have been proved to be the pioneer colonists of India, Indonesia and Oceania, are probably the very same people whom the modern barbarians of the Pacific and Indian Oceans regard with awe and wonder as people from the sky who civilized them and taught them the rudiments of culture”.

The Maya civilization of America was a result of commercial enterprise of Kalinga or of India with that continent. [S.P. Das, *Glories of Ancient Orissa*, Sambalpur, 1965, pp.83-84.] It is thus gleaned from the above analysis that ancient Odisha had close maritime contact with the countries of the western world.

9. AFRICA:

Kalinga also had overseas trade links with Africa. The sculptural representation of a giraffe, an African animal, not seen anywhere else, in Konark proves that Kalinga had commercial relations with Africa. The depiction of a giraffe in the Konark temple suggests that, in ancient days either some people of Kalinga had gone to Africa and seen the giraffe or one live giraffe had been brought to Odisha by some merchants enabling many to see it. However, the sculpture of giraffe on the wall of the Sun temple is so accurate that the sculptor must have actually seen a live giraffe. It is hardly likely that the sculptor would have travelled to Africa. So a giraffe was actually brought alive by sea from East Africa to Odisha. [K.S. Behera, ‘Maritime Trade in Ancient Orissa’, in M.N. Das (ed.), *Sidelights on the History and Culture of Orissa*, Cuttack, 1977, p.117]. Probably the Ganga emperor Narasimhadeva-I (A.D. 1238-1264) heard of the existence of this strange animal from Arab traders who carried on most of the trade with Africa and commissioned them to fetch him a specimen. [K.S. Behera,

‘Maritime Trade in Ancient Orissa’, in M.N. Das (ed.), *Sidelights on the History and Culture of Orissa, Cuttack*, 1977, p.117118.] In fact, the sculptured panel of the Konark temple depicts the Ganga emperor being presented with the African animal. The problem of bringing a live giraffe (which normally lives on the green leaves of trees) on such a long sea-voyage in a small boat must have been considerable, but evidently they succeeded in their mission.

A Chinese Admiral named Cheng Ho [K.S. Behera, ‘Maritime Trade in Ancient Orissa’, in M.N. Das (ed.), *Sidelights on the History and Culture of Orissa, Cuttack*, 1977, p.120.] who visited East Africa in the 15th century A.D. is known to have brought back a live giraffe to the Ming Court in China. Therefore, we can see no reason why a giraffe could not have been actually brought as a curiosity to Eastern India in 13th century A.D.

According to D.R. Bhandarkar, [D.R. Bhandarkar, *Charmichael Lectures, Vol-I, ch.1.*] the people of Kalinga monopolised trade in the Arabian Sea. Crossing the Arabian Sea, the Kalingans established trade relations with the East Coast of Africa and with the far-off island of Madagascar. [Quoted by A.C. Das, “Kalinga, the Ancient Maritime Power”, *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. XVI, No.4 to Vol. XVII, No.1, (1975), p.10.]

Initially, maritime activities were mainly concerned with trade. Gradually, for better trade, a consumer market was created through cultural influence and finally political control was established to facilitate trade. The *sadhavas* (merchants), who engaged in overseas trade, were a group of daring people who came from different walks of life. The name *sadhava* has emerged out of the expression *sadhu vyabasayi* or honest businessman as the Kalingans were known outside. Each trading trip consisted of different categories of people like the *sudras* who performed menial work, the *vaisyas* who funded and managed the voyages, *kshyatriyas* who protected the ships during the journey and in alien lands and *brahmins* who performed religious rites and also acted as advisors during the voyages. The *brahmins* and the *kshyatriyas* who

accompanied the ships in due course stayed back and established political and cultural contact, finally leading to colonization.

Maritime trade has been a part of the socio-cultural and religious life of Odisha for centuries. The story of Taapoi rites like, Biota Bandana (ceremonial farewell to trading ships), festivals like Kartika Purnima, Bali Yatra and Khudurukuni Osha provide clear testimony of our glorious maritime heritage. The overseas trade to be celebrated by one and all with such enthusiasm must have involved all classes of people and must have left sweet and pleasant memories.

The festival is similar to the ‘Masakapan Ke Tukad’ festival of Bali, and to the ‘Loi Krathong’ (in Odia Nai Kartika) festival of Thailand both of which involve ritualistic floating of model boats around the same time of the year.

It is a fact that overseas trade was profitable and that the Odishan economy was prosperous only because of this trade. After the carnage and devastation of the Kalinga war, Kalinga could rebuild itself in about a hundred and fifty years during the reign of Kharavela through overseas trade.

Contact between Kalinga and Sri Lanka in the commercial, political, cultural and religious spheres is an accepted fact of history. According to Mahavamsa and Dwipavamsa, Vijayabahu, the first king of Sri Lanka hailed from Kalinga. The island was named as Singhala after the name of his father, Simhabahu, who had ruled over Kalinga. Close matrimonial relations existed between the two kingdoms. Kalinga also played a prominent role in the spread of Buddhism in Sri Lanka. Buddhist pilgrims, missionaries and travelers constantly travelled to and from the Kalingan ports to Sri Lanka. Fahien, in his return journey, sailed from the Kalingan port of Tamralipti to Sri Lanka. As a matter of fact, Sri Lankan ports were the resting places for Kalingan merchants during their voyages to either east or the west.

Interaction of Kalinga with the islands of Java, Bali, Sumatra, Borneo, and others collectively known as Suvarna Dwipa ranges

from trade to cultural, political and religious activities, finally leading to colonization. Traditions of Java relate that, “Twenty thousand families were sent to Java by the king of Kalinga who multiplied and prospered”.

The transmission of Kalingan culture to distant parts of South East Asia, Sri Lanka and other places is one of the greatest achievements of the people of Kalinga. No other great civilization of the world, not even the Hellenic, had been able to achieve similar success without military conquest. The ‘Greater India’ theory boasts of Indianised states in South East Asia and, in this process, the Kalingans played a major role for being a great sea-faring nation and for being situated on the sea coast dotted with a number of natural ports. The Indian influence in general, and the Kalingan influence in particular, can be seen in the magnificent temples at Pagan (Mynmar), Angokor (Cambodia) and Borobodur (Java). These constitute an integral part of their histories and cultures.

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Maritime Heritage of Kalinga: The Trade Connection of Ganjam District under the British Raj

Dr. Kanhucharan Padhy

Odisha, anciently known as Kalinga, was a great maritime and formidable politico-military power on the east coast of the Indian peninsula in the hoary past. She possessed a large sea-faring population and a band of daring and adventurous sailors and seamen, who traversed countries and islands, situated beyond the immediate and distant seas and oceans continuously. The ocean played an important role in the life style of the people who dwelt on its shores. The unique geographical position of Odisha, as the meeting ground of the North and the South and its location near the ocean provided an excellent opportunity to its inhabitants for trans-oceanic commerce¹. The region had a distinct identity of its own as 'Kalinga', which once covered not only coastal Odisha but also the adjoining tracts of West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh. In the wider sense, ancient Kalinga comprised the major part of the eastern India, from the Ganga to the Godavari².

In the past, Kalinga people had distinct personality of their own. They were known for their daring ventures and dynamic spirit. The adventurous sea-men of Kalinga, in spite of various hazards, reached distant land across the sea. So great was the fame of Kalinga as a maritime power that Kalidasa in his *Raghuvamsam*, referred to the king of Kalinga as the "Lord of Ocean"³. It seems

that Kalinga dominated the Mahodadhi (Eastern Sea). Kalinga was an important zone of commerce with significant influence over the eastern sea. Chilika, Konark, Puri, Tamralipti, Dhamra, Palur, Ganjam and Chelitalo were the chief ports of maritime importance⁴. They remind us the maritime trade with far off countries. Odisha, famous for its long coastline could earn name and fame in making cultural and commercial contacts with the countries across the seas. With the passage of time, crushed with the vagaries of nature and being uncared for through the political processes, Odisha's maritime spots were lost though of course, gave birth to new spots of importance during the period from 16th to 19th century.

Being situated on the shore of the Kalinga Sagar i.e. Bay of Bengal and having enjoyed all the privileges to develop maritime activities, Odisha from time immemorial had her reputation as a sea-faring country⁵. In the glorious ancient period ships helped the people of Kalinga in establishing colonies in the Indian, Archipelago⁶. It is said that the people of Kalinga were the pioneers in colonising the far-off lands of Sumatra, Java, Indonesia, Burma, Siam and other places⁷.

The people of Kalinga maintained commercial intercourse with the islands of Bali, Java, Sumatra, Borneo and Malaya collectively known as Suvarnavipa⁸. The Brahmandapurana⁹ mentions that the Chilikalake was full of hundreds of boats and they were travelling to Java, Malaya, Simhala, Ganga Sagar and China.

The glories and prosperity of ancient Odisha was probably due to her foreign trade and commerce with the distant lands¹⁰.

So long the Hindu kingdom of Odisha was independent and Hindu kings gave encouragement and offered royal patronage, the maritime trade was very thriving and considerably added to the national wealth of the country. With the advent of the Muslims to Odisha (from the year 1568 A.D.), the centre of gravity, being changed, some of the Southern ports of Odisha, including Chilika and Chitrotpala lost their former glories¹¹. The northern ports, particularly Balasore, Pipili and Harishpur came to much more

prominence than before. The reason for such change lies in the change in the political situation.

Odisha's trade and commercial activities during the 16th and 17th centuries, received great encouragement with the establishment of European factories situated on the Bay of Bengal and having a favourable geographical situation, rich in good navigable rivers and ports, Odisha attracted a number of European trading nations like the Portuguese, Dutch, Danes, English and the French¹². The above mentioned Europeans had erected their trading settlements in Odisha and gradually Balasore, Pipili, Harihapur, grew into prominence as important commercial and naval centres on the north Odisha coast¹³. The Portuguese were the first among the Europeans who had their trading settlement on the Odisha coast. In the annals of Odishan history, the 17th century was a period of momentous changes in her relation with the European mercantile nations, marked by the gradual decline of the Portuguese and the increasing commercial penetration by the Other Europeans¹⁴.

Upto 1568 A.D. Odisha was ruled by Hindu kings. Odisha was under Muslim rulers from 1568 A.D., to 1751 A.D. Odisha's stupendous and magnificent art and architecture bear ample testimony to the great material prosperity that Medieval Hindu Odisha enjoyed. The maritime activity and the overseas trade guaranteed sound economy to the people. In spite of occasional misgovernance, oppression and disorder, the maritime trade was in flourishing condition during Muslim rule¹⁵. Odisha had been famous for its industrial products and finished goods which attracted the attention of English, French, Dutch, Danes, and Portuguese traders. These European traders had established their trade centres and factories in the coastal districts of Odisha. In the 17th century, Pipili, Cuttack and Balasore were the main gateways of Odisha's maritime trade¹⁶.

The European merchants, who settled down at the ports of Odisha, were generally interested in the foreign trade. But for doing so, they had to ally themselves with the powerful local merchants

of Odisha such as Khemchand, Chintaman and a few others who possessed great financial strength, and worked as leaders of the mercantile group at Balasore¹⁷. But it is worthy of note that these influential merchants had to obtain the active cooperation of other merchants of lesser importance. It seems, right from petty dealers down to the big European companies were all tied together in the trade structure of Odisha¹⁸. The emergence of European traders and their subsequent settlements on the Odisha coast in the 16th and 17th centuries are important events the mercantile history of Odisha.

The first settlement of European traders took place in the year 1514 A.D. when the Portuguese merchants were permitted by Prataprudra Deva to trade in Odisha¹⁹. Their first settlement grew up at Pipili. Prataprudra Deva remained in power from 1497 A.D. to 1533-34 A.D. The terms and conditions of the Portuguese are not known. But the fact remains that it was through them, the Odia traders discovered their link with the markets of Europe. However, the availability of textiles and other commodities attracted other European companies in the next century. The Dutch began to trade at Pipili in 1625 A.D. But owing to excessive Portuguese influence, they could not thrive in that place. Subsequently they shifted their settlement to Balasore in 1633 A.D. Balasore became the most important port of Odisha in the 17th century. Although the English were in a dominant position at Balasore, yet all the European companies including the French and the Danes had their establishments there. A number of other ports such as Pipili, Haripur and Ganjam are worthy of being mentioned.

Despite disturbed political condition and frequent changes of ruling families, trade and commerce in Odisha seem to have flourished without much interruption. In the evolutionary process the maritime trade activities developed rapidly. The English settlements at Haripur and Balasore in 1633 A.D. and 1642 A.D. respectively, marked a turning point in Odisha's foreign trade. In fact these two harbours formed the basis of the future greatness

of the East India Company in Bengal. The commercial ventures of the Danes, the Dutch, and the French also helped the ports of Odisha play an important role in its coastal trade.

It is true that by the middle of the 16th century A.D. maritime trade of Odisha had dwindled due to natural causes²⁰. The freaks of nature, treacherous currents, the silting of the sands at the river mouths and loss of spirit of adventure of the people were some among them. From the year 1568 A.D. Odisha suffered from the political rule of the Afghan, Mughals, Marathas and the British through successive ages. The political subjugation became a formidable barrier to the revival of the sea trade of the merchants of Odisha. In the 17th century Odisha's sea-borne trade passed into the hands of the European merchants as they enjoyed the patronage of the Muslim rulers.

With the coming of the European merchants and the establishment of European factories during the period under review, Odisha's trade and commerce with many countries of Asia and Europe took a different dimension. The European players viz., the English, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the Danes, and the French controlled the whole of Odisha's external trade by establishing contact with the Odishan merchants and producers of different articles of investment²¹. Amongst all the Europeans the English had a better share in the external trade of Odisha.

British Occupation of South Odisha

South Odisha in the British period meant south of modern Odisha consisting of the erstwhile undivided districts of Ganjam and Koraput. As early as in 1511 A.D. this region was invaded and occupied by Ibrahim Kutabshah, Sultan of the kingdom of Golkonda in the south, and since then it remained under Golkonda till 1687 A.D.²². It remained under the Mughal emperor of Delhi and the Nizam of Hyderabad from 1687 A.D. to 1753 A.D. The French kept it under control from 1753 A.D. to 1759 A.D.

It is to be noted that in 1765 A.D. the Northern circars were granted to the English by the Mughal emperor's Firman, dated

the 12th August 1765, but it was not until 12th November 1766, that Nizam Aly, and the Subedar of the Deccan agreed to ratify this Firman, by actually ceding the country to the English²³. The East India Company got its first foothold in South Odisha on 12th November 1766. South Odisha remained under the British from 1766 A.D. to 1936 A.D. in Madras Presidency. Ganjam was the northern most districts in the British Madras Presidency. In ancient times it was known in many names such as “Kongoda”, “Khinjali Mandala” and as ‘Kalinga’ as well. It was bounded on the north by Cuttack and Puri districts of the Bengal Presidency, on the east by the Bay of Bengal, and on the south and west by the Vizagapatnam district. The British always preferred to establish, their factories either near the river mouth or a bay fit for swift move during any trouble.

They always wanted to connect up all the main British ports of India by establishing a number of small factories between the ports of Calcutta and Madras. They established their factories at Balasore, Hukitola, Dhamara, Paradeep, Ganjam, Sonnapur, Baruva, Vizagapatnam, Masulipatnam, Calingapatnam and many other places²⁴. However, Ganjam was the only British factory in Odisha and Madras which the British had made a direct headquarter²⁵. Ganjam was placed in the Srikakulam district, and Koraput was placed in the Vizagapatnam district for administrative point of view under the British for some time. The word ‘Ganjam’ is a Persian one which means a common place or “Granary of the world” in English²⁶. The two places - Ganjam and Koraput - served as major viable centres of Trade and Commerce in South Odisha, also the major gateway between the hills and plains in the matter of trade and business.

PORTS OF SOUTH ODISHA

On the Coromandal coast of India, a good number of ports had come up and continued to exist in the nineteenth century. They were Gopalpur, Ganjam, Sonnapur, Baruva, Pundi, Bavanapadu, Calingapatnam and Chilika.

GOPALPUR PORT

Gopalpur (or Mansurkota) worked as the chief port of Ganjam district under the British. It was a flourishing port-town on the south of the famous harbour and port-city of Dantapur or Palur, the capital of Kalinga-Kongoda, in ancient times²⁷. When Ibrahim Qutab Shah, the Sultan of Golkonda, invaded and occupied south Odisha (the erstwhile undivided Ganjam and Koraput districts) right from the Chilika Lake in 1571 A.D., the town near the meeting place of the river Rishikulya with sea (i.e., Bay of Bengal) was known as “Ganj-e-Am” or “Ganjam”, meaning common market place in Turko-Persian, and he also renamed the port town of Gopalpur as “Mansurkota”²⁸. Mansurkota remained under Golkonda from 1571 A.D. till 1687 A.D. in which year the Golkonda kingdom was invaded and occupied by the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir. The Golkonda kingdom was changed into Subah or province and a Subedar or a Governor was appointed to look after the administration of the province. The Subedar was also designated as Nizam in 1687 A.D. and Mansurkota remained under his governorship till 1753 A.D. in which year all the northern districts of the provinces, called Uttar Sarkars including the Srikakulam Sarkar, were granted as Inam to French General De Bussy²⁹. Mansurkota remained under the French authority from 1753 A.D. till 1759 A.D. In 1766 A.D. it came under the British authority. The French had built the second fort in Ganjam with which Mansurkota had maintained close rapport and contact. Similarly, it remained under the Ganjam Fort under the British from 1766 A.D. onwards as a functional port establishing trade and commerce with Burma and other South - East Asian countries till the end of the British rule in 1947 A.D.³⁰. Mansurkota was renamed as Gopalpur under the British.

Gopalpur was the chief port of Ganjam district, which lay in 19°³¹ north latitude and 85°00' east longitude. It was situated at a distance of 9 miles by road from Berhampur. It was a pleasant place of residence for the Europeans. The supply of fish was abundant.

Several bungalows were set up by Europeans or residents and holidaying European merchants. When a terrible famine occurred during 1866 A.D., a large number of people became homeless and destitute. A cluster of Chhatragharas or Alms houses were set up around Gopalpur for providing relief and alms to the poor, which were, meticulously maintained and supported by the European community. A public bungalow was set up to supervise the charity by the European community,

The port of Gopalpur was nothing more than an open roadstead similar to other ports on the eastern coast of the Madras Presidency. It called for the steamers of the British India steam Navigation company Merchandise and other goods were landed on the beach close to the custom Houses owned by F.J.V. Minchin³¹. There was a port officer exercising power to collect sea customs and to maintain law and order. He exercised magisterial powers as well as the powers of the justice of peace for cases occurring on the ships as well as in and around the port area. A light House was maintained from where light was exhibited at night time from its Flag staff, which was visible at a distance of 13 miles. The limit of the port on the North-East or Mansurkota side was at a distance of 1160 yards from the Custom house and on the South – West side at a distance of 600 yards from it; to seaward the distance or the boundaries of the port extended to where a depth of 12 Fathoms reached³². No ballast might be discharged by ships within a depth of 12 fathoms. The depth of water in the anchorage varied from 8½ to 9½ fathoms at low water. The rise and fall of the tide was about 6 feet. During the months of April, May and October, more especially the surf was frequently so high that communication between the shipping and shore was interrupted for days together, but it was generally possible in the early part of the day.

Gopalpur was a place of large and growing importance. There was no accommodation for the passengers, traders, and shippers who were often obliged to spend a day or two at the port. Hence it was considered that a public bungalow was more required at

Gopalpur than at any other places of the Madras Presidency. However, the estimate for construction of a Traveler's Bungalow at the port of Gopalpur amounting to Rs.2,100 was sanctioned. An estimate amounting to Rs.4,050 for adding an upper storey to the existing customs building, was sanctioned in November 1883³³. In the course of time the sea beach and the town of Gopalpur was dotted with a large number of bungalows of both Europeans and Indians. Almost all the twenty one ZamindariRajas of Ganjam raised their bungalows there³⁴. Even some of the leading Maharajas of India including the Maharaja of Nepal had their bungalows in the town. The maritime trade of south Odisha was practically handled by the Gopalpur port. However, the decline was invariably noticed both in the value of imports and exports at the Gopalpur port after A.D. 1900.

GANJAM PORT

The Ganjam port was another important port of Ganjam district. It was about 39 miles north-east ward of Gopalpur. It used to lie on the Rushikulya river, but in the consequence of the river gradually shifting, the limits of the port have been changed from time to time³⁵. The river formerly emptied itself into the sea close to the port, but its present mouth is nearly three quarters of a mile farther north. The limits of the port of Ganjam, within which passengers and cargo may be embarked, were fixed from the godowns formerly belonging to M/s Shand and Co., on the south to Kappagantula Ramaiah's godowns on the north³⁶. Ships usually anchored in the roads abreast of the fort in eight or nine fathoms, about two -miles from shore. The conservator of the port at Ganjam was also Superintendent of Sea Customs. T.J. Maltby wrote about the Ganjam port that "Once this was the chief port of the district, now it is a rare thing for a ship to come there, and it is also difficult to understand why it has been so thrown into the shade by Gopalpur, unless it be that the latter has had the advantage of British enterprise to bring it forward"³⁷. Over Gopalpur, Ganjam had the advantages that boats could be loaded in quiet water at the

custom house, and that they can be of greater capacity than boats that have to be dragged up out of the surf loaded³⁸. It is said that the anchorage was not so good, and that there was generally more sea, but with larger boats, one would suppose that the sea would not matter, and for anchorage Gopalpur itself was not very good.

SONNAPUR PORT (SONNAPURAM)

The Port Sonnapur lies in latitude 19o6' north and longitude, 84o47' east. The Port was marked by a white obelisk and a white column each 50 feet high. At 120 feet north by east from the column was the flag staff, and between them was the custom house. The Bahuda river falls into the sea at Sonnapur and formed with the sea, sandy bars which offered great obstruction to shipping. The trade that formerly went to Sonnapur was gradually finding its Baruva³⁹. Excellent edible oysters were found here which were much appreciated by the European residents of the district. During the hot weather Sonnapur was a pleasant place to camp at as the sea breeze renders the heat tolerable. It was two miles from the Surla salt factory and fourteen from Berhampur with which it was connected by a branch road leading into the high road between Ichhapur and Berhampur.

BARUVA PORT (ANGLICE BARWAH)

The Baruva port lies in latitude 18o51' north and longitude 84o35' east and was 33 miles distant from Berhampur by road. The port was marked by two columns, black and white, 50 feet high, built on a site 15 feet above the sea, bearing north-west from the usual anchorage. The black one must be altered for it was invisible at sea at any distance. South West of Baruva there are large topes of coconut trees. Baruva formed part of the proprietary estate of that name. A good deal of coconut oil was made in the neighbourhood and the trade of the port was increasing⁴⁰. Previously Baruva was in the district of Ganjam during the British period. But after 1936 it remained in Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh

BAVANPADU PORT

Bavanpadu was a small port in British Ganjam. It lies in

latitude 18o34' north and longitude 84o20' east. It is 23 miles away from, north east of Calingapatam. The port was marked by a column, coloured black and white, 50' feet high at 6' feet above the sea⁴¹. The usual anchorage was with this beacon bearing northwest. This place is also no more now in Ganjam district. It is now in Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh.

PUNDI PORT (ANGLICEPOONDY)

Pundi was the minor port in latitude 18o40' north and longitude 84o26' east and was under the sea custom's Superintendent of Calingapatam, in the Chicacole Division⁴². It stood at the mouth of the Mahendratanya river having several rocks projecting a considerable distance seaward from north-east ¾ east. The port was marked by a white obelisk, 50 feet high on a hillock, 19 feet above the sea. As a few yards east of it was the flag staff 75 feet high, and north of it at the same distance was the Traveller's bungalow⁴³. As the obelisk, flag staff and bungalow thus stand together on the hill, this port could not well be mistaken by ships at sea, the anchorage was with the obelisk bearing north-west by west.

CALINGAPATAM PORT

The Calingapatam port stood on the south bank of the Vamsadhara river. The sandy point forming the south bank of the river was in latitude 18o19' north and longitude 84o7'30" east. A light house, 64 feet high stood on the point, and the town was between the south bank of the river. A reef or rocks extended from the shore-half a mile seaward. In passing vessels ought not to approach nearer than 8 fathoms. The best anchorage was in 6½ to 7 fathoms. Calingapatam was the only port which had any shelter, and which was not a perfectly open roadstead and unprotected between Coringa 150 miles south and Dharma in the north. Communication between the shore and shipping was but rarely interrupted and the landing was much uncertain than at Gopalpur. During the monsoons a large number of native vessels lie up in the river Vamsadhara⁴⁴. The greatest depth of water over the bar was 14 feet 6 inches and for 220 yards there was depth of 12 feet.

In 1882 A.D. a fortnightly port of call for the coasting steamers of the British India steam Navigation Company. Calingapatam was connected by means of a good metalled road with Chicacole⁴⁵, from which its distance is 16 miles. It was the residence of a few European merchants. When Ganjam was under the Madras presidency, the Calingapatam port was in the district of Ganjam. But presently it is in Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh.

THE CHILIKA LAKE

The Chilika Lake, the largest brackish water lake in India is situated in the eastern coast of Odisha. It has stretched over the districts of Puri and Ganjam. It is a lagoon and its mouth is opening into the Bay of Bengal. It is pear shaped having its wider end towards the north-east and the conical end towards the south and “is the largest open lagoon in Asia and the second biggest in the world”⁴⁶. It is situated between latitude 19°28’ and 19°54’N and longitudes 85°06’ and 85°35’E on the east coast of India. The area of the lake fluctuates in different seasons. During the summer the lake water occupies an area of about 906 sq. kms and swells into about 1165 sq. Kms towards the peak of monsoon season⁴⁷. The average depth of the lake was from 5 to 6 feet and scarcely anywhere exceeded 12 feet. In the past it was a great centre of maritime activities for the people of Odisha. From different parts of this lake sailors, navigators, traders, sailed their ships to far off countries. The Chilka lake has been referred to as a ‘Bay of the Sea’ by Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese pilgrimage in the 7th century A.D.⁴⁸. Chilika was also one of the important ports of Kalinga. Ships sailed from here to Burma, Ceylon, China, Java, Sumatra and other places⁴⁹.

During the British period the Chilika lake was also an important waterway between the Madras Presidency and city of Puri belonging to the Bengal Presidency⁵⁰. A tidal canal connected the lake with the Rushikulya river in Ganjam and was navigable throughout the year. Large quantities of grains were imported from Odisha across the lake and along this canal and in return, salt

was exported⁵¹. Kalpura Ghat, a village on the Chilika lake, was an important centre of trade. Boats from the Madras Presidency unloaded their cargoes here and returned home with rice and other exports from Odisha⁵². Rambha a small village near the South end of Chilika lake was also another principal place of landing for the goods. Here food items arrived at an average of 67,078 maunds of rice and 8,54,136 maunds of paddy per annum. Hiuen Tsang describes that Kangoda, which was on the sea side contained many rare precious commodities and produced large dark coloured elephants which were capable of long journey⁵³. These elephants might have been used as the means of transport of commodities to various ports of the Chilika coast which served as a natural harbour⁵⁴. The Chilika lake was not only a centre of maritime enterprise but also a boat and ship building centre of ancient Odisha⁵⁵. The trade of Chilika was carried on in boats quite peculiar to the lake and in some respects well suited to it. They were made of planks without ribs or keels, and perfectly flat bottomed with perpendicular sides. This form was necessary in the unimproved state of the landing places as the lake was very shallow at the edges, except where rocky knoll formed the bank; and in such positions goods could not be landed safely from breaking wavers. The bed of the lake was all of the softest mud, and the slope from the shore was so light, but for the rise and fall of the tide, loaded boats could not approach the most favourable landing places within several hundred yards, and when the rise of the tide was light, the boats could only be unloaded by the carts being driven into the lake to meet them. Since time immemorial, Chilika lake had been one of the greatest fish supplying centres in India⁵⁶. All sorts of fish were caught in plenty in this lake.

Fish curing was taken up at Chilika. In the 19th century, boiled and dried fish of Chilika was sent to Burma market⁵⁷. But trade through the Chilika lake considerably declined with the opening of the Bengal – Nagpur railway⁵⁸. The glory of the port had already been lost now. The Chilka Lake is the food-bowl of

the fishermen who live around it and fishing has become their profession since long. The Chilika lake, which was an important trading centre of the days, has already lost its glory.

The ports of Ganjam played a leading role in the sea-borne trade of India. References are many in the travel accounts of the Europeans and the factory records to the mercantile marine of South Odisha. Ceasar Frederike⁵⁹ in his travel account mentions that every year in the ports of Odisha about 25 or 30 ships big as well as small were laden with rice, gingelly, salt, oil, ginger, lac, long pepper etc. The ports viz., Gopalpur, Ganjam, Baruva, Bavanapadu, Pundi, Calingapatam, Sonnapur, and Chilika were the main centres of maritime trade of south Odisha. Of all the ports, the Gopalpur port or Mansurkota was the principal trading centre. The Chilika zone in particular was the hub of sea faring activity. Trade relations with numerous countries made Odisha commercially and materially rich and prosperous.

The ports of Ganjam which provided an ample scope for carrying trade with the over-seas countries gradually declined towards the end of the year A.D. 1900. The decline was invariably noticed both in the value of imports and exports, particularly at the Gopalpur port after 1900 A.D. It was due to the competition of railway companies which offered special low rates for transport of goods by rail. The railways monopolized the export and import trade of Odisha after 1900 A.D. After 1930 A.D. imports and exports were practically confined to the coasting trade between Calcutta and Chandbali, and between Madras and Gopalpur. In this way the ports of South Odisha lost their past glory at the dawn of twentieth century.

EXPORT AND IMPORT TRADE

Ganjam District of Odisha provided a congenial climate for growth and development of both internal and external trade. There was much scope for trade of all kinds of indigenous products. But the old age chronic poverty of the people stood on the way of the improvement of native trade. No native trader was found

having considerable influence over the trade of South Odisha. All rich traders came in from outside and exercised their monopoly hold on the trade of Ganjam⁶⁰. Ganjam during the British period presented a picture of herself as an India in miniature by being the nerve centre of trade and commerce of not only of Odisha but of the country as a whole. Being a great reservoir of vast unexplored natural wealth, it was bound to play an inevitable vital role in the varied economic activities of south Eastern and Western India in a major way. And as such the region of Ganjam has carved out a special place of pride and importance in the annals of Odishan and Indian history and culture and commerce during the British period.

The maritime trade of British Ganjam or undivided Ganjam was practically handled by the Gopalpur port. British and French ships visited five important ports of Odisha in the 19th century. They were visiting false point, Puri, Balasore, Chandbali and Gopalpur at regular intervals. The vessels of British India steam Navigation and Co. Ltd., and Scindia Steam Navigation and Co. Ltd., and the Asiatic Navigation and Co. Ltd., were engaged in carrying on export and import trade with these ports⁶¹. The vessels of the first two companies had regular services between Gopalpur and Rangoon for cargo and passengers⁶².

Gopalpur port was a place of large and growing importance. A considerable quantity of food grains and salt exported from this port came from the Garhjats. Several traders visited princely states and purchased the crops upon the fields. They too sent their agents to remote villages to collect the grains by paying advances to the cultivators. Rice was shipped overseas to Ceylone and Mauritius and sugar was obtained from the latter island by merchants who kept up a connection with Mohammadan traders controlling the sugar industry there⁶³. But with these exceptions trade both import and export was carried on chiefly with Calcutta and Madras. The principal imports were cotton twist, piece goods, gunny bags, and kerosene oil. The principal articles of export from Gopalpur and other ports of South Odisha were paddy, salt, fish, hide and skin,

horns, oil seeds, salwood, and sleepers⁶⁴. The East India Company levied sea anchorage duty at different sea ports of the region. In 1788, the board of revenue considered this duty with a view to induce greater use of small craft and freight for external trade. The goods of which sea custom realized were paddy, rice, salt, coarse grain and others. These were realized at the ports of Ganjam, Gopalpur, Sonnapur and Calingapatam. The amounts collected from different ports of Ganjam in different years were as follows⁶⁵:

	Years	Rupees	Annas	Paise
1.	1784-85	17399	4	2
2.	1785-86	11626	1	2
3.	1786-87	10261	5	0
4.	1787-88	10474	1	4
	TOTAL	49760	11	8

But when the traders used cargo to export their goods, they were charged half of the above rates. No other customs levied on them. From them the anchorage levied in the roads at different ports of the district were as under⁶⁶.

1.	For 3 mast vessels	Rs.30
2.	For 2 mast vessels	Rs.25
3.	For 1 mast vessels	Rs.17.8.0
4.	For 1 boat	Rs.5

This type of duty the traders had to pay when they used a cargo. The rates of custom on merchandise during the years 1784-1788 were as follows⁶⁷.

		Rupees	Annas	Paise
1.	Paddy per garce	2	2	2
2.	Coarse rice per garce	4	3	3
3.	Fine rice per garce	1	9	3
4.	Candoolo per garce	3	14	3
5.	Oil seeds per garce	4	15	3
6.	Nat cheny per garce	2	11	3

Cloth, silk cloth, wax and other goods by weight were charged at 3.3/4th on valuation.

No russooms or fees exclusive of the company's duties were charged at any of the seaport of Ganjam district⁶⁸. The company government usually suspended collection of import duty on grain during the harvesting season. In 1791 A.D. the government abolished port duty on the coast, both for export and import goods, with a view to encourage trade and increase the company's possession. Besides it, the company government had levied 'land custom' known as 'metapesha' on all goods exported from and imported into the district⁶⁹.

The company government collected a duty on the export of food grains from different ports of southern Odisha. Between 1815-20 A.D., they collected Rs.66,425 at Ganjam port, Rs.1,74,296 at Baruva port, Rs.5,73,186 at Calingapatam port, Rs.1,74,296 at Mansurkota or Gopalpur port⁷⁰. The sea coast in Ganjam port was favourable for navigation and the bulk of trade through the ports of this area was encouraging. The most important items of export from Ganjam port were paddy, raw rice, or Arrua rice and boiled rice. The following statement⁷¹ would offer a picture of the export trade that Ganjam port had during 1827 A.D. to 1832 A.D. All values were mentioned in rupees.

Year A.D.	Value of paddy exported	Value of raw rice exported	Value of boiled rice exported
1827	100656	96893	38244
1828	167133	358529	—
1829	150294	1919949	370416
1830	106800	254723	237916
1831-32	66176	117962	112404

In addition to this amount, the company government received Rs.24,669.11.5 in the year 1834-35 A.D. and Rs.15906.7.3 in the year 1835-36 A.D. respectively as the sea customs. In 1854 A.D. the British government of India attached much importance to the native fibre. At this time a deficiency being felt in the supply of flax and hemp in the English market, demand for fibrous substances

of substitution became great. Among the great variety of Indian fibres, specimen of some were examined and found an honourable mention in the London exhibition of 1851 A.D. Before this year many of the fibrous substances were wasted in large quantities from ignorance of their use. The company government wanted to improve free trade and transport of such necessary substance. But unfortunately the people of Ganjam failed to realize the importance of this native fibre. It was sure that they could have easily developed their economy to a great extent. Sea fish was available in plenty in Ganjam district. In November and December the fishermen caught plenty of sea fish in Ganjam. In the 19th century boiled and dried fish or Sukhua of Chilka and Ganjam were sent to Burma and Rangoon market⁷².

NAME OF THE PORTS

Year	Barua			Calingapatam			Ganjam		
A.D.	Rs.	Anna	Paise	Rs.	Anna	Paise	Rs.	Anna	Paise
1850-51	55	3	0	588	12	2	457	1	8
1851-52	15	10	6	619	7	10	278	9	0
1852-53	25	4	6	170	13	9	207	1	6
1853-54	30	9	6	832	13	8	384	11	6
1854-55	29	4	0	434	4	1	455	13	6

	Gopalpur			Poondy			Sonnapur		
A.D.	Rs.	Anna	Paise	Rs.	Anna	Paise	Rs.	Anna	Paise
1850-51	533	1	8	279	11	11	140	15	0
1851-52	369	10	6	277	10	5	97	4	6
1852-53	453	14	3	302	5	3	120	14	3
1853-54	345	12	6	231	5	5	222	12	0
1854-55	349	3	0	384	1	7	86	4	6

The Great Movement of 1857 had caused an adverse effect on the trade and commerce of the country. For this the company government had sustained heavy loss in revenue. It compelled the government to seek increased resources to meet the exigencies. In the pre-famine period, the export of the district exceeded to the

volume of imports. But in 1866, during the severe famine period, the quantity and value of imported grain was more than of export. From this table⁷⁴ the decrease of export during the said period is clearly evident.

	Import		Export	
	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value
	In maunds	in rupees anna and paise	in maunds	in rupees anna and paise
1862 A.D.	10,262	20,424-0-0	6,30,695	12,61,390-0-0
1863 A.D.	24,327	48,634-0-0	11,97,924	23,95,848-0-0
1864 A.D.	21,481	61,833-0-0	5,51,340	15,21,920-0-0
1865 A.D.	1,20,716	7,96,233-0-0	1,01,071	4,93,013-0-0
1866 A.D.	32,977	1,36,966-0-0	1,767	56,500-0-0

Even in the year of famine, the British Government did not give up collection of duty on imported and exported grains⁷⁵.

In 1878-79 trade of the district had attained normalcy and some articles such as raw cotton, coir and wine were need from import duties⁷⁶. The following table⁷⁷ has shown the import and export of merchandise and treasure from the ports of Ganjam district for the year 1878-79 A.D. and 1882-83 A.D.

	1878-79 A.D.		1882-83 A.D.	
	Import	Export	Import	Export
1. Trade with foreign countries				
a.Merchandise in rupees	28801	1099802	8936	1743194
b.Treasure in rupees	10030	-	-	-
2. Trade with foreign ports of India				
a.Merchandise valued in rupees	1193	7048	1352	603
b.Treasure in rupees	-	-	-	-
3. Trade with the British ports in other presidency				
a.Merchandise valued in rupees	737014	406981	954891	1295052
b.Treasure in rupees	20030	5000	-	-
4. Trade between the presidency				
a.Merchandise valued in rupees	241405	1021261	530759	1392814
b.Treasure in rupees	51700	-	-	-
5. Total				

a.Merchandise valued in rupees	1008423	2535092	1494398	4431663
b.Treasure in rupees	32030	5000	-	-
c.Percentage	89%			

The total number of vessels⁷⁸ which entered and cleared at all the chief ports of the districts in 1882-83 A.D. were as under.

	External Trade	Internal Trade
Ganjam		
Vessels entered	140	138
Tons	183416	181631
Vessels	20	170
Tons	17177	213888

From the port of Gopalpur rice was exported to Ceylone in exceptional case⁷⁹. The import and export of Ganjam for the year 1888-91 were as follows⁸⁰.

	1888-89	1889-90	1890-91
Export in Tonns	475	—	16215
Import in tons	—	3100	—

The average export and import of Ganjam for the period 1898-1903 was valued at Rs.100940. These included goods such as grains rice, sugar, gingelly, hide, skins and coir manufactures.

Thus overseas trade and maritime activities of south Odisha is one of the fascinating subjects of Odishan history. It was great in power and resources on account of its maritime trade as it possessed a vast coast line along with a better climatic advantage to her credit. An enormous amount of natural resources, the abundant forest wealth, the agricultural products from the fertile soil, and the horn and ivory works were the backbone of the overseas trade. A number of suitable ports viz., Gopalpur Port, Ganjam Port, Sonnapur port were the principal shipping centres for the navigators. The overseas trade has given profuse economic affluence to Ganjam over the years. Its decline had direct bearing on economic potentiality leading to the abandonment of the flourishing sea ports and maritime activities. Climatic changes, sea level fluctuations, coastal erosion, coastal sedimentation etc. played significant role in the destruction of the ports of Ganjam.

Gradually the ports of south Odisha, especially the Gopalpur port had declined after A.D. 1900 which caused great damage to the overseas trade of South Odisha.

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Cultural Contact between Kalinga and Myanmar in the Ancient and Medieval Period

Dr. Aparna Mukherjee

ABSTRACT

This study investigates the historical theme of cultural contact between Kalinga and Myanmar during the ancient and medieval periods, focusing on the historical, socio-cultural, and religious exchanges that shaped their interconnections. The research is anchored in the backdrop of Kalinga's prominent maritime legacy and Myanmar's role as a pivotal cultural hub in Southeast Asia. The primary objectives of this study are to explore the historical and cultural linkages between Kalinga and Myanmar through maritime trade, religion, and shared artistic traditions, to examine the role of these exchanges in fostering mutual influence and integration in art, architecture, and religious practices, and to assess the socio-political implications of these interactions in shaping regional identities.

The study employs a multidisciplinary methodology, combining the analysis of archaeological findings, epigraphic records, ancient texts. Comparative studies of temple architecture, maritime artifacts, and Buddhist relics, historical narratives and chronicles from both regions complement this analysis. The findings highlight the crucial role of Kalinga as a maritime power, disseminating Indic cultural and religious elements to Myanmar

and spread of Theravāda Buddhism. Architectural and artistic influences, showcase shared aesthetics and ideologies. Trade networks served as conduits for the flow of knowledge, ideas, and religious practices, solidifying a cultural continuum across the Bay of Bengal.

Keywords: Cultural contact, Odisha, Myanmar, Kalinga, maritime trade, Suvarnabhumi, Buddhism, architecture, ancient and medieval period, Southeast Asia.

INTRODUCTION

From prehistoric times, Indian culture influenced Southeast Asia, sometimes in significant waves and at other times in smaller trickles, until the dominance of Western powers took hold in both the regions. The interconnectedness of India and Southeast Asia is so profound that studying one without reference to the other is incomplete.

At the time of its contact with external forces, the indigenous societies of Southeast Asia had already developed a substantial material and cultural foundation. Indian cultural contributions were layered onto this foundation, resulting in an interaction that integrated Indian elements into the local traditions. Over time, these influences were absorbed so deeply that their origins became indistinguishable. Shared cultural elements, such as the reverence for mountains, rivers, and serpents, highlight similarities between pre-Aryan India and Southeast Asia. Many aspects of life in these regions are so intertwined that distinguishing them can often be challenging. This discussion focuses on the cultural connections between Kalinga (State of Odisha) located on India's eastern coast, and Myanmar during ancient and medieval times.

MYANMAR

Myanmar is one of the neighbouring countries of India and it was referred to by Indians as Brahmadesh. Myanmar was formerly known as Burma. It was a part of the British Empire. Myanmar, having a unique geographical location shares borders with both India and China, being connected to both the countries by natural

land and sea routes. Hence there has been deep influx of culture of India¹ and China in Myanmar.

The country has an area of nearly 676500 square kilometres. The Arakan Yoma and Pegu Yoma are the main mountain ranges. The Irrawaddy is considered the most important river of Myanmar. On the banks of the river flourished the ancient civilizations of Myanmar. This country has long been famous for its Teak woods, bamboo and rubies, the finest in the world. Agriculture is the main occupation of the people of Myanmar. Rice is the main food crop.

The population of Myanmar consists of different ethnic groups, like Mons, Shans, Pyus, Burmans and Karens. Due to the supremacy of the Burmans this land was once named as Burma. Subsequently it has been changed to Myanmar.

KALINGA (MODERN ODISHA)

Odisha is one of the most important coastal states of India. In the ancient period this region is often known as Kalinga. It extends from latitude 17049'N to 22034'N and longitudinal extension is from 81027'E to 87029'E. It is bounded by the Bay of Bengal in the east, Jharkhand in the north, Chattisgarh in the west, West Bengal on the northwest and Andhra Pradesh in the south. It is situated in the north-south dividing point of India. Rice, peanuts, cashew, coconuts are its main agricultural products. The state is highly rich in minerals like coal, iron, aluminium etc. It has also rich deposits of diamonds and other precious and semi-precious stones. Odisha is also famous for its fine cotton and silk textiles, Ivory, wood and stone carvings, patta painting and palm leaf manuscripts. Odisha has a long coastline on the Bay of Bengal, which is studded with many famous ports providing her with experiences in sea voyages and sea trade with distant countries like East Africa and Southeast Asia. which led to the establishment of cultural, political and commercial contacts with Southeast Asia. There were references of the word Kling in Chinese chronicles. Scholars believe the

1. Encyclopedia Britanica, Vol. 4,P. 426.

word Kling is the Chinese form of Kalinga. Kalinga is the seat of ancient civilization of India. It was mentioned in the great Indian epics of Ramayana, Mahabharat and the Puranas, Jatakas and in many other Sanskrit literatures. It has a recorded history of nearly two thousand five hundred years. In the ancient times Odisha was comprised of four separate political units of Odra, Utkala, Kalinga and Kosala. These units were also named in the Sanskrit and Pali literatures². The geographical extent of Utkala, Kosala, Odra, and Kalinga had frequent changes with change of rulers who ruled Odisha in different periods.

Emperor Asoka conquered Kalinga in 361 B.C. and it became a province of the Mauryan Empire. The separate state of Odisha was created in 1936 C.E.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

In ancient books, e.g. the Jatakas and Kathasaritsagar, Myanmar was known as Subarnabhumi³ (Land of gold). From time immemorial Indian traders, missionaries, adventurers came to this land both by land and sea routes and many of them settled in various parts of this country. According to local hearsay, migrants from India established political supremacy in almost all over the region. One of the widely accepted legend mentions about Abhiraja, a prince of the Sakya Clan of Kapilavastu of Nepal (the same clan of Gautama Buddha) moved to upper Myanmar and founded the city of Sankissa (Tagaung) on the upper Irrawaddy valley.

CULTURAL CONTACT OF KALINGA AND MYANMAR

The eastern side of India had since ancient times strong cultural and trade relations with Myanmar aided by its geographical location. It was linked with Myanmar both by land and sea route. Ports of Odisha like Tamralipti, Palura, Chilika, were very prosperous. These were also very convenient harbours from where

2. P.P.Mishra & Aparna Mukherjee, *Rapprochement between east coast of India and Southeast Asia* (Germany, 2011) P. 6

3. V.Fausball, ed. *The Jatakas*, Vol. VI (London 1897), P.22.

sea voyages were undertaken to Far East and southeast across the Menam Valley of Myanmar. Thus, trade and commerce developed and nurtured the contact between these two regions, long before the days of the Buddha.

Large number of people from the eastern coastal states preferred sea routes to reach lower Myanmar than the difficult land routes. The fertile land attracted many explorers and a number of Kshatriyas from India established their kingdoms there⁴.

The Indian civilization had a great influence on Myanmar. They were the first in Southeast Asia to receive the various elements of Indian culture, like religion (Brahmanism and Buddhism), Sanskrit literature, art and architecture and social system.

Since ancient times the people of Kalinga established their settlements at Pegu, Srikshestra and Prome in Myanmar. Archaeological excavations at Manikpatna (Odisha) discovered a brown glazed ware, which is named Martwan ware after a place in Myanmar. Archaeological excavations in Vishnupura revealed Buddhist structures of second century B.C.E., which are similar to the stupas of the eastern coast of India.

In Myanmar the people of Kalingan origin were known as Kulas⁵. The Chinese referred to them as the Kula people from Burma. A large number of Kalinga people had migrated to Myanmar from India and eventually they came to be known as the Kulan people. But presently in Myanmar, foreigners in general and in particular natives of India, specifically are called Kulans.

Ancient Utkala Desa (modern Orissa) played a very important role in the Indianization of lower Myanmar. The region between Yangon to Pegu was known as Utkala Desa and it was a settlement of the immigrants from Coastal Odisha. There were colonies of Odiya people in the lower Myanmar region. Ussa (Odra or

4. Majumdar, n.3 P.164

5. G. E. Gerini : Research on Ptolemy 's geography of Eastern India (New Delhi 1974).P.103.

Orissa) was the ancient name of Pegu⁶ which was also referred as Kalingaratha, in the old chronicles. The northwestern part of the region was known as Ubbala, which is very close to Utkala. The Piyu Capital was named Srikhestra, identical to the one borne by Puri. Puri also known as Srikhestra is a famous temple town of Odisha situated on the shores of the Bay of Bengal. The presiding deity of the city is Lord Jagannath, another form of Lord Vishnu. As per the chronicle of Myanmmar Lord Vishnu was the founder of the Piyu Capital Srikhestra. The God had laid the foundation of the city himself.

The resemblance of the names of places may have led to the localization of the legend of Tapassu and Bhalluka at Myanmar, the first two disciples of Buddha. According to Pali literature of Myanmar two merchant brothers of Ukkala named Tapssu and Bhallika went on a sea voyage to India. They reached the port of Tamralipti and eventually arrived at Rajagriha where Buddha was staying at that time. Tapassu and Bhallika were the first lay disciples of Gautama Buddha. Buddha gave them eight handful of hair and the merchants carried it to their city named Asitanjana where they enshrined the hair in a magnificent chaitya. According to a legend of Myanmar they came from Ubbala, a city in the delta of Irrawaddy. They reached India through the port of Adjeitta (Tamralipti) and went to Soowama (Suhma) and visited Buddha at Rajagriha⁷. It is quite apparent that Tapassu and Bhalluka who may have been from Utkala of India as per Pali literature were the very ones, who were mentioned in the Myanmar legend as being from Ubbala in Myanmar.

Many teachers from India went to the Pyu capital of Srikshetra from the eastern coast of India. They imparted education in Pali and Sanskrit.

In 1897 C.E. two pieces of gold plates were discovered near Prom, which bears Pali inscription of fifth and sixth centuries. The

6. G. Coedes, *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia* (Honolulu, 1965), P. 63.

7. N.K.Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa* (Cuttack, 1958), P.9

language and style of the inscriptions were similar to that of the Matharas and Eastern Ganga Kings of Kalinga. Such resemblance was also evident in the Pali scripts written on gold plates found in Maungun. Some coins of the eighth century with symbols of Nandi and Trishul were found. These coins have close resemblance with the Ganga coins of Kalinga.

Huan-Tsang who visited Odisha in 638 C.E observed that Mahayana and Tantric Buddhism were practised here. Tantric form of Buddhism was popular in the eastern India especially Odisha and Bengal during seventh and eighth centuries. According to Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang, a Tibetan text, Odisha is the birth place of Tantric Buddhism. Various forms of Tantric Buddhism like, Vajrayana, Kalachakrayana along with Mahayana Buddhism were widely practised in the eastern coast of India. Mahayana Buddhism along with the tantric variants was also practised in Myanmar.

RELIGION

In 261 B.C.E The Great war of Kalinga was fought between the Empire of Magadha and Kalinga, which was then a flourishing kingdom⁸. Asoka, the Emperor of Magadha won the battle but the horror of the war changed his life. The humanitarian side of Buddhism touched his soul and he began the task of propagating Buddhism in distant countries. After the third Buddhist council, missionaries went out to propagate Buddhism to distant countries.

Along with other parts of India, Buddhism spread in the eastern region of India. From the eastern coasts, message of the Great Master reached even the islands of the Indonesian archipelago. Asoka's son Mahendra and daughter Sanghamitra boarded the ship from Tamralipti for the sea voyage to Sri Lanka. Eight families accompanied her to Sri Lanka where they established Buddhism. Sona and Uttara two famous Buddhist monks went to Myanmar for preaching Theravada Buddhism in

8. K.C. Panigrahi, History of Orissa, (cuttack,1981), P,15

250 B.C.E. It is mentioned in the Kalyani Copper plate of Pegu that after the third Buddhist council Maggaliputta Tissa sent Buddhist monks Sona and Uttara to Swarnabhumi to preach the religion.⁹

Mahayana Buddhism had made its advent in Myanmar and by sixth century worshipping of Buddha images had become very popular there. By the seventh and eighth centuries statues of Buddha were enshrined in Buddhist temples, Vihars and Chaityas. Buddha images bearing various names were discovered from many places. Mahayana Buddhism prevailing in the eastern coast of India especially Bengal and Odisha influenced the Tantric Buddhism of Myanmar.

According to the Mahayana doctrine the present period belongs to Amitava Buddha. His Boddhisatta is Abolokiteswra Loknath and human form was Gautama Buddha, the prince of the Sakya clan of Kapilavastu. In Odisha the most popular among all the Mahayana, Vajrajana images is Abalokiteswra–Loknath. Loknath has all the virtues of Brahma, Vishnu Siva and Surya, the Sun God. In the eastern coastal states especially in Bengal and Odisha Loknath is another name of Siva. It is possible that in Tantric Buddhism Siva (Lokanatha) was transformed as a Bodhisatta. The most important aspect of Loknath in Myanmar is that he cures people from leprosy. In Hindu pantheon Surya is the presiding deity of curing leprosy. The famous Sun temple at Konark was dedicated to the Sun God. Legend says that Samba the handsome son of Sri Krishna worshipped the Sun God in this place to recover from leprosy and he was cured eventually. It is most likely that this quality was bestowed on Loknath. There was a sizable population of Kalinga people in Myanmar who may have carried this concept of worshipping Surya to recover from leprosy in their settlements at Myanmar¹⁰.

9. C.Duroiselle and C.O.Blagden ed. *EpigraphicaBurminica*, Vol.III, (Rangoon)

10. P.P.Mishra & Aparna Mukherjee, n. 2 P. 96

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

The art and architecture of Myanmar were deeply influenced by the Eastern school of art namely of Kalinga, Bengal etc. There are enough architectural evidences, which underscore the cultural affinity between east cost of India and Myanmar. The extensive work in architecture, sculpture and painting bears the testimony of Indian workmanship.

The stupas built during the early period were massive piles, consisting of a super structure based on five diminishing terraces. This was essentially an Indian style of stupa¹¹. Like Kalinga temples the structure of the Myanmar temples were of rectangular structure with a mukhasalain the front. Buildings were made of bricks and surface was coated with plaster painted white. Arches and vaults were also developed after the Indian style during the medieval period.

When we talk about the art and architecture of Myanmar, special mention must be made of the kingdom of Shrikshetra founded by the Pyu kings (Vikram Dynasty) around 638 C.E.that centred around the present town of Prome. In Odisha Srikshetra is another name of Puri. The Capital city complex of Srikshetra established by the Pyu kings is a marvel of architectural plan and execution. The amazing monuments of Prome built by the Pyu kings were influenced by the art of the eastern coast of India. The stupas were cylindrical having pointed domes indicating architectural influence from Kalinga and North India. The sikharas of Pyu temples bear similarity with the temples of Bhubaneswar of Odisha. It was further refined as an architectural form. In the later period the sikharas consisted of a structure with an inner chamber supporting a rounded conic super structure. This design is similar to some temples of Odisha and Bengal. The construction of Pagoda was developed in Myanmar during the mediaeval period. They show the influence of early mediaeval Kalinga school of art¹². The images of Siva Parvati on pagodas have similarity with

11. P. Brown, Indian Architecture: Buddhist & Hindu Period (Bombay,1971),P. 173

12. N.R.Roy, Brahmanical Gods in Burma,(Calcutta, 1932). P. 57

the Hara Parvati image of the outer wall of the Vaital temple at Bhubaneswar. Influence of Brahmanism is clearly marked in the sculptures of the Lakshmi-Vishnu image of Hmawza and Siva-Parvati image at Thaton.

Nanpaya temple is a Hindu temple situated in Myinkaba village in South Pagan. Manuha, the captive Mon king of Thaton, built it. This temple bears strong influence of Kalinga. Fine carvings of Brahma and other Hindu Gods adored this temple. Mud, mortar, stone and brick were used to build the temple. The exterior was ornamented with lattice windows and the interior was decorated with figures of Brahma.

Nathbaung Kyaung was one of the oldest temples in Pagan. It is an ancient shrine. The temple is dedicated to Vishnu. The architecture of the temple has been influenced by the architecture of Kalinga. The temple is made of bricks on a square base. It consists of three parts: Base, Dome and Sikhara. The outer walls have statues of Hindu Gods placed in decorated niches. The dome consists of super-imposed roofs and is surmounted by a sikhara having recessed corners and ornamented panels. All these show the influence of the art of Bengal and Kalinga. This temple is known for the images of the incarnations of Vishnu. Originally there were ten sand stone images of the avatars of Vishnu placed in niches on the outer walls, out of which only seven remains now. The sculpture of these images bears the influence of Kalinga and Bengal¹³. The temple was built in 1000 C.E., during the reign of King Anawartha, but according to some historians it was built in the 900 C.E during the reign of King Nyaung-U-Sawrahan, also known as Taung-thugyi.

The plain around Pagan, once a seat of numerous shrines are now in ruins. All these were built before the end of the thirteenth century C.E. It is estimated that nearly 800 to 1000 temples were there. It is a noticeable fact that every temple bears the definite stamp of Indian genius and craftsmanship.

13. Mishra and Mukherjee n,2. P.88

The Anand temple is the finest, largest and the most admired of all the Pagan temples. Its architecture is different from that of the other Pagan temples. The cruciform shaped plan, the enormous central pile and circumbulatory corridors of the Ananda temple indicate that the architectural design of this temple may owe its ultimate origin to the temples of Kalinga. The curvilinear tower, which is the crowning glory of the Pagan temples, may also trace its origin to the Kalinga school of temple. It seems decorative motifs, like flower, garlands, kala-heads, small bronzes and stone-relics of the eleventh century were imported to Myanmar from Bengal and Kalinga. Decoration of walls of the temples of Myanmar with terracotta panels, follow the Kalinga school of art.

Similarities in the sculptural art between the two regions were so great, that it led the present author of this work to believe that craftsmen from the eastern region of India might have migrated to Myanmar between tenth and thirteenth centuries. It is a possibility that these skilled builders, masons and craftsmen who had knowledge of building Buddhist monasteries like Ratnagiri, Lalitagiri, Puspagiri of Odisha and Paharpur, Basuvihar, Salbanvihar of Bengal may have had a hand in making such constructions in Myanmar¹⁴. It established fact that close connection existed between Lower Myanmar and Kalinga in the ancient periods.

The Hindu culture had its first influence in the sixth century and continued till the fourteenth century. Brahmanical deities were worshipped at Ramannadesa (Thaton). Two relics of Vishnu lying on the serpent bed and group of Vishnu images in Nat-Hlaung Kyaung temple of Pagan, images of Surya-Narayana in the niches on the outer walls of the temple, were definitely a product of the Kalinga school of art. The influence of this school on the Brahma-relief of Nan Paya temple, on the bas-relief of Siva-Parvati and Ganesa image of Thaton are worth mentioning.

14. Mishra and Mukherjee, n2, P. 90

In the field of painting the style of palm-leaf paintings of Odisha influenced the Myanmar paintings. In ancient Bengal and Kalinga sculptures and Paintings were often represented in miniatures. In the wall paintings of Kubaukkyi, Abeyadana and Thanbula the features, dress, ornaments, attitudes and costumes of the body of personal figures bear a strong resemblance with the miniature paintings of Kalinga school of Art.

It may not be out of context here to mention that Garuda, the Mythical king of birds and vehicle of Vishnu was very popular in Myanmar art. He was portrayed as having a beak, two hands, two legs and two wings just as he is popularly depicted in the temples of Odisha.

All the above features bear the strong influence of the art and architecture of Kalinga on the art and architecture of Myanmar.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS

In Myanmar Buddhist families a ceremony called Shin Pyu was observed with great celebration. The word Shin Pyu means 'initiating into Buddhist order as a novice'. In this ceremony a son normally between five to fifteen years took the vow to become a monk. It is more of a socio-religious custom that has a distant familiarity with the Sacred-thread ceremony of the Indian Brahmanas. Like in India the people of Myanmar cremated their dead. After cremation ashes were buried in urns. This custom is still followed.

Odisha the eastern coastal state of India had considerable influence in various fields of culture of Myanmar before and after the establishment of trade and commerce between the two countries in the ancient and medieval periods.

CONCLUSION

The historical interactions between Kalinga and Myanmar during the ancient and medieval periods provide compelling evidence of a rich and dynamic cultural, economic, and spiritual exchange. These connections were primarily facilitated by maritime trade, religious dissemination, and the movement of peoples, which

significantly influenced the socio-cultural landscapes of both the regions.

Economic exchanges played a pivotal role in fostering these ties. Kalinga's prominence as a hub of maritime commerce, particularly through its ports like Tamralipti and Palur, enabled active trade with Myanmar. Goods were exchanged, contributing to the prosperity of both regions and establishing a network of mutual dependence.

Religious and cultural connections also strengthened the bond between Kalinga and Myanmar. The spread of Theravāda Buddhism, facilitated by merchants, monks, and missionaries, laid a spiritual foundation for these interactions. Buddhist stupas and inscriptions, art, architecture, and script in Myanmar bear testimony to Kalinga's role in shaping Myanmar's religious and cultural ethos.

The contacts extended beyond material and spiritual exchanges, encompassing political interactions. Marriages between royal families, the exchange of emissaries, and shared military endeavours highlight the political dimensions of this relationship. These collaborations underscore the mutual respect and strategic alliances that defined their interactions during certain periods.

In conclusion, the contact between Kalinga and Myanmar in the ancient and medieval periods was multifaceted, driven by trade, religion, and political ties. These interactions enriched both regions and contributed to the broader narrative of cultural connectivity between Kalinga and Myanmar.

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Osmotic Interactions between Odisha and Bali

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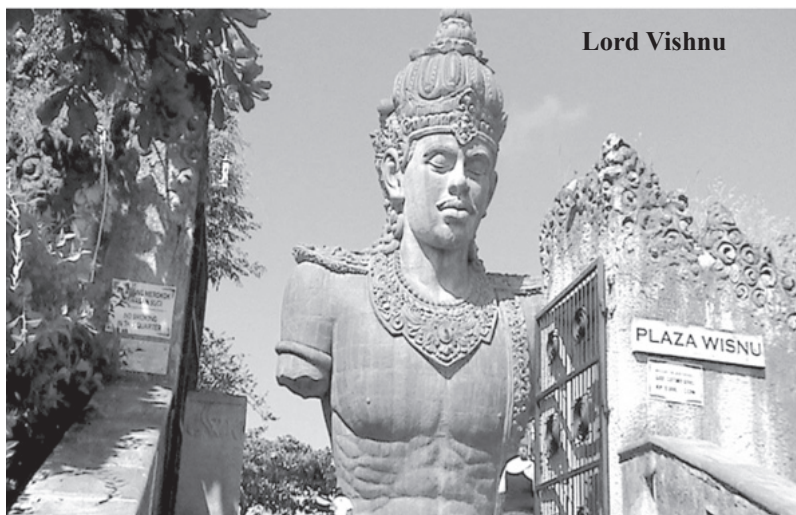
One of the fascinating aspects of the history of mankind is the osmotic interactions between civilizations. And this process has enriched each other's culture. From the very early times, India had contacts with Southeast Asia. While Odisha was a part of India, naturally she had relations with Southeast Asia including Bali from ancient times, which was basically commercial and cultural.

Bali was once a hub of commercial activities of Kalinga. It was known as Narikeladipa, the island of coconut¹. The discovery of iron, bronze, glass and carnelian beads proves that there were flourishing local industries in Bali. And it invited the Kalingan traders to go to Bali. The initial commercial contact between Kalinga and Bali gradually developed into social and cultural influence which paved the way for a composite Balinese culture.

There are various forms of worship which show some similarities between Bali and Odisha. Goddess Laxmi of Odisha is worshipped in Bali in different name like Sridevi. But though they are in different names, yet the form and object of worship is same. Both Sridevi and Laxmi are worshipped as 'Goddess of Rice.' On the occasion, both the people worship a bundle of paddy sheaves. The people of Odisha performed the worship of paddy in the month of Margasira (November-December)². Brahmanical religion is predominantly seen in Bali. In Bali, Siva is the presiding

deity. The common people say in Bali: “Ya Siva, Ya Buddha.”³ It means who is Siva, he is also Buddha. In ceremonial occasions four Saivite priests and one Buddhist priest perform the rituals. The practice of Buddhist priest is called yoga and the practice of Saivite priest is called bhakti. In Odisha Saivism, Buddhism and Vaisnavism merge into forming a synthesis in Jagannath cult. In Bali, Siva is also worshipped as Jagannath⁴ and the priests chant the mantra thus: “*Om Ksamasvaman Sivadeva, Jagannath Hitamkara*”.⁵

In Bali, the Siva-Buddha tradition regards Siva as the elder brother of Buddha. According to Veda Buddha the daily worship of a Buddhist begins with address to God as Jagannath, Suresvara and Rudra with the sloka as “Ksamasva Mam Jagannath Sarvapapavinasanam Sarvakaryapranadevam Pranamami Suresvaram”.⁶ In Odisha, Lord Jagannath has been regarded as Adi Buddha. Thus the synthesis of Buddha, Siva and Jagannath shows the probability of Odishan religious influence on Bali.⁷ Like the car festival of Puri of Odisha, the people of Bali carry three masked wooden Gods in a procession which resemble the three deities such as Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra of Odisha.⁸



Garuda in Bali



The people of Bali celebrate religious festivals like Sivaratri, Saraswati Puja or Odalan Saraswati and Durga Puja (Pager Wesi). All these are also celebrated in Odisha. In the temples of Bali, the Brahmin priest is called Padanda whereas in Odisha the priest is known as Panda. Both the people of Odisha and Bali treat banyan tree as holy.⁹

Further the accessory articles of the worship rituals of Odisha such as ghruta (clarified butter or ghee), kusa (grass), tila (sesame) and madhu (honey) are also used in Bali. In order to please Goddess Kali, Goddess Durga, Bhuta (spirit), Rakshasas (demons) like the people of Odisha, the Balinese people sacrifice animals.¹⁰ Another important deity of Balinese people is Garuda.



Lord Vishnu

The Mahendra range of mountains along with river



Goddess Saraswati in Bali

Mahendra Tanaya and river Mahanadi of Odisha are held in high esteem and are mentioned in the stutis of Bali. Mahanadi as sacred river is mentioned in the Balinese stuti thus:

“Om Ganga, Sindhu, Sarasvati, Vipasa
Kausiki-nadi Yamuna, Mahanadi
Srestha Saryu mahati”¹¹

Mentioning Mahendra Mountain and river Mahendra Tanaya indicates that some emigrants might have come from the Mahendra Parvata area of Ganjam District of Odisha to Bali.¹²

In the field of language and literature there are similarities and influences among Odisha and Bali. In the Balinese context, Veda means worship. There are verses in Bali having semi-religious purpose that is similar to India as well as Odisha. It is thus:

“Om Ahalya Draupadi Sita
Dara (for Tara) Mandodari tatha
panchakanya smarennityam.”¹³

Mother is addressed as By in Bali and as Bou in Odisha. Buah is the betel-nut in Bali whereas the people of Odisha call it Guah. Similarly Kacan (China) is the Balinese word for groundnut. The people of Odisha call it China Badam (nut). The uncooked rice made out of par-boiled paddy is called as Arua, both in Bali and Odisha. Similarly, the thick fluid separated from cooked rice is called Peja or Pejo both in Bali and Odisha.¹⁴ Barakuli, a kind of fruit in Odisha is called as Bokul in Bali. The Chhuin (of Sajana tree), a kind of vegetable of Odisha is called Tui in Bali. The snail is called as Genda in Odisha and Gondan in Bali. The face is called as Muha, both in Bali and Odisha. When the Balinese people call the bread as Roti, the people of Odisha call it Ruti. The pigeon is called as Dara in Bali where as people of Odisha call it Para. Similarly, Sanja is used both in Bali and Odisha to denote the evening.¹⁵ In the tales of Odisha the words like Tuan Tuin are also found in the literature of Bali. Tuan means old man and Tuin means old woman.¹⁶ Palm leaf manuscripts are known in Bali and Odisha.¹⁷

The people of both Bali and Odisha have some common likes and dislikes on food habits. Both the people show fondness for eating leaves, greens (called saga in Odisha) especially of the drum-stick tree (*Maninga oleifera*) known in Odisha as Sajana Saga. Some of other common favourite food items are curry made out of flowers and stem of banana plant and cake made of rice-flour known as manda or endori pitha in Odisha.¹⁸ The habit of chewing betel and keeping the ingredients in a wooden box are found in both Bali and Odisha. Like as seen in homes of Odisha, the guests are offered betel leaf and nut in the home of a Balinese.



Balinese food

Another spectacular similarity between Odisha and Bali is the designing patterns of clothes.¹⁹ Bali is famous for a particular type of tie and dye known as Patola Ikat.²⁰ It resembles the famous Samabalpuri style of weaving of Odisha. There are similarities in bridal dress and crown in both Bali and Odisha. Rounding of hair by women in typical bun is alike in both the regions. In the sculptures of Bali and Odisha, there are some similarities in women's dress and ornaments.



Patola Ikat of Bali

In the field of dance and drama of Bali, Indian mythology predominates. The Bumbung dance bears the impact of eastern India including Odisha.²¹ The Kecak (monkey) dance and Barong (tiger) dance of Bali resemble the tribal dance and Paika dance (a form of martial dance) of Odisha.²² The Gotipua dance of Odisha has also its resemblance with Balinese dance.²³



Bumbung dance of Bali



Kecak (monkey) dance



Barong (tiger) dance of Bali

The behavioral features in both Bali and Odisha have some similarities. One example can be cited. While passing along elders sitting or standing on the way, the youngsters bend down separating themselves by stretching down their right hands.²⁴ Raising of folded hands is a common form of greeting in practice in both the regions.



Balinese dancer



Balinese women playing musical instruments

In the field of art and architecture there is also a remarkable resemblance.²⁵ Some of the features of the Balinese temples resemble the style of Vaital and Mukteswar temples of Bhubaneswar of Odisha.²⁶

As in Odisha, a type of temple structure in Bali is known as Meru.²⁷ The Balinese sculptures are influenced by the Odishan sculptures particularly of Udayagiri caves of Bhubaneswar, sculptures of Ratnagiri of Jajpur District and Ashokan Pillar of Dhauri.

To commemorate the maritime contact of Bali with ancient Odisha, the Masakapam Kepesih ceremony is celebrated in Bali by floating of small boats with burning candle inside with a belief that the child is being sent to his original homeland in Kalinga, with a festival wishing 'best of journey'.²⁸ Same type of festival is being observed in Odisha on fullmoon day of month Kartika (October-November) in which people float miniature boats made of paper or barks of plantain trees in sea, rivers or ponds.

In Cuttack city of Odisha, a ceremony called 'Bali Yatra' (literally means journey to Bali) is celebrated on the day of Kartika Purnima (fullmoon day of the month of Kartika which falls in October-November) to remember the adventurous spirit of the people manifested in trans-oceanic voyages for trade, commerce and exchange of culture with Bali.²⁹ This colorful festival is celebrated near Gadagadia Ghat of Mahanadi river at Cuttack with a congregation of people for a week. It is one of the largest fairs of India.

Thus a magnificent contact has been established between Bali and Odisha. As acculturation proceeds, some elements of Odishan culture have been absorbed in Bali and Odisha has also borrowed many fine things from Balinese culture. The present Balinese and Odishan cultures are the outcome of the interaction between the two glorious cultures of both the regions.

Note: This Article along with photos is based upon the study and research work of the author during his stay in Denpasar, Bali (Indonesia).

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Kalinga's Influence on the Ancient Architecture of Southeast Asia

Dr. Ujjwala Khot -Palsuley

ABSTRACT

The period between the 8th and 14th centuries CE marked a golden era for temple architecture in Southeast Asia, coinciding with the rise of powerful Hindu kingdoms such as Srivijaya, Sailendra, Champa, and the Khmer Empire. While the broader influence of Indian culture on Southeast Asia is well acknowledged, the specific and enduring contributions of Kalinga (modern-day Odisha and northern Andhra Pradesh) to the architectural and ritualistic traditions of the region have not received proportionate scholarly attention. This paper explores the central role of Kalinga as a civilizational conduit that transmitted architectural knowledge, sacred symbolism, and artisanal expertise across the Bay of Bengal to Southeast Asia.

Kalinga's strategic maritime location and its flourishing port cities—such as Palur, Manikapatna, and Che-li-ta-lo—facilitated the active movement of temple architects (sthapatis), sculptors (shilpins), religious teachers (acharyas), and traders across the eastern seaboard. These seafarers and emissaries carried not only goods but also blueprints of sacred geometry, iconographic treatises, and tantric ritual manuals. This resulted in a unique cross-cultural fertilization where the Rekha Deula, PidhaDeula, and KhakharaDeula styles

of Kalinga temple architecture found resonances in the form and symbolism of Southeast Asian temple complexes.

Temples such as Borobudur (Java), My Son (Champa), Prambanan, and Angkor Wat (Cambodia) showcase distinct parallels with Kalingan architecture. The soaring curvilinear towers of Rekha Deula find echoes in the sanctums of My Son and Prambanan, while the barrel-vaulted Khakhara Deula roofs appear to have influenced the gopura structures of Champa and Khmer temple gateways. The pyramidal assembly halls (Jagamohana) and axial planning central to Odisha's temples reappear in the processional architecture of Angkor Wat and Banteay Srei. These architectural elements were not merely structural borrowings but were deeply embedded with symbolic, cosmological, and liturgical meanings—reflecting a shared understanding of the temple as a microcosm of the universe.

Equally significant is the shared sculptural grammar and iconographic repertoire. The use of navagraha panels, makara toranas, apsaras, and dvarapalas, as well as intricate carvings of mythological scenes and tantric deities, reveal a strong Kalingan influence in the aesthetic vocabulary of Southeast Asian temples. Many Khmer and Javanese temples include iconography and tantric symbolism directly associated with Jagannatha cult, Shaiva Siddhanta, and Mahayana Buddhism, pointing to the transmission of Odisha's ritual and philosophical traditions.

Moreover, Kalingan artisan guilds—highly organized and trained in Shilpa Shastras—played a crucial role in temple building abroad. These guilds operated under royal patronage, particularly during the Bhauma-Kara and Somavamshi dynasties, and were instrumental in disseminating architectural manuals and building techniques to regions under Sailendra and Khmer influence. These transregional interactions were further reinforced by the Buddhist monastic complexes of Ratnagiri, Lalitgiri, and Udayagiri, which served as centers of religious learning and possibly as architectural training grounds for artisans who later worked abroad.

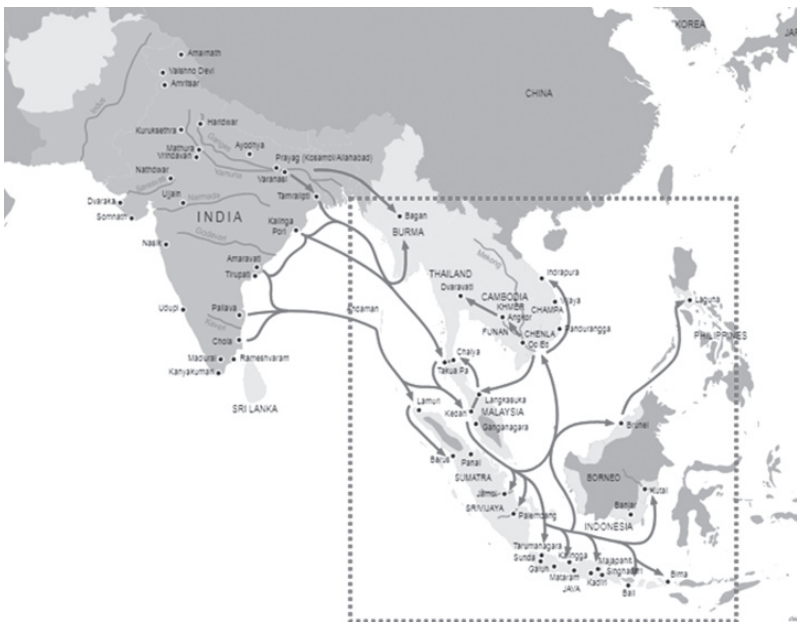
This paper, therefore, positions Kalinga not merely as a passive cultural transmitter but as an active architectural epicenter, shaping the evolution of sacred spaces across the Indian Ocean world. The study adopts a comparative architectural lens, supported by iconographic analysis, historical sources, and maritime archaeology to reconstruct this lesser-known but vital legacy. In conclusion, the temples of Southeast Asia are not only reflections of pan-Indic religiosity but also bear the unique fingerprint of Kalinga's artistic genius and ritual philosophy. The architectural conversation between Kalinga and Southeast Asia was not one of imitation but of deep civilizational dialogue—a dialogue that shaped the spiritual and spatial imagination of an entire region.

Keywords: Kalinga Architecture, Temple Transmission, Indian Ocean Cultural Exchange, Architectural Syncretism, Maritime Networks

INTRODUCTION

The historical and cultural relationship between India and Southeast Asia has often been framed within the larger discourse of Indianization, wherein Indian religious, political, and artistic traditions significantly shaped the cultural landscapes of countries such as Cambodia, Indonesia, Thailand, Laos, and Vietnam . However, this phenomenon was not a monolithic or top-down dissemination but a dynamic, multidirectional exchange influenced by specific Indian regions. Among these, the ancient kingdom of Kalinga stands out for its exceptional maritime legacy and far-reaching civilizational contributions.

Kalinga, located along the eastern seaboard of the Indian subcontinent, was geographically and culturally poised for maritime enterprise. Bordered by the Bay of Bengal and blessed with navigable rivers, deep estuaries, and a robust coastline, Kalinga developed into a hub of seafaring, shipbuilding, and tradeⁱⁱ. Its people, known for their courage and enterprise, embarked on voyages that spanned across the Indian Ocean and connected them with the vibrant and evolving polities of Southeast Asia. These interactions were not



Ancient texts such as the Mahavamsa, Jataka Tales, and the accounts of Chinese pilgrims like Fa-Hien and Hsuan Tsang make multiple references to merchants and missionaries from Kalinga^{iv}. These sources underscore the region's role as both a contributor and facilitator of religious and cultural transmission^v. The legendary voyages to Suvarnabhumi (Golden Land), Yavadvipa (Java), and Kambuja (Cambodia) often had their point of origin in Kalingan ports like Tamralipti, Palur, and Manikpatna^{vi}. These ports served not only as centers of commerce but also as cultural melting pots where ideas, languages, and religious traditions intermingled.

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civilizational expansion was fundamentally maritime and peaceful^{vii}. Its emissaries, whether they were merchants, monks, or architects, brought with them not just goods but a worldview steeped in the philosophical, spiritual, and artistic traditions of the Indian subcontinent. These emissaries were received with enthusiasm and respect in Southeast Asian courts, and over time, they helped shape the institutional structures of several prominent kingdoms such as Funan, Champa, Srivijaya, Sailendra, and the Khmer Empire^{viii}.

The transmission of Hinduism and Buddhism from Kalinga into Southeast Asia was accompanied by an equally significant transfer of architectural and iconographic traditions. The temple-building techniques and sacred geography of Odisha, evident in masterpieces such as the Mukteswar, Lingaraj, and Konark Sun Temples, found echoes in the monumental architecture of Borobudur, Prambanan, and Angkor Wat^{ix}. These sacred structures stand testimony to a shared spiritual cosmology and aesthetic sensibility, forged in the crucible of cross-cultural interaction.

Furthermore, the political ideologies, coronation rituals, and legal systems adopted by Southeast Asian rulers bore the indelible imprint of Indian – and more specifically Kalingan – influence. Inscriptions in Old Khmer, Old Javanese, and other regional languages reveal the use of Sanskrit as a formal medium, signifying deep linguistic and literary connections^x. The influence also extended to the realm of urban planning, visual arts, sculpture, and even food habits and dress codes.

This paper, therefore, seeks to foreground Kalinga's role in the Indianization of Southeast Asia, not merely as a footnote to larger pan-Indian trends but as a dynamic agent of cultural diplomacy and spiritual transmission. Through an interdisciplinary approach combining archaeology, epigraphy, art history, and maritime studies, the following sections will illuminate the complex, layered, and enduring relationship between Kalinga and the civilizations of Southeast Asia.

MARITIME TRADE AND EXPANSION KALINGA'S MARITIME PROWESS

Strategically located on the eastern coast of India, Kalinga emerged as a dominant naval power from as early as the 3rd century BCE^{xi}. Its topography—with navigable rivers like the Mahanadi and Rushikulya—facilitated access to the sea. Kalinga's seafarers built robust ships capable of crossing the Bay of Bengal and the wider Indian Ocean. References in the Mahavamsa, Jataka Tales, and Chinese travelogues testify to the renown of Kalingan navigators who regularly undertook voyages to Suvarnabhumi (Thailand), Yavadvipa (Java), and Kambuja (Cambodia)^{xii}.

The region's prominence in maritime activities can also be attributed to its ports, especially Tamralipti in the north, Palur in the south, and Manikpatna near Chilika Lake^{xiii}. These were not just nodes of commerce but vibrant cosmopolitan spaces where traders, monks, and diplomats mingled. Archaeological finds such as Roman coins, Persian ceramics, and Southeast Asian artifacts in Odisha validate these long-distance trade and cultural exchanges^{xiv}.

Kalinga's maritime power was not limited to economic pursuits; it also functioned as a tool of diplomacy and cultural assertion. Kalingan rulers, such as those of the Bhaumakara and Somavamshi dynasties, are believed



Figure 2: Ports on the Eastern coast of India during 5th C to 14th C AD

to have maintained contact with overseas polities. Evidence of Indianized polities across Southeast Asia suggests these were not mere trading outposts but robust socio-political engagements where Kalinga was integral^{xv}.

TRADE ROUTES AND ECONOMIC EXCHANGE

The maritime routes emanating from Kalingan ports connected India to key Southeast Asian centers like OcEo in Vietnam, Kedah in Malaysia, Palembang in Sumatra, and Kanchanaburi in Thailand^{xvi}. These trade networks extended even to China and the Middle East, enabling a flourishing trans-regional economy.

Kalinga exported a range of high-demand goods: fine muslin and silk textiles, ivory carvings, precious gemstones, medicinal herbs, spices like black pepper and cardamom, sandalwood, and intricately crafted metal goods^{xvii}. In return, it imported gold, aromatic woods, camphor, resin, exotic birds and animals, and sometimes rare manuscripts and artworks.

These exchanges were not merely economic but also cultural. Trade brought Kalingan religious iconography, language, and rituals into the daily life of port cities in Southeast Asia. The presence of Indian-style temples, Brahmin settlements, and Sanskrit inscriptions in places like Funan, Champa, and Srivijaya suggests that merchants often carried with them a full cultural package that included their beliefs, customs, and institutions^{xviii}.

SETTLEMENT AND DIASPORA

Many Kalingan merchants and craftsmen settled in Southeast Asian coastal cities, often under royal patronage. These diasporas formed guilds and community institutions that helped in the propagation of Indian art styles, religious thought, and social customs. The katriyas or merchant-princes from Kalinga were often granted high ranks in local courts, and some even married into Southeast Asian royal families^{xix}.

Inscriptions from Cambodia and Java reveal the presence of Indian Brahmins and religious teachers who likely hailed from Kalinga, helping to institutionalize Indian-style governance,

jurisprudence, and temple worship^{xx}. The architectural and ritual similarities between Odisha and early Southeast Asian temples strongly support this.

MARITIME TECHNOLOGY AND NAVIGATION

Kalinga's maritime success was underpinned by advanced shipbuilding and navigational expertise. The region's shipwrights constructed sturdy ocean-going vessels with deep hulls and high sides to weather the turbulent seas^{xxi}. Kalingan ships, known for their craftsmanship, were depicted on temple friezes and pottery.

Navigation relied on seasonal monsoon winds, with sailors timing their journeys accordingly. Kalingan mariners were also well-versed in astronomy and used celestial navigation techniques. Knowledge of star constellations, wind patterns, and coastal markers formed the backbone of their transoceanic voyages^{xxii}.

The training and education of sailors included spiritual elements as well. Before embarking, rituals and offerings to the sea god Varuna were conducted to ensure a safe passage, blending pragmatism with devotion.

ROLE OF WOMEN IN MARITIME TRADE

Interestingly, women too played a role in Kalinga's maritime culture. Historical narratives mention female merchants and donors to Buddhist establishments^{xxiii}. Inscriptions and folklore suggest that women from Kalinga participated in sea trade, either directly or as part of trading families. Their presence in Southeast Asian port towns helped embed Indian social norms and family systems abroad.

DECLINE AND LEGACY

By the 13th century, the prominence of Kalingan maritime activity began to wane due to changing trade patterns, the rise of rival ports, and internal political disruptions^{xxiv}. However, the legacy of this era lives on in the architectural, linguistic, and ritualistic continuities seen across Southeast Asia.

From the layout of Angkor Wat to the script of Bali, and from coronation rituals in Thailand to the iconography of Java, the

civilizational footprint of Kalinga remains profound. It not only enriched Southeast Asia's cultural heritage but also reinforced the idea of the Indian Ocean as a fluid, interconnected cultural zone.

RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL INFLUENCE:

The civilizational outreach of Kalinga to Southeast Asia was far more than an exercise in commerce or maritime ambition—it was an expression of soft power, anchored in religion, culture, and shared sacred values. Through the dissemination of Hinduism and Buddhism, the transmission of ritual practices, the transplantation of architectural forms, and the integration of philosophical worldviews, Kalinga contributed to the creation of a shared Indic ethos in Southeast Asia. This section explores the multidimensional aspects of Kalinga's religious and cultural influence in the region.

PROPAGATION OF HINDUISM AND BUDDHISM

Kalinga served as a crucible of both Hindu and Buddhist traditions. The early rulers of Kalinga were patrons of Vedic Hinduism, particularly Shaivism and Vaishnavism. However, from the Mauryan period onwards, especially following Emperor Ashoka's conquest of Kalinga, the region also became an important center of Buddhism—initially Theravāda, and later Mahāyāna. This dual religious heritage gave Kalingan emissaries a unique theological flexibility, allowing them to engage with diverse spiritual climates across Southeast Asia.

Buddhist monks from Kalinga, often affiliated with monastic centers such as Ratnagiri, Udayagiri, and Lalitgiri, are believed to have travelled extensively to Southeast Asia. These monks played a central role in the establishment of Buddhist viharas, the translation of Sanskrit and Pali texts into local languages, and the promotion of dharmic kingship. Kalingan inscriptions and Southeast Asian epigraphy reveal the use of Sanskrit and Pali in religious dedications, with terminology and metaphors closely aligned to the religious vocabularies of Odisha.

Simultaneously, Hindu Brahmins and temple architects from Kalinga carried the cults of Shiva, Vishnu, Surya, and Durga to the

courts of Funan, Champa, and the Khmer Empire. The Śaiva-Śakta tantra traditions found resonance in the temple rituals of Angkor and My Son, while the Vaishnavite emphasis on divine kingship inspired rulers to align themselves with Vishnu incarnations .

SACRED ARCHITECTURE AND TEMPLE DESIGN

Kalinga's most visible cultural export to Southeast Asia was its temple architecture^{xxviii}. The Kalinga school of architecture—known for its distinct rekhadeula, pidhadeula, and khakharadeula typologies—set aesthetic and symbolic precedents for temples built across Southeast Asia. From the 8th to the 14th century CE, Southeast Asia witnessed a remarkable efflorescence of temple architecture—monumental complexes like Borobudur, Prambanan, My Son, Angkor Wat, and Banteay Srei not only defined the sacred geography of the region but also crystallized its civilizational ethos^{xxix}. While much of the scholarship attributes this architectural flowering to broader Indic influences, the specific and sustained role of Kalinga (modern-day Odisha and parts of northern Andhra Pradesh) in shaping these traditions remains underappreciated. Kalinga's architectural idiom, maritime engagement, religious pluralism, and artisanal diaspora played a central role in transmitting both the structural grammar and symbolic vocabulary of sacred architecture to Southeast Asia.



Figure 3: Mukteshvara Temple, Bhubaneswar (950CE)

Architectural parallels are particularly evident in Java's Prambanan complex, Cambodia's Banteay Srei, and Thailand's Phanom Rung, all of which exhibit verticality, sculptural opulence, and an orientation towards cardinal directions similar to Kalingan temples like Lingaraja and Mukteswar. The iconic Konark Sun Temple with its chariot-wheel motif finds thematic and symbolic echoes in Angkor Wat's solar alignment and cosmological symbolism^{xxx}.

Figure 4: The Rajarani Temple, Bhubaneswar

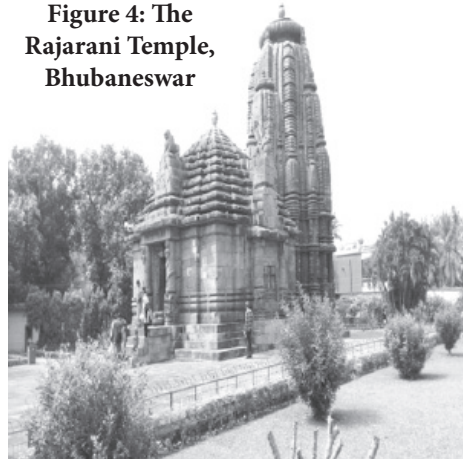


Figure 5: Various ancient kingdoms in Southeast Asia

Temple construction in both Odisha and Southeast Asia followed canonical texts such as the Shilpa Shastras and Vastu Shastra, indicating a shared epistemology of space, proportion, and sacred geometry. It is likely that Kalingan sthapatis (temple architects) and shilpins (craftsmen) were directly involved in overseas projects,

or that their knowledge was transmitted through apprentices and guilds established in foreign courts^{xxxi}.

Between the 8th and 14th centuries, the eastern ports of Kalinga—Palur, Manikpatna, Che-li-ta-lo (possibly identified with Chilika)—were thriving centers of maritime exchange. These ports acted as nodes of sacred exchange, from where not only goods but temple blueprints, ritual manuals, sculptural traditions, and craftsmen set sail to the temple cities of Srivijaya (Sumatra), Sailendra (Java), Champa (Vietnam), and Khmer (Cambodia).

Odishan ports had direct connections with key temple-building kingdoms. The Sailendras of Java, for example, who constructed Borobudur, were known to host Buddhist monks and artisans from Kalinga and Bengal. Similarly, the Khmer kings of Angkor, especially under Suryavarman II and Jayavarman VII, maintained close religious and diplomatic links with eastern India. Kalingan monks, Acharyas, and temple architects likely formed part of this cross-cultural movement^{xxxii}.

One of the most profound legacies of Kalinga's interaction with Southeast Asia lies in the transmission of sacred architecture and temple design, which served not only as spaces of worship but also as visual expressions of a shared cosmology. The architectural idiom of Kalinga—characterized by towering shikharas (spires), intricately carved doorways, and precise alignment with astronomical axes—was profoundly influential in shaping temple aesthetics across Southeast Asia.

Odisha's classical temple architecture, especially during the Somavamshi and Eastern Ganga dynasties, developed into a unique style known as Kalinga architecture. This style is distinguished by three key components: the deul (sanctum tower), the jagamohana (assembly hall), and the natamandira (festival or dance hall). Structures such as the Lingaraj Temple in Bhubaneswar, the Mukteshwar Temple with its exquisite torana (arched gateway), and the monumental Sun Temple at Konark exemplify the sophistication of this tradition^{xxxiii}.

These architectural elements found echoes in the temple complexes of Java, Cambodia, and Thailand. The axial planning of Angkor Wat, for instance—with its five-towered layout representing Mount Meru—mirrors the cosmic symbolism prevalent in Indian temple design, particularly in Odisha. The use of sandstone, the preference for eastward orientation, and the ritual significance of temple water tanks and sacred groves show strong parallels with Kalinga's own temple culture^{xxxiv}.

Moreover, temple reliefs in Southeast Asia began to adopt themes familiar in Odisha's sculptural narrative traditions—such as episodes from the Ramayana, Mahabharata, and Puranic lore. In both regions, temples became encyclopedic expressions of dharma, depicting not just deities but also scenes of daily life, maritime voyages, courtly rituals, and celestial beings—indicating a shared aesthetic and theological worldview.

Architects and shilpins (craftsmen) from Kalinga likely participated in the construction of these foreign temples or trained local artisans in Indian shilpa shastras (treatises on art and architecture). The widespread presence of *vāstu-purusha* mandala-based layouts and iconometric proportions, derived from texts like the *Mayamata* and *Manasara*, point to a formal transfer of architectural knowledge.

The influence extended even to sculptural idioms—such as the broad-shouldered deities, lotus motifs, makara-toranas, and guardian *dvarapalas*—which all bear the unmistakable signature of eastern Indian stone carving traditions^{xxxv}.

Importantly, these temples were not just sacred spaces but also centers of learning, diplomacy, and artistic innovation. Just as temples in Kalinga were often linked to *mathas* (monastic institutions) and *gurukulas*, their Southeast Asian counterparts served as hubs of Sanskrit learning, inscriptional production, and socio-political consolidation.

Thus, sacred architecture served as a powerful medium of civilizational dialogue. The temple was both a microcosm

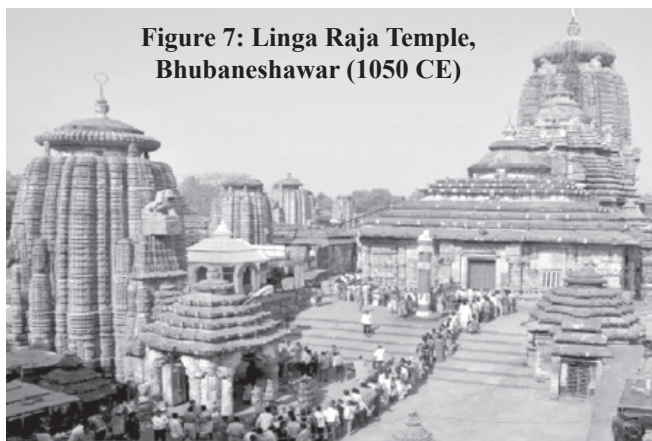
of the universe and a material anchor for intangible cultural transmissions—philosophies, rituals, measurements, and stories—all of which sailed across the Bay of Bengal in stone and spirit.

FOUNDATIONS IN KALINGA

The sculptural tradition of Kalinga, especially from the 7th to 13th centuries CE, is best exemplified in temples like the Mukteswara, Rajarani, Lingaraja, and Konark Sun Temple. These temples reveal a sophisticated visual language in which deities are depicted in dynamic postures, richly adorned, and often flanked by subsidiary figures, guardians, and celestial beings. The iconography in these temples follows strict shilpa shastras (treatises on art and iconometry) but also demonstrates regional innovations in expressive detail and ornamentation.

KEY MOTIFS FROM KALINGA INCLUDE:

- Jagamohana and Natamandira relief panels depicting mythological narratives.
- Iconic forms of Shiva as Nataraja, Ardhanarishvara, and Bhairava.
- Buddhist imagery such as Maitreya, Manjushri, and especially Tara, in both benevolent and fierce forms.
- Intricate depictions of Yakshas, Apsaras, Gandharvas, and Kinnaras, often with localized stylistic features.



The torana (arched gateway), makara toranas, chaitya windows, and erotic sculptures were stylistic signatures that would be replicated and adapted in various parts of Southeast Asia^{xxxvi}.

SOUTHEAST ASIAN ADAPTATION

As Kalingan missionaries, artists, and craftsmen migrated or were invited to Southeast Asia, they brought with them these sacred visual traditions. Southeast Asian artisans adopted these idioms, often merging them with indigenous aesthetics to produce a hybrid style of temple sculpture. This phenomenon is most visible in the monumental temples of Cambodia, Java, Bali, and Thailand.

In Cambodia, particularly at Angkor Wat, Preah Vihear, and Banteay Srei, the relief sculptures mirror Kalinga's emphasis on ornate detailing, rhythmic repetition, and narrative storytelling. Panels depicting scenes from the Ramayana and Mahabharata, including the Churning of the Ocean of Milk, demonstrate iconographic parallels with carvings found in Odisha. The depiction of Vishnu reclining on Ananta (Anantashayana) at Angkor Wat, for instance, closely resembles the imagery from Puri's Jagannath tradition.

In Java, especially at Prambanan and Candi Sewu, one finds Shaivite and Buddhist sculptures with clear eastern Indian inspiration. The representation of Durga Mahishasuramardini, Ganesha, Agastya, and Nandi, as well as guardian deities (dvarapalas), is modeled after eastern Indian canons. The stylistic execution—curvilinear forms, dynamic movement, and complex jewelry—resonates strongly with Kalingan sculpture.

INFLUENCE OF VAJRAYANA IMAGERY

Kalinga, being a center for Tantric Buddhism (especially under the Bhauma-Kara dynasty), played a key role in the dissemination of Vajrayana iconography to Southeast Asia. The deification of female figures like Green Tara, Vajrayogini, and Prajnaparamita, often portrayed in elegant tribhanga poses with multiple arms and symbolic implements, had a deep impact on Southeast Asian Buddhist sculpture.

The presence of such imagery is prominent in the temples of Srivijaya and Sailendra dynasties in Sumatra and Java. Statues of Bodhisattvas, Dhyanī Buddhas, and Taras were modeled on the styles prevailing in Odisha and Bengal, though adapted to local materials and tastes. At Borobudur, the world's largest Buddhist monument, the use of mandala-based iconographic zones mirrors the tantric cosmologies found in Odisha's Buddhist sites such as Ratnagiri, Udayagiri, and Lalitgiri.



Figure 8: Candi Borobudur, Indonesia (732 AD)



Figure 9: Candi Prambanan, Java, Indonesia (9th CE)

LOCAL INTERPRETATIONS AND HYBRIDITY

While Kalinga provided the canonical base for religious iconography, Southeast Asia did not replicate it wholesale. Instead, local artists infused these forms with indigenous features—facial types, garment styles, flora and fauna—which resulted in a distinct syncretic style. In Thailand, for instance, while the Vishnu and Shiva images follow Indian iconometric principles, the faces are more serene, eyes are elongated, and decorative motifs draw from local flora.

In Bali, the sculptural traditions still retain a distinctly Indian tone, especially in temple guardians and cosmic imagery, but with Balinese dramatism and narrative exuberance. The WayangKulit shadow puppets and performance traditions of Java and Bali also reflect a sculptural sensibility that traces its roots to Kalinga's narrative art^{xxxvii}.

RELIGIOUS ICONOGRAPHY AND SCULPTURE

Iconographically, the similarities between temple sculpture in Kalinga and Southeast Asia are striking. The depictions of deities such as Nataraja, Mahishasuramardini, Narasimha, and Ganesha in the temples of Java, Bali, and Cambodia bear uncanny resemblance to their counterparts in Odisha.

The lalitasana posture of Buddha images, the detailing of bodhisattvas like Avalokiteshvara and Vajrapani, and the adornment of guardian yakshas and apsaras reveal a common sculptural idiom. This visual language was underpinned by shared religious metaphors and symbolic systems, and helped build a pan-Indic visual lexicon that transcended regional boundaries.

ICONOGRAPHIC CONTINUITIES

Some of the enduring iconographic elements across both regions include:

- Multi-headed and multi-armed deities: Indicative of divinity and power, adapted from Kalinga traditions into Khmer and Javanese sculptures.

- Erotic imagery and maithuna couples: Not just expressions of fertility, but symbolic of cosmic unity and tantric metaphysics.
- Sacred animals: Nandi (Shiva's bull), Garuda (Vishnu's mount), lions, and elephants feature prominently both in Odisha and in Southeast Asian temple art.
- Celestial dancers and musicians: Apsaras and Gandharvas are omnipresent in both regions, symbolizing divine joy and the celebration of sacred space.

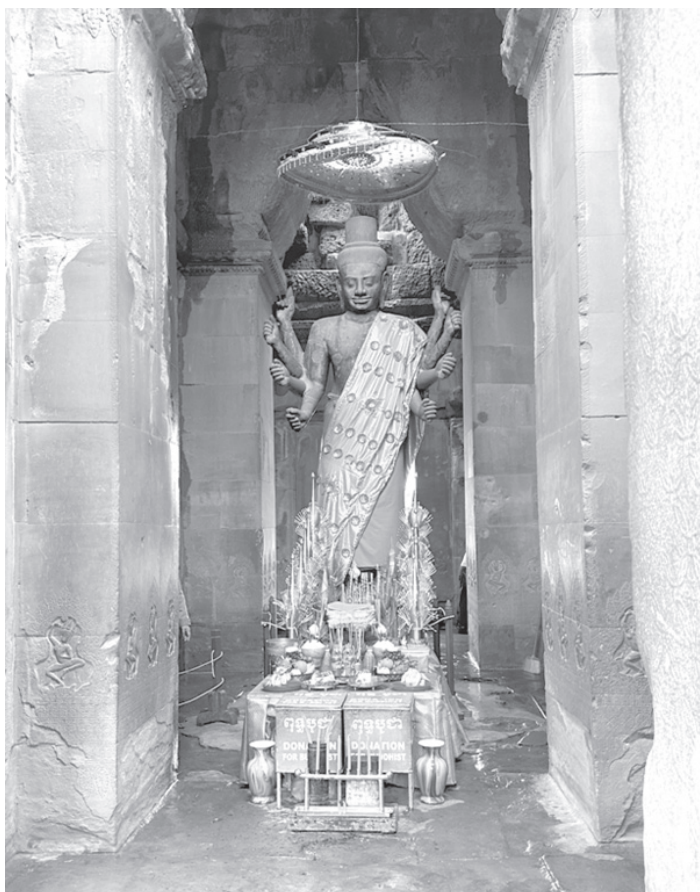


Figure 10: Vishnu idol of Angkor Wat temple, Siem Reap, Cambodia

TRANSMISSION THROUGH SCULPTORS' GUILDS

Another vector of influence was the movement of shilpins (sculptors) and sthapatis (temple architects). Inscriptions and oral traditions point to Indian artisan guilds being invited by Southeast Asian monarchs to work on temple projects. These craftsmen not only carved sacred icons but trained local artisans, setting the foundations for indigenous sculptural schools that preserved Indian stylistic lineages for centuries^{xxxviii}.

RITUAL PRACTICES AND COURT CEREMONIES

Ritualistic practices such as abhisheka (ritual bathing), yajnas (sacrificial offerings), temple consecrations, and the daily cycle of puja were transplanted from Kalinga into the ritual life of Southeast Asian temples. Many of these ceremonies continue to be practiced in Bali and parts of Thailand even today, albeit localized and transformed.

Kalinga's influence was also visible in royal court rituals. The concept of chakravartin or universal monarch, drawn from both Buddhist and Hindu cosmology, was employed by Southeast Asian rulers to legitimize their authority. Ceremonies involving rajyabhisheka (coronation) often mimicked Indian prototypes, and priests from India—many from Kalinga—were brought in to perform these rites with scriptural accuracy^{xxxix}.

LANGUAGE, LITERATURE, AND EDUCATION

Sanskrit, a principal medium of religious discourse in Kalinga, became the sacred and literary language of Southeast Asian polities. Inscriptions from Cambodia, Java, and Champa abound with Sanskrit verses in kāvya style, composed in the same meters and grammatical structures used in Kalinga. The diffusion of Sanskrit was facilitated by Brahmin scholars and poets who often took residence in foreign courts.

The presence of Kalinga-trained monks in Southeast Asia also stimulated literary production in Pali and hybrid Sanskrit-Pali forms. Translation efforts of Buddhist sutras and the codification of

local laws in Sanskritized formats reflect the educational influence of Kalinga's monastic institutions.

Further, the founding of guruhals (teacher's residences) and gurukulas (education centers) by the Indian diaspora helped in transmitting Vedic knowledge, astronomy, Ayurveda, and arts across generations.

ARTISTIC AND PERFORMATIVE TRADITIONS

The performative traditions of Kalinga—including classical dance forms like Odissi, music, storytelling, and ritual theatre—may have found cultural analogues or inspiration in Southeast Asia. While direct continuity is difficult to establish, the use of similar musical instruments, gestural vocabularies, and performance styles in regions such as Java and Bali suggests shared roots.

Odisha's rich tradition of temple dance, with its emphasis on *bhava* (emotion), *rasa* (aesthetic flavor), and storytelling through movement, resonates with Balinese Legong and Javanese court dances. The influence is particularly noticeable in dance dramas based on the Ramayana and Mahabharata, which were widely performed in both India and Southeast Asia^{x1}.

SYNCRETISM AND LOCALIZATION

One of the most enduring legacies of Kalinga's cultural influence was the emergence of syncretic religious forms. Rather than passive recipients, Southeast Asian cultures actively absorbed and reinterpreted Indian traditions, often blending them with indigenous animist and ancestor-worship practices.

This is evident in the hybrid iconography of deities, dual dedication temples (e.g., to both Buddha and Vishnu), and the co-existence of Hindu and Buddhist motifs in a single religious complex. The flexibility and pluralism inherent in Indian religions, particularly as practiced in Kalinga, enabled this syncretism to flourish.

ROLE OF RELIGIOUS WOMEN AND MATRIARCHAL CULTS

The maritime civilizational expansion of Kalinga into Southeast Asia was not a purely male-driven endeavor. Women,

particularly those associated with religious and cultural institutions, played a vital role in transmitting and sustaining Indic traditions overseas. Their participation ranged from being patrons of temple construction and donors to Buddhist monasteries to the custodians of matriarchal cults that found resonance in Southeast Asian societies.

In ancient Kalinga, goddess worship formed a significant part of the spiritual landscape. Cults dedicated to female deities such as Tara, Manikeswari, Durga, and the local forms of Shakti were central to both state rituals and popular devotion. These cults, often syncretic and rooted in tribal as well as Vedic practices, carried a strong matriarchal undercurrent. The emphasis on the divine feminine was also reflected in the architectural prominence given to female deities in temple sculptures, murals, and mandala representations.

As Kalinga's merchant and monastic communities migrated to Southeast Asia, they carried with them this sacred veneration of feminine power. In the temples and shrines of Java, Bali, and Cambodia, we find echoes of these matriarchal traditions—manifested in the widespread worship of Devi, Uma, Durga Mahishasuramardini, and later, Bodhisattva Tara in Mahayana Buddhist contexts. The Preah Vihear Temple and Banteay Srei in Cambodia, for instance, feature exquisite depictions of powerful goddesses, often associated with fertility, wisdom, and protection.

Significantly, the cult of Tara, believed to have strong roots in the Vajrayana-Buddhist traditions of eastern India including Kalinga, gained widespread prominence in Southeast Asia. The adoption and localization of Tara as a goddess of navigation and protector of mariners likely stemmed from the coastal religious traditions of Odisha, where seafaring communities prayed to her for safe passage across the Bay of Bengal. In many port cities like Kedah, Palembang, and Kanchanaburi, inscriptions and iconographic evidence reveal her veneration, often alongside Avalokiteshvara or Vishnu.

Women also played institutional roles within these transoceanic spiritual networks. Historical records from Odisha show that women from elite and merchant families often endowed temples, commissioned sculptures, and patronized itinerant monks. These traditions continued in Southeast Asia, where local queens and noblewomen supported the building of temples, sponsored religious rituals, and maintained temple economies. Inscriptions from Champa and the Khmer Empire document land grants and temple donations made by royal women, echoing the practices found in copperplate grants from Kalinga.

Moreover, oral traditions and folklore from both Odisha and Southeast Asia preserve stories of seafaring women, female sages, and guardians of sacred knowledge. In Odisha's coastal areas, the legend of the sea goddess Samudra Devi and her priestess devotees holds striking parallels with Southeast Asian sea cults led by women, such as the Vietnamese Thiên Y A Na, the Javanese Nyai Loro Kidul, or the Balinese Dewi Danu. These figures embody a sacred feminine force tied to water, fertility, and sovereignty—reinforcing the idea that matriarchal cults formed a vital layer of the cultural matrix transmitted by Kalinga.

Temples themselves often served as centers of female empowerment. The Devadasi system in Odisha, originally rooted in sacred performance and ritual service, found cultural resonance in regions like Bali and Java where female dancers and musicians played similar roles in temple rituals. These roles were not merely artistic but deeply spiritual, believed to maintain cosmic harmony and please the deity, reinforcing the idea of the feminine as a vessel of divine energy.

In summary, religious women and matriarchal cults were not peripheral to the Kalinga-Southeast Asia civilizational exchange—they were its very lifeblood. Through temple patronage, goddess worship, maritime rituals, and the embodiment of sacred femininity, women sustained and enriched the transoceanic sacred geography that connected the shores of Odisha to the islands and peninsulas of Southeast Asia.

CONCLUSION: SACRED POWER AND THE SHARED PERFORMANCE OF SOVEREIGNTY

The dissemination of ritual practices and court ceremonies from Kalinga to Southeast Asia was not a superficial adoption of foreign customs—it was a deep, organic assimilation of a sacred worldview in which the cosmos, the king, the temple, and the people were intricately connected. These rituals, whether performed in the hush of a sanctum, the bustle of a royal court, or the grandeur of public festivals, served as living embodiments of dharma, cosmic order, and legitimacy.

By transplanting rites such as coronation rituals, temple consecrations, fire yajnas, and ancestor worship, Kalinga offered Southeast Asia more than cultural capital—it offered a ritual grammar of governance, a sacred template that legitimized rulers, sanctified temples, and ensured harmony between heaven and earth. The performance of these rituals created a ritual polity where kings were not merely rulers, but divine stewards maintaining rta (cosmic order) on behalf of their people.

This ritual connect also underscores how knowledge systems traveled—not only through texts and stone but also through gesture, sound, rhythm, and silence. The mantra-charged atmosphere of temple inaugurations, the meticulously timed court processions, and the choreographed rituals of death and rebirth—all formed part of a shared civilizational script across the Indian Ocean world.

Moreover, these practices were never passively imitated; they were creatively reinterpreted, integrated with indigenous beliefs, and adapted to new landscapes. Whether it was the Balinese Ngaben cremation ceremony echoing Vedic rites, or the Devaraja cult in Angkor rooted in Shaiva ideology but expressed through Khmer symbolism, these rituals were transformed into expressions of local genius grounded in Indic metaphysics.

In a world increasingly fractured by materialism and historical amnesia, remembering this shared ritual heritage is crucial. It speaks to a time when sacred power flowed across shores, when

architecture was ritualized, and when kingship was a moral, spiritual duty. The rituals that once united Puri with Pagan, Bhubaneswar with Bali, and Kalingan kings with Khmer devarajas are more than history—they are reminders of a living dharmic cosmopolis that once graced the lands stretching from the Bay of Bengal to the South China Sea.

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South East India and South East Asia: Locating Odisha in the Cross Cultural Maritime Network

Dr. Sunil Kumar Patnaik

ABSTRACT

Several scholars in the past debated about the role of Sea in the spread of Indian culture in South East Asia. Some scholars again argue that it was the ideas that spread from India and some other say it was just a cultural interaction. This paper is intended to discuss the recent researches conducted by the author on the early historic sites of Southeast India and more so of the East Coast of India covering ancient Kalinga region and its historical linkages with South East Asia.

Keywords: Buddhist Settlements, Archaeology, Trade, Culture, India, East Coast, Maritime Asia

INTRODUCTION

The extensive maritime trade network of India is known between the Harappa and Mesopotamian civilizations as early as the third millennium BCE which is a testimony to the long maritime cultural interaction and trade history. The Vedic literature is replete with references to boats, ships and sea voyages. The Rig. Veda, the oldest evidence on record, refers to Varuna, the Lord of the Sea, and credits him with the knowledge of the ocean routes which were used by ships. The Rig Veda mentions merchants plying ships to

foreign countries in quest of more wealth. There is also a passage which refers to a ship which was well rigged in which Varuna and Vasishta sailed to the mid-ocean and described the ship, rolling and pitching. The Eastern and Western Oceans” are also referred to in the Rig Veda, which are evidently, the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea. The Amarakosa contains various items of naval terminology, such as *bandhana* (anchorage or mooring), *naukarana* (helm or steering), and *naukarandhara* (helmsman). The Atharva Veda Samhita describes the boats of the time as riding well the waves and as being of faultless construction, sturdy and spacious. The Puranas refers to Arjuna of the Haihaya tribe as *Sahashabahu* or the “thousand armed”, from which we may infer that what is meant was perhaps his fleet of a thousand ships. The Bhṛigus, who formed a tribe contemporaneous with the Harihayas, are claimed to have been sea-farers of repute, who had maritime intercourse with the Western world. The Atris, another contemporary clan credited with the knowledge of shipbuilding are said to have built *Sahasrabahu*’s fleet of thousand ships, or perhaps a ship with thousand oars. The Markandeya Purana refers to seagoing vessels and the Varaha Purana speaks of people sailing out to sea for getting pearls and oysters. In the Mahabharata, Drona Parva, there are reference to mariners and to passages on the ocean, and in Santi Parva, the Navy is described as one of the divisions (*angas*) of the military force. From Sabha Parva we learn that Sahadeva effectively crossed the seas to subjugate the outlying islands inhabited by tribes of mixed origin. Budhyana Dharmasastra mentions “*Samudrasamyanam*” which means “oceanic voyage”¹.

From the dawn of the historical epoch, the maritime trade network of India expanded extensively. The findings of a large number of coins, pottery, amphorae and other materials from Italy and Egypt and various other European countries, west Asia, China, Korea, Africa, the Arabian Peninsula, Sri Lanka, South East Asia and Far-East countries in India, particularly in the coastal regions, are atestimony to the dynamic maritime net-work of India with

other countries in the early period. Similarly, pottery, sculptures, inscriptions and other materials of Indian origin are also found in those countries. The depiction of different types of boats, ships on the coins, paintings, sculptures, seals and sealing, exhibit the variety of vessels used for navigation and other purposes in the early period. The over 7500 km long coastline of India is well known for its seaports located at river mouths or outlets to the sea. Much of early historical evidences are coming from archaeological finds rather than literature for which archaeological field study is essential to understand the early port settlements and their growth. We are working on the East Coast, since the last two decades to understand the emergence of settlements both in hinterland and in littoral port centres that contributed significantly growth of state and society in Early Odisha, of course, Odisha was part of a broad trade network of the East Coast as well as South East Asia. The result of our research has several outcomes concerning growth of urban centres, port towns, pilgrim midpoints and connecting caravan and trade routes².

Recent researches say that Indian sailors on the east coast of India were trading with their counterparts in Southeast Asia by second millennium BCE when plant species cultivated by Southeast Asian farmers start to appear in the archaeological record of South Asia. The areca nut and the coconut palm were most probably introduced to South Asia together with other South East Asian crops later regarded as quintessentially Indian such as ginger, cinnamon, sandalwood, bananas and rice. Domesticated chickens and pigs may also have been imports from south-east³.

By fourth century BCE, there is evidence that merchants had already established a regular maritime trading network that stretched the east coast of India across the Bay of Bengal to the small but affluent city states and cosmopolitan ports that had begun to emerge in Java, Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand and the South China Sea. By that time in the east coast particularly in Kalinga coast we had ports like Palur (seventh century BCE) and Tamralipti

(fourth century BCE) and urban centres like Radhanagar (fourth century BCE) and Sisupalgarh (seventh century BCE)⁴. Gold and spices, sandalwood and eaglewood and fragment resins such as camphor, as well pepper and tin, were among the products which the first Indian traders came to buy. Sanskrit place names such as Takkola (Market of Cardamum), Karpuradvipa (Island of Camphor), Narikeladvipa (Island of Cardamom) provide hints of the other goods that attracted Indian merchants to these ports. In return they traded the many Indian products found by archaeologists scattered in early sites across the region, glass beads, bronze bowls and precious stones formed into simple jewellery, such as carnelian ornaments, some shaped into tiny tiger figurines or lions of translucent rock crystal. Around this there is evidence of Indian glassmakers setting up workshops on the Isthmus of Kra, the narrowest point of Thai-Malay peninsula⁵.

Similarly, excavations at several other ports sites such as OcEo or ancient Kattigara (Vietnam), Angkor Borei (Cambodia), Kao Sam Kaeo, KoKho Kao, Chaiya, Nakhon Si Thammarat (Thailand), Kedah in Bujang Valley (Malayasia), Blandongan and Cibuaya, Ko-ying (Java), Sambiran (Bali), Karang Agung, Palembang, Barus, Kota Chin (Sumatra) and material cultures of Sri Vijaya and Champa ancient kingdom have brought out several Indian cultural materials which shed light on cultural and trade network of Indian people⁶. Some research in the context of South India and Bengal has already been done but little study has been done so far in Odisha context to study all these port sites to get a holistic view of the maritime past.

During this period Kalinga experienced an invasion of Mauryan Emperor Ashoka in third century BCE and that is more or less as opined by historians, to capture the maritime opportunities that Kalinga had which was again seen in fourth century CE by Samudragupta, in seventh century CE by Pulakesin II and Harshavardhan and in the beginning of 11th century CE by the Cholas. Kalinga was always a bone of contention among the

emperors for its rich maritime trade network due to its advantageous geographical location.

Our recent archaeological investigations of many Port and Early Historical sites on the East Coast from the Lower Ganges (Tamluk) to the Guntupali in West Godavari District (South East India) provide a running chronology of history and culture of Kalinga or ancient and early medieval South East India right from the fourth -third century BCE to 11th -12th century CE. The historical context of trade in India dates back to the third century BCE when the Mauryan Empire engulfed the entire subcontinent, except the extreme south. Asoka's endorsement of Buddhism coincided with the growth of a mercantile community appeared to be associated with the patronization of Buddhism. Moreover, the most important outcome is known from the distribution of early Buddhist sites along the East Coast on the trade route that connected silk route in the north, the cotton route in the south (western Deccan) and maritime route connecting Southeast Asian island countries on the eastern seaboard⁷. (Fig-1). The discussion is made in two parts emphasising trade and cross cultural interaction in the early phase up to seventh century CE and the second part is post-seventh century preponderance and the overreaching influence of Buddhist monastic dwellings in an ecumenical religious and cultural environment.

The growth of Buddhism on the Silk Road trailed hand in hand with the development of commercial economy, linked to silk trade that the blossoming of Buddhism in South-Eastern India (Odisha-Andhra) was closely tied to the production and trade of silk and cotton textiles, ivory and salt, paddy and species etc. A channel of communication though existed earlier still in the dawn early centuries of common era, the movement of Buddhist monks and pilgrims along the established trade routes facilitated the exchange of ideas among the distant regions where the phenomenon of construction of monasteries and chaityas had become central for which series Buddhist settlements in the post-Ashokan era have been emerged.

The position of the early Buddhist monks and their geographical knowledge was limited to the Middle Country or the Madhya Desha; however, they were aware of the Janapadas of Gandhara-Kamboja, Vanga, Pundra, Kalinga, Kashmira, Assaka, Vidarbha, and Mahismati but were not involved intimately in missionary work. The edicts of Mauryan emperor Ashoka mention that the missionary work spread during his time and reached Sri Lanka. Kanishka took it to the Silk Road.

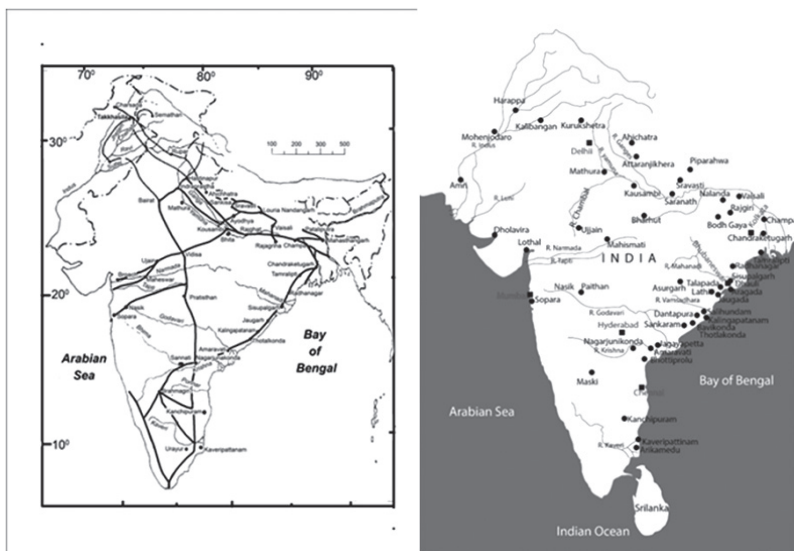


Fig.1.Coastal Trade Route and Buddhist Sites in the South Eastern India.

Around first century CE, the spread of Buddhism from northern India along the trade routes taken by merchants, monks and travelers accelerated rapidly. To south, in the Deccan plateau scores of cave temples were built, with stupas dotting the landscape. Buddhism made sizable inroads along the principal trading arteries of India including Silk Route in Central Asia⁸. Buddhism, like Jainism, favoured profit-based trade more than Hinduism which actively discouraged seafaring. For example, the Baudhāyanasūtra, one of the Dharmasūtras (texts that deal with law

and conduct) quite explicitly states that “making voyages by sea” and “trading in all sorts of merchandise” are sins leading to the loss of caste. Buddhist communities were established along trade routes linking important political and economic centres, where they provided hospitality for merchants and other travellers. This positioned Buddhist practice to spread dramatically as merchants within the Buddhist tradition expanded the geographical range of their commercial activities. The growth of the maritime mercantile networks, in particular, facilitated the movement of Buddhism from India to Sri Lanka and then to Southeast Asia. Within this process, Buddhism was not merely a passive recipient of the largesse of the merchant classes but actively promoted itself as “protector” of trade, as mediated through rich textual and visual narratives and the development of divine cults⁹.

Patronage to Buddhism and its spread boosted the rise of art centers along the trade routes in the peninsular India. Buddhist caves and settlements increased in both eastern and western India and in the Deccan in the post Ashokan period under the Kushans, Satavahanas, Vakataks and other ruling dynasties. The region of Odisha (Kalinga) is the cradle land of Buddhism as has been known in recent times with the excavation of large ancient archaeological sites such as Radhanagar, Langudi, Lalitgiri, Udayagiri, Ratnagiri, Aragarh, Plaur, Dantapura, Salihundam, Kalingapatna, Kottapatna etc¹⁰. The material evidences of these sites have changed the course of Odishan history as those of Deccan and Vidharva. Large settlements having urban character as well as architectural edifices such as stupas and chaityas, urge to think what ancient Odisha had made advances in technology, trade and commerce, which accelerated pilgrimage during third century BCE to third century CE. In between, the great Kalingan emperor Kharavela carved out an empire with his capital at Kalinganagar, identified with the fortified site Sisupalgarh but Buddhism did not lagged behind.

Buddhist sites continued to display, trade continued to grow, art and culture continued to flourish as is known from

recent excavations at Buddhist sites and Hatigumpha inscription. Kalinga continued to be more urbanized with reference to a port site of Pithunda or Pihunda which attracted monks and merchants to visit the land probably with influence of Satavahanas of Andhra in post-Kharavela period¹¹. The construction of Buddhist edifices, essentially on the trading zones, near the port and trade centers demonstrates the support of the traders and guilds. The Mahanadi-Vamsadhara and the Krishna-Godavari Valleys witness the series of Buddhist settlements in cluster connected with coastal and inland trade routes. (Fig.2).

Between c.500 BCE and c.350 CE, South Asia underwent most profound transformation. For the second time, the shift from village-based agrarian society to a complex urban civilization built around large integrated estates over a geographical area. This 'change' occurred within the context of Buddhism and changing socio-political and economic frame work. The shift from village to state society and led to the establishment of a network internal and overseas trade routes and allowed rapid interregional distribution of ideas and artefacts through the growth of communication and the increased mobility of people¹².



Fig.2. Distribution Buddhist Settlements & Culture Complexes in South Eastern India

The early historic Odishan (Kalingadesha) was a dynamic phase that witnessed the rise of polity, early form of urban centers and movement of merchants and new ideologies (Buddhist and Brahmanical), introduction of script, coins and several other material cultural traits¹³. Scholars like Mujumdar (1933,1934), Coedes (1956,1957,1964), Wheathly (1961 and 1975), Guy (1993-4), Ray (1994, 1999, 2003, 2013), Behera (1999,2007), Kulke (2001,2010),Basa(2007,2009,2010), Patra (2011), Patnaik (2016,2019,2020,2021,2024), Tripathi (2002,2011,2018,2019), Foglin (2011), Miksic and Goh (2017), Osborne (2016), Hall et.al (2019)and some others have worked on various aspects of maritime and cross cultural interactions in the recent times. The erudite scholars have focused on the different facets of the India and South East Asian maritime interaction and civilizational linkages. However, very few works have been focused on the Kalingan context and not much has been done so far taking together new explored and excavated early historic sites and settlements of South Eastern India focussing ancient Kalinga region. Currently, many new sites have been excavated, many art motifs and inscriptions have been documented and a good number of historical sites have been explored which help us in reconstruction of the role of Kalinga in the sphereof Indian Ocean particularly in South East Asian context.

THE REGION

The entire South Eastern India on the East Coast covers a geographic region between the river lower Ganges to the Godavari covering an area of about 1000 kilometers spreading over mostly in parts of present day West Bengal, Odisha and north Andhra Pradesh, and the region was known as Kalinga in ancient times, at least from sixth century BCE to fourth century CE¹⁴.The Bay of Bengal has been, historically, an important part of the Eastern Indian Ocean. It is spread over 2,172,000 square kilometers, making it the largest bay in the world. Within this dynamic maritime space, fundamental techno-cultural processes are observed: movement

of ethno-linguistic communities, opening of land-sea routes and ports, innovations in boat building and navigational technologies, spread of botanical cultivars, and refining of crafting and artistic skills. The engagements between the Indic world and the Southeast Asian realm are critical to understanding the formation of the Bay of Bengal Interaction Sphere (BBIS)¹⁵. The BBIS comprises the eastern part of the Indian Subcontinent (the country of Sri Lanka, the Indian states of Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Odisha, West Bengal; and the country of Bangladesh) and the western part of

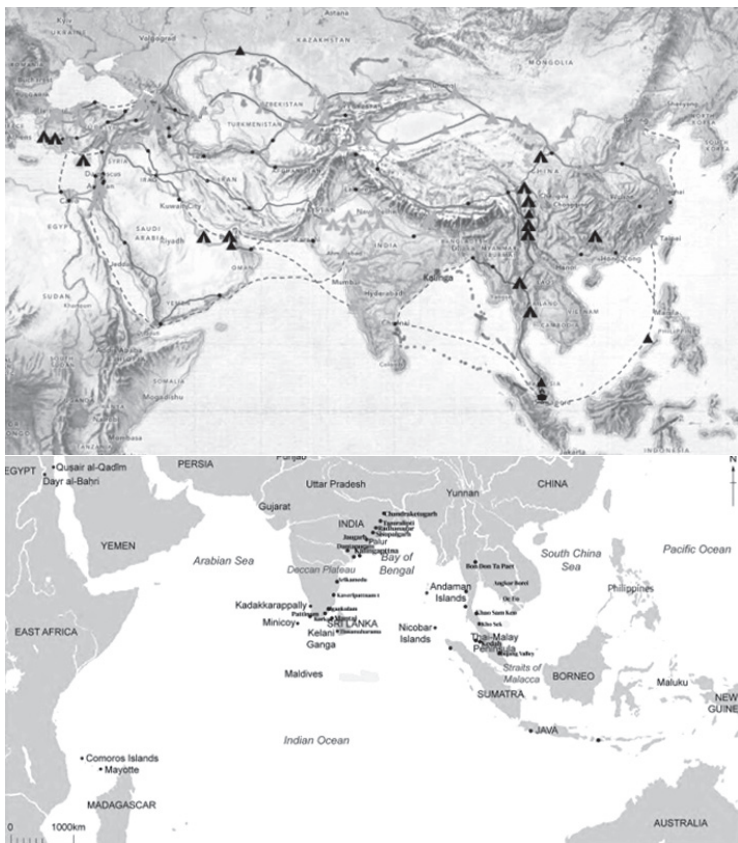


Fig.3.Ancient Asia: Maritime Trade Network.

Southeast Asia (Myanmar, coastal Thailand, coastal Malaysia, and the Indonesian island of Sumatra adjoining the Andaman Sea). The Andaman and Nicobar Island chain, which are spread in a north–south axis in the Bay of Bengal, overlooks the passage through Malacca Straits to the South China Sea.

In this geographical entity ancient Kalinga or modern Odisha and North Andhra Pradesh region is the core area where we get quite a good number of early historic Buddhist sites forming culture complexes. The important Buddhist settlements on the South East India are Radhanagar-Kayama-Langudi, Lalitgiri-Udayagiri-Ratnagiri, Dhauli-Aragarh (Odisha) and Dantapura-Salihundam-Kalingapatnam, Thotalkonda- Bhavikonda, Kottur- Guntupali and Amaravati. All these sites are developed in a contagious manner and were fairly large settlements and the stratigraphy ranges from third –second century BCE to third-fourth century CE, and in few cases some sites continued to thrive up to 12th-13th century CE. These early sites developed under the powerful empire of Mauryas (third-second century BCE) and Satavahanas (second-third century CE) and further enriched by the regional powers with support of trader community since the port sites of Tamralipti, Che-li-ta-lo, Palur, Kalingapatnam, Vishakhapatnam and Bhattiprolu are found intervened in the midst of Buddhist Settlements¹⁶.

The early sites contributed immensely towards development of settlements with all monumental remains such as stupas, chaityas and monasteries. The building activities and the expansion of monasteries in particular are the significant outcome of the donations made by the monk traders and seaborne trade. The culture complexes are discussed in brief in the context of socio-economic dynamics impacted the development of Buddhist settlements.

Chndraketugarh -Tamralipti –Mogalmari are important Buddhist settlement sites in coastal West Bengal are dated to third-second century BCE and has Buddhist remnants in shape of Monastic remains, coins, coin moulds seals and sealings,

inscriptions, Buddhist images and various traits of trade. Ceramic assemblage generally includes Northern Black Polished Ware, Black Slipped Ware, and Rouletted Ware etc. Punch marked and cast copper coins are important findings. Bone and ivory objects, terracotta seals, beads of semi-precious stones, copper and iron objects, terracotta figurines and plaques etc. comprise a rich material culture in this phase. Chndraketugarh and Tamralipti are established settlements and Mogalmari is the newly excavated site having good number of antiquities including a boat depicted on a terracotta plaque¹⁷. The site was very much part of ancient Kalinga and reinforced by the port of Tamralipti. All these sites provide basic facts for the growth of trade and Buddhism in the South Eastern India. Even few kilometres away down south, a site Jayarampur in the district of Balasore, provide cultural sequence known from copper plant grants of Gopa Chandra issued in fifth-sixth century CE, of course, the site was not excavated.

The next important group of Buddhist settlements are **Radhanagar-Kayama-Langudi** in the district of Jajpur, Odisha show case early formation date back to fourth-third century BCE. The artefacts from Radhanagar fortified settlement envisages that the settlements were received royal patronage as inscriptions reported and read as Devaya Nagara (second century CE) and Sadabhu Tissa (third-second century BCE) and the full-fledged settlement like that of ancient most city of India Rajgriha (Rajgir). The nearby Kayama is one of the important Buddhist settlement where we get at present a standing monolithic elephant like that Dhauli, inscriptions of 5th century CE and caves. The flat hilltop once had a Buddhist settlement and the faint remains still echo the gravity. It was just like Salihundam site but nothing structurally available at present which are robbed or vanished in the ravage of time. The nearby Langudi site of this culture complex provides visual narration rock-cut stupas with emergence of Buddha images in second century CE¹⁸. This culture complex was enriched with a port site Che-li-ta-lo referred to by Hiuen

Tsang¹⁹. This early culture complex is survived from 4th century BCE till 7th century CE.

The next cultural complex is the **Lalitgiri-Udayagiri and Ratnagiri** where we can mark the Relic Stupa, Chaityas and emergence Mahayana and Vajrayana Buddhism with large monastic establishments from 2nd century BCE to 13th century CE. Lalitgiri archaeological site provides an insight into the early Buddhist settlements having Relic Mahastupa belonging to 3rd-2nd century BCE, followed by an Apsidal Chaitya Griha of 1st-2nd century CE and four monastic complexes with myriad of Buddha and Boddhosattva images dating to 4th to 11th century CE. The site no doubt, is a large early historic settlement where construction of edifices and involvement of pilgrims and traders are known from the donator inscriptions found near Apsidal Chaitya griha²⁰.

Similarly Udayagiri site demonstrate the growth of early historic settlement on the crust of hill of same name overlooking to the Birupa-Genguti River and presents a chronology of 1400 years starting from 1st century BCE to 14th century CE. The site is having chaitya, stupa complexes, monastic clusters, plethora of Mahayana and Mandala deities together with seals and sealings and inscriptions which shed name of the site as Madhavpur Mahavihara (Udayagiri-1) and Simhaprasta Mahavihara (Udayagiri-2)²¹.

Again Ratnagiri site presents an unique early historic settlement where Mahayana and Vajrayana Buddhism flourished in lips and bounds. The site at present context gives a running chronology from 5th century CE to 14th century CE. The Mahastupa complex, four Monastic complexes (two single winged), shrines and myriad of Boddhsattava and Vajrayana deities makes us understand the popularity of the site among pilgrims²². The recent on-going excavation further supplements the greatness of the site with discovery of giant Buddha heads (1.4 mtrs in length) and hundreds of votive stupas and few mandala stupas all belong to post 7th century CE. Several clay inscribed dharani mantra tablets are reported. The site was one of the cradle

lands of Vajrayana Buddhism and spread its connection with all contemporary Buddhist sites of India and South East Asia, even up to China as some material cultures of the site shed light in this aspects.

All these three sites in a cluster developed and expanded with help of pilgrims and traders and must have urban and port sites nearby. In the sixth century CE, the copper plate charter of Gopachandra records grant of a village of Svetablika for providing the requisites for ceremonial worship to the Mahyanabhiksusangha at Bodhipardraka Vihara identified with Jayrampur in Balasore district located at the mouth of Subarnarekha and the seacoast. An eighth century inscription on the Padmapani image at Khadipada records that it was pious dedication of ParamguruRahularuchi during the reign of Subhakaradeva. The movement of pilgrims, people and merchants on the riverine routes as well as land routes helped to expand the Buddhist sites as part of trade and cultural expansion in the East Coast. More study on this aspect is discussed elsewhere²³.

The next major and ancient settlements with fortification and pilgrim centres emerge at **Sisupalgarh, Dhauli, Aragarh and Jaugarh** on the coastal Odisha towards 3rd century BCE. Here, we find urban center, stupas and rock-cut elephant together with Asokan Edicts. This culture complex was sustained by the port site Palur referred to by Ptolmey from second century CE. Incidentally, in our recent exploration on this established ancient port site, we come across a huge stone stupa on the top of the Palur hill overlooking to the Sea. The recent excavated stone stupa at Aragarhand the same type stone stupa explored very recently and documented at Palur, marks the mobility of Buddhist pilgrims and patronage by the mariners like that of Tamralipti. One more port site excavated at Manikapatna datable with Khorosti using people in the same region accelerated the trade activities in Kalinga²⁴.

Further down south, the ancient fortified city center referred to in the Pali texts is **Dantapura or Dantavartanikota**, the

earliest capital of Kalinga dating back to 6th century BCE which is another major settlement along with the two other nearby Buddhist centers **Salihundam and Kalingapattanam** in the district of Srikakulam in Andhra Pradesh. **Dantapura**, was the capital city of Kalinga referred to in literature survived up to 4th century CE like that of Radhanagar. The ruins and remains in the shape of fortifications, stupa remains, and available of ceramics like knobbed ware, black and red ware, red polished ware, black polished ware, sprinklers, bowls together with remains of brick stupas point towards the growth of the site. Salihundam or Saliyapetika referred to in inscriptions laid bare stupas, chaityas and monasteries together with good number of inscriptions overlooking to the river Vamsadhara was an important Buddhist settlement on the East Coast. The port site Kalingapattanam with an Asokan Stupa is another important trading centers at least from 2nd century BCE to 4th-5th century CE located on the estuary of the Vamsadhara and Bay of Bengal provide insight on trade and Buddhism for survival of the culture complex²⁵.

Again, **Thatalakonda, Bhavikonda, Lingalakonda** near Vishakhapatnam forms as another culture complex on the East Coast having monasteries, stupas, chaityas, and images. Thotalakonda and Bhavikonda are located on a hillock overlooking to the Sea. The Sea at this place known as Bimulipattanam, was a port and trading centre during post-Mauryan period. A numbers of Satavahana coins and remains together with Roman Bullae, relics and coins have been found. It was a thriving Buddhist settlement and port that grew up in two phases, first in the post Mauryan period in 2nd century BCE to 6th century CE and then from 10th century onwards under the Gangas and Cholas²⁶.

Thereafter, the Buddhist remains of **Guntupali and Ghantasala** on the bank of the river Godavari and **Bhattiprolu and Amaravati** on the Krishna where Buddhist remains with score of stupas, monasteries and rock-cut caves which all developed in between 3rd century BCE to 3rd century CE.²⁷ The Buddhist

settlements, emerged along with port sites as outlined in the coastal region of ancient Odisha (Kalingadesha) up to Godavari region which was the cradle of development of trade routes, spread of Buddhism, social mobility and urbanisation. The Buddhist sites, developed all along coastal region of modern day Odisha and Andhra Pradesh, were linking between north and south and the trade routes developed through Land and Sea.

The archaeology of most of the said sites covering the present day state of Odisha (ancient Kalinga) and Andhra brought out the finds such as rouletted ware, knobbed ware, northern black polished ware (NBP), silver punch-mark coins, Roman coins, Roman bullae, Kharosthi scripts, semi-precious stone beads, celadon ware, Chinese ceramic, etc. which indicate that an internal tradenetwork was in existence under the ruling dynasties of Mauryas, Sungas, Kushanas, Satavahanas and continued further to early medieval period. The typical ware associated with Buddhist sites is Knobbed ware which has also been reported from all the said sites²⁸. Similarly, Rouletted ware and Knobbed ware have been reported from Bali, Bangladesh, Java, Malaysia, Sri Lanka, Thailand and Vietnam²⁹. The occurrence of Northern Black Polished ware, and Silver Punch Marked coins along the port and coastal sites of the east coast of India indicates the existence of coastal trade³⁰.

It is evident from Buddhagat (Burmese sacred scripture) that a steady commercial intercourse was cultivated with Burma by the Buddhist merchants of Kalinga, which subsequently led to missionary undertakings for the propagation of their religion, and afterwards to the assumption of political supremacy in the land. Kalinga was so prominent in the maritime trade that the great poet Kalidash referred in the Raghuvamsa to the king of Kalinga as Mohodadhipati, the overlord of the Sea³¹. The text Aryamajusrimulakalpa of Mahayana Buddhism refers that all islands of Kalinga Sea were dominated by the ships of Kalinga. Kalinga, on the coast of eastern India was in some way a counterpart

to the north-west, as the maritime trade going southwards along the eastern coast of India would have to pass through it³². The discussed clustered Buddhist settlements all are inter-connected and may be appropriately found in a trade route which could convincingly be termed as Prubiyapatha.³³ This route was the main spine in joining the whole of North and South India as well as Southeast Asia at least from first century to throughout the history in which ancient Kalinga played a major role. The modern ports such as Dimond harbour (Kolkota), Dhamara, Paradeep, Gopalpur, Visakhapatnam stands on the ancient maritime trade route.

Turning again to Buddhism, we see the Mahasanghikas a Buddhist sect, since its inception in Vaisali, was mostly confined to the East from where it spread, especially to the South. It is also accepted that the offshoots of Mahasanghikas had their centers of activities in the south but the place where it appeared more developed was somewhere in the eastern part of India where the Sravastivadins were predominant³⁴. Taranath tells us that the Prajnaparamita was first preached by Manjusri at Odvisa (Odisha)³⁵. This is the reason, why, we are getting a series of stupas, chaityas and monasteries right from Odishan coast to Telangana main land. The Buddhist sites of Odisha, Andhra Pradesh and Telengana are contiguous in nature and reflect the life and culture of the region with visible material remains, perhaps constructed with the patronage of traders, guilds, kings and commoners. The spread of Indian cultural elements in various parts of Asia reveals the extensive and strong connectivity existed in the historical period. At least, from the beginning of Common Era, there is enough evidence of the spread of Indian cultural and religious traits to Southeast Asia, first Buddhism and from fifth centuries, Brahmanical-Hinduism. The transmission of Buddhism to Southeast Asia took place by second century BCE³⁶. It is evident with an increasing use of Indian Hindu and Buddhist religious ideas, monuments and icons and Indian scripts and languages.

The Bay of Bengal has been, historically, an important part of the eastern Indian Ocean, being the largest bay in the world. Within this dynamic maritime space, fundamental techno-cultural processes are observed: movement of ethno-linguistic communities, opening of land-sea routes and ports, innovations in boat building and navigational technologies, spread of botanical cultivars, and refined of craft and artistic skills. Unlike the Central Asian networks, the interlocking maritime networks of Buddhism survived well past the 13th century into the 19th century, for instance, the Bay of Bengal circuit connecting Sri Lanka to Myanmar and Thailand, and the China Sea circuit linking China to Southeast Asia, Korea, and Japan. It could well be seen in Odishan context, where monks and merchants and even princess went to distant islands from East Coast to distribute and popularize Buddhist texts in particular and Buddhism in general³⁷. Perhaps, this is the reason why, we get some reflections of South East Indian culture in the monuments of Angkor and Bayon temple in Cambodia, Borobudur and Prambanan in Java, Poloonaruva and Kandy in Sri Lanka, She-hwan-Dogaba in Myanmar, Craft tradition of Philippines and cultural traditions of Thailand, reflections in the archaeological finds in Bujang Valley in Malaysia and Sambarian in Bali even in China. But all these available evidences speak in scanty about South East India and Odisha which may require more in-depth study of the material evidence by visiting the sites scattered over South East Asia. It is true that culture connects the people and places and archaeology is the best discipline to study visually and interpret, of course requires technical and professional expertise. It may be mentioned that Buddhism went from India, but 'developed in unique ways in Southeast Asia'. The localization of Indian ideas are found expression in the local tradition of Southeast Asian countries like Balinees conception Siva and Vishnu, Cambodian conception of Avalokiteswar, Vishnu and Brahma, Thai culture of Buddha and Jambhala, Javanese conception of mandala at Bayon and Borobudur and many such imprints could

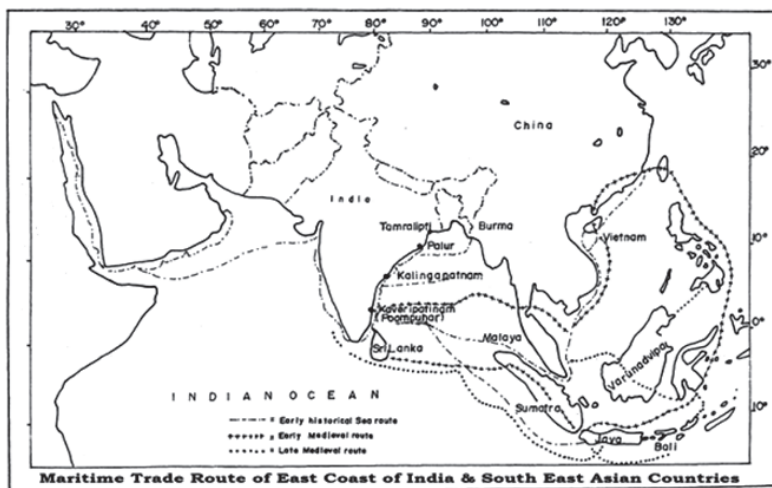
be seen in whole of Southeast Asian countries. The rich Mahayana and Vajrayana images reported from Bujang Valley of Malaysia akin to images of Ratnagiri and Udayagiri and scores of Dharani inscribed clay tablets strongly points out that there was cross-cultural network between South East India and Malaya Peninsula. There are four fold dharanis i.e., dharani of teachings, dharani of meaning, dharani of mantra, dharnai leading to conviction of the Bodhisattva as found in the Yogachara treatise, especially in Bodhisattvabhumi. Dharanis were written in India mostly in the monastic establishments and travelled to distant lands.³⁹

Ptolemy in his Geography of Ancient India mentions, the names of various ports of Kalinga like Palura (Palur area) Nanigania (Puri), Katikardama (Cuttack), Kannagara (Konark), Kosamba (Pipili) or Balasore.⁴⁰ But Ptolemy did not refer to the other ports of Kalinga like Manikapatana, Che-li-Talo, Kalingapatnam where we get all archaeological evidences of a port town which also played a dominant role in maritime history of Odisha from pre-Common Era. Among them the ancient port of Palura is investigated properly in recent times with archaeological excavations. The report is yet to be published by this author. However, the relative date of Palur port (Ganjam District) is between 7th to 6th centuries BCE and continued till 4th century CE and again flourished in the 7th century to 11th-12th century CE. However, the exact location of the Plaur Port in the coast on the southern side of Chilika Lake is difficult to map since the area of Palur is vast and scattered having about 30 early historic sites around including Manikapattana, Gourangapattana, Kankeikuda, Jhadukuda, Kalajamuna and many others where we get archaeological remains as documented by us which need a separate project to establish the maritime glory of Odisha. But our one session archaeological investigation has shed new light on the location and role of Palur port in Maritime Asia with findings of an early Stupa, an inscription of first century CE and many other glass and semiprecious beads and variety potsherd including NBP, rouletted and knobbed ware⁴¹.

Here it may be noted that a region's differentiated centres of political power (royal courts), religious authority (temples), and market places were normally insulated in the port-of-trade's productive agrarian hinterlands. Regional commercial centres were typically separate, often located at coastal river mouths rather than in the distant upstream regions, and depending on the local geography, might network with multiple coastal centres of relatively equal structure rather than with an omnipotent centre⁴².



Fig.4.Early Ports and Maritime Linkages of South East India and South East Asia



The economic factor and the profit of the overseas trade were the main factor for the earliest maritime activities of the people of Kalinga. In support of this N. Dutt writes “The main cause of expansion of Indian culture was commercial enterprise. There were Indian seamen and traders, who ventured into the sea in large boats to procure gold by selling their goods in foreign countries. This search for gold led the Indians to use the name Suvarnabhumi or Suvarnadvipa in indiscriminately –the Silver land and gold land of Ptolemy”. Further, he also says that the trade and commercial activities were carried on not only from the Indian side but were reciprocal⁴³. The wealth of Southeast Asia (more particularly Burma and Indonesia) was an attraction for the Indians. This is illustrated by the Sanskrit names that were given to these countries: Suvarnabhumi, land of gold; Suvarnadvipa, island of gold; Karpuradvipa, island of camphor etc. These taxonomies, as well as the Buddhist Jatakas describe Indian princes going to the east to make their fortune attested to Indian interest in Southeast Asia as a source of gold⁴⁴.

The ports of Kalinga were instrumental to spread different sea routes to different lands for seaborne commerce which was horned by costal inland trade route connecting to hinterland settlements. Radhakumud Mookerjee had earlier assumed that it was the Indian commercial spirit that secured for India the control of the seas for ages; of the ‘daring adventurers’ who sailed from the ports of Kalinga on the sub-continent’s east coast and Gujarat on the west coast to settle in Java, where they established thriving colonies which had a prosperous trade with the mother country, and from where came the artists erect monuments of Java. In the Temples of Borobudur according to Mookerji, Indian art reached its highest expression amid the Indian environment and civilization transplanted there”.⁴⁵

The mariners continued to have commercial, socio-cultural and political relations with South East Asian countries like Java, Sumatra, Bali, Borneo, China, Burma, Cambodia, Malaya and

Thailand and also Sri Lanka. R.D. Banerjee emphasizes that the term, “Kalinga was used extensively in the Malay Peninsula denote a man going there from any part of India”.⁴⁶

Probably, every Indian seemed to them as a Kalingaite, irrespective of the province from where he had come. Scholars have accepted that in addition to trade, a potent motivating factor in this expansion of network from the Indian Sub-continent was Buddhism. H.P. Ray has also put forward a network like model for the Mauryan state – but one which emphasizes relationships of trade and Buddhism rather than political relationships⁴⁷.

MARITIME SILK ROUTE

The spread of Buddhism across Asia has been studied mainly from a perspective of focusing on the transmission through the overland routes popularly known as “Silk Roads” and emphasizing Central Asia as an important transit corridor and contact zone between South and East Asia. Silk performed a number of important roles in the ancient world apart from its value to nomadic tribes. Under the Han dynasty, silk was used alongside coin and grain to pay troops. Silk became an international currency as well luxury product⁴⁸. However, recent scholarship has increasingly recognized the significant role played by the sea routes or maritime “Silk Roads” in shaping pre-modern intra-Asian connectivity. This has paved the way for an appreciation of the important contribution of the southern rim of Asia, especially Eastern and Southern India, Sri Lanka, and Southeast Asia to the genesis, transformation and circulation of various forms of Buddhism. Scholars opine that between fourth to fourteenth centuries, Indian culture, religion and political ideas played a significant role in the politico-cultural landscape of Southeast Asia. “When civilizations meet, they do not necessarily clash but can cohabit and co-operate. They do not compete but can learn from each other”⁴⁹.

This is true, when we look into the standing monuments, ritual practices, social beliefs, and in the material cultures of both the regions. It is appropriate to quote Manguin that while

art and architecture, along with inscriptions, were central to the earlier understanding and debate over Indianization, including the rejection of the 'Indian colonization' thesis, a newer set of insights that confirms the localization perspective comes from archaeology. Our recent archaeological findings confirm the existence of extensive early trade links between India and Southeast Asia, especially trade in artefacts⁵⁰. This phenomenon indicated the view not only that Southeast Asia had come into contact with India for several centuries, "a millennium-long phase of exchange" before the hitherto accepted beginning of Indianization, between the third and fifth centuries CE, but also that in this process, Southeast Asians may have had even greater agency than critics of the conventional Indianization thesis had assumed⁵¹. Milton Osborne has clarified a number of issues relating to general historical developments in the Southeast Asian countries particularly in Post-Second World War. He argues that the countries of Southeast Asia were neither 'little Indians nor 'little Chinas'.⁵² Earlier, it was the conception that Southeast Asia as an area shaped by external cultural values, most particularly those of India and China, but modern scholars have stressed to the strength and importance of indigenous cultural traditions. The importance of Indian religious concepts is recognized in a broad area of Southeast Asia. But the essential features of Indian artistic and architectural concepts played an important part in the development of South-East Asian Art⁵³.

The connection between Buddhism and trade, including that to Southeast Asia, is not really casual. Rather, we can see in the early Common Era, a mutually supportive system. At the ideological level, Buddhism encouraged lay devotees to accumulate wealth by trade; at social level donations to Buddhist monasteries gave status to traders, and at the professional level, Buddhist monasteries were repositories of knowledge and essential skills, such as writing. Not all traders were Buddhist, though many wealthy ones were⁵⁴. Sea travel was the fastest, most economical and safest way to move people and goods in the ancient world. By the second

century CE, the seasonal monsoon winds were fully exploited by maritime traders plying the routes connecting the ports in the Mediterranean Sea with those along the coastal and insular areas of South, Southeast and East Asia. The sea was a connecting factor in Asian history since time immemorial. Cutting across the natural boundaries and barriers of continental topography, sea-based routes formed a network of conduits that led to the formation of a medieval global Buddhist Asia. The widespread presence of maritime scenes of navigation and shipwreck, depicting sea travel in its political, spiritual, and economic ramifications, in sites located on /near the coast or along trading routes in South and Southeast Asia suggests that those scenes, rather than being purely symbolic and metaphysical representations of spiritual dangers, werelinked to an actual imaginary. This, in turn, testifies to the increasing popularity of maritime travel in Buddhist communities from the sixth century CE onwards.⁵⁵ Although Buddhist networks have not received as much attention, significant archaeological, epigraphic and literary evidence demonstrates links between regional networks of shrines and monasteries that facilitated religious transmission and long-distance trade networks used for exchanges of high-value commodities between South Asia⁵⁶.

POST SEVENTH CENTURY SCENARIO

By the middle of the seventh century CE, factors such as a radical expansion of commercial maritime routes connecting South with East Asia, as well as the gradual decline of Buddhism and Buddhist exchanges in Central Asia, following the Muslim conquest of Trans-Oxiana and other socio-political contingencies, contributed significantly to the sea-based exchange not only of mercantile goods but also of Buddhist beliefs and ritual practices. The ideation of Mahaviharas gained prominence under the aegis of Bhumakaras (736-940 CE) and the Palas (750-1200 CE), who patronised famous monastic establishments, including Nalanda, Oddantapuri, Vikramsila, Somapura, Jagaddala, Kurkihar, Vikrampur, Bhorasaila, Udayagiri, Ratnagiri, Solampura etc.

These edifying structures emerged as land marks of Buddhist faith, learning and culture and rituals across the Far East and South East Asia. Some inscriptions shed light on the dominant influence of Odishan dynasties on the islands of Eastern Seas, particularly the Sailendras of Suvarnadvipa share association with the Sailodbhava emigrants of Kongoda⁵⁷. Mujumdar suggested that the Sailendras originated from Kalinga in India and travelling by way of Lower Burma, migrated to the northern part of the Malay Peninsula, whence they ruled over their new kingdom, which designated “Malayasia”.

The existence of Sailendra empire, which at the height of its glory in the ninth century, supposedly embraced large parts of the Indo-Malay Archipelago (the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra and parts of Java) as well as of the Southeast Asian mainland based on the Central Javanese inscriptions (Kalasan 778, Kelurak 782, and Nalanda Charter of 859). Scholar have posited inscriptions noting the existence of settlers from eastern India in Java from the ninth century CE onwards, for example a copperplate inscription from of the earlier ninth-tenth century mention of foreigners presence in the area of from Gola (Bengal), amongst others from Champa, Singha (Sri Lanka), Malyala (Malabar), Reman (Ramnna) and Kmir (Khemar), etc. Similarly, the Kalahdi inscription (909 CE), found in the Brantas Delta and the Cane inscription (1021 CE) also included Kalinga in the range of incoming traders⁵⁸.

Moreover, many scholars have also attempted to establish the Eastern Indian origin of the Sailendra dynasty, which is debatable yet the close cultural contacts between the two political realms remain undisputable Roy E. Jordaan has elaborately discussed the historiography of past researches on the foreign origin of Sailendra dynasty. More research on this aspect is the need of hour by Odishan scholars.

The concurrent development in the same locales of “Savior Cults” focusing on the Bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara, Tārā (especially in her aspect of aṣṭamahābhaya or protectors from

the Eight Great Perils) and Mahāpratisarā as protectors of travelers (especially of sailors) against the perils encountered along their journeys may be due to the increasing number of merchants and monks plying in the commercial routes. Two such images are reported from Ratnagiri. The shipwrecks were common in high sea voyages as is evident from the fact that Avalokitesvara and Tara are represented as saviours from shipwreck. It is evident from an inscription of 2nd century BCE of Bharut refers to Buddha as saviour from sea monster (rescued by Mahadeva from the belly of the sea monster. Mahadeva here is taken to be either Buddha or it could refer to a Boddhisattva⁵⁹. Tara and Bhrukuti are the companion deities of Avalokitesvara as is highlighted in Sadhanamala and Nispannayogavali. Tara in varied manifestations classified under rubric of colour symbolism is found in the Sadhanamala which prescribe the sacred Tara mantra (Om Tare Tutarre Ture Svaha). One such image is reported from Lalitgiri inscribed with the mantra. Tara is again a popular deity in Maritime South East Asia.

There are eleven manifestations of the goddess Tara which include Arya Tara, Astamahavaya Tara, Dhanada Tara, Durgottarini Tara, Khadiravani Tara, Mahasritara, Mahattari Tara, Mrityuvanchana Tara, Vajra Tara, Varada Tara and Vasya Tara. All these images are found from Odisha⁶⁰. In the Javanese context, the oldest inscription, written in Nagari and datable to the 778 CE, claiming the construction of the temple dedicated to Tara is found in Kalasan Central Java, which refer to the patron named Panamakarna, a Sailendra King. Several individual forms of Tara such as Mahattari Tara and Arya Tara are found which belonging to central Javanese period along with Dhyani Buddha Amogghasiddhi. Tara Cult had a strong hold of Java⁶¹. Besides Tara, several other Buddhist divinities found in Odishan sites such as Chunda, Amoghapasa Lokesvara, Rakta Lokesvara, Bhrukuti, Prajnaparamita are very much popular in Indonesia. More intensive work in this aspect is required to understand the cultural interaction of Odisha and South East Asia.

Overseas trade involved shipping and it is clear that ships were built in India both for the inland waterways and for ocean traffic. There are references in the Epics for shipping duties being paid by 'merchants coming from far off places'. The export items from India include silk, muslin-the finer sorts of cloth, cutlery and armory, brocades, embroideries and rugs, perfumes and drugs, ivory and ivory work, jewelry of gold and other metals and of precious stones. These were the main articles in which the merchants dealt with⁶². Significantly, many of the powerful dynasties who were instrumental in the sponsorship and spread of Mahāyāna and Mantrayana Buddhism ruled over domains located along the nodes of commercial and diplomatic maritime networks. The examples are the Pālas in North-Eastern India, the Bhauma-Karas in Odisha, the Early Second Lambakannas in Sri Lanka, the Śailendras in Java and Sumatra, and the Tangs in China. In some cases, the maritime passages of monks were directly sponsored by kings and doubled as diplomatic missions, involving large travel parties including dignitaries and military exponents. The bronzes found from Indonesia, particularly standing Buddhas are dated between fourth to seventh centuries CE. They are found in Sumatra, central and eastern Java, east Kalimantan and west and south-west Sulawesi. These metal images show, as scholars have compared them with late Amaravati style of South India⁶³.

Some other scholars opined that dated between sixth- eighth century CE⁶⁴. In comparison with Indonesian findings some of the images found from Achutrajpur in Odisha are very much akin and the date of these images is between 9th-10th centuries CE. Although scholars have compared the style and technique of Indonesian images and surmise that they have some influence of Amaravati style and some post-Gupta influence. In this context Achyutrajpur Bronzes too might have influenced and show some affinity. The commercial communication was there, as has been known from two port sites around Kongodamandala i.e., Gourangapatna and Manikapatna⁶⁵.

The Bodhisattva bronze image from Sainbas, west Kalimantan dates to 8th-9th century CE shows eastern Indian style may be of Palas or Bhaumakaras. This image is on display in British museum. Achutrajpur is a part of Sailodbhava Empire during 6th to 8th century CE where Saivism was the principal religion but after 8th century, Buddhism was prevailed there and a good number of Buddhist monuments were constructed in the vicinity and faint remains are documented by the author. Deviprasad Ghosh strongly argues that Kala-makara combined motif of Java as ornament (kirtimukha and makra) in Tajandi Kalasan and Borobudur represented by the chaitya-window niches, migrated from Odisha. In fact, Coede' has already accepted the view of Devaprasad Ghosh and R.C. Mujumadar opines that the Sailendras of Srivijaya originated from Sailodbhavas of Odisha⁶⁶. There is a greater evidence of commercial voyages and emigration of Kalinga people, whose point of origin includes what is today's Odisha as well as northern Andhra Pradesh, to Southeast Asia, and their cultural and economic presence especially in what are today Burma (Myanmar), Malaysia (where they are known as 'klings'), Cambodia and Indonesia i.e, Sumatra, Java, Bali and Borneo⁶⁷. The localization of Indian ideas are found expression in the local tradition of Southeast Asian countries like Balinees conception Siva and Vishnu, Cambodian conception of Avalokiteswar, Vishnu and Brahma, Thai culture of Buddha and Jambhala, Javanese conception of mandala at Bayon and Borobudur and many such imprints could be seen in whole of Southeast Asian countries. The Ramayana contains reference to Java and Sumatra. In the search for missing queen Sita, Sugriwa, king of monkeys, sends his army to the land of Yawa which is graced by seven kingdoms and the island of gold and silver which is adorned by gold mines. Other early Indian sources such as Vayu Purana also mentions Yamadvipa and Malaydvipa and their mines of gold, precious stones, silver and sandalwood.



Fig.5.Trading zones of South East India and South East Asia

Traders and shippers from both sides were involved, and we find groups of traders from particular places would reappear annually at the ports with which regular relations had been built up and would reside there during the trading season. This historical phenomenon has been studied by many scholars who are of opinion

that between four to fourteenth centuries, Indian culture, religion and political ideas played a significant role in the politico-cultural landscape of Southeast Asia. Kulke remarks that Indian culture did not reach Southeast Asia through any moment of 'transplantation', but through a continuous and complex set of networks of relations within and between the regions, by mutual process which linked both sides of the Bay of Bengal⁶⁸.

It is recorded that the first Chola embassy to China occurred in 1015 CE. It is also evident that there were a triangular trade network between Kalinga, Siam and Java around 11th-12th century CE and the kings of these countries had to periodically mount expeditions to put down Malaya and Bugi pirates operating in the Strait of Malacca in the Maritime Southeast Asia. Further trans-oceanic cultural interaction continues. From the 9th century onwards the greatest centre of civilization was once more Western Asia, with sudden development of Arab culture, fertilized by the new religion of Islam and contact with Byzantium.

Scholars today generally accept that in the 1000-1500 CE era new nautical technology (larger capacity and better-made ships paired with better geographical knowledge of the passageway) and newly centralizing civilizations in the Asia regions created regional marketing opportunities that resulted in the segmentation of the East-West maritime route. China was one of the earliest eastern markets for Indian cotton. During the later Han dynasty, c. 25-220 CE, the Chinese came to know about xibu (fine cloth) through direct and indirect contact with Indian traders⁶⁹. The Chinese needed large quantities of white cotton cloth for the uniforms of their soldiers serving in dry, hot regions, and it remained a valuable import for a long time. White cloth was accepted as tax and used for payment to the imperial officers and soldiers. The same cloth later came to be known as kanipha in Ming dynasty, bafta in Thailand and kain in Malaysia. Indians used to carry the cloth to Southeast Asia on the way to China, while Southeast Asian countries re-exported it along with other commodities. The Silappadikarm

refers to this growing trade which included agile, silk, candysandal, salt and camphor⁷⁰. Fahien mentions Indian merchants conducting trade with his country. Hecalls the cotton fabric trade of India po-tie which is connected with the Sanskrit word pota or patti in Dravidian language.

Scholars studying Bay of Bengal trade networks have agreed that in the 1000-1500 era earlier dominant East-West maritime trade between India and China (a conceptual “Maritime Silk Road”) gave way to a North-South regional trade in tropical products with notable infusions of species, woods, grains, gems and pearls which were exchanged for Chinese porcelain and silk and Indian cotton textiles and intersected with the primary East–West Indian Ocean route in the Strait of Malaka. The rise of more port-centred regional states took place at the end of this era, which was in contrast to earlier times when polities were based in their productive agricultural hinterlands and viewed maritime trade as an appended source of tax revenues and exotic luxury goods. There was no hierarchical trade structure corresponding to markets with a single clearing house or a single core with peripheries with which it traded on terms of unequal exchange. The Bay of Bengal regional trade was rather a poly-centric network realm.

Then from the fifteenth century onwards the ball was back to Europe, and there remained until recent years. Towards end of 15th century, Europeans began to make certain advances in science and invention which gave them a great technological advantage over the rest of the world, an advantage which they quick to exploit.

CONCLUSION

The journey of Maritime cultural interactions and trade resulted in intimate encounters throughout the history of Odisha which is still reflected in the form of folk tales, traditions and rituals and Baliyatra being celebrated in the sand bed of Mahanadi in Cuttack is one of them. But there is no consolidated history available sofar. Much of early historic evidences lie in the archaeological sites which required technical expertise which is lacking in Odishan

context. The study of early maritime history thus lacks intensive research and only Odishan Institute of Maritime and South East Asian Studies has done little with excavation of Manikapattna, Gournapatna and Palur sites including documentation of early historic sites of Odisha and Andhra coast. On the contrary the scholars of Gujarat, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, and West Bengal are working relentlessly to unfold the Maritime Past of India. The study thus made little but significant and now working with Javanese and Malaysian scholars to understand the role Ancient Odisha in the Maritime sphere of Indian Ocean. The Arab writers have left behind volumes of accounts on Indo-Southeast Asian Maritime trade. Some of them visited these islands were Abu Dulaf Misar (940 CE), Masudi (943CE), and Iban Batuta (1225-54 CE). Subsequently, there were fierce contention between Arabian sailors, Portuguese, Dutch, French and English ships to become dominant in the Bay of Bengal and the internal riverine and coastal trade was thriving up to last part of 19th century. The remnants still visible in Ganjam Fort (Potagarh), Chandbali, Hukitola, Narendrapur and Balasore coast which all need to be documented and interpreted carefully what needed is serious field study and scientific research which has not yet done in the context of Early Odisha to unravel the Maritime Past.

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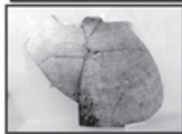
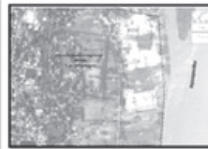
3.1 Chandraketurah



3.2 Boatmotif Mogalmari

Tamralipti (Tamluk)

@sauri parakh



3.3. Tamralipti



4.1 Radhanagar Structural Remains



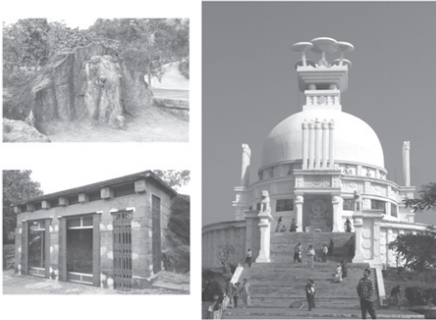
4,2. Monolith Elephant, Kayama



4.3 Excavated Maha Stupa, Langudi



5.1. Sisupalgarh



5.2. Dhauli





5.3 Aragarh belong to 3rd-2nd BCE



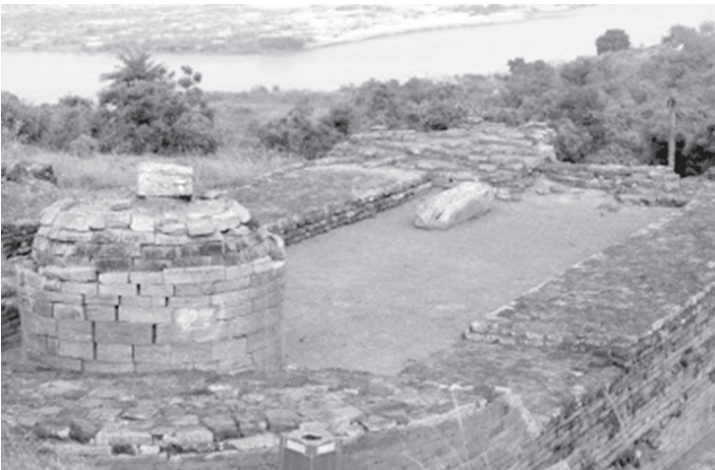
Fig.6. Newly Discovered Stupa Remains on Palur Hilltop



Fig.7. Kharosthi Inscription,Manikapatna



Fig.8.1. Dantapura fortifiedSite



8.2.Salihundam BuddhistRemains



8.3. Kalingapattnam Port and Buddhist Site



Fig.9 1. Thatklakonda



9.2. Bhavikonda



9.3. Lingalakonda



Fig.10.1. Guntupalli



10.2. Ghantasala



10.3. Bhattiprolu

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Maritime Memories and Strategic Realignments: Rediscovering Kalinga in India's Act East Policy

Urbi Das

ABSTRACT

This present article is a rediscovery of the ancient maritime legacy of Kalinga and links its relevance in shaping India's Act East Policy. It explores the relevance of Kalinga's legacy in shaping India's contemporary relations with Southeast Asia and its role in the evolving geopolitics and maritime diplomacy of the region. By examining Kalinga's maritime influence, the paper discusses how India's Act East Policy can draw on the historical precedents to enhance regional connectivity, foster economic integration, and strengthen partnerships. The study traces the historical maritime legacy of the Kalinga Empire which is not merely relic of its heritage but can act as a strategic asset to India's contemporary maritime diplomacy. This would reflect upon the rediscovery of Kalinga both as a part of strategic realignment underscoring its importance to engagement with Southeast Asian and therefore a successful Act East Policy. The article argues for a greater role of Odisha in India's Act East Policy where historical consciousness would lead to accelerating sustainable future-oriented development.

Keywords: Kalinga, Odisha, Act East Policy, Southeast Asia, maritime diplomacy.

INTRODUCTION

Geopolitics is essentially the study of how geographical factors such as location, size, climate, terrain and even resources affect power dynamics, strategies and political decisions of nation-states. It reflects the impact of geography upon the choices of the actors and help explain the behavior of nation-states including trade, territorial disputes, economic alliances and military considerations. Colin Flint (2006) describes “Geopolitics, as the struggle over the control of spaces and places, focuses upon power, or the ability to achieve particular goals in the face of opposition or alternatives.” The study of geopolitical factors therefore is intrinsic to the study of international politics since it helps to decode the interconnections and complexities of international relations. Geopolitics has an essential link to history. In understanding this, the specificities of maritime history can be taken into account. KM Panikkar (1945) in his famous work *India and The Indian Ocean: An Essay on The Influence of Sea Power on Indian History* advocates the supremacy of sea power pointing out that India’s never lost her sovereignty until she lost control of the seas in the early half of the 16th century. Indian Ocean in this sense has become critical to scripting India’s fate since time immemorial. Today, with a coastline of 7516.60 km¹, India dependence on the seas is a natural extension of her geography and is a matter of her pride. The waters have been a source of her livelihood and also a marker of her glory and sovereignty. This naturally translates into securitizing the maritime zones and enhancing her outreach.

India’s Look East and Act East policy has been the cornerstone of her geopolitical calculations in the Southeast Asia and the Indo-Pacific. It is a long term visionary plus a policy that encompasses strategic, diplomatic, political, economic and cultural dimensions. India’s long coastline particularly on the Eastern side can play

1. Survey of India: Length Of Coastline Of India <https://surveyofindia.gov.in/webroot/UserFiles/files/Length%20of%20Coastline%20of%20India.pdf>

a vital role in this regard. Again, geopolitical narrative is an endowment of the past, something like inheritance that can be the guide to futuristic outlook and maritime policy making. Kalinga was a historically thriving maritime power that had well established commercial and cultural linkages across the seas and oceans, with exchanges that went beyond material trade, embracing religion, culture and language. The article in its subsequent sections would explore these glories of the historical inheritances of Kalinga and would elaborate upon the potential of Odisha, which can be regarded as upholding the bequest of Kalinga, in India's maritime diplomacy and the Act East Policy.

TRACING KALINGA'S MARITIME HISTORY

Referred to as one of the most powerful kingdoms since the ancient time, Kalinga encompassed the territory that was not limited to the modern day Odisha and whose boundary can roughly be stated to extend from the Godavari to the Mahanadi River (Majumder, 1996). Its reference is found in the Mahabharata where King Srutayudha who was the ruler of the Kalinga joined the camp of the Kauravas in the epic battle of Kurukshetra and was killed by Bhimsena along with his sons. The Puranas hold that the empire of Kalinga was ruled by 32 Kshatriya kings till the ascendance of Mahapadmananda to the throne of Magadha in 362 B. C. who made Kalinga as part of his empire. Under him Kalinga's opulence increased though she lost her independence. Kalinga was again brought under the Mauryan Empire by Emperor Ashoka after the colossal Kalinga war that had a huge impact on Emperor Ashoka and he devoted himself to Buddhism becoming Dhammashoka (Government of Orissa). Kalinga's economic and commercial significance rose during the reign of Mahameghavahana Kharavela. Often referred to as Kalinga's greatest emperor, Mahameghavahana Kharavela increased maritime explorations and encouraged sea based commercial activities, the evidence of which is found in the inscriptions of Hati Gumpah (found in Udaygiri and Khandagiri) and also in the Madala Panji, also confirmed from the evidences

such as coins and seals discovered from the ruins of Sishupalagarh, which was the capital of Kharavela (Government of Orissa). Kalinga's rich maritime history found its apt articulation during Emperor Kharavela when trade routes were established linking Sinhala (Sri Lanka), Siam (Thailand), Burma, Sumatra, Cambodia, Vietnam, Java, Bali. Furthermore, archeological excavations also revealed that trade not only encompassed Southeast Asian countries but also indicated contact with the Roman Empire in the early part of the Christian era. The discovery of Roman coins by the archaeologists in Bamanghati (Mayurbhanj district) and Vishakhapatnam, both of which were within the historical boundaries of ancient Odisha, attest to Kalinga's trade with Rome that exported goods in exchange for Roman currency. The sculpture of a giraffe, an animal that is native to Africa, found inscribed on the Sun Temple of Konark, exemplifies Kalinga's trade with Africa, from where the voyagers and merchants are likely to have brought exotic spices, also confirming Kalinga's maritime connectivity expanse and vision. This in turn contributed the cultural outcomes of the South-East Asia (Dash, 2017).

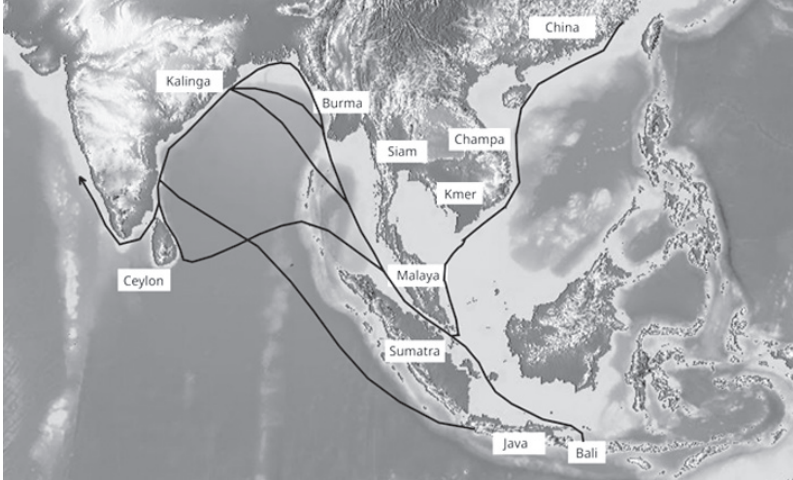
Again, the unearthing of Celadonware, Chinese porcelain with blue floral designs on white background also bears evidence to the existence of commercial contact between Kalinga and China; and egg white glazed ware and glazed chocolate ware indicating that they were of the Arabian origin. Kalinga in early medieval phase was renowned for manufacturing items out of *hasti-dantas* (elephant teeth) which was quite famous among the Arabian merchants, and finds mention in *Salsilat-ul-Tawarikh* of A.D.851, by Arabian merchant Sulaiman. The most remarkable discovery was that of Chinese circular copper coins dating back to the 4th century that clearly proves the existence of a port city in these areas. Archeologists working along with historians have identified Tamralipti, Chelitalo and Palaura as the primary ports of Kalinga and Utkala during this early phase. The reference to Chelitalo (Zhe-li-dalo) which can be identified near to the sea

shore of Odra was made by Hiuen Tsang, the famous Chinese Buddhist pilgrim and explorer, who remarked the area as a thoroughfare and a shelter for sea-faring traders and travelers from distant lands. Various historians have also corroborated their observations into identifying areas in and around the present Chilika Lake as significant to international trade and commerce (Dash, 2011). Again, Manikapatnam port played a crucial role in facilitation maritime commerce between the East and the West. The renowned court historian of Emperor Akbar, Abul Fazl refers to Manikapatnam as a major port where salt duties were collected during the Mughal era. From the ancient eras, the people of Kalinga maintained enormous commercial, colonial and cultural relations with Southeast Asian nations such as Bali, Sumatra, Java, Borneo and Malaya. By the 2nd century AD onwards, both Hinduism and Buddhism thrived in Suvarnavdipa. Again, the influence of Kalinga in this region reached its zenith in the 8th century A.D., and this coincided with the emergence of the Sailendra Empire that included Java, Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula, Borneo, and Bali. As mentioned, Kalinga's influence reached Simhala (Sri Lanka) around the 5th century BC and moreover, it is also believed that Kalinga which had maritime links with Burma, was known as 'Ussa,' which is thought to have been derived from the word 'Odisha.' Chinese sources further confirm the existence of a thriving commercial and cultural exchange between Kalinga and China, and Simhala and Java were the maritime routes connecting Kalinga to China. It has also been found that renowned Kalingan scholar Subhakaravijaya visited the court of the Chinese Emperor Hsuan-Tsung and he translated the Buddhist text Mahāvairocana Sūtra into Chinese language (Dash, 2017). Reciprocal evidences of the cultural milieu in Southeast East Asia were corroborated from Chinese travellers and historians who referred to the cultural amalgamation of the people naming it Kulun (people of Kalinga) (Patra, 2004). Thus is the illustrations maritime history of Kalinga which now can be

regarded as an important civilizational and maritime connectivity link between Southeast Asia and India.

The map below shows the glorious maritime connectivity link between Kalinga and Southeast Asia.

MAP OF KALINGA'S MARITIME TRADE ROUTE



[Source: Government of India, “Bali Yatra”, URL: <https://indianculture.gov.in/stories/bali-yatra#>]

Kalinga due to her geopolitical location, a long coastline favoring her maritime tradition and therefore as a natural urge to becoming an overseas power. The maritime tradition was confirmed in the writings of Ptolemy who identified Nanigaina (Puri), Katikardama (Cuttack), Kannagara (Konark), and Kosamba (Balasore) as some of the important ports of the ancient era. Such was the prowess of the Empire that the king of Ceylon Vijayabahu I married Trilokasundari, princess of the royal family of Kalinga (Lahangirkrishnakant, 2021), an alliance that can be analyzed as the outcome of the strengthening political alliance between two maritime powers. Dash and Bishal (2023) notes that the state of Kalinga ‘moved beyond the seas’ asserted its influence in several Indian and Pacific Ocean island states. In addition to trade, the

organization of fairs and festivals, locational advantages that facilitated political and administrative logistics, and the abundance of religious shrines added to the significance of the region.

It can therefore be said that, with trade and commerce, the flow of culture became a natural outcome that enhanced the richness and knowledge of the people of Kalinga, as there remains innumerable accounts of Kalingan settlements in South East Asia in the early periods. The geopolitical realities of the yester years can be seen to bind and become akin with the economic and strategic needs of the present day, calling for Odisha, the largest successor state of the Kalinga Empire to play a critical role in India's Look East and Act East Policy.

INDIA'S LOOK EAST AND ACT EAST POLICY: THE KALINGA FACTOR

India is a civilizational state rooted in her tradition, discovery of the past; which is the brightest exposition of her rich heritage. It serves as a unique political and cultural milieu, which while maintaining its core values and traditions has evolved over time. It is also fundamental to the framing of India's national interest and foreign policy perspectives. Indian Foreign Minister Dr. S Jaishankar (2025) notes that India continuity and pride has its roots in her history, culture and politics. India prides in her diversity, intellectual pluralism and democracy, which has emerged as a strong force in her engagement with the world. Again it is interesting to note the influence of geography in the making of India's foreign policy.

So after independence, India continued to pursue a foreign policy that would strengthen her image in the international community as a harbinger of peace, equitable global order, respect for diversity and promotion of shared interest and, upholding sovereignty and rule of law. India's first Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru engaged upon the task of nation building amidst the world order that was increasingly polarized and divided and therefore India undertook the path of Non-Alignment. India sought

to maintain ideological distance from both the superpowers (USA and Soviet Union) while pursuing friendly ties with them and the other countries of the world through economic and cultural ties. India's relation with the Southeast Asian countries, though suffered a relative set-back due to the bi-colored nature of global order during the cold war days, however, such ties reinvigorated itself after the end of the cold war and more particularly after 1991 when India liberalized her economy opening up the doors for commercial activities.

The century old relationship between India and the Southeast Asia seemed to revive as India started looking East by officially undertaking the Look East Policy in 1992. The Look East Policy announced by Prime Minister PV Narasimha Rao was a turning point in the relation with Southeast Asia both politically and economically. India-ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) relations soon gained momentum with India becoming the Dialogue Partner of ASEAN and that being upgraded to India becoming of member of ASEAN Regional Forum in 1996. India's maritime trade with Southeast Asia which had a long history and existed even before the coming of modern sovereign states already had its impact felt in the region's commerce, culture including religion, governance and rich art. Therefore, the inclination towards East was elemental and without any force or arms. The relation was marked by high-level bilateral visits and exchanges that aided in developing a robust bilateral relations with Indonesia, Vietnam, Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand in defense and maritime security along with boosting cultural and economic relations (Banerjee, 2024). Special focus was ordained to Myanmar by the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) since it is the connecting link between India and ASEAN along with emphasis to building strong ties with Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam. The most notable step towards enhancing the relation was the signing of the Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) between India and ASEAN in August 2009. The FTA proved to enhance India's economic

ties with not only the ASEAN countries but also actively engage with Japan, Australia and the Republic of Korea, furthering India's foot prints in the Far East. Over a period of fifteen years (1995 to 2010), commercial activities received a massive boost with trade statistics reflecting an upward trend from US \$2.3 billion in 1991-92 to about US \$50 billion in 2010-11 (Jyoti, 2024). Though progress did happen in India- Southeast Asia relations, however, the Look East Policy was slow and lacked the essential boost in terms of economic benefits. Naido (2010) notes that India's trade with ASEAN fell short compared to China which was about US \$200 billion in 2010 compared to just about US \$44 billion with India. India's slow growth, coupled with delay in delivering the developmental projects, lags in confidence-building measures and policy predictability were some of the lacunas in the realm of regional security cooperation.

Aiming to resolve these limitations and in a bid to upgrade the relation, in 2014, India made a strategic shift from Look East Policy to the Act East Policy, with the aim of elevating economic relations not only with Southeast Asian nations but also with those in East Asia. This transition was formalized during the ASEAN-India Summit in 2014, where the Indian government expressed its intention to broaden its ties with ASEAN member states as well as East Timor, Australia, and the Pacific Islands. While the desire to rejuvenate its relationship with the littoral states of the Indo-Pacific was a significant factor behind India's adoption of the Act East policy, another crucial motivation was its alignment with India's broader Indo-Pacific strategy and the necessity to elucidate China's true intentions to the international community (Kesavan, 2020).

Since its inception, the core focus of India's Act East policy has been on strengthening ties with nations such as Myanmar, Vietnam, and Indonesia, which face ongoing maritime aggression from China in the Indo-Pacific region. India views this as an opportunity to foster economic, diplomatic, and strategic partnerships with these nations, thereby revealing China's behaviour to them, especially

considering their existing territorial disputes with China. India may contemplate forming an alliance comprising states that suffer due China's assertiveness in the Indo-Pacific, which could not only advance India's interests in Southeast and East Asia but also enhance its leverage over China in the region. However, achieving this would necessitate India bolstering its trade and investment ties with these nations to position itself as a viable alternative to China.

Under the Act East policy framework, India established the Project Development Fund in 2016 to facilitate streamlined investment processes and the expansion of manufacturing centers. Notably, India has made concerted efforts to enhance engagements with ASEAN states under this policy, resulting in burgeoning trade relations between India and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). This collaboration has seen the signing of two significant trade agreements covering goods and services, making it one of the largest trade blocs globally with a combined GDP of approximately \$3 trillion. Additionally, India's decision to appoint a dedicated ambassador to ASEAN underscores its commitment to elevating ASEAN as a strategic partner. Within the Act East policy framework, India places considerable emphasis on both strategic and economic dimensions. As such, it is actively cultivating robust economic and strategic partnerships with countries such as Indonesia, Vietnam, Japan, Australia, South Korea, and Malaysia (Kesavan, 2020). Given the challenges posed by the shifting dynamics in the Indo-Pacific, particularly with the diminishing influence of the United States and the ascendancy of China, India has introduced a number of missions and programmes which is geared towards supporting the countries of the region as well as ensuring development and security of the region.

Embracing Look East and Act East was therefore a natural geopolitical extension of India's foreign policy that traces its source in her history and civilizational heritage and was coupled with economic boom and diaspora linkages which increased contacts and attractiveness of India to Southeast Asia and vice versa.

Modern day Odisha carrying the legacy of Kalinga, played a catalytic role in India relations in Southeast Asia, especially since her eastern coast shared geographical proximity and aided in maritime relations (Yamin, 2004). Blessed with all the geopolitical advantages, major ports, infrastructure connectivity and affluence, then Chief Minister of Odisha Naveen Patnaik in 2022 upheld Odisha as the gateway to ASEAN and the cultural and commercial link between India and ASEAN (Bishoye, 2022).

The Bali Yatra (Voyage to Bali) commemorates Kalinga's rich maritime heritage, cultural exchange with Southeast Asian countries, particularly Bali and is celebrated on the Kartika Purnima (full moon day of the month of Kartik, that is October- November) every year (PIB, 2025). It is believed that on this time of the year, the traders and merchants of Kalinga departed for the Indonesian island. Archaeological findings reveal that the Sadhabas, that is the expert mariners and merchants from Kalinga sailed extensively across the Bay of Bengal, forging strong trade links with Southeast Asian islands including Bali, Java, Sumatra, and Borneo. These expeditions were accomplished by the use of Boitas which are large, robust ships constructed from locally available teak and sal tree wood. Trade was not only limited to material commodities but it also facilitated significant cultural, religious, and linguistic exchanges that profoundly influenced the cultural of the people of the Southeast Asian region (Alexander, 2024). Addressing at the 18th Pravasi Bharatiya Divas 2025 in Bhubaneswar, Jaishankar said: "We have spoken of the Look East policy, in many ways you can say that the policy has a historical origin in this state. The Bali yatra, that connected India to South East Asia, actually started in Odisha" (Mohanty, The Telegraph, 2025)

The Bali Yatra reminds the people of India of the genius, courage, expertise and skills of the sailors of Kalinga that made the empire one of the most prosperous and glorified empire of those times (Government of India, Ministry of Culture). The 2024 edition of Bali Yatra was inaugurated with much jubilation by

Odisha Chief Minister Mohan Charan Majhi on 15 November, welcoming diplomats, ambassadors and high commissioners from 14 countries including high level representatives from ASEAN, BIMSTEC, and the Pacific Island nations. The Bali Yatra was thus elevated on the global scale and can therefore be regarded as one step forward to acting 'East' through revitalizing Kalinga maritime legacy (Alexander, 2024). It is also a reminder and recollection of the glory of Kalinga's maritime trade history and her effort in building ties with South-East Asia.

The significance of Odisha has been underlined in the Investors Summit Meet, where investors, envoys and delegates from India and 12 foreign countries including Australia, Japan, the UK, Germany, Singapore, Malaysia, Cuba, and Holland were invited to attend one of the most significant business summit better known as 'Utkarsh Odisha-Make in Odisha' summit. Prime Minister Modi inaugurating the Utkarsh Odisha - Make in Odisha Conclave in Bhubaneswar remarked on Odisha's pivotal role in India's development. He reiterated the enduring legacy of Odisha with flourishing ports, and vibrant trade networks once served as a vital hub of maritime trade with Southeast Asia, and its ancient ports functioned as key gateways to the Indian subcontinent. Today, these ties serves as an engine of India's economic growth as the ASEAN countries have been keen on 'strengthening the connection of trade and tradition with Odisha' (PIB, 2025). Prime Minister Modi's address hints at the centrality of Odisha in India's Act East Policy as it served as a vital hub of maritime trade with Southeast Asia, and its ancient ports functioned as key gateways to the Indian subcontinent. If the goal of India is to become Vikshit Bharat by 2047, the Odisha definitely need be ordained a pivotal role in scripting this development.

Odisha has been given special importance under the Act East Policy and the Sagarmala programme which is a larger part of India's Indo-Pacific region. The Sagarmala programme, initiated by the Ministry of Shipping, serves as the primary initiative to

foster port-led development in India. It aims to leverage the nation's extensive coastline spanning 7,500 kilometers, its potentially navigable waterways stretching over 14,500 kilometers, and its strategic position along key international maritime trade routes. The Paradip Port which located in Odisha, and is a major port on the eastern coast plays a pivotal role in India's Sagarmala Programme and been the focus of several modernization and expansion initiatives and improving maritime infrastructure (Ministry of Shipping, Government of India, 2018). The port has undertaken mechanization of EQ1, EQ2, and EQ3 berths on a Build-Operate-Transfer (BOT) basis, with an investment of Rs. 1,438 crores that will enhance operational efficiency and cargo handling capacity, along with deepening inner harbour capability with an addition of 25 million tonnes per annum (MTPA). Paradip would become a vital zone of eastern connectivity channel by developing a Smart Industrial Port City (SIPC) encompassing 700 acres which included a Multi-Modal Logistics Park (MMLP), wood park, food processing units, and a pellet plant. Along with this, local coastal fishing is given a boost and supporting coastal communities through up-gradation of fishing harbour with an investment of ₹108.9 crores (PIB, 2024).

Odisha's geopolitical location on the east coast of India along with three ports makes her a natural choice to the ASEAN countries and an integral part of India's maritime diplomacy. As a part of the Sagarmala Initiative, the Odisha Economic Corridor (OEC) which is the third phase of East Coast Economic Corridor (ECEC) connecting the Visakhapatnam-Chennai Industrial Corridor (VCIC) and the Chennai-Kanyakumari Industrial Corridor (CKIC). OEC pioneers port-led development under Sagarmala that not only ventures into development of industrial infrastructure in some of the districts of Odisha, but also envisions manufacturing-led growth of the State under the Odisha Industrial Development Plan, 2025. This would encourage skill development, attract new investments, boost existing commerce and creating an attractive

regulatory environment that would create job opportunities, increase competitiveness of Odisha in the global production networks. OEC is therefore a vital part of India's Act East Policy that endorses regional integration with the economies of Southeast Asia and East Asia. It has certain unique advantages in terms of gateways, connectivity, seamless integration, natural resources, industrial ecosystem to facilitate industrial advantages and readily available infrastructure that includes Infocity, Chandaka Industrial Estate (IT SEZ), Mega Food Park. All this generates huge impetus to India's ASEAN centrality and therefore Odisha forms a central position in various Government of India initiatives such as Bharatmala, East Coast Economic Corridor (ECEC), Golden Quadrilateral, Make in India, among others (NICDIT, 2020).

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

Act East Policy introduced in the early 21st century, represents a strategic pivot towards Southeast Asia and the broader Indo-Pacific region. Central to this policy is India's growing engagement in maritime diplomacy, which leverages its geographic and cultural ties with its maritime neighbours. A significant, yet often overlooked, historical reference for India's maritime strategy is the ancient kingdom of Kalinga, located in present-day Odisha. Kalinga's historical maritime prowess, its extensive trade routes, and its influence across Southeast Asia and beyond, present a blueprint for modern India's engagement with the Indo-Pacific region. Kalinga presents herself as geopolitical lesson for maritime engagements in the waters of the Indian and the Pacific Ocean.

It can be said at this juncture that if India is to become a US \$ 4 trillion economy, she sought to cultivate her ties with Southeast Asia. Southeast Asian nations have a history of being welcoming to India and through years of cultural contact, India and Southeast Asia have evolved to become natural and enduring friends. India prosperous relation with Southeast Asia which can be well traced back to the days of Emperor Kharavela, and therefore any attempt to reinvigorating India's ties with Southeast Asia

would be incomplete without incorporating Kalinga. The present Act East Policy is the outcome of the evolving foreign policy of India which is a perfect milieu of geopolitical realities with India's ancient past. It reconnects the loose ends of India's glorious past which forms the base of the ultimate goal to evolve as a sustainable, Vikshit (developed) partner to our Eastern neighbors. Act East policy should explore more on the richness of Kalinga and its ancient knowledge in exploring the maritime domain. Geopolitical realities are an inescapable and if used in the positive sense can present enormous potential for India. The government of India though has undertaken initiatives to conquer the opportunities but it still falls short to tap the enormous capabilities of maritime sectors, be it trade or strategic. As noted in the above discussions, maritime diplomacy and maritime power is the key to strengthening the economy and Kalinga has to be given a special place in this maritime diplomacy, particularly when oceans and seas connect distant lands presenting an uninterrupted plethora of engagement for human civilization to thrive on.

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Linkages between Early Kalinga and Southeast Asia

Vijaya Laxmi Singh

Kalinga is a historical region in present-day northeastern India, parts of northeastern Andhra Pradesh, and southern Odisha. The kingdoms of Kosala, Utkala, and Kalinga, termed Trikalanga, constitute the modern Orissa, which was ruled by the Samvarta dynasty, whose ruler was popularly known as Trikalangadhipathi (the sovereign ruler of Kalinga) or Sakaladhipati (the ruler of all Kalingas). Kalinga was situated in the southern part of Orissa between Mahanadi and Subarnarekha rivers and was also known as Kongoda. Kalinga was highlighted during the Nanda and the Mauryan rule in Magadha. Simultaneously, the coastal region of Kalinga was connected to Southeast Asia through trading activities. The Journey was started by merchants (Sadhabapus), Kalinga was in the delta region of Mahanadi near the sea. The merchants of ancient Kalinga had expertise in geography, astronomy, and marine science. The seafarers of Kalinga were known as ‘Kalinga Sahasikah’ as discussed in ancient Manuscripts. Kalinga’s dominion over maritime space was significant as the Bay of Bengal was termed Kalinga Sagar, and the king of Kalinga had assumed the title Mahodadhipati.¹

1. Mukherji, Neelmani, ed. *Rsaghuvamsham of Kalidasa*, Vol. Vi, Calcutta, 1876

Throughout ancient times, the merchants of Kalingas exhibited their proficiency in commercial endeavors, forging robust and amicable trade connections with far-flung regions such as Java, Sumatra, Bali, Borneo, and Sinhalese in Southeast and South Asia.

There have been continuous cultural interactions between ancient India and Southeast Asia. Among these interactions, the influence of the Kalinga region (present-day Odisha) on the Champa Kingdom (located in Vietnam) stands out as a significant chapter in the annals of cultural exchange. The transmission of Kalingan culture to distant parts of Southeast Asia, Sri Lanka, and other places is one of the most outstanding achievements of the people of Kalinga. No other great civilization, not even the Hellenic, had achieved similar success without military conquest. The 'Greater India' theory boasts² of Indianized states in Southeast Asia, and, in this process, the Kalingans played a significant role in being, p.54 tremendous sea-faring nation and being situated on the sea coast dotted with several natural ports. The Indian influence in general, and the Kalingan influence in particular, can be seen in the magnificent temples at Pagan (Myanmar), Angkor (Cambodia) and Borobudur (Java).

We notice changing perceptions in the historiographical contours of Indian writings about Kalinga and southeast Asia. The Southeast Asian countries appear in the writings of the colonial and nationalist historians during the Indian National Movement. The writings of colonial authors on the civilizing mission of imperialist power in India were contradicted by the nationalist scholars who demonstrated the ancientness of Indian civilization to instil a sense of pride among the Indians about their understanding of the past.³ Greater India Society was founded in

2. The term Greater India was exemplified by Rabindra Nath Tagore, which encompasses the historical and cultural context of the Indian subcontinent. The greater India concept represents historical relations between India and South East Asia and influence of Indian Culture and civilization on the territories beyond the sea.

3. K Basa, Indian Writings on History and Archaeology of Southeast Asia: A Historiographical analysis, Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, 2009, p. 397

1926 which was intended to familiarize the people of India with the contribution of their predecessors to the history and culture of Southeast Asia.⁴ A journal was started in 1936, which continued till independence. Rabindranath Tagore was its first editor. Radha Kumud Mukherji, also under the influence of events about the partition of Bengal, wrote about the colonization of India in Southeast Asia, emphasizing the role of Kalinga on the eastern coast and Gujarat on the western coast, influencing the temple of Borobudur on Java with Indian art and culture.⁵ Three forms of the colony appear in the context of Southeast Asia, commercial political and cultural. The nationalist historian R.C Majumdar said, “Colonisation, as distinguished from the establishment of political authority, evidently took place much earlier and the beginnings of trade intercourse which must have preceded colonization may thus be placed centuries before the Christian Era”⁶. This Indicates the beginning of colonization in South East Asia.

We have references to Southeast Asia in Pali, Sanskrit, and Tamil languages from the 3rd century BCE to the early Christian era. Purana, Ramayana, Mahabharata, Jatakas etc. Various Historical and archaeological accounts point to the interaction of ancient Kalinga with southeast Asia. Jatakas mentions the story of merchants who travelled to distant East Asian lands.⁷ Ashokan edicts mention Kalinga, which was won in the war by Ashoka, and through Kalinga, Ashoka facilitated trade and Buddhist missionary activities to Southeast Asia. The Hanthigumpha Cave inscription(located in Udaigiri, Bhubaneshwar) of Kharavela in

4. Ibid

5. Ibid

6. Majumdar, R.C., Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East, Vol. I , 1927. Colonised as Coloniser: Historiography of Indian Writings on South East Asian Archaeology during Early Twentieth Century. <https://juniperpublishers.com/gjaa/GJAA.MS.ID.555641.php>

7. Law, B.C.: Historical Geography of Ancient India, 1967, Paris: Societe Asiatique de Paris

the first century BC mentions the power of Kalinga stretching to maritime activities in Southeast Asia⁸. The Chinese traveller Huen Tsang recorded the trade with India and Southeast Asia and mentions Kalinga in the context. Some travellers mention the interaction between the eastern coasts and Southeast Asia. (Pliny in the first century CE). The literary text Raghuvansham (Kalidas) mentions the Kalingan King as Mahodadhipati (the Lord of the Sea).⁹ Raghuvamsa again mentions that the clove scented breezes come from the dvipantara i.e. Indonesian Archipelago.¹⁰

The Mahayana Buddhist Text Aryamanjushrimulakalpa¹¹ refers to 'Kalingadresu' (all islands of the Kalinga sea) indicating the dominance of Kalinga's voyage ships in the eastern sea. The Bay of Bengal was known as Kalinga Sagar. The geographical setting of Kalinga is the presence of the sea coast and navigable rivers. Mahanadi, Ganga Vansdhara, Godavari, etc., provided congenial opportunities for trikalanga to connect northern India to southeast Asia for trade and cultural transactions.

Historians, archaeologists, and geographers have charted the land and sea routes based on the evidence, and it shows that the Indian culture had traversed to Southeast Asia since the very early period. Indian traders' religious missionaries, and scholars who travelled to Southeast Asian countries through these routes helped in the movement of ideas to these countries, leading to the culmination of cultural diffusion. The archaeological and Buddhist literary texts and inscriptional records indicate the spread of Buddhism in Orissa much before the Kalinga war.

8. Jayaswal, K.P.: The Hathigumpha Inscription of Kharavela, Epigraphica Indica, (reprint) XX: 1983.71- 89

9. Raghuvamsa again mentions that the clove-scented breezes come from the dvipantara i.e., Indonesian Archipelago , Nandargirkar, G.R., Raghuvamsa, VI, Nirnaya Sagar Press Mumbai, 1948.

10. Raghuvamsa, 6:57

11. Sastri, T.G., Ed. Aryamanjusrimulakalpa, 3 Vols, Trivendrum Sanskrit Series, Trivendrum, 1920-25

The archaeological findings at Lalitgiri, Ratnagiri, Udaygiri, Lagundi, Kayama, Vajragiri, Deuli, Tarapur, etc., point to it being a Buddhist establishment.¹² One of the main reasons for Asoka's Kalinga War was to gain control over critical coastal ports like Tamralipta, Palora, Dosarin, Kannagara, Dantapur, Pithunda and Manikapatana, which were strategically very important and were all located in ancient Orissa.¹³ The Magadhan traders knew very well that the Orissa Sea coast was the Indian gateway for overseas expansions to the outside world.¹⁴ 'Kalinga ware' (the black knobbed pottery), which was produced from 5th century BC to 2nd Century BC, in the area of Shishupalgarh and Dantapura(both in Orissa) and Gopalpatnam(A.P.) The archaeological sites of Southeast Asia, especially Indonesia and Thailand, have yielded beads, pottery, inscriptions, etc., of India, dating back to the first millennium CE, indicating a strong trading network carrying the cultural traits of India along with maritime trade.

Therefore, Kalinga's contribution to South East Asian cultures holds considerable importance. In commemoration of the illustrious maritime expeditions to Suvarnavdipa, a yearly celebration takes place on Kartika Purnima. During this festival, individuals from all social backgrounds gather along river banks or the periphery of reservoirs to release small boats crafted from paper, solo, or banana peels. These boats are adorned with lamps, betel leaves, and betel nuts while participants joyfully chant "A Ka Ma Bai". The event known as the Bali Yatra in Cuttack commemorates the peak period of maritime experiences. During the sixth century A.D., the Hindu king Puruna Varman ruled over the territory now

12. Tripathy Balaram, Early Buddhist Cultures of Orissa, Orissa review, April, 2007, p. 14

13. See Dora Jayanti and S. Mahiri, Maritime Trade and Ports in Central Orissa, Utkal Historical Journal, vol. XXXVI, 2023, Patra, Benudhar, Ports of Ancient Odhisa, Historical Perspective, Orissa Review, November, 2014.

14. Ibid, p. 12

known as Western Java. The inscriptions attributed to him prove that his father was responsible for creating a substantial canal named “Chandrabhaga.” It is commonly believed that the canal was named “Chandrabhaga” due to the river of the same name found in the state of Odisha, close to the historical site of Konark. Many Hindu names were used in Java.

The archaeological site of Java contains remnants of temples dedicated to Lord Shiva, Brahma, and Vishnu, alongside various idols depicting Mahadev, Durga, Yama, and others. The ancient literature of Java Island includes notable works such as Arjuna’s marriage, the Mahabharata war, the Ramayana, and the Buddha Jataka stories. Upon establishing a permanent Hindu settlement, caste divisions occurred, albeit with a limited number of castes among the inhabitants. Despite the prevalence of polygamy in society, women experienced greater freedom. Girls were free to enter into matrimony with their chosen grooms.¹⁵ Borneo, Sumatra, and Bali islands are situated near Java, collectively forming the region recognized as Indonesia. The Islamic faith has achieved prominence in all islands above except Bali Island. In Sanskrit literature, the geographical names Java, Borneo, Sumatra, and Bali are documented as Javadwipa, Barunadwipa, Swarnadwipa, and Baladwipa. Under British colonial rule, the original names of these islands underwent alterations, and various manifestations were assumed.¹⁶ The early legends of Java mention that “twenty thousand families were sent to Java by the prince of Kling. These people prospered and multiplied”. Java was styled as “Ho-ling” in the Annals of the T’ang period (618- 906 A.D.). Scholars usually believe that Ho-ling is the Chinese or old Javanese equivalent of Kalinga. This would suggest that the people of Kalinga dominated Central Java so much that the region was named Kalinga or Ho-

15. Krushna Chandra Panigrahi, *Sahitya O’Sanskriti*, Prajatantra Prachar samiti, Cuttak, c.1994, p. 48-50

16. Ibid.

ling. The Kharosthi inscription engraved on the potsherd found in an excavation in Bali(Sembiran) indicates the maritime trade of Orissa with this place.¹⁷

The Buddhist text Jataka refers to Suvarnadipa(Java), rich in cardamom, camphor, cloves, and sandalwood, exported from Java to India. The ruling Shailendra empire (whose antecedents, according to Chinese and Arab sources, can be traced to the Sailabodha dynasty of Kalinga in the 7th Century), in the 8th Century, comprised Java, Sumatra, Malaysia, and other parts of Southeast Asia. Kalingan influence at this period was at its pinnacle. Shailendra rulers adopted Buddhism, so the Suvarnadvipa's official religion also became Buddhism. The influence of Ancient Indian art and architecture is also explicit in Buddha's artistic structural stupa in Borobudur, which King Srivijaya accomplished. Another important structures were located at Chandi Kalasan R. G . Bhandarkar pointed to the similarity between Borobudur and Ajanta, Nasik and Kanheri.¹⁸ Bhandarkar had studied Kalasan Inscription, which was salutation to Buddhist Goddess Tara¹⁹ which was written in Magadhan Nagari characters.²⁰ R. G . Bhandarkar mentioned that remains of the Hindu civilization are found in Central Java in abundance. The most prominent was the Rama legend, featured in literature and sculptures of Indonesia and Java. Javadvipa is mentioned in Kiskindha kand of Ramayana. Of all the versions, Javanese Kakavin Ramayana is considered to be the most accepted work of Indo-Javanese literature.²¹ Bhandarkar also refers to two other inscriptions in south Indian characters and

17. Ardika, I.W. and P. Bellwood: Sembiran: The Beginnings of Indian Contact with Bali, *Antiquity*, LXV(247), 1991, pp 221-232.

18. Bhandarkar, R.G., *Sanskrit Inscription from Central Java*, Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay, 1889

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.

21. Padhi. Upendra.. *Kalinga and south East Asia, the Civilizational Linkage*, p.27

concludes that Hindus from both north and south India settled in Southeast Asia.

Powerful empires and dynasties ruled Kalinga, and its culture and civilization significantly influenced the development of Southeast Asian societies. We see the cultural influence of Kalinga on Indonesia as the People of Kalinga are mentioned as Kling in the inscriptions of the Malayo Indonesian region. Jawa was under the influence of Kalinga, and the region was known as Ho-ling, which meant Kalinga.²²

The Batu (686 A.D.) inscription of Indonesia mentions the unique skills of people such as puhawang (ship captain), vaniyaga (long-distance or sea-faring merchants), and sthapaka (sculptors). The Kaladi (909 A.D.) inscription mentions Wagga killing, meaning a group of foreigners which include Kalingas, Aryas, Sinhalese, Dravidians, and Pandikiras. Banigrama (Sanskrit vanigrama) is a merchant guild mentioned in several East Javanese and Balinese inscriptions. Similarly, the old Balinese inscriptions of Semibiran B (915 A.D.) and Sembiran A II (975 A.D.) also mention the term banigrama.²³

Malayan peninsula, and after the Iron Age, metals such as iron, copper and tin, cotton textiles and foodstuff comprised the merchandise.²⁴ The trade involved both Indian and Malayo-Polynesian ships. Archaeological evidence from Sisupalgarh, indicate that there may also have been direct or indirect trade contacts between ancient Odisha and Rome dating to the 1st -2nd century B.C.(or possibly earlier).²⁵ Huen Tsang refers to Odisha's

22. Lansing, J. S. (1983). The "Indianization" of Bali. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s002246340001105x>

23. Adrika, I.W., *Ancient Trade Relation between India and Indonesia*, in K.S. Behera ed. *Maritime Heritage of India*, Aryan Books International, Delhi, 1999, pp. 80-89

24. Bellina, B. (2003). Beads, social change and interaction between India and South-east Asia. *Antiquity*, 77(296), 285.

25. Ray Prabha Himanshu: *The Winds of Change - Buddhism and the Maritime Links of Early South Asia*.

overseas contacts in the 7th century A.D, and, by the 10th century A.D., records of Odisha's trade with the East begin to proliferate.

The Indonesian inscriptions refer to foreign traders as (banyaga) which includes Kalingas, Aryas, Singhalese, Dravidians, etc. and a merchant guild as banigrama. The Bhaumakara inscription (8th-10th A.D.) refers to Samudra Kara bandha (sea tax gate) on the bank of Chilika, where taxes were collected from the sea traders of Odisha. Devahuti maintained that Malay society also had class distinctions like that of the Indian model, though on a smaller scale and followed rather loosely, and thus "outside ideas and institutions grew to the extent which local climate was congenial to them."²⁶

We reference Kalinga's association with Sinhala as early as the 5th century BC. Kalingan Prince Vijaya, son of King Simhabahu of Simhapura, traveled to Ceylon and later became king there. His grandmother was Sanghamitra, who also happened to be Ashoka's daughter, who had sailed from Tamralipti to Ceylon to propagate Buddhism. Eight Buddhist households from Kalinga and her guards had accompanied her to Ceylon. All of them settled there permanently and spread Buddhist teachings. Another historical narrative mentioned in the Ceylonese chronicle Chulavamsa is that King Vijaybahu(1054-1109) had married Kalingan princess Trilokasundari, who became the chief queen. A Ceylonese chronicle, Dathavamsa, was written in Kalinga.

According to the Dathavamsa of Sri Lanka,²⁷ written in Kalinga's Dantapura and originated in Sri Lanka, she was eventually promoted to the prestigious rank of chief queen. Both Hemamala and Danta Kumar were tasked with transporting the holy relic to the island of Ceylon. In particular, at Kanoy, Sri Lankans still hold the deity in high esteem.

26. Devahuti, D. India and Ancient Malaya, from earliest times to circa 1400 AD, Singapur, 1965

27. See Malasekara, G.P.The Pali Literature of Ceylon, , Buddhist Publication Society of Sri Lanka, Colombo 1928.

Sri Lanka holds a legend, documented in stone inscriptions, which recounts the establishment of the initial Sinhalese dynasty by one of the kings of Kalinga. Nevertheless, the historical account of this dynasty needs to provide details regarding the specific timeframe in which it existed. The Buddhist text, *Dantavasma*, composed in the Pali language, records the marriage between Dantkumar, Ujjain's ruler, and King Guhashiva's daughter of Kalinga. As part of this union, Dantkumar was bestowed with a sacred relic in the form of a tooth belonging to the Buddha. The tooth has been meticulously conserved within a stupa located at Kalinga and has been the object of veneration since the reign of Brahmadatta, the predecessor of Guhashiva. Dantakumar transported the revered tooth to Sinhala and housed it in a stupa in that region.²⁸ The introduction of Buddhism to Sinhala can be traced back to the era of Ashoka. However, the significance of Buddhism in Sinhala society experienced a notable surge following the installation of the Buddha's Tooth Stupa. During the later period, there was a significant influx of Tamil Nadu residents into the Sinhalese community. A portion of the Sinhalese Tamil empire attained significance due to the prosperous agricultural yields under the rule of the Pandya and Chola monarchs. Consequently, many Tamil-speaking people have chosen to reside in areas predominantly populated by Sinhala-speaking communities.

Kalinga continued to communicate with Burma through sea channels. Pegu was formerly known by its ancient name, Ussa. This name almost certainly comes from the Indian language, particularly the word "Odisha." Formerly known as Srikhestra, Prome was initially named after the city of Puri in Odisha. The coastal region of Burma was populated by Kalinga merchants and traders, who eventually settled there. Those individuals referred to themselves as "Tolaing"

28. Ibid

because they had initially been hailed from Trikalanga. Over time, the indigenous Burmese people who originally inhabited that area became referred to as Tolaing. R.D. Banerjee states, “It is now acknowledged universally that the Tolaing people of Burma, though of Mon origin, obtained their name from Trikalanga.”

Kalinga had close naval trade relations with ancient Champa (Vietnam). The Champa Kingdom, which flourished from the 2nd to the 19th century in what is now central and southern Vietnam, played a significant role in shaping Southeast Asia's cultural, political, and economic landscapes.²⁹ The remnants of Champa's civilization, including its temples, inscriptions, and artifacts, offer a glimpse into its rich heritage and influence.

Thailand: Evidence suggests that trade contacts between Eastern India and Thailand may date back to the 3rd or 4th century B.C. At least eight oceanic routes linked the Eastern Coast of India to the Malayan peninsula. After the Iron Age, metals such as iron, copper, tin, cotton textiles, and foodstuffs comprised the merchandise—contact between India and Southeast Asia. Ray explores the evidence of these links from about 500 .c. onwards, as revealed by archaeological evidence from Southeast Asian sites. She points out that around the beginning of the Christian era, crucial socio-political changes were taking place in Southeast Asia (changes in settlement patterns, tendencies towards centralization, the establishment of highly ranked groups) and that this coincided with changes in trade contacts and an expansion in the number of items involved in the trade.³⁰

29. History of Vietnam. <https://asiamystika.com/practical-information/viet-nam/cultural-guide/history-of-vietnam>

30. U. Singh, Book Review, Ray Himanshu: *The Winds of Change - Buddhism and the Maritime Links of Early South Asia*, Indian Economic and Social History Review, OUP, Delhi, 1994, x pp. 234.

However, the economic aspect of the centre-periphery relationship between India and Southeast Asia might best be explained in terms of what Rowlands called "unequal exchange."³¹

Historical study of the Kalinga-Cambodia cultural and commercial rapprochement provides valuable insights into the trans-country trade networks, cultural exchanges, and religious diffusion in the ancient and medieval periods. It highlights the interconnection of different regions and the role of maritime routes in facilitating these interactions. It sheds light on the diverse influence of Kalinga that contributed to the development of Cambodia's rich cultural heritage.

Being a coastal region, maritime trade played an important role in the development of Odia civilization. Cultural, commercial, and political contacts with South East Asia, particularly Southern Burma, Malaysia, and Indonesia, were especially extensive, and maritime enterprise was prominent in Odia folk tales and poetry. The Portuguese merchant Tome Pires indicates that traders from Odisha were active in the busy port as late as the 16th century A.D. Evidence suggests that trade contacts between Eastern India and Thailand may date as far back as the 3rd or 4th century B.C. At least eight oceanic routes linked the Eastern Coast of India to the Malayan peninsula. After the Iron Age, metals such as iron, copper, and tin, cotton textiles, and foodstuffs comprised the merchandise. [Ray Himanshu: *The Winds of Change - Buddhism and the Maritime Links of Early South Asia*]. The trade involved both Indian and Malayo-Polynesian ships. Archaeological evidence from Sisupalgarh indicates that there may also have been direct or indirect trade contacts between ancient Odisha and Rome dating to the 1st -2nd century B.C. (or possibly earlier). Huen Tsang refers to Odisha's overseas contacts in the 7th century A.D. by the 10th century A.D., records of Odisha's trade with the East began to proliferate.

31. I M. J. Rowlands, "Centre and periphery: a review of a concept", in op. cit., ed. M. J. Rowlands et al., (1987), pp. 1-11.

However, the maritime traditions are preserved in the cultural festivals of Odisha, which are celebrated as commemorative traditions. The old traditions are still celebrated in the annual Bali Jatra, or Boita-Bandana festival held for five days in October / November. The celebration of the Boat Festival called ‘Danga Bhasa’ is celebrated in Thailand and Odisha.³²

Cambodia has no written ancient history, but over 1250 inscriptions have been discovered, the corpus of historical texts engraved on stone and metal. These inscriptions are the only written sources for studying ancient Cambodian civilization except for an account of the earliest Hindu kingdom in Cambodia known as Funan, in which a Brahmin named Kaundinya, founded in the 1st century AD, has been preserved in the Chinese accounts. Kaundinya is said to have introduced the elements of civilized life among the most savage people of Funan. The word Funan comprises the modern phnom, meaning mountain. This kingdom comprised Cochin, China, and the southern part of Cambodia. Kaundinya and his descendants ruled it for 100 years. The kingdom passed to Jaivarman, who organized a powerful navy and conquered many neighboring states. Nearly all of Siam and parts of Laos and the Malay peninsula acknowledged the authority of Funan. China entered into relations with this first Indian colonial empire in Indo-China in the third century AD, and the oldest of the four Sanskrit inscriptions that this country has bequeathed to us dates back to this time. Its capital was Vyādhapura, “the city of hunters.” The first information about Funan comes from an account left by the mission of the Chinese envoys K’angT’ai and Chu Ying, who visited this country in the middle of the third century. It would be considerable here that the Chinese records mention 162 visits made by the Chinese monks from 5 AD to 8 AD.

32. Revisiting Glorious Maritime Trade History of Ancient Odisha- Odisha Plus. <https://www.odisha.plus/2019/11/revisiting-glorious-maritime-trade-history-of-ancient-odisha-by-pradeep-kumar-panda/>

However, the visit by only one Indian scholar, Bodhidharma, to China is recorded in this period. These, along with a Sanskrit inscription of the third century, constitute our essential documentation of the first two centuries of the history of this kingdom. The inscription found at Neak Ta Dambang Dek in the province of Ta Keo, engraved on a plaque of schist (French Inventory No. K. 875), contains five Sanskrit verses. It starts with invoking Lord Vishnu and discusses installing a golden image of the deity. It has been said in the inscription that Lord Vishnu is engaged with yoga, which narrates that the Funanese were familiar with yoga, one of the six systems of Hindu philosophy. The anthropomorphic description of the Lord is also considerable, Śesaśāyee – taking rest over the couch made off the back of serpent Śesa and making ocean his home. The religion has exercised its influence over Cambodians for over two millennia of recorded history. The religious tradition in Cambodia can be traced back to the Funan period

Then Hinduism, represented mainly by the worship of Vishnu and Shiva and sometimes embedded in Harihar, was established as the people's faith. Another noticeable line in the inscription is the declaration by the queen that she uses to discharge her obligation to the people with affection and knowing that everything worth pleasure in this world is transitory and like a water bubble. This idea completely resembles the first line of our Upanishads – the *Īśāvāsyā*, which directs the human being to enjoy everything in this world with a sense of detachment because of its impermanence. In the Cambodian dreamland of fabulous and fascinating inscriptions, which Phillipe Groslier calls "Civilization of Inscriptions," this Neak Ta Inscription manifests a thorough acquaintance with Indian religious beliefs and mythology, philosophical ideas, rituals and forms of worship, Sanskrit language, art, sculpture and all other essential elements of Hindu culture in that far off land at the beginning of Christian era. According to Chinese documents, which are the only known historical accounts of the early era, the

Brahmin rulers of the country systematized the worship of Indian deities and instituted the state worship of Śiva. At the time of Indian cultural infiltration, the laws of Manu – the Indian legal code- were implemented, and the central Indian alphabet was introduced. Both the legal code and the alphabet, in modified forms, are used in Cambodia today.

One of the most significant events that took place in the course of the history of the world was the expansion of Indian civilization into Southeast Asia during the early decades of the Christian era. The process of Indianization resulted in establishing a series of kingdoms, each of which initially represented one of the original Indian states, such as Cambodia, Champa, or one of the Malay Peninsula's minor states. After that, the kingdoms of Sumatra, Java, and Bali emerged, and then the kingdoms of Burma and Thailand came. Although each state evolves according to its distinct traits through interactions with its territory's physical and social environment, the cultures of those states have constantly preserved a familial resemblance that may be linked to the fact that they originated from the same place. The possibility of influence can be traced back to India, which may refer to the entire country or a particular location along the eastern coast.³³

No To conclude, the port's prerequisite for maritime activities played a vital role in the glorious maritime history of ancient Odisha. The aforementioned analysis reveals that some ports were active from ancient times and continued for an extended period. At the same time, some became prominent for a particular period and perished or lost their significance after a short period.³⁴ With the passage of time, the glorious maritime activities of e-ports,

33. Patnaik A.P., *The Early Voyagers of the East: The Rise in Maritime Trade of the Kalingas in Ancient India*, two vols. Delhi: Pratibha Prakashan [www.pratibhabooks.com]. 2003

34. Revisiting Glorious Maritime Trade History of Ancient Odisha - OdishaPlus. <https://www.odisha.plus/2019/11/revisiting-glorious-maritime-trade-history-of-ancient-odisha-by-pradeep-kumar-panda/>

however, had declined and succumbed due to several factors. With the political dismemberment, administrative instability, and internal disturbances, the kings withdrew their patronage to the adventurous activities across the sea, and this served as the principal factor for the decline of this glory. The activities of the sea pirates, the loss of profitability of the trade, and the complexity of the society where crossing the sea was considered sinful by the higher castes supplemented this decline.³⁵ Factors like tectonic movement, coastal sedimentation, development of dunes in the navigational channels, change of river courses, floods, cyclones, sea level fluctuations, etc., also significantly destroyed the ports and port towns.

As a result, several ports were being deserted and buried amidst the dunes. Through archaeological excavation, some of them, like Tamralipti, Khalkattapatna, Manikpatna, and Kalingapatna, have surfaced, while others are awaiting the attention of the archaeologists. Without adequate excavation, the glorious maritime heritage of ancient Odisha or Kalinga will remain incomplete. Hence, scientific surveys, exploration, and archaeological excavation of the probable sites of coastal Odisha are essential for a clear picture of the ports of early Odisha.³⁶

We see three stages in which the contact between Kalinga and Southeast Asia took shape. The first stage was the Early Historical Period (1st to 3rd century BC). The Hathigumpha Inscription of King Kharavela (1st century BCE) suggests Kalinga's influence extended beyond India's borders, which aligns with the beginning of active maritime trade with Southeast Asia.³⁷ Roman and Chinese sources from this time reference Indian trade networks with Southeast Asia, where ports along India's eastern coast, including Kalinga, played an essential role. The second stage was in the

35. Ibid

36. Ibid

37. Tripathi, Sila, *Seafaring Archaeology of the east coast of India and south-east Asia during Early Historical period*, ancient Asia, 2017

4th to 7th century CE. In the Gupta period, the rulers aligned with Kalingans for trade through sea routes, resulting in cultural exchange. This era saw extensive exports of spices, silk, textiles, and gemstones from Kalinga to regions in present-day Indonesia, Malaysia, and beyond. By this time, Indian traders and Brahmins were also influential in spreading Hinduism and Buddhism, contributing to the Hindu-Buddhist culture in Southeast Asia.

The third stage was the period from the 8th to the 10th century CE, which marked the peak of Kalinga's maritime influence, particularly with the rise of powerful trading empires like Srivijaya in Sumatra and the Sailendra Dynasty in Java. These kingdoms maintained strong cultural and commercial ties with Kalinga and other regions in eastern India. This was a time of vibrant exchange for goods but also culture, religion, and ideas. Temples, inscriptions, and Southeast Asian artifacts reveal strong Indian influence, suggesting close ties and regular contact.

The maritime influences were reduced due to changing political landscapes (the rise of Arabs) in the 10th century. However, the legacy of these interactions continued in Southeast Asian architecture, languages, and religious practices. Despite a decline in official maritime trade, cultural ties remained strong and influences from ancient Kalinga can still be seen in Bali, Java, and other Southeast Asian regions.

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The Asiatic Society Kolkata- Repository of Source Materials: A Discourse on Kalinga and Southeast Asia

Dr. Keka Banerjee Adhikari

Presently India is exploring the lost cultural roots and missing links with the outside world, especially in the context of its profound cultural, historical and commercial relations with the countries around it since ancient times. India has the experience of guiding the world in the intellectual, ideological and cultural domains. On the eve of India holding the Presidency (from December 1, 2022 to November 30, 2023) of the G20, the premier objective now is to shape and strengthen global architecture and governance on all major international issues. The theme for India's G20 Presidency is 'Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam', or 'One Earth-One Family-One Future'. The concept of 'Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam' rooted in Vedantic thought, emphasizes the interconnectedness of all living beings and the world. The ancient Indian philosophy based on three principles namely: oneness, interconnectedness and universal compassion. So exploring India's link with the outer world is timely and relevant. India's stretchy coastline on the east, south and west, bordering the Bay of Bengal, the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea has been studded with many flourishing ports and port towns since time immemorial.¹ So the

1. Benudhar Patra; 'Role of Kalinga in the Process of Ancient Indian Colonisation in South-East Asia' in Orissa Review, November, 2010. P-16

country's coastal regions including Bengal, Kalinga (ancient Odisha), Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Karnataka, Maharashtra and Gujarat had established important cultural and trade links with Southeast Asia and other continents too. Southeast Asia denotes ancient Suvarnadvipa which comprises of Malay Peninsula and Sumatra, Java, Borneo and Bali islands. These places came under the influence of Indian civilization in remote past and gradually flourished into powerful empires rich in material attainment and cultural refinement imbibed by the people of these countries.

Presently, ten of the eleven countries of Southeast Asia are members of ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations, a regional organization promoting economic growth, social progress and cultural development) while East Timor is an observer state. Papua New Guinea has stated that it might join ASEAN, and is currently an observer. These ten countries are: Malaysia, Indonesia, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, Borneo or Brunei, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand.

On the basis of archaeological, literary sources and travel accounts of indigenous and foreign travelers a forging link may be established with India and Southeast Asia through commercial, cultural and maritime expansion. Being located on the long eastern coast of India Odisha had direct contact with Southeast Asia through overseas trade. Kalinga (ancient Odisha), an ancient kingdom in eastern India, had extensive trade and cultural exchanges with Southeast Asia, particularly with present day Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand. The favourable geographical location of Kalinga, characterised by various rivers, harbours, and adjacency to the ocean, formed a conducive setting for nautical voyages known as Samudra Yatra.² Its strategic location on the long coast of Bay of Bengal with its ports such as Dantapura, Pithunda, Palura, Tamralipti, Manikpatna and others facilitated sea voyages to Southeast Asia for trade and commerce of goods like

2. Nirakar Mahalik, Maritime Trade in Ancient Orissa, Orissa Review. c2004. p. 39-45

textiles, spices, and precious stones. Kalinga's importance as a maritime power could be testified from classical texts like *Periplus*, *Pliny's Natural History* and *Ptolemy's Geography*. Ptolemy has referred the port of Paloura where vessels bound for the Malay Peninsula “ceased to follow the littoral and entered high seas”. S. Levi has correctly identified the city of Paloura, which played such significant role in eastern ocean trade of India must be the famous city of Dantapura in Kalinga, mentioned also in the Buddhist literature (Majumdar, 1986).³ The interactions with the South-East Asian countries of Paloura or Dantapura in Kalinga (coastal region of Mahanadi and Godavari) remain unaffected until 15th century CE. The maritime activity of Kalinga was so extensive that the Bay of Bengal was once called the Kalinga Sagar. Bali Yatra commemorates the rich maritime history of Odisha and its ancient trade affairs with Southeast Asia and Sri Lanka. Not only maritime trade but Buddhism diffused from Kalinga to Southeast Asia through a combination of trade routes, cultural exchange and missionary works. After embracing Buddhism King Asoka sent missionaries in various parts of India and beyond including Southeast Asia to propagate the teachings of Buddha. The first two merchant disciples of Lord Buddha namely Tapassu (Taphussa) and Bhalluka (Bhallika) mentioned in the *Anguttara* (I, 24) were associated with the foundation of one of the earliest Buddhist stupas in Myanmar (formerly Burma), known as Shwe Dagan Pagoda at Pagan.

Most of such Buddhist idealists must have joined merchant ships to cross the oceans indicates that there was a close link between Buddhism and trade. Even it is surprising to know that Lord Buddha Himself received a good deal of aid and encouragement from rich traders. The best-known case is that of Anathapindika, the wealthy Srivasti (Savatthi) merchant who made

3. Majumdar, R.C, *Suvarnadvipa: Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East*, vol.I, New Delhi, 1986, pp-6-7

a donation to the Sangha of the famous Jetavana, site of most of Lord Buddha's discourses. One may justifiably conclude, therefore, that the efforts of missionaries were particularly important during the periods of lively trade between South and Southeast Asia. The temple architecture of Kalinga, characterized by the nagara style with jagamohona, natamandapa, influenced the architectural style of the temples of South-East Asia particularly of Indonesia.

The Asiatic Society was founded on 15th January, 1784 by Sir William Jones, a polymath and linguist whose passion for languages and appreciation for Eastern cultures led him to envision a society for the study of language, literature, history and culture of Asia. The Society was primarily devoted to the continuous and intensive cultivation of knowledge of the Indian subcontinent and the Asiatic continent. The consequences of this enquiry were the endless collection of materials from India and adjoining areas of Asia for study and analysis and publications of such studies in the Asiatic Researches and the journals entitled Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Scholars, academicians from the country as well as from abroad come regularly in search of resources. Thus the Asiatic Society and the Discovery of Asia were really coterminous.⁴

At present, The Asiatic Society's treasures lie in its Library and Museum consisting of books, journals and rare documents as well as huge number of manuscripts and other antiquities like coins, lithographs, oil paintings, maps etc. which form the repository of source materials and offer numerous research opportunities for scholars interested in exploring the connection between India and Southeast Asia. So it is needless to say that some of these above mentioned collection will definitely offer valuable insights into the historical and cultural connections between Kalinga and South-East Asia.

The geographical position of Kalinga with several rivers and ports provided ideal route for sea voyages. The people of Java were

4. Time Past and Time Present(special edition released on 225 years of the Asiatic Society), Kolkata, August, 2008, Preface

much more advanced than their neighbouring countries in the art of metal objects like iron, bronze, copper, silver, gold, ivory and tortoise shell. But the elephants and tortoise were not common in Java, so there is an indication of import through trade connection with coastal states of India. They were also advanced in astronomy, art of weaving batik cloth (India in much earlier period has been a well-known center for the mass production and wholesale export of the commodity)⁵, monetary system, sea-voyages, cultivation through artificial irrigation etc. clearly indicate cultural diffusion through coastal trade. The Chinese referred to Java and other islands of the Archipelago as Kling, undoubtedly an abbreviation of Kalinga.⁶ Some of the scholars opine that Kalinga may be credited for colonization in Java and almost twenty thousand families were sent to Java from Kling who continued to live there.⁷ The books on Java in the collection of the archives of the society will help the researchers to get more informations on these issues.

A lithographic collection on Indonesian Art (Ancient & Modern Art and Handwork from the Dutch Indian Archipelago) by C.M. Pleyte describes about the ancient statuettes of volcanic stone of five Dhyanī Buddhas namely Amitava, Vairocana, Akshobhya, Ratnasambhava and Amogasiddhi (Preserved Ex.Nat.Mus. of antiquities at Leyden) and other Hindu deities like Mahadeva, Visnu, Chandi, Durga, Ganesha etc.[Fig.5] from the island of Java (polychromatic carved statues, ancient gold and bronze statues [Fig. 6, 7], painting in water colour from demolished puri (princely dwelling at Singaraja) from island of Bali [Fig.2, 3]. Specimens from Dr. Nieuwenhui's exploring expedition through Borneo from West to East, an ethnographical specimens from Central Borneo, ancient and modern ceremonial utensils and idols

5. Majumdar, R.C, Suvarnadvipa: Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East, vol.1, New Delhi, 1986, pp-32-33

6. *ibid*; P-7

7. Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles- 'The History of Java', (2nd Ed., London, 1830), Vol.II, pp.73 ff.

of Malaya peninsula are also described in an elaborate manner [Fig.1]. Painting in water colours from Buleleng at the Island of Bali containing the contest between Sugriva and Kumbhakarna, the scene depicted from Yuddha-kanadaor sixth book of the Ramayana, with which the Kawi version from the Javanese and Balinese nearly textually corresponds.[Fig. 4]

There are a good number of Lithographs authored by M. F. C. Wilson & J. A.G. Brumund on Boro-Boedoe DansL'ile De Java published from Leiden which throw light on the art & architecture of Borobudur temple. The temple's design and construction reflect Indian Buddhist architectural style particularly stepped pyramidal structures of stupas, mandala concept of layout etc. Intricate carving of Buddhist deities and scenes from Indian mythological stories from the epics namely the Ramayana and the Mahabharata are the testament to the cultural exchange between ancient India and Southeast Asia. Photographs of Borobudur shrine show affinities of Kalinga style of art and architecture. In the Prambanan temple of Java on the wall, the scenes from the Ramayana like Queen Mandodari and others mourning the death of Ravana of 9th century CE shows affinity of the sculptures of Odisha of the same period.

The manuscript in Burmese –an abridged version of the Ramayana with a number of illustrations in the collection of the Asiatic Society's Museum show the popularity of the epic in Burma (presently Myanmar).

Besides a few lithographs titled Le BayonD' Angkor Thom in Cambodia by Mission Henri Dufour published from Paris describe the Bas-Reliefs which show significant Hindu temple designs with the use of concentric walls and gates and carving of sculptures of Hindu deities such as Brahma, Visnu and Siva and the scenes of two Indian epics indicating India-Southeast Asia religious relationship.

With regard to architecture in the temples of Bali the innermost courtyard images of Hindu Trinity are enshrined. This square like chamber constituting Cella similar to the Bhubaneswar's temples of

Kalinga. The male and female standing figures of Pura Sukhavana are equal to the early Kalingan art. Besides Kirtimukha images, Buddhist images and sculptures of Hindu divinities display similarities in style of carving of Kalinga region.

Theraveda Buddhism introduced in Thailand at its first stage. King Ashoka sent two Theras (senior monks), Sona and Uttara to Suvarnabhumi. But there is confusion among the scholars about the exact location of this land. Thai scientists claim it in Thailand with headquarter is in Nakon Pathom, whereas the Burmese academicians claim the land is in Burma with its capital-Thaton. Laos and Cambodia also claim the land, so the boundary is controversial. The word –Suvarnabhumi was widely used in many texts which indicate the part of South-east Asia that now encompasses Southern Burma, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia and Malaya.⁸ The Lithograph- Buddhism in Thailand (Accession no P-298) preserved in the Asiatic Society may highlight on the spreading and acceptance of doctrine of Dharma in Buddhism in Thailand.

Society's collection of litho plates on Sumatra (Plates to Marsden's History of Sumatra by W. Marsden, published in 1810 on flora and fauna and social life, Accession no P-207), Bali, Borneo, Cambodge, Campa (Inscriptions Sanscrites De Campa Et Du Cambodge by M. Abel Bergaigne, Paris, Accession no P-303) and Vietnam with photographs, inscriptions and history of these regions showing influence of Indian culture can give a deeper understanding of the complex history and cultural exchange between these two regions. The maps of Cambodge, on Vegetation and Environmental conditions of Odisha, old map of Bengal, Bihar and Odisha by Rennell, Bengal Atlas by Raja Rajendralala Mitra [Fig.9], Charts of the Bay of Bengal and Adjacent Sea North of the Equator (on Oceanography, Accession no. P-234B), Geological

8. Dang Thi Phuong; 'Theraveda and Mahayana Buddhism in Thailand' in IJSR, vol.8, Issue 8, 2019, p-1

map of Java and Madoera drawn in 1896 are some of the maps which throw light on different perspectives of these regions. Balhszar Solvyns, the Flemish artist, whose *Les Hindous* is an elaborate description of India in different perspectives like races, costumes, weapons, musical instruments etc. in four volumes. In the last volume he has described various types of Asian boats with etchings and engravings where he tried to show the superiority of European vessels. But scholarly research proves the opposite. Indian ships undertook long sea voyages to distant shores and Indians were known to be excellent ship builders.⁹ Whatever, *Les Hindous* regarding the sea route and style of ships which used to sail on the open sea following the winds navigation is important source material for in depth study [Fig.8].

Rare books on *Journal of an Embassy from the Governor General of India of the Courts of Siam and Cochin* by John Crawford, *Description of the East India Coasts of Malabar and Coromandal with their adjacent kingdoms & the Provinces of the Empire of Ceylon*, *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* which describe Kalinga's maritime trade routes and a good number of books on Siam give vivid description of the region's history and coastal activities. Besides, photographs of monuments of Bhubaneswar and Konark in the Society's archive and library can help the researchers to delve into the art and architectures and their comparative analysis between Odisha and Southeast Asia.

Academic Journals such as *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, featuring research articles on Kalinga's history and cultural interface with Southeast Asia provide ample information to the researchers.

The Asiatic Society's repository creates a platform for exchanging knowledge and provide information on Asian

9. DasguptaAshin, "Indian Merchants and the Indian Ocean", Raychoudhuri T, Habib I, Ed., *Cambridge Economic History of India*, Volume 1, Orient Longman in association with CUP, 1984.

heritage in general. It is an endeavour to highlight on some relevant resources for the study, those are preserved in the form of manuscripts, archives, lithographs, books etc. which may corroborate the civilizational linkage between India and more specifically with Kalinga and Southeast Asia.

Rabindranath Tagore, India's noble laureate visited Southeast Asia and has written a detailed record in letters which is known as 'Java Diary'. Here he has shown every aspects of language, literature, social and ritualistic ceremonies, art and architecture of Indonesia, Java, Bali, Borneo, Sumatra and Malaya which were deeply influenced by the Indian Civilisation from ancient times. He has written poem on Srivijayalakshmi, observing the stronghold and richness of Srivijaya of Sailendra dynasty.

THEREFORE, WE MAY CONCLUDE WITH QUOTES FROM TAGORE'S DIARY:

"Tibet, Mongolia, Malayas, wherever India had preached her wisdom, had been through genuine human relations. To-day my pilgrimage is to witness those historical evidences of man's holy access everywhere. Also to note is, that India of yore did not preach some cut and dried sermons, but inaugurated the inner treasure of man through architecture, sculpture, painting, music and literature, stamps of which remain in the deserts, woods, rocks, isles, rugged terrain and difficult resolves" [Java diary, July, 1927].

Curator of Asiatic Society, Kolkata, an Institution of National Importance under Ministry of Culture, Government of India



Fig.1: Idols of Malayo Peninsula

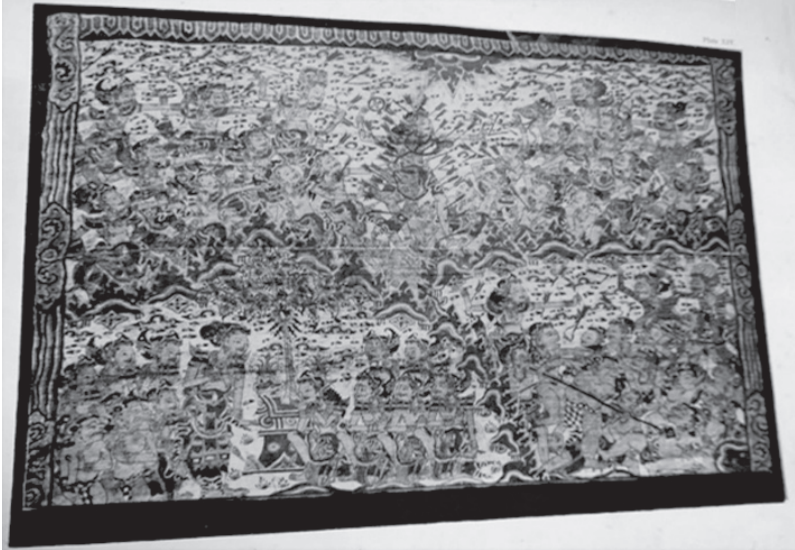


Fig.2: Painting in watercolour from Singaraja, Island of Bali

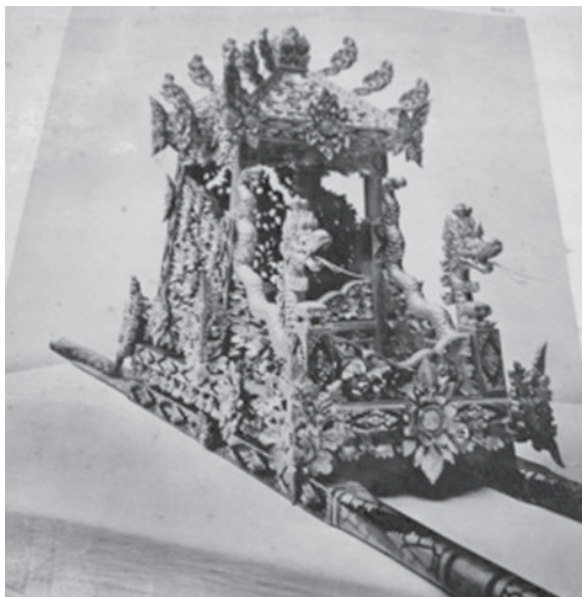


Fig.3: Carved and gilt wooden Littre from Buleleng, Island of Bali



Fig.4: Painting in watercolour from Buleleng, Island of Bali
(Indian Exhibition, Amsterdam)



Fig.5: Ancient statues of volcanic stone, Island of Java
(Natura magistra Amsterdam)



Fig.6: Ancient Bronze and Gold figures, Island of Java
(preserved in the National Museum of Antiquities, Leyden)



Fig.7: Ancient Bronze and Gold figures, Island of Java (preserved in the National Museum of Antiquities, Leyden)

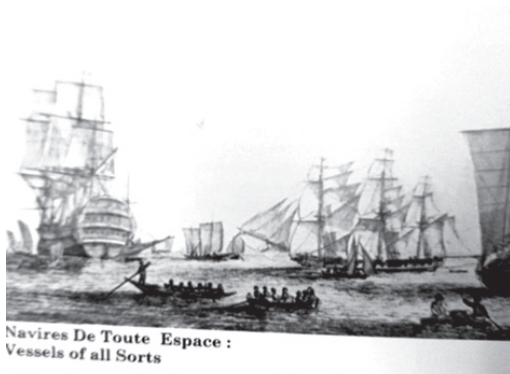


Fig.8: Sea route and style of ships

Navires De Toute Espace :
Vessels of all Sorts

"Here are the high vessels of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, the Grabs, the ships of the Maldivé Isles, made of bambous and coconut trees, masts, cordage and anchors. The boats employed in pearl fishery in the coast of Ceylon, the Viliegers of Batavia, Proues of Malacca, remarked for their swiftness, the Catamarans of Madras and Infine, the Chinese Jonques. Amongst all these imperfect shipping, though well adapted to the seas and climates they frequent, I have placed an European frigate, and a boat as a sufficient proof of the superiority of our naval architecture over that of the Indian nations and particularly the Hindoo."

Solvy's sense of otherising the natives is clearly evident in the narrative of this print



Fig.9: Map of Balasore, Cuttack and Puri,
Rajendralala Mitra's The Bengal Atlas

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Cultural and Trade Link between Eastern Coast of India and Siam: It's Impact on the Maritime Silk Road

Dayalan Duraiswamy

The Indian seaports on the eastern coastline, particularly in the Kalinga region, positioned in a vital location, served as a fulcrum of maritime trade networks for both the eastern and western countries of the globe much before the Common Era. Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, probably of 6th cent CE, mentions the Bay of Bengal was known as Kalingodra. The inscription of Tugu Rock dated to the 5th century CE¹ records that the Chandrabhaga river in Java probably named after the Chandrabhaga river of Odisha. The Kuki copper plate (840 CE) of Java mentions that the potters and all kinds of workers of the inner apartments came from “Kling” meaning Kalinga.² Some historians believe that the Mons, an ethnic group in Thailand and Myanmar were descendants of immigrants from the Odisha and Andhra Pradesh region.³

Ample evidence about the flourishing status of the ancient seaports in eastern coastline of India and their active maritime

1. B. Ch. Chhabra, Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture During Pallava Rule, 1965, 96-97; H. B. Sarkar, Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java (Up to 928 A.D.), 1971-72:6.

2. Sarkar, Corpus, 80 and 86.

3. P. Mishra, The History of Thailand, 2010: 23.

trade activities with various countries are found in the *The Periplus Maris Erythraei*, Ptolemy, Pliny, Hiuen Tsang, I-Tsing, Marco Polo, Ibn Battutah, and many others and local and foreign literary works. Paloura (Palur or Dantapura), Nanigaina (Puri), Katikardama (Kataka), Kannagara (Konarak), Pitindra and Minagara (near Jajpur) are some of the notable seaports mentioned by Ptolemy in Odisha. Khalkatapatna, Manikapatna (Chelitalo), Palur, Gopalpur (Mansurkota), Dosarene, Sonapur, Baruva (Barua), Kalingapatnam, Pithunda and others are the significant ancient seaports on the Kalinga coastline. Arab sources of the 9th-10th centuries mention Ganjam, Kalinganagar, Keylkan, Al-Lava and Nubin were the active seaports in this region. During the late medieval period (16th-18th centuries CE) Balasore (Kosambia), Chandabali, Chhauna, Churamani, Dhamarra (Dosarene), Harishpur, Laichanpur, Pipli, and Saratha are served as busy seaports of Odisha.

Interestingly, the excavations at the sites where the ancient seaports existed have yielded lots of foreign materials in the form of pottery, amphorae, lamps, coins, intaglio, beads, rings, glass objects, etc.

The cultural and commercial relations between India and Siam have a long history. The archaeological findings in Siam revealed that it was in the Indian sphere of cultural, religious, philosophical, technical, and linguistic influence much before the Common Era. The close mercantile contact of Siam with India as well as the Mediterranean world and China has been attested by the occurrence of large variety of objects of those regions at Ligor (Nakhon Si Thammarat), Jaya (Chaiya), Patalung (Phatalung), U Thong, Ban Don Tha Pet, Ban U Taphao, Khao Sam Kaeo, Takola (modern Takua Pa) and many other sites in Siam.

PREHISTORIC/ EARLY HISTORIC PERIOD

The traces of contact between India and Siam can be seen even in the prehistoric time. The advent of iron age in Thailand not only stimulate the cultural transmission, but also expanded

the avenue of exchange of ideas, crops, goods and technological knowledge between Siam and India and other countries. The analysis of the materials retrieved from the excavations at Ban Don Ta Phet and a few other Iron-age sites in Thailand exhibits the probable interchange of technique and materials between India and Siam in the very early period.⁴ Ban Don Ta Phet is close to the tin belt of western Thailand. Tin has been an important commodity for export along trans-Asiatic route. Ranong, the rich tin deposit in the Thai-Malay Peninsula well connected to the Andaman sea by channels, was probably served as a prominent centre of tin export to South Asia.

SEMI-PRECIOUS STONE BEADS

The manufacturing, finishing, and drilling techniques and shape of the semi-precious stone beads made out of agate and carnelian noticed at Ban Don Ta Phet, Non Muang Kao, Tha Kae, Khao Sam Kaeo, Ban Chiang, Noen U-Loke and other sites in Thailand demonstrate similarity with the beads made of agate and carnelian found in India (Fig. 1).⁵

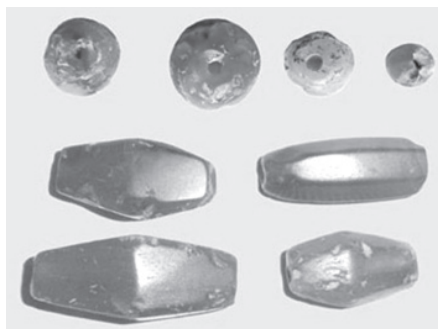


Fig. 1. Carnelian Beads, Tha Kae, Iron Age

The etched carnelian beads similar to the ones found in south and east India have been discovered from Khlong Thom, Khao Sam Kaeo, U

4. Charles Franklin Higham, Fiorella Rispoli, "The Mun Valley and Central Thailand in prehistory: integrating two cultural sequences", *Open Archaeology*, 1 (2014): 2-28.

5. Ian.C. Glover, and Berenice Bellina, "Ban Don Ta Phet and Khao Sam Kaeo: The Earliest Indian Contacts Re-assessed", In *Early Interactions between South and Southeast Asia: 374 Maritime Silk Roads' Ornament Industries Reflections on Cross-cultural Exchange*, 2011:17-46.

Thong and Krabiin Siam.⁶ On the basis of the above, the scholars have proposed the hypothesis that the local artisans were taught by Indians for long enough to be well-skilled into the production technology, or at the initial stage the beads might have been produced by the Indian craftsmen who had settled in Thailand and from them the local artisans probably learnt the skill.⁷

CROPS

The remains of crops of Indian origin for instance Pigeonpea (Congo pea, Red gram, most probably from Odisha); Mung bean (Green gram); Horse gram; Black gram; Kodo Millet; Tree Cotton, Sesame and others found at Khao Sam Kaeo, Phu Khao Thong and a few other sites in Thailand in the Late Prehistoric period (ca. 400-100 BCE) indicate that the crops might have introduced owing to the interaction with India.⁸ The cotton fragments and thread have been reported from the excavations of the burial site at Ban Don Ta Phet in central Thailand. The examination of the remains of the cotton noticed at Ban Don Ta Phet shows that it was made of cannabis sativa fibre, which most probably originated from cotton plants of South Asia. Similarly, remains of textiles, probably of Indian origin, have been found at Ban Chiang in Thailand. Moreover, the terracotta spindle whorls used for the production of yarn found at Tha Kae, Ban Don Ta Phet and other sites in Thailand from the 3rd century BCE to the 3rd century CE are alike to those found in south and east India.⁹

6. Ian. C. Glover, *Early Trade between India and Southeast Asia: A link in the development of a world trading system*, 1989, 24.

7. Berenice Bellina, "Beads, Social Change and Interaction between India and Southeast Asia", *Antiquity* 77, 296 (2003): 285–97.

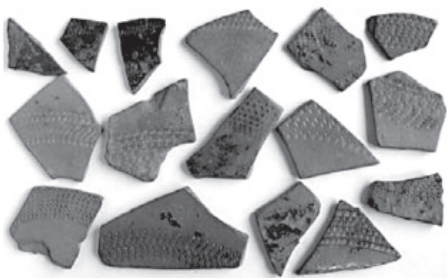
8. Cristina Castillo, *The Archaeobotany of Khao Sam Kaeo and Phu Khao Thong: The Agriculture of Late Prehistoric Southern Thailand*, PhD Thesis, University College London, 2013.

9. Himanshu Prabha Ray and Susan Mishra, *Sailing to Suvarnabhumi: Cultural Routes and Maritime Landscapes*, 2019:15.

POTTERY

The mercantile exchange between India and Siam has been further substantiated by the finding of numerous Indian artefacts such as pottery, glass beads, etc. The Black Polished Ware found at Khao Sam Kaeo, Tam Sua, Kapoe, Phu Khao Thong, Tham Thuay and other sites in Thailand¹⁰ is almost similar to the Northern Black Polished Ware (NBPW) in India.

Adeluxe ware of the early historic period, called as Rouletted ware, seem to have had a very wide distribution all along the eastern coast of India and Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia, Vietnam, Myanmar, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Egypt, Omen and Yemen, evidently had a strong association with the ancient maritime trade centres. The Rouletted wares have found at Bang Kluai Nok, Kapoe, Khao Sam Kaeo, Pak Chan, Phu Khao Thong, Tham Thuay, Tha Chana, Chansen and a few other sites in Thailand (Fig.2).¹¹ Although there is no unanimous opinion about the origin of the Rouletted ware, many scholars believe that it was evolved in India mainly in the area close to the eastern coast.¹²



**Fig. 2. Roulttere ware
Phu Khao Thong**

10. ShahnajHusne Jahan, "Maritime Trade between Thailand and Bengal", *Journal of Fine Arts*, 3, 2 (2012): 205-228.

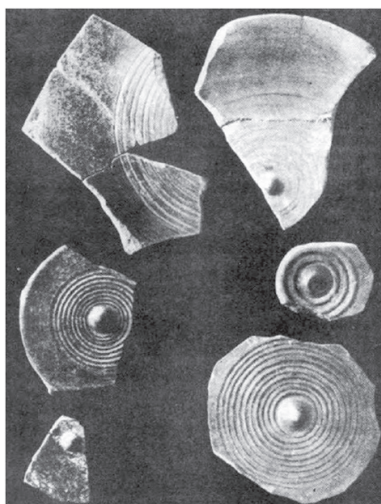
11. ShahnajHusne Jahan, *ibid.*, 211-212; Bennet Bronson, *Excavations at Chansen and the Cultural Chronology of Prehistoric Central Thailand*, 1976: 113-120; 358-360, 532 and 687.

12. Vishwas D. Gogte, "The Chandraketugarh-Tamluk Region of Bengal: Source of the Early Historic Rouletted Ware from India and Southeast Asia," *Man and Environment* 22, 1(1997): 70- 85; Vimala Begley, "Rouletted Ware at Arikamedu: A New Approach", *American Journal of Archaeology*, 92, 3 (1988): 427-440; ShahnajHusne Jahan, "Rouletted Ware Links South and Southeast Asia through Maritime Trade", *SPAFA Journal (Old Series 1991-2013)*, 20, 3 (2010): 5-15.

The Knobbed wares are occurred in various fabrics such as earthen, bronze, stone and silver in Thailand. The bronze Knobbed wares are found at Ban Don Ta Phet, Khao Sam Kaeo, KokKhon, Ban Chiang, Ban Nadi. Huai Pan near Chombung, Pak Beung and Khao Kwark Cave and the earthen knobbed wares are found at Tham Sua, Khao Sam Kaeo and a few other sites in Thailand (Fig. 3). Most probably the notion of the Knobbed ware might have derived from India.¹³ The knobbed wares similar to the specimen found in Thailand are found at Sisupalgarh, Manikapatna (Odisha) (Fig. 4) and other sites in India.¹⁴



Fig. 3, Knobbed ware, Phu Khao Thong
Fig. 4, Knobbed ware, Sisupalgarh



Interestingly, many potsherds of Thai celadon, painted Thai ironware, Thai earthen ware, large glazed and unglazed jars and other pottery types of Thailand are found in Kottapatnam, Andhra

13. Shahnaj Husne Jahan, *op.cit.*, 213-214; Ian C. Glover, "The Southern Silk Road: Archaeological Evidence for Early Trade between India and Southeast Asia", In *Ancient Trades and Cultural Contacts in Southeast Asia*, 1996: 79.

14. Shahnaj Husne Jahan, *Ibid.* 213-214; Ian C. Glover, "The Southern Silk Road: Archaeological Evidence for Early Trade between India and Southeast Asia", In *Ancient Trades and Cultural Contacts in Southeast Asia*, 1996: 79

Pradesh (Fig. 5).¹⁵ Palur (ancient Paloura), Khalkattapatna, Manikapatna (Adigram), Tamralipti (modern Tamluk), Ambari (Assam)¹⁶ and a few other sites in the eastern coast of India.

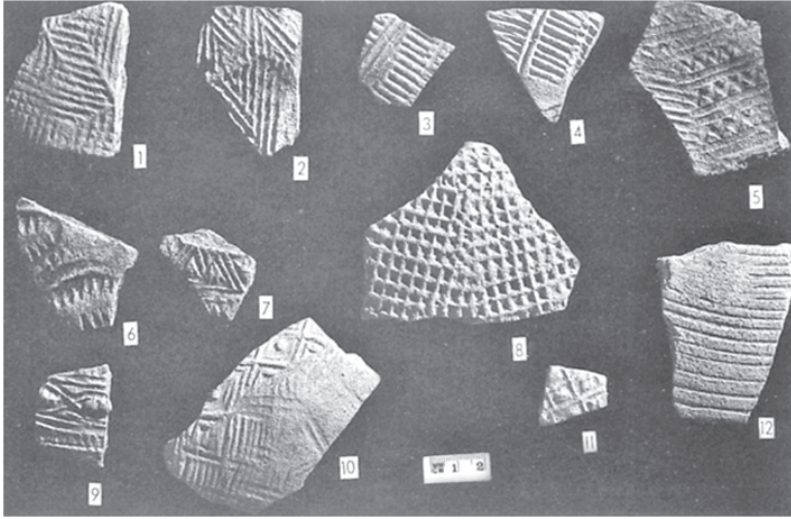


Fig. 5. SE Asian Pottery, Kottapatnam

GLASS BEADS

The glass beads that were drawn into long hollow tubes and then cut into sections to be annealed are referred to as 'Indo-Pacific monochrome glass beads' or "Indo-Pacific beads". They were manufactured mainly in south and east India at least from the 4th-3rd century BCE onwards. The glass beads were exported mainly to Africa, Japan and Korea, as well as to the Southeast Asia. In Thailand, the glass beads are found in many Iron Age sites such

15. K.P. Rao, "Kottapatnam: A South Indian Port Trading with Eastern Lands", In Ancient and Medieval Commercial Activities in the Indian Ocean: Testimony of Inscriptions and Ceramic Sherds-Report of the Taisho University Research Project 1997-2000, 2002: 125-33. H. Sasaki, "Chinese and Thai Ceramics in Kottapatnam," In Ancient and Medieval Commercial Activities in the Indian Ocean, 2002: 134-144.

16. IAR (Indian Archaeology- A Review), 1970-71: 4; IAR 1987-88: 8-9; M.C. IAR, 1988-89: 6.

as Ban Don Ta Phet, Khlong Thom, Takua Pa, Khuan Lukpad or Khlong Thom, Phu Khao Thong, Bang Kluai Nok, Tha Kae, Ban Chiang, Prasat Muang Sing, Kok Ra Ka, Ban Bon Noen, Khao Sam Kaeo and others.¹⁷ Probably, these beads were either imported from India or produced in Thailand using Indian technology or by involving the Indian artisans, who settled in Thailand.¹⁸

PENDANTS

The small lion or tiger or triratna or makara shaped pendants made of carnelian and rock crystal are found at Phu Khao Thong, Ban Don Ta Phet, Ban U Taphao, Ban Phu Khao, Khuan Luk Pad, Khao Sam Kaeo, Chansen and Tha Chana in Thailand.¹⁹ These pendants have closely correlation with Indian ones and also as evidences of Indian technology adapted to regional style. The rolled copper/bronze ear-studs found at U-Thong and others sites in Thailand are much resemblance to the ear-studs found at Sisupalgarah and other sites in Odisha.²⁰ Similar to the Srivatsa symbol found in the

17. Fiorella Rispoli, Roberto Ciarla and Vincent C. Pigott, "Establishing the Pre-historic Cultural Sequence for the Lopburi Region, Central Thailand", *Journal of World Prehistory*, 26,2(2013):150.

18. Berenice Bellina and Ian. C. Glover, "The Archaeology of Early Contacts with India and the Mediterranean World from the fourth century BC to the fourth century AD", In *Southeast Asia, from the Prehistory to History*, 2004: 78; Berenice Bellina and P. Silapanth, "Khao Sam Kaeo and the Upper Thai Peninsula: Understanding the Mechanism of Early Trans-Asiatic Trade and Cultural Exchange", In *Uncovering Southeast Asia's Past*, London, 14–17 September 2004, 2006: 379-92; Bhaswati Mukhopadhyay, "Connectivity between India and Siam: As Evident by Archaeological Sources (From the Late Pre-Christian Era to Sixth Century CE)", *International Journal of Humanities & Social Science Studies (IJHSSS)*, 2, 3 (2015): 209-210; James W. Lankton, "Early Glass and the Development of the Maritime Silk Road", In *The Maritime Silk Road-Global Connectivities, Regional Nodes, Localities*, 2022: 74, 80, 82, 84, 85 and 89; Dussubieux, Laure, James W. Lankton, Bérénice Bellina-Pryce and Boonyarit Chaisuwan, "Early Glass Trade in South and Southeast Asia: New Insights from Two Coastal Sites, Phu Khao Thong in Thailand and Arikamedu in South India." In *Crossing Borders*, Vol. 1, 2012: 307–328.

19. Boonyarit Chaisuwan, "Early contacts between India and the Andaman Coast in Thailand from the 2nd century BC to 11th century AD", In *Maritime Contacts of the Past Deciphering Connections amongst communities*, 2015:124–142.

20. *Journal of World Prehistory*, 26, 2, (2013): 156.



Fig. 6 Srivastsa

Kharavela's inscription at Udayagiri cave, Odisha is found in OcEo, U Thong in Thailand with slight modification (Fig. 6).

INTAGLIOS, SEALS AND SEALINGS

Notwithstanding, there are many Roman intaglios and gems found in Thailand, few of them seems not imported from the Mediterranean region, but were produced either locally or in the India subcontinent. The workmanship of the Kushan period can be seen in the agate seal with Herakles found at Phu Khao Thong in the Isthmus of Kra region. The figure in the agate seal is comparable with the figures in the coins of the Kushan period dated to the 1st century CE.²¹ It seems more likely that the objects of Mediterranean origin of early period would have reached Siam by intermediary trade along the maritime routes via India.²² Many intaglios with Indian motifs or symbols of Buddhist or Hindu religion have found in Thailand. One of the intaglios of the 7th-8th century CE found at Khok Thong has the depiction of a bull with a crescent moon above.²³ The intaglio with the

21. Brigitte Borell, "Herakles on an Intaglio Seal Found at Phu Khao Thong in the Upper Thai-Malay Peninsula", *Zeitschrift für Archäologie Außereuropäischer Kulturen*, Band 7 (2017): 59-82.

22. Brigitte Borell, Berenice Bellina and Boonyarit Chaisuwat, "Contacts between the Upper Thai-Malay Peninsula and the Mediterranean World", In *Before Siam: Essays in Art and Archaeology*, 2014: 98-117.

23. Siriporn Sanghiran, "Archaeological Sites and Findings on the Lower Peninsula of Thailand from the Seventh to Thirteenth Century Reflecting the Maritime Silk Road", In *Ancient Maritime Cross-Cultural Exchanges Archaeological Researches in Thailand*, 2019: 54-77.

engraving of lion, elephant and an unidentified figurine of the goddess or woman found at Khuan Luk Pad (Khlung Thom), Thailand also shows Indian impact or probably imported from India.²⁴ The gold triratna symbols found in many early Phu sites from the coastal sites of Thai peninsula are also exhibits Indian influence.

INSCRIBED SEALS

A large number of potteries, coins, seals with Brāhmī and Kharosthi scripts of Indian origin dated from the 3rd-2nd century BCE to the 2nd century CE and later are found in the Isthmus of Kra region. The notable sites in Southeast Asia yielding the Brāhmī-Kharosthi inscribed seals are Khuan Lukpad, Phu Khao Thong, Khao Sam Kaeo, Kuala Selinsing, Chaiya and OC Eo.

A carnelian seal inscribed with Brāhmī characters of the 2nd-4th century CE is found at Khao Sam Kaeo.²⁵ Another carnelian seal engraved in Brāhmī character of the 2nd-3rd century CE is also found at Khuan Luk Pad.²⁶ The inscription in Brāhmī letters engraved on a rectangular bead is found at Khao Sam Kaeo. One of the seals in glass found at Bang Kluai Nok has a small inscription belongs to the 6th-7th century CE. There are many armlets, beads and seals found at Klongtom with inscriptions in Brāhmī letters.²⁷

INSCRIBED GOLDSMITH'S TOUCHSTONE

Interestingly, the finding of goldsmith's touchstone with Tamil-Brāhmī inscription of the 3rd century CE at Khuan Luk Pad (also called Klong Thom) clearly shows that a goldsmith of Tamil Nadu origin might have stationed at this site to check the purity

24. Bennet Bronson, "Glass Beads at Khuan Lukpad, Southern Thailand", In *Southeast Asian Archaeology* 1986, 1990: 213-230; Ian. C. Glover, *Early Trade between India and Southeast Asia: A link in the development of a world trading system*, 1989:6-8; Ian. C. Glover "Recent Archaeological Evidence for Early maritime Contacts between India and Southeast Asia" In *Tradition and Archaeology: Early Maritime Contacts in the Indian Ocean*, 1996: 135.

25. Himanshu Prabha Ray, *The Winds of Change: Buddhism and the Maritime links of Early South Asia*, 1994: 107.

26. Himanshu Prabha Ray, *ibid*: 105.

27. Bunchar Pongpanich, *Beyond Beads*, 2009: 80, 100 and 147.

of the gold in order to assist the merchants for the exchange or merchandise activities.²⁸

INSCRIBED POTTERY

One of the pot-sherd of rouletted ware found at Phu Khao Thong is also engraved with the Brāhmī character of 2nd-3rd century CE.²⁹ A fragment of rouletted ware with Brāhmī letter “pu” followed by a symbol is found at Phu Khao Thong. Similar type of symbol is reported in many sites in India, particularly from the Iron Age-Early Historic sites. The ivory comb with Swastika motif dated to the 2nd-3rd century CE found at Chansen, Thailand might have probably exported from India.³⁰

THE GOLD PLAQUE AT BANG KLUAI NOK

The gold plaque found at Bang Kluai Nok has Brāhmī inscription of 2nd -3rd century CE which reads, ‘nāvikasabrahmaspati Sarmasa’. It seems the plaque belong to a shipman (nāvika) named Brahmaspati Sarma, who certainly belong to India. Fascinatingly, a stone slab noticed in 1834 by Captain James Low in Malaysia and kept in the Indian³¹ Museum, Kolkata at present also refers to mahānāvika. The inscription in Brāhmī character dated to 5th cent.

COINS

Many coins of Indian origin are found in Thailand. The copper coins of the Kushan king Vasudeva I (c. 190 – 227 CE) are found

28. P. Shanmugam, “An Early Tamil Brahmi Inscription from Thailand”, *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, 22, 1996: 100-03; Noboru Karashima, “Tamil Inscriptions in Southeast Asia and China,” In *Ancient and Medieval Commercial Activities in the Indian Ocean*, 2002, 10-18.

29. Iravatham Mahadevan, “Thailantil Tamil-Brahmi PorittaPanaiOtu,” (Potsherd with Tamil-Brahmi Script from Thailand), *Avanam*, itai, 17 (2006):12-13.

30. Benudhar Patra, “Kalinga and Siam: A Study in Ancient Relations”, *Odisha Review*, 73, 9 (2017): 23.

31. BuncharPongpanich, *Beyond Beads*, 2009, 174; D. Dayalan, “Plaque of South Indian Shipman in Thailand”, In *Pura-Jagat-Indian Archaeology, History and Culture*, 2012: 535-538.

at Bang Kluai Nok.³² Khlong Thom (Khuan Luk Pad) in Krabi province has yielded three Sātavāhana copper alloy coins with a double masted ship on one side and a humped bull on the other side.³³ A baked clay impression of an Indian seal datable to the 4th-5th century CE depicting a ship with stitched plank construction has found in Nakhon Pathom (presently in the National Museum, Bangkok).³⁴ Fascinatingly, many of the ancient coins found in Thailand have the motifs of Indian affinity such as Śrīvatsa, Conch (Saṅkha), Rising Sun, Bull and so on.³⁵

TEXTILE

The influence of Indian textile technology and costumes are conspicuous in the Southeast Asian countries.³⁶ The contact between India and Thailand during Iron Age is attested by the findings of the remains of the cotton (*Gossypium* Sp.) from of Ban Don Ta Phet, the Iron Age site (400 BCE) in Thailand.³⁷ The textiles imported to Thailand and other Southeast Asian countries from India include the double-ikat silk patola and the block-printed cotton textiles, because of their status and ritual significance.

32. BuncharPongpanich, “Lakthanborannakhadi chin noithi at kiaokaproiraek-phraphutthasasananaiphuenthiphak tai khongthai”, In PathommabotPhraPhutthasasananaiphak tai prathetthai: lakthamlaelakthanborannakhadi, 2014: 109-111 (in Thai).

33. PhasookIndrawooth, “The archaeology of the early Buddhist kingdoms of Thailand”, In Southeast Asia: From Prehistory to History, 2004, 120-148.

34. Pierre Baptiste and Thierry Zéphir (Eds). *Dvavarati: aux sources du Bouddhisme en Thaïlande*, Exhibition catalogue, 2009: 54; John Guy, “Catalogue: Indian Imports”, In *Lost Kingdoms: Hindu Buddhist Sculpture of Early Southeast Asia*, 2014: 32, No.1.

35. Pamela Gutman, “The Ancient Coinage of Southeast Asia”, *The Journal of the Siam Society*, 66, 1 (1978): 8-21; Robert S. Wicks, “The Ancient Coinage of Mainland Southeast Asia”, *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 16, 2 (1985): 195-225.

36. Judith Anne Cameron, *Textile Technology in the Prehistory of Southeast Asia*, Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of The Australian National University, Canberra, 2002.

37. Ian. C. Glover, “Ban Don Ta Phet: the 1984-85 Excavation”, 1990, 139-183.

There are ample indications that the Southeast Asian textiles produce had Indian influence in their materials, and methods of production, designs and motifs. One of the techniques common in both Indian and Southeast Asian textiles is ikat. Some experts opinion that weft ikat technique with Indian designs was introduced in Southeast Asian countries during the Indianization period.³⁸

CONCLUSION

India, particularly Kalinga and Siam have enjoyed a deep rooted and mutually enriching interaction for more than two millennia. This sort of intimate relation apparently caused in an adaptation of Indian culture and tradition to suit the Siam milieu, but also the establishment of Indianized kingdoms in Siam. Indian impression can be seen in the Thailand religion, culture, art and architecture, tradition, mythology, script, language, place, proper names and so on. The influence Orissan art and architecture can be seen in many monuments in Thailand. Thailand people maintain a strong influence of Indian rituals, mythology and idolatry. Many of their rituals show resemblance to Indian rituals and traditions.

The ancient sea voyages are still remembered by people in Odisha and to commemorate these occasions, they celebrate Bali Yatra on Kartika Purnima. Interesting, the celebration of Loy Krathong or Loy brah Prahdip festival by the people of Thailand, which pay homage to waterways and the goddess of water, resonates with the Bali Yatra festival. Notwithstanding, both the festivals are distinct in cultural contexts, but they share a commonality in the ritual of floating miniature vessels.

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38. Fiona Kerlogue, "Textiles of Jambi (Sumatra) and the Indian Ocean Trade", In Textiles in Indian Ocean Societies, edited by Ruth Barnes, 2005, 130-131.

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Kalinga – Dvaravati (Thailand): A Study of Artistic and Cultural Proximity

Dr. Bachchan Kumar

INTRODUCTION

Kalinga or ancient Odisha, because of its conducive geographical location had played a pioneering role in the maritime relations of India. Being a great maritime power endowed with a number of all seasoned ports and port towns on its coast it had brisk contact with different South East Asian countries. Kalinga and Dvaravati of Thailand had close affinities in terms of artistic and cultural activities. The present paper discusses artistic and cultural proximity of Kalinga, and Dvaravati kingdom based on archaeological and cultural evidences. Scholars have drawn little attention on this subject. Fragmentary evidences are available on this subject. Das has opinion that the “Indian colonies of the early and middle ages were founded by colonist from Kalinga.”¹ Coedes is of the view that the name Kalinga resembles that of Kling which is used by Malaya and the Cambodians to designate the Indian.²

The Kalinga has glorious past that goes back to the period of Aryan age. The epics such as the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and the Puranas have descriptions of Kalinga, its kings and the people. The Buddhist chronicles, Jataka stories and the Jain literature devote special chapters on Kalinga country.³ The edicts of Asoka the Great and the inscription of Emperor Kharabela

attest to Kalinga's significant contribution on political history of India.

The people of Kalinga played a significant role in colonizing South-East Asian regions as their people used to voyage far off places. From this Indianization was born a series of kingdoms that in the beginning were true Indian states: Cambodian kingdoms the Funan, Chen-la and Angkor; Champa, and the small states of the Malay Peninsula; the kingdoms of Sumatra, Java, and Bali, the Burmese and Thai kingdoms. In ancient time, Thailand and Burma had majority of Mon-Khmers population who were rich in art styles and cultural traditions. They formed city states and retained their culture.⁴

Curiously, Indians quickly forgot that their culture had spread over such vast domains to the East and Southeast. Indian scholars have not been aware of this fact until very recently; it was not until a small group of them, having learned French and Dutch, studied with the professors of the Universities of Paris and Leyden. They discovered the knowledge of their lost history and extended Indian culture⁵. As a result, the group of scholars promulgated the theory of "Greater India".⁶ Thanks to the French scholars who taught us about Indian colonies beyond the sea.

The Indianized states came into being in South East Asia at various times and space. The epigraphic records reveal the fact that the first historic state called as Funan came into existence in the mainland South East Asia region during the early century of the Christian era. The peninsular region was also fertile for the settlements of Indian colonies in the fifth century A.D. Dynastic traditions furnish precious data on relations with Kalinga and South East Asian Kingdoms. There was a relationship between the Sailendras of Java and Sumatra and the Kailas of Orissa,⁷ The kingdom of Dvaravati came into existence in the present Thailand during the beginning of the 7th century A.D.. Before coming to the subject of Dvaravati, it would be pertinent to throw light on the Kalinga which was the main source of Eastern coast.

THE KALINGA

Kalinga (Sanskrit: Kalinga) has been a historical region of India. It is generally defined as the eastern coastal region between the Mahanadi and the Godavari rivers, although its boundaries have fluctuated with the territory of its rulers. The core territory of Kalinga now encompasses central and southern Odisha and northern Andhra Pradesh. At its widest extent, the Kalinga region also included parts of present-day Chhattisgarh, extending up to Amarkantak in the west. The historian locates ancient Kalinga the country on the eastern shore of the Bay of Bengal, which extended from the Delta of the Ganges to that of Godavari.⁸

Kalinga had vast territory between the Ganges and the Godavari, occupied a unique and interesting position in the Geography of India. The inhabitants of this country were most enterprising because of its wonderful geographical position. The country enjoyed significant geographical position as she had land-mass of Aryavrata on her back, with the fertile valley of Ganga-Brahmaputra on one side and Godavari-Krishna doab on the other, and with the mighty water mass of Indian Ocean at south. Since Jointing North and South India, she played a vital role in the cultural fusion of North and South India. Guarding the seas, she was the gateway between India and Greater India.

Besides, because of geographical location, Kalinga enjoyed better climatic situation. The Indian Ocean provided her equable climate. On the other hand tropical climate gave her abundant rain and innumerable small and big rivers flow through it. This nature boundary provided her ample food production resulted into rich cultural heritage.

THE SEA PORT ON THE EASTERN COAST OF KALINGA

The Bay of Bengal and its waterways made navigating structure that enriched commerce, culture, and early contacts with people from other parts of the world. Having quality of seafaring, Kalingan developed various ports.

Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, written in the first century A.D. in Koine Greek, describes navigation and trading opportunities from Roman Egyptian ports. Periplus gives vivid description of goods, ports and marts of west coast as compared to the east coast of the Indian peninsula. Moreover, the text gives names three emporiums, Machilipatnam (Masalia) at the mouth of river Krishna, Dosarene of Odisha and the Ganges. However, in the second century A.D., a more detailed account of river mouths, ports and market towns of the east coast was reported by the Greco-Egyptian scholar Claudius Ptolemy. From river Krishna, which he calls 'Maisoles, upto the mouths of Ganges, Ptolemy has recorded 26 places.

Ptolemy has mentioned some of the ports of Kalinga. They were Palur, Naingaina, Ktikardam, Kannagar and Madaina. Plaura which was situated at the mouth of the river Rushikulya was a very import port from a very ancient time. According to Ptolemy, it was from this port that the ships sailed for the Malaya Island. Kannagar of Ptolemy is no other place that the modern Konarka. There were more outstanding ports of Kalinga. Kalinganagar was another important port. The Chinese pilgrim Huen Tsang mentions another port named Charitra.⁹

Andhra Pradesh's Maisolia, which Periplus named Masalia, has been identified with Machhlipatam. Kontakossyla is placed inland in the Krishna district, in the neighbourhood of Kondapalli. Allosygne was Coringa or Korangi of the East Godavari district situated a little beyond Point Godavari. The 'navigational landmark', mount Mahendra has been generally accepted as point of departure (apheterion) on the east coast.¹⁰

Tamralipti was well known port. It had its geographical surroundings in the south by the Bay of Bengal, east by the river Rupnarayana and west by Subarnarekha river. Geographical situation of Tamralipti, Suham or Suram, Lata, Varahi temple, Chaurasi, Radha, and Bharukachchha or Baroch, and Gangaridae etc., points to one compact region, and their ancient

history is intimately connected with each other. According to Dasakumaracharita (6th AD), Tamralipti was in Suham or Suram, or Sumha, kingdom, and temple of Bindubasini was situated there. In Mahabharata, and Matsya, Suhma or Suram, and Tamralipti were shown as two different places. Here Suram has also been mentioned as a port where Tapassu and Bhallika, the two merchant brothers of Kalinga, arrived. In BrihadSamhita, Suram is placed between Banga and Kalinga.¹¹

From here it was easy to embark for the Farther Indian states. La Vallee-Poussin¹² remarks that Tamralipti (Tamluk) contributed for the Indian expansion in South East Asia. Chinese Pilgrim Fa-hien embarked on their return journey from India to China. It is said that he spent two years at Tamralipti in studying and copying manuscripts, “writing out Buddhist sutras and drawing pictures of images. He refers to the existence of twenty two Buddhist monasteries in Tamralipti where the law of Buddha was flourishing. The place was situated on the seaboard. We have also information of the It-sing who remained in Tamralipti for five months and learned there Sanskrit and the Sabdavidya or “Science of words”. He mentions for China both sea and land routes. Hiuen Tsang (Xuanzang), chinese traveller in the 7th century calls the town ‘Tan-mo-lih-ti (te) which can be translated as Tamralipti. He stated that this port town was expanded approximately 250 miles.

Coedes opines that during the time of Jatakas¹³, merchants from Benares (Varanasi) or Champa (Bhagalpur), in the valley of Ganges reaches Tamralipti then took voyages to Suvarnnabhumi, the land of Gold. Suvarnnabhumi is identified by the historians either Thailand or Burma (Myanmar). King Vijaya, the first king of Ceylon, went to Ceylon through this port. According to the Mahavamsa, Prince Vijaya made his expedition to colonize Sri Lanka (c. 500 BCE). King Vijaya before starting on his sea voyage to Ceylon, he used to stay for three months at Madhupur. Based on Vamsa Gatha, records of Sri Lankan Government, clearly state that King Vijaya who hails from Kalinga, reached Celon.

On the day of his arrival, the Buddha took his Mahaparinirvana (passed away).

King Asoka despatched Buddhist missionary expedition with Bodhi Tree to Ceylon (Sri Lanka) through Tamralipti port¹⁴. It was a fourteen days' journey to Ceylon from Tamralipti, out of which seven days 'journey was spent from Pataliputra to Tamralipti on road. It is, thus, appeared that Tamralipti was the place of learning and vast sea port from where people of Kalinga undertook regular voyages to South East Asian countries.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Without mentioning the ancient history of Kalinga, the ancient Indian History is incomplete. It is very interesting and important. The first epigraphic information of the ancient political history of Kalinga has come out from the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta.

The existence of Kalinga can be seen since Vedic period. The spiritual discourse between Rishi Lomasa and Yudhishtira indicates the prevailing religious customs of Kalinga during that period. Lomasa recounts that Dharma deva performed a Yajna to consecrate river Baitarani as a great tirtha. The hills to the north of the river were inhabited by saints and frequented by learned Brahmins for performing Yajna. In verse 15, Yudhishtira, in exalted ecstasy, declares the hearing of the hymns recited by the magnanimous dwellers of the distant woods. Performance of Yajna, chanting of hymns and observance of ascetic penances in forest hermitage were the fundamental religious practices of Vedic period. In verse 25 the sage advised Pandavas to appease Agni, Mitra and Vishnu, the main deities of the Vedic pantheon. This narrative of the epic manifests existence of an advanced Vedic civilisation in this region.¹⁵ The Adiparva of the Mahabharata refers to matrimonial relations of the royal house of Kalinga with different Aryan royal families of northern India long before the time of Kurukshetra war. According to SantiParva, Duryodhana, the Kaurava Prince, married the daughter of Chitrangada, the king of Kalinga.¹⁶

The Kalingas have been mentioned as a major tribe in epic the Mahabharata¹⁷. In the 4th century B.C., we see Kalinga appeared in the political history of India when the great Nanda rulers were on the throne of Magadh. The expansionist policy of Nanda dynasty was probably first began by the King Mahapadma Nanda. He was the empire builder of India. Alaxander the Great saw the empire of Nanda which was beyond the river Beas to the east with Patliputra was the Capital.

After conquest of the North, Mahapadma Nanda turned his eyes to the South and conquered Kalinga. Hatigumpha inscription of King Kharavela mentions that Kalinga was a part and parcel of Nanda empire. There is no evidence of resistance of Kalinga while submitting to Nanda.. M. N. Das¹⁸ opines that at that time Kalinga had vast empire. According to Puranic evidences, Kalinga was ruled by a chain of thirty-two rulers. A long rule for a thousand years of an unbroken line of thirty-two monarchs suggests the kingdom had powerful political existence. Even we see, after the fall of Nanda dynasty, Kalinga soon assert their independence from Magadhempire. No doubt at that time Kalinga was at that time prospered city and controlling the whole trade from the coastal to the region of South East Asia.

It appears that there were hostility existed between the powerful Magadha Empire and the vast coastal kingdom Kalinga which was connecting east to south India. The son of a great father and father of a great son, Bindusara was not as great as Chandragupta or Asoka, but he was able to maintained the expire which was built by his father. Even the hostility continued between the rulers of Kalinga and Magadh.

This continued at the time of King Asoka. After the coronation at the throne of Magadh in about 273 B.C., Emperor Asoka, in the 8th year of his formal coronation, investing all his powerful armies, invaded Emperor Kharavela of Kalinga. Thus the result of the war was “one hundred and fifty thousand men were captured and carried away captive, one hundred thousand men were slain

and many times that number perished as the result of the war.”¹⁹ Coedes is of view that the remote causes have been sought in the bloody conquest of Kalinga on the eastern coast of India by Asoka in the third century B.C. and the exodus of population it presumably provoked, but its effect was not seen until next three centuries.might well ask why the effects were not felt until three centuries later.²⁰

In the profound sense of sorrow and mortification the emperor continued, “thus arose His sacred Majesty’s remorse for having conquered the Kalingas.” Emperor Asoka relinquished the leadership of the Magadhan armies and became a great philanthropist and preacher. He said “all men are my children. As on behalf of my own children I desire that they may be provided with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, the same I desire also on behalf of all men”. Thus, he opted Buddhism and took shelter of “Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha” and gave deep concern to the basic doctrine of Buddhism, the non-violence, human value and universal brotherhood.

Emperor Asoka not only prospered Buddhism in his own country, Magadh, and his subjugated territories, but also to the whole world. He sent out embassies and missions to the far-off kingdoms of Antiochos Theos of Syria, Ptolemy Philadelphos of Egypt, Magas of Cyrene, Alexander of Epirus and the King Tissa of Ceylon. Even where the envoys of Asoka could not enter, those people too, hearing His Sacred doctrines of Buddha, practised the Laws of Dhamma. In course time, Asoka was able to convert China, Japan, Tibet, Siam (Thailand), Indo-china, Burma, the Archipelago and Ceylon. Thus spiritual power candled by him to the far and wide countries. Thus, Das opines that, the blood of the people of Kalinga changed Asoka to a staunch follower of Buddhism.²¹

Asoka, after subjugating the kingdom of Kalinga, he brought the whole country under his control and introduced Administrative system of Magadh. He tried to make the people of country recover from the loss of war. After the death of Asoka,

Kalinga not only asserted independence but also set up a strong and powerful Chedi dynasty in the year 225 B.C. Kalinga regained his glory of power. Moreover, the territory of Kalinga was limited

Kalinga came under Gupta suzerainty in the 4th century CE. After Gupta empire, the kingdom was ruled by several minor dynasties, whose rulers bore the title Kalingadhipati ("Lord of Kalinga"). These included the Matharas, Pitrbhaktas, Vasishthas and Nalas. They were followed by the Shailodbhavas and the early Eastern Gangas²².

The Shailodbhavas ruled parts of eastern India during the 6th-8th centuries A.D. The word "Shailodbhava" means "born out of rocks". The Shailodbhava inscriptions narrate a myth about origin of this dynasty. Pulindasena, a pious person of Kalinga prayed the god Svayambhu to create a man capable of ruling the earth. The dynasty's founder Shailodbhava emerged from a rock as a result of this prayer. The god is identified as Hara (Siva). Thus, they were the worshippers of lord Siva. Their core territory was known as Kongoda-mandala, and included parts of the present-day Ganjam, Khordha and Puri districts. King Madhavaraja II claimed the title Sakala-Kalingadhipati ("the lord of the entire Kalinga").²³

Even in very meagre reason, Kalingas had occasionally fought with distant enemies. About the middle of the eighth century A.D., Harsha, king of Kamarupa overran Kalinga.²⁴ At the beginning of the ninth century A.D. the Pratihara king Nagabhata claims to have defeated the kings of Andhra and Kalinga.²⁵ The Andhra, no doubt, refers to the kingdom of the Eastern Calukyas. We know that the E. Calukya king Vijayaditya II (799-843 A. D.) conquered the Rastrakuta kingdom. As Dr. D. C. Ganguly has suggested, probably this king Vijayaditya also invaded the Pratihara dominion.²⁶

From the middle of the ninth century A. D. the E. Calukya kings seem to have exercised supremacy over Kalinga. Vijayaditya III (844-888 A. D.) received tribute from the king of Kalinga and took gold from him by force. In the tenth century Vijayaditya IV,

Vikramaditya II, and Amma II ruled over Tri-Kalinga. From 956 to 1003 A. D. three E. Calukya kings ruled in Kalinga alone, after losing Vengi.

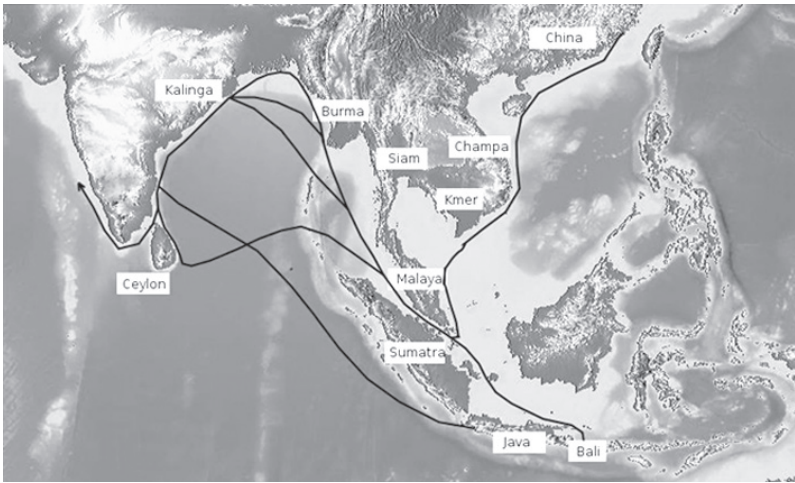
The inscription of the last Ganga king known so far is dated in 397 which would correspond to the middle of the tenth century A.D. We have not record of the dynasty for nearly half a century. It would, therefore, be presume that the end of the political supremacy of the dynasty was brought about by the E. Calukyas. It is, of course, quite possible that the E. Calukyas occupied only a portion of Kalinga proper and the Gangas ruled over the rest. But the reference to their rule over Kalinga and Tri-Kalinga naturally lead to the inference that the E. Calukyas considerably extended their power in Kalinga at the expense of the Gangas. The Ganga kings must have lost their political importance in the latter half of the ninth century A.D., and the rule of the family was brought to an end in the tenth century.

KALINGA KINGDOM AND STATE FORMATION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

The strategic geographical location of Kalinga on the east coast provided excellent opportunity for its people to be first-rate sea-farers. Maritime commerce was the utmost passion which inspired the natives for thrilling adventures in the open sea. This spirit is reflected in literature and in sculptural and archaeological evidences. They were aware of the monsoon wind and sea currents long before the Christian era and effectively used the knowledge to establish maritime routes and colonies at far-off islands.

Kalinga was famous for various items of trade. There were direct sea routes for trade to the South East Asian countries. Map 1 shows sea routes from Kalinga to South East Asia. They had some distinctive stuff which had exclusive fervour in the then commercial world. Minerals, gemstones, farm and forest products, the Kalinga breed of elephants, and goods crafted by artisans were the precious commodities for trade. 'The Buddhist Jataka mentions Kalinga as a great commercial and industrial country,

which exported ivory, diamonds, fine cloth, rice, and other goods to foreign countries.²²⁷



Map 1 :Maritime Trade Route from Kalinga to South East Asia

They had ability to sail navies to defend friendly coasts and ravage enemy ships made them a formidable sea power. The sailors of Kalinga were the pioneers of Indian colonisation. They exercised control of the waterways and sea lanes and established trading-posts in Thailand, Malay Peninsula, Java, Sumatra, Bali, Borneo, Cambodia and Sri Lanka. As a result, a number of small states came into being. Archipelago region especially Java (Chinese Ho-ling) had their favourable coasts on which they had control since beginning.

Kalinga had good trading relations with the mainland South East Asia as it was also a very approachable part from the sea. The people of Kalinga played a significant role in the process of colonization of South-East Asia. It is believed that the first impulse to the colonizing activity and expansion of India had its origin in the daring spirit of Kalinga. The spirit of enterprise and adventure was remarkable among the Oriyas in ancient times, who cherished the ambition of founding colonies in distant lands. Recent researches

on the Indian colonization have revealed that Kalinga had lion's share in the over-seas expansion and colonization. The naval power of Kalinga made it possible for her to establish kingdoms in the South-East Asia in the early stages of colonization and finally a great empire during the middle ages.²⁸ Tradition holds that 20,000 families were sent from Kalinga to Java and other parts of South East Asian by the prince of Kalinga; their number multiplied and they prospered²⁹.

Coedes opines³⁰ that the "remote causes of the expansion Indian have been sought of the bloody conquest of Kalinga on the eastern coast of India by Emperor Asoka in the 3rd century B.C. but it is doubted that its effects have not been seen until three centuries later. It seems possible that there would have some states which were in the state of formation. During 3rd century A.D., Thailand was a Mon dominating area. They were Austroasiatic-speaking³¹ people centred in Central Thailand who were close to the people of Kalinga.

DVARAVATI KINGDOM

Earlier, due to paucity of evidences, it has been argued that Dvaravati has no history. Unlike the great Khmer Empire that developed around Angkor, with Dvaravati there are no long lists of the genealogies of kings, nor is there any form of indigenous written history or chronicles that survives from this period. Instead we are left with oblique references in Chinese sources and scattered and infrequent inscriptions that allow only mere glimpses of a past culture. Despite this, there are archaeological and fragmentary sources on which we may be able to speak on Dvaravati. Scholars have also drawn their attention to the study of the findings based on which call it as a Dvaravati kingdom.

The Sanskrit term 'Dvaravati' literally means 'Gates'. On the hand, certain scholars suggest that this refers to characteristics of this culture's urban planning³². The name itself is encountered earlier in the Indian epic the Mahabharata which is considered to have been compiled from the 8th century B.C. onwards with its

final form crystallising around the Gupta period, circa 4th century A.D.. The name Dvaravati, also transliterated as Dvaraka or Dvaravati taken from the Mahabharata³³, the reason why scholars believe that Dvaravati was the name of a city or early state.

During Gupta period, the trade was well developed and Kalinga region played crucial role in regular trade with the South East Asian region. This resulted into settlements of Mons and Khmers in Indo-China region. By the 3rd century A.D. the Mon had established a major city-state at Nakhon Pathom, west of the present Bangkok where they gradually built up a large mandala (city states) which by seventh century it became developed into a kingdom. Chinese Pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang, who visited India in the middle of the 7th century, recorded in his chronicle that there existed a kingdom called “To-lo-po-ti” located to the west of Isanapura (Cambodia) and east of Sriksetra (Burma)³⁴. Scholars have proposed that this refer to the transliteration into Chinese of the Sanskrit name Dvaravati which later became part of official names of the two capitals, Ayudhya and Bangkok³⁵. This support from the discovery of the two silver coins inscribed in Pallava script in Sanskrit language found during excavation at a stupa at NemHin near Phra Pathom Chedi at Nakhon Pathom in 1943,³⁶ reads *sri-dvaravati-shvarapunya* translated as “the Meritorious Deed of the Ruler of Dvaravati”.³⁷

Coedès³⁸ referred to Dvaravati as a kingdom or ‘royaume’. This term is problematic as it suggests a fully developed state which appears as misconceptions of what the actual social and political structure was. Majumdar³⁹ has opinion that the area of central Thailand where Dvaravati art was found must have been directly under the influence of India and even goes as far as to say that this area, and most of Southeast Asia had been colonised, and polities such as Dvaravati and Angkor in Cambodia were direct vassal states of India may be Kalinga must have played dominant role as they had supremacy on the coastal area and navigation power.

NakornPathom and UThong have yielded supportive evidences based on which it was declared as a kingdom. One of the most significant finds from U Thong site is the copper plate inscription, translated by Coedès⁴⁰ who dated it to the 7th century. Part of this inscription, according to Coedès' translation refers directly to kingship stating:

‘Sri Harsavarman, grandson of the king, Sri Isanavarman, who spread the mass of his glory, obtained the throne of lions through regular succession.’

Based on this epigraphic evidence, Prof. Jean Boisselier⁴¹ concludes that the town of U Thong might have been the first capital of the Dvaravati Kingdom later it was shifted to NakhonPathom. Moreover, lower basin of Menam, from Lopburi in the north to Ratburi in the west and to Prachin in the east, have produced archaeological and epigraphic evidences. They are written in archaic Mon Language prove that the population of Dvaravati was basically Mon who spoke the Mon language.⁴² The Birth of the kingdom appears to be the dismemberment of Funan⁴³ but we do not have historical facts. Annals of Tang dynasty mentions the existence of new kingdoms Po-li-cha, To-lo-po-ti and To-ho-lo which sent envoy to the Emperor T'ai-tsung (627-49 A.D.) during Cheng-kuan period. To-lo-po-ti (Dvaravati) was one of the Kingdom which sent envoy to the Chinese court.⁴⁴ It appears that the Dvaravati was a prosperous kingdom and diplomatically very sound. Briggs is of the view that Dvaravati was an important state at that time.⁴⁵

EXTENT OF THE DVARAVATI KINGDOM

Generally scholars argued that Dvaravati was spread over only Central Thailand. Based on spread of art and archaeological objects, scholars have placed different opinion on the extension of Dvaravati Kingdom. Coedès has viewed that it was a unified kingdom with a capital city at its centre, whose reach and control covered most of modern day Thailand⁴⁶.

Prince Damrong Rajanubhab⁴⁷ proposes that the political extent of the Dvaravati kingdom and the distribution of Dvaravati

style art and architecture were one in the same. Further he stated that a Dvaravati kingdom was spread out over all of modern day Thailand.

The British archaeologist H. G. Quartich Wales⁴⁸ also made the same claim in his work *Dvaravati, the Earliest Kingdom of Siam*. Like Prince Damrong Rajanubhab and Coedès, Wales has also made the same view based on limited archaeological and art historic evidence. Refuting the opinion of Wales, Coedes and other, Guillon⁴⁹ argues that based on the extension of art objects, it would be very difficult to say the extension of Dvaravati Kingdom.

The epigraphic and archaeological evidences the Dvaravati tends to believe that it has come into existence in central Thailand sometime in the 6th century A.D. and flourished until the late 7th or early 8th centuries. After that it appears to have waned and by the mid-8th to 9th centuries it has totally disappeared from epigraphic records and Chinese historical sources⁵⁰. Wicks further notes that the Dvaravati numismatic tradition goes into sharp decline in the late 8th or early 9th centuries CE⁵¹. Therefore, we can state that the Dvaravati political entity spanned the 6th-9th centuries and was restricted to central Thailand, particularly around the areas of the lower and upper Chao Phraya Basin. Dvaravati art, culture and settlement types continue up until the 11th-12th centuries and span a wider geographical area than central Thailand alone. The kingdom remained its existence till late thirteenth century when it was conquered by the mass Thai migrants.

Dvaravati was an Urbanised kingdom. There are over forty known Dvaravati sites in central Thailand, illustrating that this region had urbanisation and had large settlements from the mid-6th century A.D. onwards. The kingdom had large scale river systems such as the Chao Phraya and Tha Chin rivers. These settlements stretch as far as Ku Bua in upper-peninsular Thailand to Dong Mae Nang Muang in Nakorn Sawan according to province to the north. It seems that Dvaravati kingdom flourished in the Central part of Thailand, especially at Nakhon Pathom, U Tong in the province

of Supanburi, Ratburi, in Northeast at MuongFaDaed Yang in the province of Kalasin and south of Thailand. It is believed that the Dvaravati kingdom spread from Central to the other parts of Thailand through peaceful means rather than by force of war. In the middle of the seventh century, inhabitants of Lavo (Lopburi) migrated northwards and founded another kingdom named as Haripunjaya (Lampun).

SHARED ART AND CULTURAL PROXIMITY

Dvaravati kingdom was predominantly a Buddhist kingdom. Based on the discovery of large number of Theravada Buddhist objects, it is believed that the people of Dvaravati kingdom were staunch followers of Theravada Buddhism. The most unique religious objects are the Dharmacakra or Wheel of the law found from different parts of Thailand. It represents the first sermon of the Buddha which took place at the deer park in Sarnath (India). With this sermon, the Buddha set the wheel of the law in motion with the dharmacakra therefore symbolising both the beginnings and continuation of his teaching through the Buddhist sangha.

Dvaravati kingdom has yielded some of the unique figures whose significance cannot be known for certain. One of them represents the Buddha standing or seated on the head of a curious beast called by some of the archaeologists “Panasbati” (lord of the Jungle). The standing figure sometimes represents the Buddha descending from Tavatimsa Heaven with a parasol above the head of the Master who is flanked by Indra and Brahma, the former holding the handle of the parasol. Panasbati seems to have a beak of a Garuda (the king of the bird), ears and horns of a bull, and wings of a Hamsa (wild goose). These three animals are mounts of the three great Hindu gods, respectively Visnu, Siva and Brahma. Prof. Diskul opines that the placement of the Buddha upon Panasbati might be an attempt to indicate that Buddhism was stronger than Hinduism. Another object is a bas-relief of Dvaravati area discovered on a cave-wall in Saraburi, which depicts Visnu and Siva or Brahma attending the sermon of the Buddha.⁵²

In 1961, the excavation made by the Thai Fine Arts Department, unearthed a number of beautiful terracotta figurines which add to our knowledge the religious beliefs of the people of Dvaravati. One of the terracotta figurines shows the image of Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva. This tends to believe that the people of Dvaravati kingdom were also follower of Mahayana Buddhism.

An inscription discovered from Lopburi⁵³ attests that even under the majority of Khmer population, around 11th century, prevailing various religious practices, Dvaravati had predominance of Buddhist monuments and images and preserved the importance of Buddhism⁵⁴.

George Coedes is of opinion and that the art objects and ruins of the stupas of the Mon area of Prome, built during the eighth century, have bear the origin of Northeast India or coast of Orissa. These stupas are of cylindrical type with a hemispherical of pointed dome⁵⁵. The origin of another architectural form characteristic of the Pyu kingdom—an edifice with an inner chamber that supports a cylindro-conic superstructure (sikhara)—must also be sought on the coast of Orissa. Prevalence of Mahayana Buddhism and Tantric cult may be under the influence of Bengal⁵⁶ and the coastal part of Orissa or Kalinga.

Dvaravati people were highly skilled sculptors. The images of Dvaravati period have their own characteristics features, based on Indian art styles. The images of Buddha usually display serenity quality, while the faces have a very particular stylisation, The stylized images have broad face with a flat nose and thick lips, elongated eyes which can be sometimes joined by curved lids, The hairs of the Buddhas are often depicted as thick heavy curls, while the ushnisha is either shaped like a truncated cone or is hemispherical. Sometimes, it is seen surmounted by a very small conical flame.

Some of the most striking characteristics of Dvaravati sculpture are the posture, the gestures and the drapery. A Buddha image, with legs crossed or folded, some in so-called European

style, with both legs simply hanging down (Figure 1). The stone sculpture display scene of the Buddha life. It is of 7th – 11th Century found from Wat Si, NakhonPathom. This is a unique figure displaying the Mahapurshalakhan of elongated ear. The vast majority of Buddha images exhibit a perfect frontality with many of the earlier images showing a subtle sway of the hips. One of the most common mudras is the Vitarkamudra (double hands in a gesture of exposition or teaching) which is specific to the Dvaravati art style. One of the Buddha images is in Vitarkamudra (Figure 2) dated of 7th to 8th century discovered from Prakhon Chai. This Mudra is very common in Hindu and Buddhist art in India but not common to the other Buddhist countries. The attires are usually smooth and highly stylised. The flap of the robe can be held in the left hand and the two edges on the back of the uttarasanga form two bunches of identical folds. The front edge is rounded off and reveals the lower part of the antaravasaka. The Dvaravati Buddha images, the robe is dressed in a very nice way. It hangs from both the hands to the lower part of the legs forming U shaped.

The Dvaravati Buddha images in monastic robe clearly display influences of the Gupta and post Gupta art styles mixed with the lingering influences of the Amaravati style of art such as loose crossed legs seated posture. The art objects from 8th to 11th century bear the impact of art style of Pala that flourished in north-eastern India as well as coastal region. Usually small Buddha images were cast in bronze but recently some large Bronze Buddha images are unearthed. One of the bronze images, 1.09 m. high, was discovered at Muang Fai, in the province of Buriram, north eastern Thailand and is kept in Bangkok National Museum.

The Buddhist myth which Buddha protected by Naga was very much popular in Dvaravati art. A beautiful image shows the meditating Buddha under Naga, found at Muang Fai, is of later phase discovered in Thailand. An Image of Buddha protected by seven hooded Naga from Prachinburi province (Figure 3) shows an Indian Pala influence in the monastic dress of late period

of about 9th or 10th century. The Buddha image of late period about the 11th century bear Khmer or Lopburi influences. They are typified by a square face, a long end of the robe terminating in a straight line over the left shoulder and a folded leg in seated posture.

Apart from these sculptures, Dvaravati artists carved bas-reliefs depicting life of the Buddha. One amongst the reliefs is the Great Miracle at Sravasti found at Wat Chin, Ayudhya and two other portraying the First Sermon at Pra Pathom Chedi, Nakhon Pathom. The most interesting is a large slab depicting the Great Miracle at Sravasti in the lower register and the sermon to the mother of the Buddha in Tavatimsa Heaven on the upper part.

Quite a number of stone wheels of the Law and figures of deer have been found in Dvaravati art. They symbolize the first preaching of Buddha at the Deer Park in Varanasi in India. They were made according to plastic concepts adopted by the Mauryan and post Mauryan Art Schools (3rd century B.C. to 1st Century A.D.) and Early Amaravati School (2nd – 3rd century A. D.) before the anthropomorphised Buddha image was created. Therefore, some scholars believe that Buddhism might have come to Thailand as far as back the reign of Emperor Asoka in the late 3rd century B.C. Moreover, we find decorations on the rims of the stone Wheel of the Law have affinities with the Gupta Art style of India (4th to 6th century A.D.). It is because of that the artists of Dvaravati may have carved in imitation of those sent by Emperor Asoka through his missionaries, the original one may have been lost⁵⁷. Supposition that the town of Nakhon Pathom was the capital of the kingdom of Suvarnabhumi before it became Dvaravati. Owing to the lack of concrete evidence, we cannot say firmly. Prof. Boisselier states that the only free standing “Wheel of the Law” of the same date of Dvaravati has been found from Lingarajupalem, east of Godavari Delta in South India. But its decoration of the rim is not as ornamental as Dvaravati one. Thus it might have been of Latter’s Prototype⁵⁸.

A three dimensional “Wheel of the Law” or Dharmacakra, made of stone, has been found from U- Thong, Central Thailand of 7th or 8th century A.D. The rim of the Dharmacakra is beautifully carved and based on Lotus pedestal (Figure 4). Another “Wheel of the Law” (figure 5) which is 1.05 m. tall and a deer (27m tall) have been found from Nakhon Pathom of 7th-8th century symbolising the doctrine of lord Buddha. A beautifully decorated “Wheel of the Law” has also been discovered from PhraPathom Chedi, Nakhon Pathom (Figure 6) of 7th- 8th century A.D. Robert Brown⁵⁹ points out that the Dharmacakra signify the ruler’s power through the use of symbolism and religion. Therefore, it suggests the concept of Cakravartin means a universal emperor or divine Buddhist king.

In the year 1961, the Thai Fine Arts Department excavated many Dvaravati ruins at Ku Bua, Ratburi. A number of Stucco and terracotta mouldings has been discovered which excel the beauty of Dvaravati art. The stucco work from sites such as Ku Bua and Sri Thep, along with the terracotta mouldings from the Chula Pathonstupa at Nakhon Pathom show a high level of naturalism. The stuccos are found in many forms such as Buddha images, other divinities, dwarfs, demon figures, animals and other various motifs.⁶⁰ Nakhon Pathom has yielded a large number of terracotta sculptures of Dvaravati period. Buddha heads found from Wat Phra Ngam are of superb workmanship. Some other terracotta pieces of Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara reveal the fact of the existence of Mahayana Buddhism in Dvaravati kingdom.

Some ceramics and terracotta pieces have been discovered from Pong Tuk, Kanchanburi and also at Ku Bua. In 1963, Thai Fine Arts Department and University of Pennsylvania have jointly made excavations at the old sites of Chansen, NakhonSawan in north-central Thailand which produced an ivory comb of about 7th-8th century A.D. and many pieces of pottery belonging to the Dvaravati period.

Originally votive tablets were made relating to the life of Buddha in India. They were carried by the traders and religious

people for their safe journeys and spending smooth life. A number of Dvaravati votive tablets have been discovered bearing strong influence of Gupta, post-Gupta and of Pala period. The latter phase of the tablets may have been produced in the coastal area of Odisha.

Some examples of Dvaravati architecture have been excavated, for instance, WatPhra Mon and Chedi Chula Paton at Nakhon Pathom. They were the large brick monuments, sometimes redented at the corners and provided with staircases. The base of Chedi Chula Paton was constructed three times, one on the top of the other. The stucco bas-reliefs of the second period represent the interesting scenes of the previous life of the Buddha taken from Jataka. Most of them are now preserved at the Nakhom Pathom Musuem.

Various forms of Stupa exist in Dvaravati period. One has a square base with the central part in hemispherical shape and a pointed finial probably derived from Pala art while another type representing Mahayana Buddhism has a square base, its middle part in the shape of an inverted alm-bowl and the top part divided into many superimposed flat rings terminated in a bulb. The stupas found at U-tong and Supanburi have Octagonal base bearing the influence of Srivijaya art extended to Southern Thailand. This influence seems to have spread to the Central and Eastern part of Thailand in the 8th century A.D, and was of Mahayana Buddhism propagated by Srivijayan through means of peace⁶¹.

Even in modern days many commonality in festivals such as Indian Hindu festivals like Holi, Kartika Purnima and Deepavali, Navaratri and Onam have bearings on the Thai festivals such as Songkran, Loy Krathong, Thai Chinese Vegetarian festival, and the Long-Boat race. These festivals are celebrated around the same time of the year in both the countries.

CONCLUSION

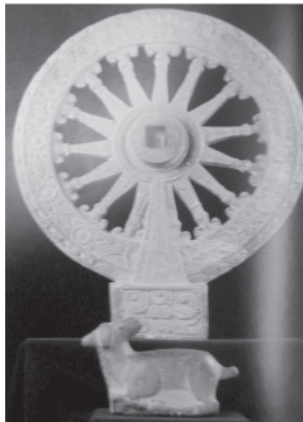
Kalinga was a mighty empire on the eastern coast at the time of Asoka. After the great Kalinga war, it was under the suzerainty of Magadh and mass population moved to far off sea which formed

some small city states in Southeast Asia. Dvaravati was one of them. Chinese Pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang, who visited India in the middle of the 7th century, mentions the existence of the kingdom called “To-lo-po-ti” located to the west of Isanapura (Cambodia) and east of Sriksetra (Burma). To-lo-po-ti has been translated as Dvaravati. By 7th century A.D., Dvaravati developed into a mighty kingdom which was spread over present Thailand. U-tong and Nakhon Pathom were the important cities located at Central Thailand. The kingdom had Mon dominated population who were speaking classical Mon as well as Pali and Sanskrit. Although we have sizable number of source materials on which we can throw light on Dvaravati kingdom.

The archaeological evidence reveals the fact that it was a Theravada Buddhist kingdom influenced by Celonese Buddhism. Mahayana form of Buddhism was also prospering as the existence of an image of Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva. A large number Buddha images has been found bearing Gupta, post Gupta and Pala Style of India. Fine pieces of Dharmacakra or “Wheel of the Law” have been discovered. The Brahmanical deities were well known to the Dvaravati kingdom. Siva and Brahma have been shown as attendant of Buddha. The beast figure is shown as lord of the forest.

The recent archaeological excavations in central Thailand have unearthed tangible cultural materials in the form of bronze bowls and carnelian beads, especially, etched carnelian beads are indicators of artistic and cultural proximity of Kalinga (ancient Odisha) and Dvaravati kingdom. The shape of the stupa and monuments of Dvaravati bear influence of Odisha and late Pala art styles.

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Civilizational Exchanges between Kalinga and Ancient Sri Lanka

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the longstanding and multifaceted historical relationship between ancient Kalinga (modern-day Odisha, India) and ancient Ceylon (modern-day Sri Lanka), which endured for nearly 1,700 years—from approximately 500 B.C.E. to 1200 C.E.—and encompassed strong matrimonial, religious, cultural, commercial, and political exchanges. Drawing on a wide range of literary and archaeological sources—including the *Mahāvamśa*, *Dīpavamśa*, *Manimekhalai*, various *Jātaka* tales, and inscriptions—the study explores the legend of Prince Vijaya, who migrated from Sinhapura in Kalinga and established the Sinhalese kingdom in Sri Lanka, thus laying the foundation for enduring dynastic and cultural ties. The paper highlights historical figures such as Vijaya, Sumitta, and Panduvasdeva, and reveals parallels in social structures and cultural practices between the two regions. Ethnological evidence and continued traditions in village rituals and beliefs further underscore a shared South Indian influence in Sri Lankan society. The research affirms that the Odisha–Sri Lanka relationship was historically significant and deeply influential across multiple spheres of life. In conclusion, the study advocates for the revival of these ancient bonds through sustainable modern

collaborations in education, religious and cultural tourism, trade, and interdisciplinary research—initiatives that could strengthen bilateral relations and contribute to a deeper India–Sri Lanka partnership rooted in shared heritage.

INTRODUCTION

Ceylon, the ancient Sri Lanka and Kalinga, the ancient Odisha had strong exchanges in matrimonial, religious, cultural, commercial and political contexts that flourished for about 1700 years from 500 B.C.E. to 1200 C.E. The Abhayagiri monastery of Sri Lanka had deep connections with Kalinga. Mahāvamsa and Dīpavamsa, the greatest Pali chronicles of the Island describe the first-ever king to the island, Indian prince, Vijaya who came with 700 followers from Sinhapura to settle in and founded the Sinhalese race 543 BC. Manimekhalai¹ mentions Sinhapura as the capital of Kalinga.² Mahāvamsa, (Great Chronicle) also mentions that prince Vijaya defeated the mountain native tribe, Yaksha, one of four indigenous clans –Yaksha, Nāga, Deva and Rāksha who inhabited the island and became the ruler. Dr. Kandarpa Patel says that four native clans of the same type inhabited Odisha.³ Prince Vijaya who was banished from Sinhapura, having arrived in Sri Lanka and brought the island under his control and established himself as king of Tambapanni⁴. His retinue established villages and colonies throughout the country. A minister of King Vijaya called Anuradha established on the banks of a stream a village called Kolon and was named Anuradhagama.⁵ King Vijaya who had no royal successor to become king after, sent a letter to the city of his ancestors, Sinhapura, in order to invite his brother

1. One of the greatest Tamil epics.

2. Behera K.S. (1994). Maritime Contacts of Orissa: Literary and Archaeological Evidence. Pp.55-70.

3. Patel K. (2004). Maritime Relation of Kalinga with Sri Lanka. pp.125-31.

4. M. Senaveratna, John (2000). Royalty in Ancient Ceylon: During the Period of the “Great Dynasty” p.109.

5. Wijesooriya, S. (2006). A Concise Sinhala Mahavamsa. p. 20.

Sumitta to take over the throne. When Vijaya's letter arrived Sumitta had already succeeded his father as king of his country, and so he sent his son Panduvasdeva to rule.⁶ Even after the death of king Vijaya and his successors, the cultural, matrimonial and political interactions between Odisha and Sri Lanka continued. Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to expose in brief the historic relations between Sri Lanka and Odisha and also propose the initiation of versatile interactions between the two nations through governmental and non-governmental collaborations in the current scenario.

MATRIMONIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Biswajit Pradhan states that the matrimonial relationship that existed between Sinhalese and Kalinga royal families has a long history.⁷ In the 10th century C.E., the Sinhalese king Mahinda IV took a Kalingan princess as his chief consort. King Vijaybahu I, the founder of Polonnaruwa kingdom married a Kalingan princess named Trilokasundari as his chief consort. Nissankamalla, a pure Kalingan lineage became king of the island and made as his chief consort a Kalingan princess named Subadra Devi. Nissankamalla who ushered peace to the island as one of the greatest kings of Sri Lanka was a great Buddhist patron. He repaired the ancient city of Anuradhapura, the first kingdom of Sri Lanka, installed 78 gold-gilded Buddha statues at the Dambulla Cave Monastery and named it as Rangiri Dambulla Vihāra that is now recognized as a world heritage site.⁸ The inscription, Galpotha⁹ mentions Nissankamalla's origin as Kalinga and that is why some scholars regard his rule in Sri Lanka as Kalinga era.

6. Blaze, L. E. (1933). History of Ceylon. p. 12.

7. Pradhan B. (2001). The History of Naga Cult and Naga Festivals in Orissa. pp.149-159.

8. Rath, SP, et. al. (2016). Kalinga (Odisha) & Sri Lanka Kinship and Cultural Relationship; A Retrospection and Future Hopes. Vol.3. Iss.3. Bhubaneswar, Splint International Journal of Professionals. pp 54-63.

9. Galpotha – Stone Book

STRONG FRIENDSHIPS, RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL HERITAGE

Dāṭhavaṃsa, the chronicle of the sacred tooth relics of the Buddha, reveals that strong friendly relations existed between Guhasiva, the king of Kalinga and Mahadisena, the king of Sri Lanka. King Guhasiva on account of an imminent threat to his throne due to invasions, secretly sent his daughter princess Hemamala with his son-in-law prince Dantakumara to Ceylon with the sacred tooth relic of the Buddha which was of his and citizens' great veneration in his capital Dantapura. King Mahadisena, being consciously aware of the responsibility of safeguarding the most precious object of immense veneration built a shrine for it and paid the due veneration. Asutosh Mishra, in his article "Anthropological Study on Kalinga Sri Lanka Relationship" mentions, "This incident was the watershed moment in Sri Lankan history. The next few centuries were followed by the construction of Buddhist viharas, stupas, and chaityas. 4th and 5th century C.E. saw not only architectural marvels but also the creation of great literature. It was during this period many valuable works on Buddhist religion and philosophy were produced in the country. The greatest chronicles, Mahāvamsa and Dipavamsa, of Sinhalese literature were also composed in this period; 350 C.E. and 475 C.E. respectively. Therefore, it was Kalinga that had popularised Buddhism in Sri Lanka by giving away its most precious asset, Buddha's tooth relic."

Mahāvamsa records that prince Vijaya's entourage of 700 followers included potters from Kalinga who went to Sri Lanka and influenced their culture. Ven. Nun Sanghamittā, the daughter of Emperor Ashoka, arriving in the country in 288 B.C.E. with the sacred sapling of the Bodhi tree which sheltered the ascetic Gotama during the struggle of his attainment of Buddhahood, was accompanied by artisans from 18 trades and one of the crafts was pottery. Crafts such as puppetry, lacquer work, drum making, wood carving, jewelry making, and handlooms are popular and similar in

both cultures. Both the well-known Kandyan dance of Sri Lanka and Kandhei Nacha of Odisha depict same narrative 'Rāmāyan', the great Hindu epic in their performances.

GEOGRAPHICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF KALINGA (ODISHA)

Situated on the shore of the Bay of Bengal, ancient Kalinga, a coastal kingdom which was very near to Magadha has a large and long coast with numerous ports. The Modern-day Orissa and Ganjam was the Ancient Kalinga. It was a feudal republic located on the coast of the present-day Indian state of Odisha. On account of its location between the two great East Indian deltaic regions of the Ganges and the Krishna and Godavari rivers, Kalinga itself had two distinct historical core areas in the delta regions of the Mahanadi in Central Odisha and further to Southwest of the Rishikulya and Vamsadhara rivers in Southern Odisha and Northwestern Andhra Pradesh. The earliest historically recognized centre of Kalinga was at Toshali and Kalinganagara (Sisupalgarh) near Bhubaneswar, the respective capitals of Ashoka and Kharavela in the third and first centuries B.C. It was most likely this central Odishan central area under Kharavela's successors to which the Roman geographer Pliny referred in the first century A.D.

INVASION OF KALINGA

According to Military History of Orissa by Ramesh Prasad Mohapatra, "The political history of mankind is really a history of wars and no war has ended with so successful a mission of the peace for the entire war-torn humanity as the war of Kalinga."¹⁰

The main reasons for invading Kalinga (known as Utkala), which was a glorious and prosperous region, were both political and economic.¹¹ The Kalinga War was waged between the Maurya Empire and the State of Kalinga. After its conquest and incorporated it into the Maurya Empire. It is known that Kalinga

10. Ramesh Prasad Mohapatra(1986). Military History of Orissa. p.10.

11. Das, Manmatha Nath, (1949). Glimpses of Kalinga History.

was a part of Magadha Empire during the time of the Nandas. When the Nandas were defeated by Chandragupta Maurya, Kalinga was an independent state. Although Chandragupta Maurya and Bindusara made attempts re-conquer it, they could not succeed. It was King Ashoka who came forward to conquer it again.

EXPANSION OF KALINGA MILITARY POWER

King Ashoka, the son of the Mauryan Emperor Bindusara and the grandson of Chandragupta Maurya, the first Mauryan Emperor, ascended the throne of Magadha in 273 B.C. He, following the footsteps of his father and grandfather, set out to expand his empire to become a powerful conqueror. Historians reveal that Kalinga had already expanded its military power and had huge material prosperity due to its trade relations with Java, Malay, and Sri Lanka (then Ceylon), right from the time of Chandragupta to that of Ashoka, and Ashoka could not neglect the importance of Kalinga for the Mauryan Empire.

EFFECT OF KALINGA WAR ON EMPEROR ASHOKA

The Kalinga War began in the 8th year of Ashoka's reign about in 261 BCE. It is accepted that in the aftermath of the battle of Kalinga, the Daya River at Bhubaneswar flowing next to the battle field turned red with the blood of the slain; more than 150,000 Kalinga warriors and about 100,000 Ashoka's own warriors were among those slain. Ashoka's later edicts show that about 100,000 people of Kalinga were massacred and almost equal number of his army got slain in the battle although legends among the Odia people, the present day descendants of Kalinga's natives accuse that these figures were highly exaggerated by the Emperor. According to the legends, Kalinga armies incurred twice the amount of havoc on the Kalinga people. Thousands of men and women were expelled. Countless people suffered owing to the brutality, severance, atrocities and other contingencies of war.

Emperor Ashoka, stricken with deep remorse for the terrible loss of human lives and despair and casualties inflicted upon the people of Kalinga and his men in the war brutally waged by him,

found solace in the doctrine of non-violence of Buddhism. It is said that he, having embraced Buddhism and taken the vow of inculcating 'Dhamma' to all men throughout his life, left behind the policy of conquering through violence (Digvijaya) and adopted the policy of victory through Dharma (Dharmma-vijaya) awakened in his mind a sense of philanthropy and a spirit of welfare for the people of the whole world. He became a follower and patron of Buddhism. Ashoka gave up the military expansion of the empire, and led the empire through more than 40 years of relative peace, harmony and prosperity.

GLOBAL SPREAD OF BUDDHISM

Presided over by Ven. Moggaliputtatissa Thera and patronized by Emperor Ashoka, the Third Buddhist Council (Synod) was held at Pataliputra in the 3rd century BC. As a result of the same, Ashoka deployed Buddhist missionaries out into the world, as far as Egypt and possibly Greece to the west, Sri Lanka in the north central and China to the east and other countries transforming local orthodoxy of Buddhism into a global one. According to Mahāvamsa, the Great Chronicle of Ceylon, Buddhist missionaries were dispatched to nine countries while Ashokan edicts depict that Buddhism was introduced to 18 foreign lands. Gradually with the Buddhist missionaries and official state patronage introducing, establishing and strengthening it, Buddhism spread across well-trodden trade routes where the Buddhist teaching was met with acceptance, curiosity and suspicion even with syncretism with local traditions.

MARITIME INTERACTIONS OF ANCIENT ODISHA

Kalinga expanded their maritime trade and cultural relations mainly after third century B.C. The history of Kalinga generally begins from the third century B.C. During the time of Asoka, Kalinga had already established her position in maritime activities and strengthened the naval forces to face the Magadhan forces. Under Kharavela, Kalinga became famous as a major power of Eastern India around the first century B.C. In the Buddhist Jātaka tales, the story book of Vrihatkathā and in Kautilya's Arthashastra,

reference of maritime activities of the people of Kalinga in ancient time can be found. Kalinga was the first choice of Sri Lanka whether it was the maritime trade or matrilineal relationship.

Kalinga had maintained a number of prosperous sea ports for trade and commerce. The sea ports were centres of life of the people in commercial, cultural and political fields. The ports served as a medium of export not only of merchandise but also for spreading of culture and civilization. The spirit of adventure, the establishment of colonies and Kingdoms and the spread of religion and culture haunted their minds. The pressure of population in some parts of India sometimes led to the migration of people of foreign lands from such parts. As a result of this, vast process lasting for several centuries, Indian culture and colonization spread to Ceylon (Sinhala), Burma (Suvāṇṇadvīpa), Java, Sumatra, Bali, Borneo etc.

The Buddhist texts mention the interactions of ancient Orissa with Sri Lanka from about the 5th century B.C. onwards. Trade between Orissa and Sri Lanka must have continued in the later period which resulted in the strong political and cultural links between two countries. Sankha Jātaka, Samudra Jātaka and the Mahājanaka Jātaka depict that the traders from central India used to come from Benaras to Tamralipti, from where they sailed to Southeast Asian countries. The Mahāvamsa mentions that Emperor Ashoka sent his Buddhist missionaries to Sri Lanka from Tamralipti. Vessantara Jātaka mentions Kalinga as a great commercial and industrial country from which rice, fine cloth, ivory, diamonds and other goods were exported even to foreign countries.

ROYAL LINEAGE BETWEEN ANCIENT ODISHA AND ANCIENT SRI LANKA

In ancient period, Sri Lanka was named as Tamraparṇi. The political, cultural and commercial interaction between Ceylon and Kalinga State, which existed from the early times, was very intimate and long standing. It can be stated that by 5th century B.C., there existed close relationship between the two Kingdoms. According to the Mahāvamsa, Vijaya, the first King of Ceylon

came from Eastern India. Tradition holds that Vijaya was the son of Sinhabahu of Sinhapura. Sinhabahu banished his son Vijaya and his seven hundred companions for their misbehaviour and set them afloat on a ship. After long and eventful voyage, they landed near the present site of Puttlam on the north-west coast of Sri Lanka and set about colonizing the island. This has been considered the beginning of the Sinhalese in Sri Lanka. Vijaya's grandmother Susima was the daughter of the King of Kalinga and was married to the king of Vanga. The newly conquered island was called Sinhala Dvīpa after the name of Sinhabahu, the father of Vijaya. Further, it is revealed from Mahāvamsa that King Vijaya, towards the end of his reign invited his younger brother Sumitta in Sinhapura to come to Sri Lanka as his successor.¹² But the younger brother was not willing to come because of his old age and sent his youngest son Panduvasudeva. Panduvasudeva with thirty-two followers landed at Gokanna (Present Trinkomalee) in North-East of the island and subsequently enthroned at Upatisagama ensuring the continuity of Vijayan dynasty in Sinhaladvīpa. Gokanna was a natural port which regularly received ships from Bay of Bengal. For Ceylon, the names like, Vijaya, Sinhabahu and Sinhapura seemed legendary but for Kalinga, Sinhapura was a historical city from pre-Christian centuries up to the Gangas. Cūlavamsa mentions that Sinhapura as the capital of Kalinga. As the episode of Vijaya cannot be separated from Ceylonese history, so is his ancestry inseparable from Kalinga.

BUDDHIST CULTURE AND ODISHA

Buddhism was known in Odisha right from the time of its inception although the Buddha never visited Odisha during the Buddha's lifetime. According to the Buddhist Chronicles, Buddha's Hair relics (kesadhātu) were brought to Odra (Odisha or Orissa) by two wealthy merchants, Tapassu and Bhallika from Ukkala when they were on their way to Madhyadesa with 500 carts. In

12. Blaze, L. E. (1933). History of Ceylon. p. 12.

the subsequent period, the Nail and Tooth relics of Buddha were also brought to Odra.

As Dhāthāvṃsa records, the king of Kalinga, Guhasiva, who used to worship the sacred Tooth Relic of the Buddha, secretly sent the Tooth to Sri Lanka from his capital city “Dantapura”, through his daughter Hemamala and son-in-law Dantakumara. He did this sensing danger from ‘Pandu’, a Magadha king. The sacred Tooth Relics was to be delivered to the Kalinga king’s friend Mahasena, the ruler of Buddhist kingdom of Sri Lanka. After reaching Annuradhapura, they handed over it to king Maghavanna (310 A.D.), the son of Mahasena.

Odisha which has a rich heritage of Buddhist archaeological excavations houses more than 200 Buddhist sites scattered throughout the area. Buddhism flourished from the 6th century BC to at least 15th to 16th century AD. The two traditions termed as Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna came into being as a result of the division of the Buddha’s disciples after the great demise of the Buddha. Vajrayāna, a later tradition is known to have been originated from Odisha. The well-known Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsang (Xuanzang) visited Odisha mentions in his travelogue that he found more than hundred Buddhist sites in Central Odisha in the 7th century and between 8th and 10th century.

GREATER INFLUENCES OF CULTURAL, RELIGIOUS, COMMERCIAL AND POLITICAL INTERACTIONS

The influences of works of Ven. Buddhaghosa and Ven. Buddhaddatta spread over Burma, Siam and Cambodia and schematized the religion for all time to come. A great cultural link continued among these three countries, particularly in India. Owing to the close association and influence of Ven. Buddhaghosa with the Buddhist culture in Rishikulya–Godavari–Krishna and Kaveri valleys, Theravāda got a fresh lease of life there.

The rising tide of Ceylonese Buddhism had considerable influence over Orissa as active interaction of both commercial and cultural nature is known to have existed between the two countries

during the period. The Sihlavihara¹⁷ which had been constructed as early as third century A.D. somewhere in the Krishna-Godavari doab and the famous Mahabodhi Samgharama erected at Bodhgaya by king Srimeghavarma (304-322 A.D.) became the centre of Ceylonese culture, and a large number of devoted pilgrims from Ceylon used to come over India for visiting these holy places. Kalinga, situated in between these Ceylonese strongholds, afforded the only possible high roads to these travellers while her great ports were invariably used by them both for landing and embarkation.

Three distinguished pilgrims of Ceylon came to Kalinga to visit the holy places. Buddhasilakala came with his kinsman Mogallana during the reign of Kassapa-I (460-478 A.D.) the king of Ceylon and returned with a Hair Relic. Mahanama probably came during the rule of Ceylon King Aggabodhi I (568-601 A.D.) and donated a small shrine of the Buddha and the visit of Kalinga by Prakhyatakirti belonging to the royal family of Ceylonis recorded in an undated inscription at Bodhgaya. All of them came and went back through the ports of Kalinga by inspiring her people with the The ravāda traditions. The most popular sea-route, frequently used by the traders and pilgrims was from Tamraparni to Tamralipti and Pataliputra was also linked through waterways. The Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hien is known to have made Journey by boat from Pataliputra to Tamralipti and from Tamralipti a sea voyage to Ceylon. The famous port Che-Li-taloin the Wu-ta (Odra) country was also having active maritime interactions with Ceylon and standing on its shore Yuan-chwang could think of the Tooth Relic of Buddha preserved in that distant islands. Thus, people from Kalinga and Wu-ta country also used to visit Ceylon to pay honour to the Sacred Tooth Relic and the monastic institutions of that island. The Cūlavamsa records that during the reign of Sinhala king Aggabodhi-II (610-611 A.D.), the king of Kalinga accompanied by his queen and the minister came to Ceylon. The same source shows that king Vijayabahu-I of Ceylon married Trilokasundari, the daughter of the king of Kalinga. Her kinsmen Madhukarnava, Bhimaraja and Balatkara settled in Ceylon.

The Cūḷavaṃsa further elaborates that some members of the royal house of Kalinga became the rulers of Ceylon in later period. It is evident from the epigraphical evidences that Nissankamalla and Sahasamalla, the sons of king Goparaja of Kalinga became the rulers of Ceylon sometimes before 1200 A.D.

The influence of the relationship between the royal families of Kalinga and ancient Sri Lanka must have been considerable in the socio-religious life of the two countries. The cultural link between the two lands appears to be of Theravāda Buddhist tradition and this system of Buddhism is known to have a remarkable predominance in Kalinga as late as the seventh century A.D.

After Nissankamalla, a struggle took place for a long period for the throne and a number of his successors lost their lives within a small span of their rule. But during this critical time, Kalyanavati, the widow queen of Nissankamalla ruled for long six years, which was very peaceful incomparison to the reign of the successors of Nissankamalla. After the rule of Kalyanavati, disharmonious troubles took place in the house of the royal family of Ceylon. Taking this opportunity, Magha, a prince of Kalinga, having invaded Sri Lanka with 24,000 soldiers, defeated Parakrama Pandya and ruled the island for 21 years(1214–35 A.D).

The sea-borne trade between Kalinga and Sri Lanka continued throughout the ancient period. Sri Lanka occupied a strategic position so far as inter-oceanic commerce was concerned. It was a meeting place of merchants and sailors coming from the Eastern as well as the Western sea. Interactions in Trade between Kalinga and Sri Lanka must have increased as a result of the strong political link that existed between the two countries.

It is reported that Kalinga was famous for elephants. From the account of Cosmos who belonged to sixth century A.D., it is known that Ceylon used to purchase elephants from India, mainly from Kalinga. Kalinga in its turn imported pearl and silver from Ceylon and exported precious stones, ivory, pepper, betel-nuts, drugs and fine textile products to foreign countries in general and Sri Lanka in particular.

RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL INTERACTIONS OF ANCIENT ODISHA WITH ANCIENT SRI LANKA

It is known from the Buddhist chronicle *Dīpavaṃsa* that Ashoka sent his noble son Ven. Mahamahinda Thera to Ceylon for the propagation of Buddhism. Ven. Mahamahinda arrived in the island a month after the second coronation of King Devanampiyatissa in 250 B.C. He revealed Buddhism to the king and royal members and then guided the initiation of Dispensation of Monks (*Bhikkhu Sāsana*) with the ordination of Ariṭṭha, the Chief Minister of Ceylon king. Later, Ven. Sanghamittā Therī, the daughter of Emperor Ashoka and wife of prince Agnibrahma, sailed from Tamralipti to Ceylon to ordain Anula, the Chief Queen of King Devanampiyatissa and to organize the Dispensation of Nuns (*Bhikkhuni Sāsana*) in Ceylon. On this occasion, Emperor Asoka sent a sapling of the Bodhi tree in the custody of his daughter. After reaching Ceylon Ven. Sanghamittā planted the Bodhi tree in Anuradhapura with patronage of King Devanampiyatissa. According to *Samantapāsādikā*, the commentary to the *Mahāvāṃsa*, Ven. Sanghamittā Therī went to Ceylon being accompanied by eight families of Kalinga with the sacred Bodhi tree. Later, the Theravāda School of Buddhism was established on the island. The *Dāṭṭhāvāṃsa*, a Buddhist work elaborates the friendly relations between king Guhasiva of Kalinga and Mahadisena (277-304 AD) of Ceylon. The same work of the third century A.D. reveals that Dantakumara, a prince of Ujjain married Hemamala, the daughter of king Guhasiva of Kalinga and received from him the Tooth Relic of Goutama Buddha as dowry, which was being worshipped in a stūpa in Kalinga since the days of Guhasiva's predecessor Brahmadatta. As aforementioned, Dantakumara then took the Sacred Tooth Relic of the Buddha to Ceylon where it was enshrined in a stūpa.

A REMARKABLE ERA OF BUDDHISM

After the introduction of Buddhism to Ceylon from India in the 3rd century, the fourth and the fifth century A.D. marked a brilliant epoch in the history of Buddhism in Ceylon. The Buddhist temples, stūpas and shrines were not only constructed during this period but some valuable works

on Buddhist religion and philosophy, and some important Chronicles were produced as well. The Chronicles, like *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvāṃsa* compiled in C.350 A.D. and 475 A.D. respectively are great sources of history of both India and Ceylon. The celebrated Buddhist Scholar Ven. Buddhaghosa, who lived in the court of King Mahanama compiled his well-known work *Visudhimagga* (the Path of Purification) and sixteen other commentaries to the Pali Canon. Ven. Buddhadatta, Theravādin scholar compiled significant exegeses on *Abhidhamma* and *Vinaya*.

CONCLUSION

Ethnological study of the Sinhalese race shows that more South Indian flavor exists in Sri Lankan culture as Odisha and Sri Lanka are two brothers from different mothers and share almost the same cultural identity. The rituals, the beliefs, cultural practices, etc. that are practiced in the villages of Lanka are to a greater extent identical to the villages of Odisha. Both literary and archaeological sources such as the chronicles, *Jātaka* stories, epics, inscriptions and excavated antiquities unequivocally expose that the relations between ancient Odisha and ancient Sri Lanka have not only been very historic but also influential in different walks of life initiating from political activities, trade and commerce and extending up to cultural and religious relations between Odisha with ancient Sri Lanka. Our suggestion is to revive sustainable interactions between modern Odisha and Sri Lanka through contexts of cultural, religious and educational tourism, trade and commerce, studies and research into art, architecture, sculpture & archaeology and history for students in Odisha and Sri Lanka through the interactions of government, academic institutions, tourist organizations and responsible private sector institutions. It is fervently hoped that Odisha and Sri Lanka will restructure in the near future their relationship which had a glorious past strengthening further India-Sri Lanka ties.

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A Journey through History in Economy and Culture of Kalinga

Dr. Satya Narayan Mishra

The excellence of a country or a nation is based on its economy and culture by which the nation is glorified with pride and glory. As the basis of that glory and majesty, today the nation remembers its dormant glory by carrying out the traditional Boita Jatra or Bali Jatra to revive its culture and economy with its innovation. It is believed that the maritime history of India started from 3000 BC. Excavations at Mahenodaro and Harappa suggest that the inhabitants of the Indus Valley Civilization were engaged in maritime trade with Mesopotamia. Maritime trade refers to the movement of goods or merchandise by sea or other waterways. In early times, Malabar Coast, Karamandal Coast etc. were important ports which facilitated maritime trade in India. To commemorate that momentous feat, 5th April is celebrated as National Maritime Day in India. On this day in 1919, navigational history was made. Mesopotamian inscriptions indicate that Indian traders in the Indian Valley, carrying copper, ivory, pearls, gold, etc. emphasized trade. Maritime trade flourished in Orissa in ancient times and Kautilya's famous book Arthashastra mentions the development of the navy and maritime trade. This trade supremacy made the country a superior economic and trading power. Orissa bears the signature of a historic maritime tradition that dates back to the 7th century BC.

Historically, it has been proved that Chola, Cher, Pala and Kalinga traveled to distant lands due to their superior naval capabilities. The core territory of Kalinga now encompasses all of Orissa and some parts of northern Andhra Pradesh. At its widest extent, the Kalinga region also included parts of present Chhattisgarh, extending up to Amarkantak in the west.¹ In the ancient period it extended until the bank of the Ganges river.² The discovery of boat-making tools in the eastern part of India proves that sea trade flourished in the east mainly in Orissa. Another factor favoring sea trade was the availability of wood for making boats in the then dense forests of Orissa.

Orissa has a huge coastline of about 500 km which created opportunities for the construction of many coastal ports. Historically, the Cholas, the Cheras, the Palas and the Kalingas have been known for their superior sea-faring ability. Kalinga, as the present Orissa was known extended from the mouth of Ganges too the estuary of Godavari river in the south.³ The discovery of shipbuilding tools in the eastern parts of India is a testament to the fact that maritime trade flourished in the east, mainly in Kalinga, towards the second half of the Iron Age. Other reasons that favoured maritime trade were the availability of timber for boat building in the dense forests of Kalinga. Hence Kalinga had a vast coastline with many indentations which favoured the establishment of many ports along the coast. The most important ports of antiquity were Nanigaina (Puri), Katikardama (Cuttack), Kannagara (Konark), Kosamba (Balasore) as described by Ptolemy(Greek geographer) in the 2nd century AD. The major ports of ancient times were located at Paluru(Ganjam) Puri, Cuttack, Konark, Baleswar which today are

1. Majumdar, R.C. (1996). Outline of the History of Kalinga. Asian Educational Services. pp. 1, 19. ISBN 9788120611948. Retrieved 1 May 2021.

2. Ganguly, DK (1975). Historical Geography and dynastic History of Orissa (1st ed.). Kolkata: Punthi Pustak. pp. 6–7.

3. Bannerjee, R.D, History of Orissa, Calcutta.1931

beyond the recognition of history but they had flourished identified posts of Kalinga the then time. Ptolemy has mentioned Palur as an international maritime emporium further to the south-west most likely at the Rishikulya or nearby on the southern cognation of Chilika lake. Besides the inscriptions and other archaeological finds the Brahmanda Purana(10th century AD) also refers to the ships in the Chilka Lake and those which plied between Kalinga and South East Asian countries. From these harbours vessels which sailed to Java, Malaya, Sumatra, Bali, Burma, China, Thailand, Ceylon and other places could carry thousands of passengers⁴ Geographical factors play a major role in determining the timing and route of sea trade. Generally known as Saadh, the traders used to start their journey with their ships (boita) in the month of November due to the wind blowing towards the sea. Therefore Kartik Purnima is celebrated till date in the month of November to commemorate this glorious tradition. Similarly, in the month of August, the ships return home and during this period, the monsoons blow from the sea to the land.

The sailors of Kalinga made frequent voyages to the island of Bali and had their settlements in the island who consequently spread various aspects of Hindu & Buddhist cultures. The discovery of certain stone inscriptions and copper plate grants both in Indian Peninsula and Malayan Archipelago, has revealed that they built some Buddhist temples in South-East Asia and by the end of the 8th century AD all the rulers of Bali, Java, Sumatra, Malaya and Borneo owed their allegiance to the Sailendra dynasty.⁵ For more than half a millennium, the traders of the coastal empire, the famed "Sadhabas" relied on many guiding factors such as the direction of the wind, the movement of the water, the river/sea route followed, etc. in their journeys to these distant lands. Their

4. Das,A.C, Orissa Historical Research Journal, Vol-XVI No4 to Vol.XXII No.1, 1975, Bhubaneswar.

5. Mahatab,H.K., History of Orissa, Cuttack, 1959,P.108-109.

boats were called 'Boita' (the word Boita is probably derived from the Sanskrit word Vahitra, meaning a ship or vessel). Kartika Purnima, which usually falls in the mid of November, used to be considered auspicious and marked the date for the onset of these journeys. Abul Fazal (1595-96) mentions that Manikapatna was a large port where salt tax was collected and Mughals invited the Dutch to establish a factory at Manikapatna. According to the principles of Yukti Kalpataru of king Bhoja of Dhara (11th century AD) Kalingan people also divided sea-going vessels into two categories on the basis of dimension (a) Samanya(ordinary class) and (b) Visesha(special class).⁶ This fact clearly indicates that the Kalingas has a large fleet of boats for inland and overseas trade namely the Bhelaka, Bariratha, Nauh, Tarikah, Plabah, Taranduh, Vahanab and others. Some boats had many sails and masts with the capability of carrying two hundred people as described by Fahien.⁷ The festival of Khudurukuni Usa in the coastal region of Orissa reflects the perfect interrelationship of geographical factors, maritime trade and the ancient traditions of the time.

In Kautilya's famous book Arthasastra, ideas have been given on the superiority of navy and commerce. The supremacy of Kalinga trade made it a superior economic and trading power, which was a major factor in the Kalinga wars waged by Ashoka, the greatest ruler of Magadha. Due to the patronage of Maha Meghabahan Kharvela, the greatest ruler of Chedi Dynasty, sea trade increased significantly. Commerce is depicted in Hatigumpā Inscriptions and Madala Panji which are the best source of ancient history of Orissa. Similarly, the archaeological evidence of coins excavated at the Kharavela's capital city sheds light on the maritime tradition of the period. Trade connections between Indonesia, Malaysia, South Asian countries such as Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Maldives, Thailand etc., and East African countries and

6. Singh, J. Prachi in Utkal (Oriya), Puri, 1962, 548-50.

7. Majumdar, R.C., Hindu Colonies in Far East, Calcutta, 1973, p.12.

some Arab countries also show the extent and spread of maritime trade of Kalinga. This trade not only contributes to economic development but also strengthens the socio-cultural progress of the entire region. The discovery of Chinese copper coins with the characteristic square perforation in the middle bearing legend in Chinese character on both sides proves that Kalingapatna was a Port town during 12th century having maritime trade both with the east as well as the west.⁸

The expansion of Buddhism in Burma was done by the Kalinga traders according to the ancient Burmese texts. After the arrival of the Arab traders in the Bay of Bengal, the Portuguese, Dutch and later the Kalinga sea trade began to decline. Due to the lack of patronage of the rulers during the Muslim rule and during the British era, the maritime trade of Orissa completely declined. Mahanadi, Baitarani, Rushikulya Rivers are still flowing, but now there are no Sadhabs (traders) or any boats. Only the memories of the glorious past are present today and they will remain as long as the Oriya society lives. Kalinga's maritime trade has not created any conflict with the passage of time, but the influence, it has created throughout the Indo-Pacific and gives India an opportunity to negotiate diplomatically and economically in a better way. Ancient Orissa had two types of ports which were classified on the basis of location. The first route that was typically used to travel to Indonesia and China was the 'Kula Patha' (travel along the coast), in which the sailors travelled up the east coast of India to Sri Lanka. They, then, used the north equatorial current to travel up to Indonesia before arriving in China. The recovery of foreign coins of 3rd and 4th century AD and excavation at Sisupalgarh has confirmed trade relation of Kalinga with Rome.⁹ India has two distinct monsoon wind types. The North-East monsoon, also known as the retreating monsoon, blows from November through

8. IAR, Indian Archaeology- A Review, New Delhi, 1984-85, p.56-60.

9. AI 1984 Ancient India, Archaeological Survey of India(ASI) New Delhi

December, when the wind direction is extremely good for travelling up to Sri Lanka from any East Coast. During this time, the Bay of Bengal largely remains calm.

Therefore, it is apparent why Sadhabas used to set out on their journey during the auspicious time of Kartika Purnima. A type of port is located on the sea coast where goods were loaded and unloaded. Another type of port was located near the confluence of rivers and seas, which facilitated the movement of trade by maintaining high volumes of cargo. Kalinga played a major role in establishing the State's culture in Java. Traditional dances were performed in Orissa and Bali, indicating ancient cultural exchanges. This trade began to decline as the Arabs became dominant as a maritime power. The festival of "Baliyatra" is still celebrated in coastal Orissa to commemorate the ancient trade relations. Innovation makes relations between countries more cooperative and enriches culture and economy, which today is a triumph. It has created a bridge of relationship based on the boita or boat which carries many legends and memories.

The underwater trade routes discovered by our ancestors today carry socio-cultural, geographical, political and economic significance. But with the defeat of the Marathas in the second Anglo-Maratha war in 1883 and the entry of the British Empire in Orissa, the course of sea trade was dormant and ended. Later, the British looked after their interests and used the waterways in innovative ways. Kalingarashtra, Myanmar's historic name is a shortened version of "Kalinga Rashtra". Almost all the Hindu influences in Java were from Kalinga. The Buddha images of Borobudur, the greatest monument of the Sailendras in Java, are found to have been modeled up on the Buddhas from Ratnagiri in Orissa. Many Kalingan rulers ruled over Ceylon and established dynasties there. As per Mahavamsha traditions, starting from Shrivijaya up to Nishanka Malla, many kings of Ceylon were either from Kalinga or had matrimonial relationship with the ruling families of Kalinga. But today, even though it has become history,

it has created a vivid example of the work ethic of the Sadhavas of Uttar Pradesh, interest in culture, concentration in trade and above all, the strength of courage in adverse situations. Each country's cultural heritage defines the true worth of the process of cultural formation, the good manifestation of historical tradition, and national traits.

There is a need to ensure that these cultural practices and traditions born out of enduring commercial and cultural relationships live on and that it's meaning, symbolism and significance is not lost from social consciousness with the passage of time and contact with outsiders. Ancient Orissa, Kalinga, was the epic centre of the inland and foreign trade and played a leading role in the dissemination of their civilization and culture in the Indonesian islands. We, as Oriyas, definitely can learn a bit or two from the courage and wisdom of our ancestors. In the vast waters, the Sadhabs may have faced many problems with the Boitas, but they had to overcome them and accept the victory of glory that is being celebrated today as the excellence of a nation. Therefore, culture and economy inform the innovation journey of history, the purpose and prosperity of the past as well as the rules and regulations of the time.

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Bali Yatra in Western Odisha: A Study

Dr. Balaram Tripathy

Odisha's maritime history is splendorous and vivid in all respects. The tradition is also reflected in fairs, festivals, religious ceremonies, folk art forms and traditions as living legend. Still people celebrate this unique and great tradition in grand manner every year. The tradition is not only celebrated in coastal tracts of Odisha but also in the hinterland and forested regions of central and western Odisha.

The traditional festival of Bali Yatra is celebrated every year all over Odisha on the auspicious day of Kartik Purnima in the month of November in the form of Boita Bandana or ceremonial sending/sailing of boats. On ponds, rivers, lakes and sea, women and children float paper or banana bark boat in festive spirit to commemorate the maritime activities of ancient Odisha or Kalinga.

The unique geographical position of Odisha, as the meeting ground of north and south and its location near the ocean provided an excellent opportunity to its inhabitants for transoceanic commerce of Odisha¹, has on the east, the vast span of Bay of Bengal, opening into the Indian Ocean connected in the southeast with the Pacific Ocean and the Arabian sea on the west. The entire hinterland has a net of several big and small rivers². All big rivers discharge into the Bay of Bengal. The meandering coastline along with the environmental conditions must have imbibed an inborn

instinct in the local population to swim, which in due course made them a sea-faring people. This spirit of the maritime activities of Kalinga people is reflected both in ancient literatures and sculptural representations. The greatest sailors of Kalinga in spite of dangers crossed the ocean and reached far off distant lands. They reached Southeast Asia in very early times but unfortunately, they have not left any records of their sea voyages. From the available evidence it is clear that, at least from the beginning of the Christian era, monks, merchants and adventurers continued to visit Southeast Asia³.

Kalinga's relationship with Bali is attested by archaeological and anthropological sources. The recent discoveries of Rouletted Ware, Khorasthi script and terracotta beads from excavation at Manikapatana can be compared with the Rouletted Ware, Khorasthi graffiti and other archaeological objects discovered at Sembiran in northeastern Bali. The Boita Bandana festival itself has a parallel celebration in the "Masakapan Ke Tukad" of Bali with a similar offering of boats in memory of their ancestors. There are shared symbols of worship such as the mountain Mahendragiri and Mahendra Tanaya (now in Gajapati district of Odisha), the rice ritual of Garbhana Sankranti in Odisha and its parallel, Mabinuku Kung at Bali. The Goddess of wealth and prosperity Lakshmi can be compared with Devi Sri in Bali. So also comparable in the field of art and architecture, the performing art (Ramalila and Kichaka-Badha) the leather shadows, puppetry, masks, the ikat or bandha fabric in textile and painting on fabric or palm-leaf.

These mutual associations of Kalinga and Balinese culture are immortalized in the form of Bali Yatra in various places in Odisha. It is not only confined to Cuttack in coastal Odisha but also performed in far-off places of Western Odisha such as Ainlamunda near Rampur, Acchandapalli near Bheden and Khuntpali near Bargarh on the bed of the river Jira, a tributary of Mahanadi. In this paper an attempt has been made to co-relate the textile trade connections of Western Odisha with Coastal Odisha vis-à-vis Southeast Asia and the celebration of Bali Yatra.

The village of Ainlamunda is situated near Rampur in the Binka block of present Suvarnapur district. Once upon a time Rampur was the capital of Somavamsi king Janmejaya I and was famous for rich merchants and a great business centre (Dhanapati Bibhava Spurjita Bipanijananyona). He issued three copper plates viz. Gaintala Copper Plate Grant⁴, Sonepur Copper Plate Grant⁴ and Choudwar Copper Plate Grant⁵ from Arama Kataka, identified with present Rampur⁶. Till now Rampur is continuing as a business centre. The trade communities like Bhulia, Kosta, Kansari, Sunari (Bania) are the major inhabitants of Rampur.

The celebration of Bali Yatra at Ainlamunda is important because it is situated near a small stream (jor) which discharges its waters to river Jira, a tributary of Mahanadi. On Kartika Purnima Day the women folk and children launch toy boats with betel leaf and aricanut in the flowing river. In the yatra place with the installation of Balika Linga, the yatra starts. Temporary shops are opened and traders of Rampur and nearby places display all most all the commodities in the yatra place and Bandha textiles and bell-metal form the major items. It is just like trade fair in the modern terminology. Simultaneously folk dances, samparda and sankirtan are performed. The yatra continues for two days.

Acchandpali is situated on the left bank of river Jira, at a distance of about 2 km from a big village (town) Bheden in Bargarh district. It was the headquarters of Gond Zamindar during the British period. Bheden is also largely populated by the Bhulia community whose family profession is weaving textiles. Bheden Kapta or Saree is very famous for its colour and long lasting.

Like that the Ainlamunda, women and children of Acchandpali and Bheden come to the river early in the morning of Kartika Purnima day and launch toy paper boat with betel leaf and aricanut with ritual, music and sankirtan. In the yatra place Balukalinga is worshipped and the yatra continues for two days. On the yatra place temporary shops are also opened and the traders of Bheden

and other localities come for trading their goods. Here also textile forms a major item.

Khuntpali is situated on the right bank of the river Jira at a distance of 6 km from the main business centre and district headquarters, Bargarh. It is a big village of about eight thousand population out of which 30 to 40 percent are Bhulia community. The Bali Yatra of Khuntpali is one of the famous festivals of erstwhile Sambalpur district. Huge crowd from Sambalpur, Balangir and adjacent districts of Madhya Pradesh congregate and enjoy the fair.

On the Kartika Purnima day women and children of Khuntpali come to the river early in the morning with sankirtan party. The traditional launching of toy boat with betel-leaf and aricanut takes place with rituals, sounds, music and sankirtan. In the middle of the river the Balukalinga is prepared and the Chalanti Pratima of Siva and Parvati has been kept for worship. In the day time the yatra continues on the bank of the river. Hundreds of temporary shops are opened and all most all commodities are displayed for marketing. In the night the yatra continues in the village where the bahak-gahak or Sanchar competitions are organized. Most of the bahak-gahak parties from Sambalpur, Bolangir, Kalahandi and Chhatishgarh area take part in the competition. The yatra continues for two days.

From the above discussion it is clear about the performances of Bali Yatra in western Odisha. But here the question arises 1. Whether these festivals were connected with the Bali Yatra festival of Katak? 2. Whether the traders of western Odisha had direct trade links with Southeast Asian countries or through the traders of coastal Odisha? What is the antiquity of this festival in Western Odisha?

It is said that the Indian (Kalinga) traders had already reached Indonesian Archipelago by the beginning of the 1st century CE. What sorts of commodities were traded by them? From archaeological, sculptural and reference from Arab and

Persian writers of 9th-10th centuries, we could know the sea ports and sea trade of Odisha. Ibn Khurdadhalai, Ibn Rusta and the anonymous authors of Hud-ud-Al-Alam speak of main ports of Odisha as Kalinganagara, Ganjam-Keylkan, Allava and Nubin. The products of Odisha were large elephants, large quantities of pepper, good cotton textile and white conch shells which were also the commodities for trade. Thus, textiles formed an important item of trade.

Handloom fabric of Odisha has been widely appreciated all over the country and abroad because of their unique designs, colour combinations and superb workmanship. Who are the makers of these unique textiles? It is the Bhulia and Kosta communities of western Odisha who could manufacture such beautiful fabric. The art of weaving is a traditional occupation of these communities and passes through generation to generation without any formal training. It is said “the aesthetic beauty and distinct human character of the handloom are unique as the fabric is not only woven by a simple wooden mechanism ‘loom’ but with the aspiration and the ethos of the weaver, who tries to put his finer values of life into the wrap and weft of the fabric. Traditional ikat fabric, be it cotton or silk or sarees or furnishing, emits a blend of beautiful tune, vibrant with rich combination of design and colour, is a living testimony of art and culture⁶.

In all the above mentioned places connected with Bali Yatra festival, Bhulias and Kosta communities form the major population. At Khuntpali 30 to 40 percent inhabitants are Bhulias. At Rampur and Bheden also these communities form the major percentage. Besides, largely populated Bhulia community villages are situated on the banks of the river Mahanadi and its major tributaries. Bandha saree of Chedeipank and Nimina villages on the bank of Mahanadi are unique till this date⁷. The antiquity of village Nimina is attested by the Nimina Copper Plate Charter of Mahasivagupta Yayati-I⁸. At Jagati (Near Boudh), on the right bank of Mahanadi, a number of Bhulia populations inhabit and

the place Jagati has been identified as Yayati Nagara, the capital city of Mahasiva Gupta Yayati-I by Dr. N.K. Sahu⁹. The antiquity of the above mentioned places are well-known at least from the Somavamsi period.

Near the Bali Yatra place, on the left bank of the river, five granite hills with two big ponds (sar) on the foothill are noticed. In the plains of one of the hills pre-historic foot prints are marked and on the other side of the hill a big mound (now converted into an agricultural field) are noticed. Red glazed pottery, terracotta beads and faience bangles were collected which can be dated to post-Gupta period. Few years back, the officials of Anthropology Section of Odisha State Museum have also surveyed a few villages like Ambapali, Telenpalli, Balitikra, Sarasara, Gruhinia and Kantapali on the bank of river Jira near Bargarh, the district headquarter, and could collect Mesolithic implements. K.C. Tripathy also surveyed Sarsara and published in his book *Lithic Industries in India*⁹.

Bargarh, the district headquarter on the left bank of river Jira is also mentioned in the Banda Copper Plate Grant of Parachakrasalya of Rashtrakuta family in 1132 CE.¹⁰ Till this date, Bargarh is considered to be the main business centre of Western Odisha. Padmasri K. Acharya has founded the Sambalpuri Vastralaya in the middle of the present century and could popularize the textiles of Western Odisha in India and abroad¹⁰.

The question arises whether the Bhulia and Kosta communities of this region were directly exporting textile to Southeast Asia through the merchants of Cuttack¹¹. Few years back, the author had the occasion to survey the Ikat textiles at Nuapatana and Maniabandh in districts of Cuttack. Few old weavers frankly admitted that their ancestors had learnt this technique from the weavers of Sonapur and Sambalpur area. Therefore it is presumed that the weaver of Western Odisha had close contacts with the weavers of coastal Odisha. They were coming to Cuttack through the river route of the Mahandi. The inland ports might have been

situated at Sambalpur, Vinka, Sonepur, Jagati, Boudh, Kantilo and finally at Cuttack. Even up to the pre-independence period the Mahanadi served as the route of communication between Sambalpur and Cuttack¹².

The above discussion indicates that the traders of Western Odisha had commercial links with the traders of coastal Odisha, at least from the Somavamsi period. Originally the Somavamsis hailed from Sirpur. Then they shifted their capital to Aramakataka, Rampur, Vinitapur (Binka), Suvarnapur (Sonepur) and the Yayati Nagar. They have also made great contributions to the art and architecture of both western and coastal Odisha. However, it requires further study to clarify many obscure points regarding the relationship of Bali Yatra festival of Western Odisha and Cuttack and that of the relation between ancient Kalinga-Utkala with Indonesia..

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Odisha's Maritime Heritage: A Voyage through History and Culture

Dr. Nalinikanta Rana

ABSTRACT

Odisha, located on India's eastern coast, has a rich maritime heritage that is intricately woven into its history. This paper explores Odisha's maritime legacy, highlighting historical accounts, archaeological evidence, and vibrant cultural traditions that reveal its enduring engagement with maritime activities and global connections. From the early disciples of Lord Buddha to the 3rd-century BCE Kalinga reign, and the bustling 7th-century port of Che-li-ta-lo, Odisha's maritime influence has been profound. The Bhaumakara era saw Odisha forging commercial ties with distant lands like Ceylon, China, and Southeast Asia, with Tamralipti emerging as a thriving maritime hub. Subsequent dynasties, including the Somavamsis, Gangas, and Gajapatis, continued to nurture Odisha's overseas traditions, with Konark temple inscriptions of giraffe evidencing connections to Africa and Central Asia.

Today, Odisha's maritime heritage is celebrated through legends, oral traditions, and vibrant festivities along its coastal shores, such as Boita Bandana, Bali Yatra, Chandrabhaga Yatra, and Khudurukuni Osha. The Jagannath Temple in Puri acts as a central hub for cultural and spiritual interactions, symbolizing

the dissemination of Odia culture throughout East and South-Southeast Asia¹. This maritime legacy underscores the resilience and adaptability of the Odia diaspora, which continues to expand globally due to economic opportunities and education access. Despite their significant contributions, the Odia diaspora remains understudied, calling for comprehensive documentation of their experiences and impacts. This paper invites readers to embark on a journey through Odisha's maritime history and the enduring legacy of the Odia diaspora.

INTRODUCTION

Throughout history, the exchange of goods and culture among various peoples and nations has consistently evolved. The exploration and discovery of trade routes, both overland and maritime, represent some of humanity's most significant contributions to the modern world. Examining these historical interactions reveals the intricate web of connections that have influenced civilizations. The ancient Indus Valley civilization, renowned for its maritime capabilities, was one of India's earliest seafaring societies, engaging in trade along the west coast. Evidence indicates their trading connections with Egypt, Mesopotamia, and the Persian Gulf as far back as the third millennium BC.²

Following the Indus Valley civilization, Arab sailors navigated similar routes, establishing trade links with India's west coast. Historical records suggest that maritime trade on India's east coast began around 800 BCE, with Indian sailors traveling to Southeast

1. Saran, Shyam(ed.), *Cultural and Civilizational links between India and Southeast Asia: Historical and Contemporary Dimensions*, Palgrave Macmillan, Singapore, 2018, pp.1-371

2. S.R. Rao, *Dawn and Devolution of the Indus Civilization*, New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 1991.; S. Tripathi, *An overview maritime archaeological studies in India*, in S. Tripathi (ed.) *Maritime Contacts of the Past: Deciphering Connections Amongst Communities*, New Delhi, Delta Book World, 2015, pp. 729-765.

Asian countries in search of spices.³ In the early centuries of the Christian era, India's maritime commerce with the Roman and Greek regions grew substantially, fueled by the high demand for silk, spices, and textiles.⁴ Archaeological findings along the Indian and Red Sea coasts further confirm these ancient trade connections.⁵

Indian literature, including Sanskrit, Buddhist, and Jaina texts, frequently references maritime trade with foreign lands and the voyages of Indian sailors to distant shores. Notably, Kautilya's Arthashastra from the 3rd century BCE provides valuable insights into maritime Commerce and trade⁶, highlighting the contribution of the superintendent of ships in managing navigation and taxation.⁷ Works like the Periplus Maris Erythraei (The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea) dating back to the 1st century CE⁸ and Ptolemy's

3. R.K.Mookerji, Indian Shipping: a History of the Seaborne Trade and Maritime Activity of the Indians from the Earliest Times, Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co, 1912.

4. R.K.Mukerjee, A History of Indian Civilization. Hind Kitabs Mahal, Bombay, 1956.

5. Tripathi, S; Abhay Mudholkar; K.H. Vora; B. Ramalingeswara Rao; A.S. Gaur, Sundares. Geochemical and mineralogical analysis of stone anchors from west coast of India: provenance study using thin sections, XRF and SEM-EDS. Journal of Archaeological Science, August 2010, vol. 37, issue. 8, pp. 1999-2009.; R. Tomber, Indo-Roman Trade pots to pepper. London Gerald Duckworth & Co Ltd. 2008.

6. Reden, Sitta Von; Dwivedi, M; Fabian, L; Leese-Messing, K; Morris, L. and Weaverdyck, Eli J.S. (eds.). Handbook of Ancient Afro-Eurasian Economies, Walter de Gruyter, OLDENBOURGH, 2020

7. R. Shamasastri, Kautilya's Arthashastra, Mysore: Sri Raghuvver Printing Press, 1915.

8. Abeydeera, Ananda, The Geographical Perceptions of India and Ceylon in the Periplus Maris Erythraei and in Ptolemy's Geography, Terrae Incognitae, the journal of the society for the History of Discoveries, University of Texas at Arlington, vol. 30, 1998, pp. 1-28; L. Casson, The Periplus Maris Erythraei, Princeton University Press. New Jersey, 1989.

Geography from the 2nd century CE⁹ (McCrindle 1985) document The scope of maritime commerce between India and the Western regions¹⁰. The discovery of Roman coins and artifacts in Indian coastal cities and hinterlands further supports the existence of Roman colonies and trading posts along the Indian coast.¹¹

Arab maritime practices, predating Islam, were instrumental in forging trade connections between Arabian nations and India as early as the 8th century AD¹². By the end of the 12th century AD, following the decline of the Chola kingdom¹³, Arab traders had gained significant influence over India's coasts. Indian expertise in nautical engineering and their understanding of monsoon winds and sailing seasons further facilitated maritime trade.¹⁴ Recent scholarship suggests that Hippalus, previously credited with discovering monsoon winds, may have been named after the wind rather than its discoverer.¹⁵

From ancient times, Indian mariners maintained maritime connections with regions such as the Mediterranean Sea, Persian Gulf, Red Sea, and Southeast Asia. Their adeptness in navigating monsoon patterns likely positioned them as pioneers in harnessing these winds for overseas voyages¹⁶. Overseas trade and maritime

9. J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy*. (Reprinted in 1985). Delhi: Today and Tomorrow's printers and publishers, 1985.

10. Sinha, Pankaj Kumar. *Indian diffusion in Southeast Asia: A case study of Thailand*. Proquest, 2015

11. S. Tripathi, 2015, op. cit. p. 735

12. Hodder, R. In *China's Image: Chinese Self-Perception in Western Thought*, Macmillan Press Ltd. 2000

13. Tripathi, S; Abhay Mudholkar; K.H. Vora; B. Ramalingeswara Rao; A.S. Gaur, Sundaresh. *Geochemical and mineralogical analysis of stone anchors from west coast of India: provenance study using thin sections, XRF and SEM-EDS*. *Journal of Archaeological Science*, August 2010, vol. 37, issue. 8, pp. 1999-2009.

14. R.K. Mookerji, 1912, op.cit.

15. Romila Thapar, *Early India from the origins to AD 1300*. Berkeley: University of California. 2002.

16. S. Tripathi, 2015, op. cit., pp. 740

activities were pivotal in disseminating the illustrious Indian civilization across borders. The Kalinga people notably contributed to exploring Southeast Asia, founding settlements, and promoting cultural interactions¹⁷.

Indian colonization was unique in that settlers assimilated local cultures rather than imposing dominance, despite their superiority. This practical adaptability facilitated the formation of composite societies over centuries of interaction. As Indian and native populations coalesced, a shared culture emerged, with Indian influences becoming integral to the identity of Southeast Asian regions. Kingdoms such as Cambodia, Champa, the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Java, Bali, Burma, and Thailand were born out of this Indianization process.¹⁸

Scholar A.P. Pattnaik¹⁹ Considers the spread of Indian civilization into Southeast Asia during the early centuries of the Common Era to be an extraordinary historical occurrence. Indian culture, especially from the eastern regions such as Kalinga, significantly contributed to the formation of Southeast Asia's identity. Chinese travelers and historians referred to the people in Southeast Asia as Kunlun, potentially influenced by the Kalinga heritage. Even today, Indian settlers in the Malay Archipelago are known as Orang Klinig, a term originating from Kalinga.²⁰ The Kalinga people were instrumental in establishing colonies across Southeast Asia over several centuries, expanding their reach to numerous islands and nations around the Indian seas²¹.

17. Orissa Reference Annual, 2005, State Emblem , Government of Orissa.

18. B. Patra, Kalinga and South-East Asia, Orissa Review. Bhubaneswar, 2004, pp.9-16

19. A.P. Pattanaik, Kalingan link with countries of South East-Asia. Orissa Review, Vol- XL VIII. No.9. 1992. p.25

20. A.K. Coomarswamy, History of Indian and Indonesian Art, New Delhi, 1972, p.157

21. Gupta, S. (2005). A Historiographical Survey of Studies on Indo-Roman Sea Trade and Indian Ocean Trade. Indian Historical Review, 32(1), 140-

Various theories attempt to explain the motivation and timing of Indian migration to Southeast Asia, ranging from the Aryan conquest and political events to the Kushana invasion and the Kalinga war of Asoka. The Greater India theory, asserting that India established ancient colonies, faced objections from scholars in Southeast Asia. Regarding the nature of migration, scholars have proposed different theories: the Vaishya theory credits traders, the Kshatriya theory attributes it to warriors and kings, and the Brahmana theory emphasizes the role of priests. While trade-driven colonization by Vaishyas is criticized for its limitations, the Kshatriya theory lacks concrete evidence of political influence. The Brahmana theory, suggesting that Indian priests disseminated culture and influenced rulers, appears to be a more plausible explanation.²²

The colonization process involved the combined efforts of various caste groups over an extended period. Sadhabas, including Vaishyas, Kshatriyas, Brahmanas, and even Sudras, Engaged in maritime commerce, aiding the steady dissemination of Indian culture, though the involvement of Southeast Asians in the colonization efforts remains a subject of debate. Some argue for a passive recipient theory, while others highlight the skills and courage of early Indonesians, indicating active participation. The relationship between Indians and locals, initially cooperative, continued until the end.²³

164. <https://doi.org/10.1177/037698360503200105>; Pratap, A., 2024. Asia, South: Ganges Valley. In: Rehren, T., Nikita, E. (Eds.), Encyclopedia of Archaeology, 2nd Edition, vol. 4, pp. 318–328, London

22. Patra, Benudhar, Kalinga in South East-Asia, Orissa Review, Nov. 2004, pp. 9-16.

23. H. Santiko, Technological Transfer in Temple Architecture from India to Java. Utkal Historical Research Journal. vol-V, 1994.p.26.; W.F. Wertheim, Indonesian Society in Transition- A Study of social change. New York,1956, p.274.; B.Patra, Kalinga in South East Asia. Orissa Review, Bhubaneswar.2004. pp.9-16.

Kalinga's significant role in Southeast Asian colonization is supported by historical evidence. Tradition suggests that Kalinga's naval power enabled the establishment of kingdoms and empires in Southeast Asia. Kalingan rulers also significantly contributed to Ceylon, ruling dynasties and influencing the development of region's cultural landscape. The story of Indian colonization in Southeast Asia is a complex tapestry of trade, cultural exchange, and adaptation²⁴. The people of Kalinga, with their maritime prowess, played a central role, adding to the vibrant heritage and traditions of Southeast Asia.²⁵

ODISHA: THE MARITIME FRONTIER OF EASTERN INDIA

Historically known as Kalinga, Utkal, and Odra, Odisha occupied a significant portion of India's eastern coastline. Ancient Odisha geographically extended from the Ganges to the Godavari estuaries, serving as a vital gateway for international marine trade and the dissemination of Indian culture. This study is based on the analysis of literary sources, archaeological evidence, firsthand accounts from travellers, and observations of historical events.²⁶

Buddhist texts such as the Mahavagga and Anguttara Nikaya mention Tapassu and Bhallika, two merchants from Ukkala (associated with Utkal or Odisha), as the first disciples of Lord Buddha. Kalinga asserted its dominance in the Indian Ocean during the 3rd century BCE, threatening Magadha's commerce. Consequently, in 261 BCE, Emperor Ashoka invaded Kalinga to gain control over this strategic maritime region.²⁷ The marine history of ancient Odisha is further attested by the Hathigumpha

24. Sinha, Pankaj Kumar. Op. cit. 2015

25. F.D.K. Bosch, *Selected Studies in Indian Archaeology*, Hague, 1961. p.10.; J.F. Cady, *South-East Asia, Its Historical Development*. New York. 1964, p.24.; B. Patra, *Kalinga and South-East Asia*, Orissa Review. Bhubaneswar, 2004. pp.9-16

26. Rao, 1991, op. cit.

27. Romila Thapar, 2002. Op. cit.

inscription from the first century BCE, which details the port of Pithunda and its reconstruction by Kharavela. Even during Mahavira's time, Pithunda maintained commercial ties with Champa (Kampuchia), as mentioned in the Jain Uttaradhyana Sutra.²⁸

Kalinga boasted several major ports, such as Nanaigam (Puri), Konagar (Konark), Kosambi (Balasore), Palur (Ganjam), Kalinganagar (Srikakulam in Andhra Pradesh), and Tamralipti (Midnapur in West Bengal), which were significant hubs of international trade according to Ptolemy's Geography of Ancient India from the second century CE.²⁹ The significance of Kalinga in maritime trade is illustrated by Kalidasa referring to its king as Mahodadhipati, the lord of the ocean, in his epic, Raghuvamsa.³⁰ This title implies Odisha's dominance over the Mahodadhi (Eastern Sea) and its major role in transoceanic trade. The Bay of Bengal is referred to as the Kalinga Sea or Kalinga Sagar in the Arya Manjusri Mulakalpa, a Mahayana text.³¹ According to the accounts of Hiuen Tsang, who visited Odisha in 638 CE, The port of Che-li-ta-lo thrived as a vibrant center for maritime commerce and sea vessels.³²

28. Saeed Amirhajloo, Mohammad Amin Emami, Davoud Agha-Aligol, Reza Riahi Gohari. Preliminary studies on polychrome luster tiles excavated from Qal'eh Dokhtar in Kerman by X-ray, SEM-EDX and micro -PIXE spectroscopy, insight in to a new production center of lusterware in southeast of Iran" Journal of Archaeological Science: reports, October 2020, vol. 33, no. 1, p. 102456; S. Tripathi, Ancient Ports of Kalinga. Research Gate, Recent Advances in Marine Archaeology, 1991-92 p.193.

29. J. W. McCrindle, 1985, op. cit.

30. M.N. Das, Kalinga and Sinhala: A Study in Ancient Relations. In M.N. Das (ed.) Sidelights on the History and Culture of Orissa. Cuttack, 1977, p.122

31. T.G. Sastri, Arya Manjushrimula Kalpa. C.B.H. Publication, 1920

32. A. Sahoo, Maritime and Overseas Trade in Odisha during Ancient Time: A Critical Analysis, Asian Mirror-international journal of Research. vol. 3. no.1, 2016, p.29

After the 7th century CE, the Sailodbhavas travelled to Southeast Asia via the port of Palur, founding the Sailendra dynasty. Kangodamandala, which roughly encompassed the unified regions of Puri and Ganjam extended between the Mahanadi and Rushikulya rivers and were governed by the Sailodbhava dynasty. Due to strained relations with the Bhaumakaras of Utkal and the Gangas of Kalinga, the Sailodbhavas used port Palur to relocate to Malaya. These traders had already established a well-trodden path from Palur for this migration. The Sailodbhavas who migrated from Kangoda are believed to be the Sailendras of Suvarna Dvipa. They built Buddhist temples in Southeast Asia, as evidenced by specific stone inscriptions and copper plate grants found both in the Indian Peninsula and the Malayan Archipelago. By the late eighth century CE, the Sailendra dynasty had formed alliances with the leaders of Bali, Java, Sumatra, Malaya, and Borneo.³³

Arab and Persian writings from the 9th and 10th centuries CE offer comprehensive insights into Odisha's maritime trade and port activities³⁴. Notable figures like Ibn Khurdadhbih, Ibn Rusta, and the anonymous author of *Hudud-al-Alam* highlighted key ports, including N. myas (Midnapore), Harkand (hilly regions), Urshin (Odisha proper), Kanja (Ganjam), and Andras (the Kalinga segment of the kingdom)³⁵.

According to the 10th-century CE *Brahmanda Purana*, Chilika Lake was a vast harbour that could accommodate thousands of passengers and served as a haven for ships bound for destinations like Java, Malaya, Sumatra, Bali, Burma, China, Thailand, and Ceylon.³⁶

33. P.K. Mohanty, *Maritime Trade of Ancient Kalinga*, Orissa Review, 2011, p.41

34. Tripathi, S. *Early Maritime Activities of Orissa on the East Coast of India: Linkages in Trade and Cultural Developments*, Man and Environment, vol. XXVII(I), 2002, pp. 117-126

35. Ibid. p. 120

36. M.N. Das, 1977, op. cit. p.122

Excavations at Khalkatapatna, near Puri's coastal area along the Kushabhadra River, have illuminated Kalinga's maritime trade with China and Arabian nations. Artifacts such as Chinese celadon ware, Arabian egg white glazed ware, and native dark grey pottery were found there. Khalkatapatna was a port town in the 12th century, evidenced by the discovery of Chinese copper coins with distinctive square perforations and legends in Chinese characters on both sides.³⁷

An account of a giraffe on the Konark temple further attests to Odisha's early medieval international interactions with Arab and African nations. The excavation at Sisupalgarh revealed foreign coins, clay bullae, iron caltrops, and rouletted pottery from the third and fourth centuries CE, confirming Kalinga's trade relations with Rome. Manikapatna, a thriving port on the bank of the Chilika River in Brahmagiri Taluk, was a significant trade hub. Abul Fazal recorded that Manikapatna was a seaport where salt taxes were collected. Trial excavations conducted from 1989 to 1993 through the Odishan Institute of Maritime and Southeast Asian Studies, located in Bhubaneswar, unearthed artifacts from the early historical era, including Puri-Kushana coins, Indian Rouletted ware, Knobbed ware, amphora fragments, and red-glazed ware, suggesting that Manikapatna had strong connections with China, Ceylon, and Rome.

KALINGA AND CEYLON: A HISTORICAL MARITIME CONNECTION

The historical ties between Kalinga (ancient Odisha) and Ceylon (modern Sri Lanka) are fascinating and multifaceted, rooted in maritime communication dating back to the fifth century BCE. The Datha-Datu-Vamsam and Mahaparinirvana Sutta mention that Brahmadutta, the monarch of Kalinga around 543 BCE, constructed a stupa in Ceylon to house the sacred tooth of the Buddha. The sixth century CE saw the monarch of Kalinga

37. Indian Archaeological Review, 1984-85

and his queen visiting Ceylon.³⁸ According to the Dipavamsa, Emperor Ashoka sent his daughter Sanghamitra and son Mahendra to propagate Buddhism in Ceylon in 250 BCE.³⁹

Kalinga's maritime connections with Ceylon significantly influenced Ceylon's polity, culture, trade, and commerce. These relationships, documented in Ceylonese chronicles like the Mahavamsa and Chulavamsa, are among the most intriguing chapters in Kalinga's maritime history. Scholars generally agree that Sinhala/Ceylon is the famed Lanka of the Ramayana. Being an island located in the southernmost region of South Asia, Ceylon was always open to marine influence, serving as a hub for inter-oceanic trade and a meeting point for sailors from the Eastern and Western oceans. It likely was the first nation in Southern Asia to experience the effects of Indian immigration.⁴⁰ Ceylon served as an essential link along the trade route uniting China, Southeast Asia, and the eastern coast of India.⁴¹

Buddhism and Hinduism, the two main religions practiced in Ceylon, as well as the Sinhalese and Tamil ethnic groups, arrived from India. The cultural influence from India led to a distinct transformation in Ceylon, despite the short distance across the water. The Ceylonese chronicles state that Prince Vijaya and his 700 followers were the first Indian immigrants in Ceylon. According to the Mahavamsa, Prince Vijaya, the inaugural ruler of Ceylon, was the offspring of King Sinhabahu from Sinhapura.⁴²

38. B. Patra, Kalinga and Siam: A study in Ancient Relations. Odisha Review. 2017, p. 22

39. M. Yamin, Maritime contact between Kalinga and Ceylon: Reflection and Reconsideration, Utkal Historical Research Journal. Bhubaneswar. vol. 26. 2013, pp. 103-110.

40. D.P. Singhal, India and World Civilization. Calcutta. vol-2. 1972, p.99

41. Paul E. Schellinger, Robert M. Salkin, Christopher Hudson, Sharon La Boda, K.A. Berney, Trudy Ring. " International Dictionary of Historic Places- Asia And Oceania", Vol.5, Routledge, 2012; C.W. Nicholas & S. Paranavitana, A Concise history of Ceylon. Colombo, 1961

42. K.M. Desilva, A History of Srilanka, New Delhi, 1984, p.4

The long-standing political and cultural connections between Kalinga and Ceylon strengthened their trade links. The Kalinga sailors were familiar with Ceylon, which was strategically significant for global trade and attracted foreign traders. Megasthenes referred to Ceylon as Taprobane and noted that it produced more large pearls and gold than any other Indian Ocean pearling hub. Ceylon served as both a passageway and a resting site for sailors engaged in maritime trade between Kalinga and Southeast Asian nations. The discovery of copper coins belonging to the Ceylonese ruler Shahasa Malla near Manikapatna, also known as Che-li-ta-lo in Odisha, established a maritime network connecting Sumatra and coastal Odisha. According to the Buddhist classic Mahavamsa, the journey from Tamralipti to Ceylon took just seven days. Trader families accompanied the Bodhi tree sapling from India to Ceylon, highlighting the trade route's importance. Cosmos' accounts from the sixth century CE mention that Ceylonese used to buy elephants from India, with Kalinga being well-known for its elephants. It is reasonable to assume that Kalinga supplied elephants to Ceylon. Additionally, Kalinga imported pearls, silver, and copper from Ceylon and exported fine textile products, drugs, betel nuts, ivory, pepper, and precious stones to other nations, including Ceylon. Odisha poet Upendra Bhanja mentioned trade between Kalinga and Ceylon in his seventeenth-century CE Kavya, "Lavanyabati".⁴³

The relationship between Kalinga and Ceylon encompassed several domains, beginning with political action and extending into religion and culture, followed by trade and economic endeavours. Kalinga's role in Ceylon was a significant achievement and not a one-way interaction. Kalinga rulers ruled over Ceylon for a few centuries, with individuals of Kalingan descent permanently migrating there and leaving an enduring syncretic imprint that influenced both sides.

Some Buddhist sculptures from Lalitgiri exhibit stylistic similarities with those in Thailand. Numbers of Lingas reported from Thailand also resemble those from Odisha and the Bengal

coast. The Loy Krathong festival of Thailand is similar to Odisha's Kartika Purnima boat floating festival.⁴⁴ (Patra 2017).

The islands of Bali, Sumatra, Malaya, Borneo, and Java were collectively known as Suvarṇadvīp. According to a Javanese legend, the king of Kalinga sent twenty thousand families to settle in Java. One of Java's colonies was named Kalinga. Some Buddhist sculptures from Java resemble those from Ratnagiri in Odisha. A colony in central Java was well-known as Kalinga (Majumdar 1937). King Puruṇa ruled Java in the 6th century CE, and large numbers of people from Kalinga accessed Java in the 8th century CE.⁴⁵ The Sailodbhavas possibly migrated to Southeast Asia after the 7th century CE and ruled Java from the 8th to the 14th century CE. The architectural styles of the Buddhist monument at Borobudur resemble the temples of Odisha.

Chinese texts 'Kun-Law' referred to the people of Odisha as the people of Kalinga. During the 6th century BCE, India had maritime contact with China. Some Chinese texts provide evidence that people from Kalinga accessed China through the port of Poluṛa during the 1st century CE. According to Chinese texts, the Buddhist monk Prajñā from Wu Cha (Odisha) visited China around 795 CE. Subhakarā, a Kalinga scholar, journeyed to the court of the Chinese ruler Hsuan-Tsang and rendered the Mahāvairocana Sūtra into the Chinese language.⁴⁶

THE MARITIME LEGACY BETWEEN KALINGA AND INDONESIA

India's connections with the western parts of Southeast Asia trace back to ancient times⁴⁷. Merchants and sailors from

43. M. Yamin, 2013, op. cit. p. 105

44. B. Patra, 2017, op. cit. p.22

45. B. Ghadai, Kartika Purnima and Maritime Heritage of Odisha, Odisha Review, 2015, pp.75-78

46. Ibid. p. 77

47. Sinha, Pankaj Kumar, Op. Cit. 2015

both sides engaged in trade, with groups of traders from specific locations consistently returning to the same ports, establishing regular relationships during the trading season. Scholars have extensively studied this historical phenomenon, concluding that Indian political, religious, and cultural ideas profoundly influenced Southeast Asia's political and cultural landscape between the fourth and fourteenth centuries.⁴⁸

Kulke⁴⁹ suggests that the mutual processes connecting the regions on either side of the Bay of Bengal developed a seamless and complex network of connections, enabling the diffusion of Indian culture across Southeast Asia organically, rather than through any singular transplantation event. When civilizations intersect, they often coexist and cooperate, learning from each other rather than competing, which is also observed in the modern era. The scholar Johan Crawford, stationed in Penang between 1783 and 1868, acquired deep insights into Java and Bali, observing that the earliest Indian settlement in Java dates back to the second century CE, with the Javanese people acknowledging Kalinga as the origin of Indian traditions, legal systems, and religious practices.⁵⁰

Starting around the mid-first millennium CE, emerging during the early period were continental Southeast Asian states alongside maritime regions such as Java in Indonesia, Sumatra in the Malay Peninsula, and Bali.⁵¹ This era held considerable importance for the regional economy, aligning with the late Gupta period (4th–6th

48. H.B. Sarkar, *Glimpses in Hindu Javanese Society of Central Java*. In K. Chong-Guan (ed.), *Early South East Asia viewed from India*. Delhi. Manohar, 2013

49. H. Kulke, *The early and imperial kingdom in southeast Asian history in king and cult*. Delhi. Manohar, 2001

50. S.K. Patnaik, *The Sailodbhava and Sailendras: A study of maritime association between Kalinga and Indonesia*. *Journal of Odisha History*, Bhubaneswar. Vol. 29, 2016, pp.23-34

51. Upadhyay, S.K. (2023). *Ancient Civilizations and Its Relevance to Modern World*. In: Wang, L., Zhao, J. (eds) *Asian Civilization and Asian Development*. Springer, Singapore. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-19-9833-1_13

century CE) and later transitioning into the Medieval phase of Eastern and Southern Indian regional kingdoms (6th–12th century CE)⁵². The political history, economic structure, and religious expansion of Buddhism, Saivism, and Vaishnavism in the Indian subcontinent during this period help understand the cultural impact between these regions. These factors influenced the religious culture and administrative functions in Southeast Asian states.⁵³

Scholars have observed a spectrum of relationships between Buddhism and Hinduism in early Southeast Asian religion, indicating a dynamic interaction. The Sailodbhavas, an Indian dynasty ruling between the mid-sixth and mid-eighth centuries CE⁵⁴, had a strong influence on Indonesia and were closely related to the Sailendras. In 782 CE, a preceptor of a Sailendra king travelled from Eastern India (Bengal/Odisha) to Java, using the dust from his lotus feet to purify the monarch's head. Other missionaries likely followed the preceptor's lead, making travel between India and Java more accessible during this period than in the Fa-Hien era.⁵⁵ The close cultural contact between Kalinga and Indonesia from the sixth to the twelfth centuries CE is evident in the similarities between their cultures, reflected in place names, religion, art, bronzes, trade, and commerce.

A narrative by the Javanese king Jayabhaya (12th century CE) claims descent from the Kalinga line. In Java, a location known as Holing is said to have been settled by people from Kalinga. Academics suggest that Ho-ling corresponds to Kalinga in Chinese records. Inscriptions in Java's Nagari character resemble those in Odisha's Nagari script. These immigrants are credited with constructing Java's Chandrabhaga and Gomati canals in the fifth

52. Ibid. p. 109

53. H.P. Roy, *Winds of Change, Buddhism and early maritime links of early south Asia*, Delhi. Oxford, 1994. University Press.

54. Selin, Helaine, *Encyclopaedia of the history of science technology and medicine in Non- western cultures*, 3rd Edition, Springer Dordrecht, 2016

55. H.B. Sarkar, 2013, op. cit.

century CE. Chinese explorer Fa-Hien, who travelled to Java in 413 CE, reported that hundreds of Hindu traders were aboard the ship he took to Canto, and Brahmins and Buddhist monks from the Kalingan area regularly travelled to China. Records from the Chinese Te-Sang dynasty validate the presence of a kingdom named Kalinga in Java. Kalingan culture also significantly impacted Sumatra during its peak.⁵⁶

The name Brahmana Boudha Kalinga, referring to a community of Brahmins in a Bali province, suggests these Brahmins originated from Buddhist Kalinga. The entire Buddhist village of Boudha Keling in Bali is situated on the foothills of Gunung Agung, the island's highest mountain. Recent discoveries of non-local coarse pottery, black ware, and knobbed ware⁵⁷ along the coasts of Odisha, Java, and Bali support the existence of a sophisticated network of luxuries and necessities that sustained the maritime system.⁵⁸ A well-established pan-Indian commerce network extended from Pataliputra to Tamralipti and along the southeastern coast of India. Numerous Buddhist sites were discovered along the Odisha (Kalinga) coast, with significant ports like Tamralipti, Che-li-ta-lo, Manikaptana, Gourangapatna, Palur, and Kalingapattana.⁵⁹

Legend has it that in the early middle ages, a prince of Kalinga brought twenty thousand families to Java. R Balkrishnan corroborates this mass migration to Java.⁶⁰ Java's Jaha inscription

56. Ibid.

57. Tripathi, S. Seafaring Archaeology of the East Coast of India and Southeast Asia during the Early Historical Period, *Ancient Asia*, vol. 8, no. 7, pp. 1-22, 2017, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5334/aa.118>

58. Selvakumar, V.. "9. Contacts between India and Southeast Asia in Ceramic and Boat Building Traditions". *Early Interactions between South and Southeast Asia: Reflections on Cross-Cultural Exchange*, edited by Pierre-Yves Manguin, A. Mani and Geoff Wade, Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2011, pp. 197-220. <https://doi.org/10.1355/9789814311175-012>

59. S.K. Patnaik, 2016, op. cit. p 28

60. R. Balkrishnan, *New Lights on Ancient Contacts between Kalinga and Indonesia*. 2007

mentions the Kling (Kalinga) people and their interactions with Java (Corpus of Inscriptions of Java 1971-72). Prof. Krom noted that Central Java's culture resembled that of the Kalinga people, and the likelihood of Kalinga's cultural influence in Hindu-Javanese society of Central Java cannot be dismissed.⁶¹ Some Buddha images at Lalitgiri and Ratnagiri bear a striking resemblance to those in Java. The sixth century was pivotal in Asian history for disseminating Indian concepts and maritime trade between peoples.⁶²

GLOBAL JOURNEYS AND MODERN IDENTITIES

The term "diaspora" has significantly evolved in postmodern discourse, going beyond its traditional associations with origin, national or ethnic identity, and physical location to encompass notions of national, ethnic, linguistic, and cultural diversity. Stuart Hall⁶³ defines the diaspora experience as one that embraces variety and diversity, celebrating hybridity rather than seeking purity. This is echoed by Urgo, who highlights that markers like sexual orientation, gender, color, and class contribute to hybrid identities within diasporas, making it a complex field of study that intersects various categories.⁶⁴

The interdisciplinary study of diaspora has been enriched by perspectives from sociology, anthropology, history, and the humanities. Modern diasporas, as defined by Sheffer (1986), Ethnic minority communities with migratory backgrounds, living in host nations while preserving connections to their regions of

61. H.B. Sarkar, 2013, op. cit.

62. J. Przyluski, J.Indian Colonisation in Sumatra before the Seventh century. In K. Chong Guan (ed.) Early South Asia viewed from India. Delhi. Manohar, 2013, P.156

63. S. Hall, Cultural Identity and Diaspora, in J. Rutherford (ed.) Identity: Community, Culture, Difference, Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1990, pp. 222-237

64. J.R. Urgo, Willa Cather and the Myth of American Migration. Univesity of Illinois Press, 1995, pp. 137-139

origin. Robin Cohen classifies diasporas into categories such as victim, labor, imperial, trade, cultural, and global de-territorialized, depending on their social contexts and histories.⁶⁵ Essential elements of diaspora involvement, according to Safran and others, include ethnic consciousness, active social engagement, and connections to the homeland, whether real or imagined.⁶⁶

Globalization and nationalism have brought new dimensions to diaspora studies, facilitated by rapid information exchange and advanced communication technologies.⁶⁷ This connectivity supports continuous contact between immigrants and their countries of origin. Social and cultural networks play crucial roles in maintaining ties, promoting immigration, and preserving socio-cultural norms.

Diverse perspectives from various regions contribute to a deeper understanding of diaspora, with meticulous classification into units based on ethnicity, religion, language, and geography.⁶⁸ The study of diaspora often begins with groups like the Gypsies and the Jewish diaspora, which serves as a pivotal reference in diasporic theory due to their unique experiences. Similarly, the Black African diaspora, resulting from the transatlantic slave trade, provides crucial historical context.

Another significant period emerged post-1830s, with the abolition of African slavery and the influx of indentured laborers

65. Murrani, S. A comparative study of (im) migrant integration: the case of Iraqi Sabian (mandaeen) diaspora in the UK, Netherlands and Sweden. University of Exeter (United Kingdom) Ph. D Dissertation, 2024; R. Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*, 3rd Edition, London, Routledge. July 2022,

66. Safran, W. *Diaspora in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and return*, *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*. University of Toronto Press. Vol.1. No.1. 1991, pp.83-99, DOI: 10.1353/dsp.1991.0004

67. Shuval, J.T. *Diaspora Migration: Definitional Ambiguities and a Theoretical Paradigm*. Uk: Blackwell Publishers Ltd. 2007. Pp.41-57

68. S.S. Mohanty, *Engaging Oriya (Odia) Diaspora in the Development Process: Perspectives and Possibilities*. *The Third Voice Reality and Vision*. Vol. 2. No.1. 2020. pp.3-11

from the Indian subcontinent. The 1960s and 1970s saw skilled Indian professionals migrating to developed nations, marking a new phase in diaspora history. Today, diaspora encompasses a diverse range of displaced individuals and communities globally.⁶⁹

Studying the Indian diaspora involves categorizing it into "old" and "new" groups based on historical influences. The "old" diaspora relates to early modern indenture migration, while the "new" group represents late modern migration to industrial nations.⁷⁰ . Ancient Indian history reveals the travels of Buddhist bhikus spreading Buddha's teachings and robust trade relations with Southeast Asia and East Africa. Despite historical complexities, the Indian diaspora has always been marked by a blend of old and new influences, navigating power dynamics in various colonies and continuously reshaping their sense of homeland in an interconnected world.

THE ODIA DIASPORA

The Odia diaspora, a distinct segment of the Indian diaspora, has a rich history of engaging outside their home state, notably through significant maritime connections to Southeast Asian countries. In contemporary times, the modern Oriya diaspora, comprising skilled professionals, has made substantial contributions to various global industries while maintaining strong cultural ties with Odisha. This connection is reinforced through festivals, rituals, and support during crises.⁷¹ The commitment of the diaspora to Odisha is further bolstered by transnational networks and advancements in communication technology, with Odias staying connected via news portals and online newspapers. Despite being scattered across the globe, the Oriya diaspora

69. Ibid. p. 8

70. M, Pati, *Hostlands, Homelands and Odia Diaspora: from Boyita to Biman*. In S. Telugu (ed.), *Indian Literatures in Diaspora*. London: Routledge, 2022.

71. S.S. Mohanty, 2020, op. cit. pp.3-11

takes immense pride in their cultural heritage and remains deeply connected to their homeland.⁷²

The literary contributions of authors like Jnana Ranjan Dash and Rajendra Narayan Das provide valuable insights into the contemporary Odia diaspora experience. Their works, often published in Odia newspapers, highlight the challenges, experiences, and perspectives of Odia diaspora individuals. Themes of adaptation, acculturation, and hybridization are prevalent in the literary output of the new Odia diaspora. These writings underscore the urgency of expressing the complex legacy of the Odia diaspora in modern times. The narratives of both the old and new diaspora reflect a dynamic interplay between assimilation and the retention of cultural identity. Despite linguistic challenges, Odia diaspora writers remain connected to their roots, offering a rich tapestry of experiences that transcend geographical boundaries.⁷³

The Odia diaspora can be categorized into two main periods: the 'old' diaspora and the 'new' or modern diaspora. Engaging this diaspora in comprehensive development projects presents significant potential for the state, opening new frontiers. As Odisha witnesses a growing number of professionally skilled citizens, there may be an increase in the outflow of human capital to industrialized nations. This raises questions about the impact of the diaspora and increasing migration flows on the state and the growing number of Oriya's living abroad.⁷⁴

The phenomenon of diaspora, marked by both displacement and continuity, creates a complex tapestry of hybridity and rupture. This exploration focuses on the old maritime and contemporary diaspora, unravelling the intricate dynamics between the homeland, host land, and the resulting cultural convergence in the postmodern world. The saga of the old Odia maritime diaspora, rooted in the

72. M. Pati, 2022, op. cit.

73. Ibid.

74. Ibid.; S.S. Mohanty, 2020, op.cit.

commercial ventures of Odia traders in the Indonesian islands, predates the nation-state. Although physical traces have faded, linguistic and cultural influences persist, especially in Bali. The interaction between Indonesian culture and coastal India, particularly Odisha, led to the dispersal of the Odia community to distant islands like Bali and Java. The prevalence of Hindu culture in Bali and linguistic similarities bear witness to the enduring impact of the old Odia diaspora. Historical records and linguistic evidence contribute to understanding this unique relationship.⁷⁵

The transition to the contemporary Odia diaspora emphasizes the cultural linkages between the homeland and diaspora. Globalization and modern technologies have facilitated communication, networking, and the preservation of shared identities. The diversity within the Indian diaspora, including the Odia diaspora, is explored, highlighting common concerns like dislocation, fragmentation, and nostalgia. The Odia diaspora, encompassing both old maritime and contemporary experiences, delves into the dynamics of displacement, hybridity, and cultural convergence between the homeland and host land.⁷⁶

CONCLUSION:

Odisha's coastal people preserve their ancient maritime heritage through customs and festivals like Boita Bandana, celebrated on Kartik Purnima, which honors the sea voyages of the Sadhaba merchant community to Southeast Asian islands. The festival includes the recital of "Aa Kaa Maa Bai," symbolizing ancient maritime travel. Its main celebration, Bali Yatra, takes place on the banks of the Mahanadi River in Cuttack, commemorating the Sadhabas' trade and cultural exchanges with regions such as Java, Sumatra, and Bali. Similarly, the Chandrabhaga Yatra, held annually in February, draws people to bathe in the sacred waters of the River Chandrabhaga, a culturally significant site. Folklore like

75. Ibid.

76. Ibid.

the legend of Tapoi (or Khudurukuni Osha) highlights the prayers of young girls for the safe return of his brothers. Odisha's maritime history, marked by ties with The Persian Gulf⁷⁷, Southeast Asia, and the Roman Empire⁷⁸, showcases its significant role in ancient marine commerce. Preserving this heritage strengthens India's maritime legacy and cultural identity.

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Odisha and Southeast Asia through BIMSTEC: Reclaiming Civilizational Links for Regional Integration

Dr. Binoda Kumar Mishra

ABSTRACT

Odisha's historical maritime and cultural connections with Southeast Asia—particularly through the Kalinga civilization—position it as a natural bridge in India's regional diplomacy under the Act East Policy and Purvodaya vision. This paper revisits Odisha's ancient linkages with Southeast Asia and outlines a contemporary roadmap for its regional integration through the Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC). It argues for a proactive para-diplomatic role for Odisha and the institutionalization of a BIMSTEC Think Tank anchored in the state to drive knowledge diplomacy and multilateral cooperation rooted in civilizational ethos.

INTRODUCTION

India's engagement with Southeast Asia has transitioned from Look East to Act East, driven by the need to diversify partnerships and counterbalance emerging, potentially adversarial, geopolitical forces. While Northeast India has been projected as the geographic corridor, Odisha—heir to the Kalingan maritime tradition—remains underutilized in India's regional engagement

strategy. Regrettably, though Prime Minister Modi's Purvodaya initiative aims to develop India's eastern corridor, yet it has not fully leveraged Odisha's unique historical capital. Through BIMSTEC, Odisha can reclaim its strategic centrality by fostering and facilitating people-to-people, cultural, economic, and academic connections with the Bay of Bengal littoral states.

KALINGA AND SOUTHEAST ASIA: A HISTORICAL CARTOGRAPHY OF CONNECTIONS

Odisha, formerly Kalinga, was not a landlocked polity but a thalassocratic civilization with extensive maritime connections. Kalidasa's Raghuvamsha refers to the king of Kalinga as Mahodadhipati—Lord of the Oceans. Archaeological and textual sources (Rigveda, Jatakas, Greek-Roman accounts, Ptolemy's Geography) confirm a web of trade and cultural exchanges between ancient Odisha and port cities of Myanmar (Pegu), Indonesia (Bali, Java), and beyond.

anenasadhamviharamburasehtiresutalivana
marmarresu
dvipantaranvitalavangapuspeihapakrtasveda lava
marudbhiih

-Raghuvamsha (6:57)

(To the seashore of Kalinga comes the breeze, filled with the scent of cloves, from the Indonesian Archipelago)

Under the present dispensation, the Look East Policy has been morphed into a more pro-active Act East Policy, which emphasises both the domestic and regional orientations of interaction. Premised on the natural geographical connectivity and contiguity, particularly between eastern and northeast India on the one hand and Southeast Asia on the other, the successful implementation of this policy catapults eastern India into the centre of gravity of Act East Policy. Although numerous conferences, which have traced the trajectory of India-Southeast Asia relations/ India's Look East / Act East Policies, have harped on the ancient civilizational contacts, scant attention has been spared to understand the factors

which vitalized and sustained them through ages. Delving into history suggests that the ancient engagement had a perfect blend of politics, culture, religion and spread of knowledge and operated on mutual respect for each other's ways of life, making way for the acceptance of better ideas and outcomes through acculturation.

Much before the advent of the colonisers of India who took Indians as plantation labourers to Southeast Asia, Indians had put an indelible mark on a vast region that in the modern day spans from Myanmar to Indonesia and even beyond. The religious, cultural and political symbols of Southeast Asia are the testimony of deep Indian influence over the region that has weathered the turmoil of history. So old is the contact that it is difficult nigh impossible to trace the beginning of the engagement between India and Southeast Asia. But it certainly predates the spread of Buddhism and naturally the advent of Islam into the region. Historians date the beginning of the contacts to second millennium BC and provide evidence of Indians ruling the states in Southeast Asia. There are caste based theories on possible reasons for Indian migration into Southeast Asia. While the Vaishya theory advocates trade as the primary nature of contact, the Kshyatriyattheory puts forward political conquest as the chief purpose of contacts. On the other hand, the Brahmana theory suggests that it was through the spread of knowledge and Hindu religious practices that Indian influence over Southeast Asia was anchored. Given the nature of evidences one finds in Southeast Asia, it can be submitted that the ancient contacts had all three, i.e. trade, knowledge and political motivations on the part of Indians to engage themselves with Southeast Asia.

Noticeable is the fact that the ancient contacts were geographically natural as it was the eastern coast of India from where all, i.e. culture, knowledge and political ideas and influence travelled to Southeast Asia. Although not attempting to weigh the contribution of different states in establishing this web of cultural, religious and political interactions between India and Southeast

Asia, the importance of Kalinga (modern Odisha) stands out in this matrix. The contacts the seafarers of Odisha established were used for the spread of Buddhism by the kings and emperors of India. This interface of 'culture-contact' created successive waves of cultural and commercial influence on Southeast Asia, posing repeated challenges to its peoples to re-learn, readapt and reinterpret their indigenous cultural traits. The routes of all these early contacts emanated from eastern India through either Sri Lanka or along the coast of Odisha, Bengal and Myanmar before reaching the Straits of Malacca to traverse to Malaysia, Indonesia and beyond.

There are living evidences of Odisha's rich commercial contacts with Southeast Asia. Bali Jatra (a voyage to Bali) is testimony to this age-old commercial contact. The traders of Odisha used to start their voyage to distant places such as, Bali, Burma, Sumatra, Borneo, Java and other places in Southeast Asia during the full moon of the lunar month of Kartika. Though this is interpreted religiously as the most auspicious time for a sea voyage, there were in fact climatic reasons for the timing of the voyage. The merchants of Odisha used to travel from various port cities of ancient Odisha among which, Cuttack was one of the important ports.

The history of Orissa shipping and maritime activities goes back to the early times of the Rigveda (1,48,3) and (1,116,5), the Jatakas, the Greek and Roman authors, the early literatures as well as a host of archaeological discoveries in India and abroad, all go to prove that long before the birth of Christ, the Oriyas had acquired a fair knowledge of the art of navigation and that they plied their boats not only on the inland rivers, but also on the high seas. There were ports and harbours all along the coastal line such as Tamralipti (Tamluk), Adamus (Suvarnarekha), Kosambia (Balasore), Dosarene (Dhamarra), Manada (Mahanadi), Pakura (Palur-Risikulya), Konnagar (Konark), Nanigain (Puri), Kakadaram (Cuttack), Kalinganagar (Vamsadhara), Dantapuram.

Even Ptolemy's Geography of Ancient India, (2nd Century A.D.), mentions that major and prosperous ports of Orissa such as Nanigaina (Puri), Katikardama (Kataka or Cuttack), Kannagara (Konarak), and river mouths Manada (Mahanadi), Tyndis (Brahmani), Dosaron (Baitarani?), Adams (Subarnarekha?), Minagara (Jajpur?) and Kosamba (Pipili or Balasore) had overseas trade relations.

These trade links, evidences suggest, left permanent marks in many Southeast Asian countries. For example, the port city of Pegu in Burma (Myanmar) has two appellations – Ussa and Hanthawaddy. According to scholarly interpretation of various evidences, the name “Ussa”(A corruption of Odisha) was given by Hindu merchants from Odisha. Similarly, the Shwe Dagon Pagoda that houses the hair of Buddha has its relationship with Odisha. The two merchants (Tapussa and Bhalluka) who received those hairs from Buddha were from Utkaladesha. One can find a good Hindu Odiya settlement in Pegu – the port city of Myanmar. The silver filigree work of Cuttack has been adopted in Indonesia and the similarity is to the level of identical.

Many factors contributed to the loss of commercial and political contact of India with Southeast Asia. Geographical factors (changes in the nature of rivers) contributed to the loss of Odisha's maritime activity in subsequent times. But the cultural imprints of India and specifically that of Odisha are still visible in entire southeast Asia. The contacts came to a complete halt during the colonial period. It must be mentioned that the colonial masters of India did take Indians to Southeast, but not as free traders but as indentured labourers to work in the rubber plantations of Malaysia. In the post-independence period, India had minimal contacts with Southeast Asia; but the era succeeding the demise of the Cold War opened greater avenues of interaction between the two regions. Primarily anchored on the Look East Policy that was enacted in 1992, the region was provided considerable impetus in the Indian foreign policy domain.

Given this backdrop, it is time to rejuvenate these ancient interactions between India and Southeast Asia, making the eastern Indian state of Odisha one of its fulcrums and graduating it to a nodal point for operationalising Act East Policy. The realisation has also dawned on the Government of India to use the ancient contacts as the beginning points for reinvigorating India's contacts with the East (Southeast Asia). "Project Mausam" is one such example that tries to reconnect India with her near and far eastern neighbours through ancient routes.

To strengthen this attempt of the Government of India, it is important to preserve and promote everything that had once contributed towards spreading India's influence throughout Southeast Asia. Bali Jatra of Cuttack that commemorates the ancient trading contact of India (Odisha) with Southeast Asia is one such important occasion. This annual festival, that till date, has been just commemorating the ancient trade contacts of India (Odisha) must be used as a tool to reconnect with Southeast Asia. It would be of immense help if Bali Jatra is adopted by Government of India as one of the national festivals of India and is further promoted as an International Trade Fair involving traders from all the Southeast Asian countries. There are practical reasons for using Bali Jatra and Cuttack and along with it Paradeep (being the nearest sea port) to promote modern-day trade between India Southeast Asia. It is high time that ample focus be provided to opportunities offered by maritime connectivity through the eastern states like Odisha. Of late, the spree with which Myanmar has been constructing ports like Sittwe, Kyaukpadaung and Dawei holds immense ground for transforming the regional trading pattern, once they are operational, thereby reducing the importance of Malaysia and Singapore as trade conduits. Besides, the proximity of Paradeep in Odisha (world's deepest artificial sea port) with all the three ports in Myanmar would naturally reduce the costs and rigours of commercial transaction between India and Southeast Asia.

Thus, there is every reason for both the state government of Odisha and the Central Government of India to work in coordination to promote Bali Jatraas a national event and promote it as an International Trade Fair with the intent of fostering India-Southeast Asia commercial, tourist and cultural contacts.

FROM HISTORICAL CAPITAL TO STRATEGIC RELEVANCE

Despite its rich legacy, Odisha has remained peripheral to India's Act East vision. Northeast India, with its land connectivity to Myanmar, has been overemphasized as the pivot. However, Northeast India lacks economic logic for major trade volumes due to poor connectivity and infrastructure bottlenecks. Sea-based linkages through Odisha offer a viable alternative.

The Purvodaya initiative, launched in 2020 to unlock the economic potential of eastern India, identifies Odisha as a major industrial and maritime hub. Yet, much of the focus has been on energy and mining, neglecting the cultural and historical diplomacy potential Odisha holds in the Bay of Bengal region. With BIMSTEC as a platform, Odisha can assert itself as a "civilizational bridge state" and drive regionalism grounded in shared heritage.

BIMSTEC: INSTITUTIONALIZING REGIONAL BELONGING

South East Asia is connected to India through North East India. There was a focus on NE India in the second phase of Look East. NER came the focus within the framework of India's Look East Policy only in its second phase because before that NER or for that matter India did not have land contiguity with ASEAN. It is only after Myanmar Joining ASEAN in 1997 that contiguity was established and it was through NER. Now it has been 20 years that NER is in the scheme of things of India's Look/Act East Policy but there have not been any discernible dividends for NER from this. One needs to ponder why? Say for economy. Why has NER not benefitted from increasing India ASEAN trade? The relatively developed economies of ASEAN such as Singapore, Thailand

Indonesia and Malaysia are much better connected with India through the seas. One does not find enough economic rationale to trade with India through NER.

If NER is to be developed seriously then different mechanisms need to be worked on simultaneously to supplement or complement the Act East Policy. Primary among them is BIMSTEC. In fact, BIMSTEC can be the only mechanism that would bring NER to the centre of India's multilateral regional engagement. It is within BIMSTEC that NER's development issues can be catered to as BIMSTEC talks of sectoral and technical engagement. Thus the sectors relevant for NER's development can be focused for harnessing the potential of NER within a BIMSTEC value chain.

Founded in 1997, BIMSTEC brings together seven nations—India, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Myanmar, and Thailand—who share the Bay of Bengal rim and civilizational ties. BIMSTEC's significance lies in its regional focus, sectoral cooperation model, and strategic location at the intersection of South and Southeast Asia.

For Odisha, BIMSTEC offers three strategic benefits:

1. Maritime Connectivity: Odisha's coast and port infrastructure (e.g., Paradip Port, Dhamra Port) can serve as a maritime corridor to Myanmar and Thailand.
2. Cultural Diplomacy: Odisha's historical linkages with Southeast Asian countries can be revived through Buddhist and Hindu heritage circuits, language exchanges, and artisan collaborations.
3. Subnational Engagement: BIMSTEC enables subnational diplomacy, allowing Odisha to position itself as a nodal region for soft power and regional cooperation.

Dr. Mishra rightly argues that BIMSTEC should be the anchor for Northeast and Eastern India's integration into the regional order. Odisha must leverage this by becoming a hub for BIMSTEC-related research, entrepreneurship, and para-diplomatic initiatives.

Odisha and the BIMSTEC Think Tank Ecosystem

To operationalize these ambitions, Odisha should host a BIMSTEC Knowledge and Innovation Forum or a Centre for Bay of Bengal Studies, drawing inspiration from ASEAN's Track-II dialogues and the successful East Asia Summit (EAS) model. This think tank would serve as:

- A policy advisory node for Odisha's external engagement and regional economic integration.
- A knowledge bridge for historical research, maritime heritage mapping, and cultural studies on Indo-Southeast Asian ties.
- An entrepreneurial incubator supporting Odisha-based startups to explore Southeast Asian markets.
- A platform for youth and academic exchanges, including BIMSTEC student mobility programs.

This initiative would align with the MEA's States Division, which supports para-diplomatic efforts, and can draw funding and support from Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR), Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA), and international partners like the Japan Foundation and ASEAN Secretariat.

Strategic Recommendations

1. Para-Diplomacy Roadmap for Odisha

- Form an Odisha Foreign Engagement Cell within the State Government, under the CM's Office.
- Appoint BIMSTEC Advisors and Country Focal Points for Thailand, Myanmar, and Indonesia.
- Participate in Bay of Bengal Maritime Dialogue, IORA Blue Economy Forum, and India-ASEAN forums as subnational stakeholders.

2. Infrastructure and Connectivity Focus

- Develop the Odisha–Thailand Maritime Trade Corridor via Dawei Port in Myanmar.
- Strengthen Paradip Port's Southeast Asia gateway function, integrating with inland multimodal logistics parks.

3. Cultural Diplomacy and Tourism

- Launch an Annual Kalinga–ASEAN Maritime Heritage Festival, in partnership with ICCR and UNESCO.
- Promote heritage trails linking Dhauli, Ratnagiri, Lalitgiri (Odisha) with Bagan (Myanmar), Borobudur (Indonesia), and Ayutthaya (Thailand).

4. Academic and Entrepreneurial Engagement

- Institutionalize an Odisha–ASEAN Young Leaders Fellowship.
- Encourage Odisha-based MSMEs and handicraft industries to partner with Southeast Asian counterparts, especially in Bali, Yangon, and Bangkok.

INDIA AND CHINA IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

India getting closer to ASEAN often raises the question: it is only to create a counter-balance because of China's hegemonic designs in the region? Given the Global power shift that is taking place, there are sufficient allusions that two countries that are going to assume significance in near future are; China and India. Given that baggage of history between the two, there is a tendency to look at India China to be engaged in a zero-sum game everywhere. There is no denying the chance of India and China facing each other, among other places, in South East Asia. But my premise is different. Both China and India are billion plus populated countries and are on the path of development. They require huge resources which neither possess sufficiently. Thus, in their search for resources they are bound to face each other, though not always but mostly, in a competitive mode. That future cannot be said to be playing now. In fact, if one looks at timeline of engagement with ASEAN, it was China that followed India. It is true that owing to China's superior economic might it has created a better place of itself in South East Asia. But there still are great scope for India to have her engagement with South East Asia. Coming to think about it India and China can in fact complement each other in their engagements with South East Asia. The much talked about

Sino-Indian hardware-software combination can create a situation of win for all – India, China and South East Asia. While future competition cannot be ruled out, this is not the time to see India's Act East Policy is directed at China's position there.

CONCLUSION: A VISION FOR KALINGA 2.0

In the evolving Indo-Pacific discourse, Odisha must reposition itself not as a peripheral actor but as a civilizational stakeholder. The ancient seafarers of Kalinga once shaped the intellectual and economic landscapes of Southeast Asia. Today, Odisha has the opportunity to script Kalinga 2.0—a vision where historical memory informs modern diplomacy, and cultural ties enable economic corridors.

Through BIMSTEC, and within the frameworks of Act East and Purvodaya, Odisha can emerge as the eastern lighthouse of India's regionalism. Institutional investments in research, para-diplomacy, maritime infrastructure, and cultural exchanges will be vital. The Bay of Bengal is not just a body of water; it is a mirror reflecting centuries of shared destiny—and Odisha must now reclaim its place at the heart of that reflection. To conclude, if India wishes to “cross the Bay of Bengal” (Crossing the Bay of Bengal, Book by Sunil Amrit), the boat most strategically can sail from Odisha.

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This monograph titled '**Crosscurrents: The Kalinga-Southeast Asian Linkages**' covers research articles on art & archaeological remains, textual traditions, histories, cultural heritage, social-economic dimensions of Kalinga & Southeast Asia, migration & diaspora, cross-cultural communication etc. The volume's essays aim to foreground contexts and factors critical for adapting Indian culture in Southeast Asia, propelled by the nature of interactions and its syncretism in the indigenous society and vice versa. Eventually, the volume intends to historicize the strands of developments that folded into Southeast Asian civilisation. The publication will be a treasure for students, research scholars, academicians, historians, archaeologists and professionals.

PUBLISHED BY



Institute of Media Studies

Utkal University, Bhubaneswar

E-mail: inconodisha@gmail.com

Web: www.icich.org

ISBN: 978-93-342-1473-4



₹1180