

REDEFINING THE IMAGES FROM RAJARAJESWARI ASRAM OF MUHURIPUR, TRIPURA: A STUDY IN ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE

Ratnabali Ray Sengupta

Tripura, one of the states of the North Eastern India, is situated approximately between 22°56' and 24°32' north latitude 91°0' and 91°2' east longitudes. At present the province is geographically an isolated region, as it is surrounded on the north, west, south and south-east by Sylhet, Comilla, Noakhali, Chittagong district as well as Chittagong hill tracts of Bangladesh. The north-east side of the state is the only link to maintain the relation with the rest of India through Cachar district of Assam. But prior to 1947 the situation was different, from the present time. Tripura was the continuation of plains of South-eastern Bengal with the exception of hilly patches towards the north. The western, southern, south-western and northern parts of this province are adjacent to South-eastern portion of Bengal (present Bangladesh). Tripura experienced its state formation sometimes around 14th century C.E. under the kingship of Hinduised Mānikya rulers.¹ At present Tripura is divided into eight districts. These are West Tripura, South Tripura, North Tripura, Sipahijala, Gomati, Khowai, Dhalai, Unakoti.

The archaeological findings, recovered from this state clearly testify that these regions of Tripura shared the same historical milieu with South-eastern Bangladesh (includes early Samatāṭa and Harikela) before gaining a separate political entity under the Manikya rulers. Tripura is one of the finest examples of the perfect blending of art of the mārga tradition and that of the unconventional regional (deśī) tradition. The cultural as well as social and economic contact with South-eastern Bengal and subsequent influx of various tribal clans with their own belief, social formation and tradition enriched the cultural phenomenon of Tripura which is reflected through the archaeological sites.

Present study deals with the images housed in the Rajarajeswari Asram of Muhuripur. Muhuripur is a village located under the subdivision of Belonia, South Tripura district. The distance between Agartala, the state capital of Tripura and Muhuripur is near about 74.7 Kilometer. Muhuripur is not an archeological site. These images are carried by an ascetic Harananda Giri Mahārāja from Pilak. Approximately eighty to eighty two years ago he brought four images and built a temple to house them. Among these deities one is Buddhist goddess Cundā and other three are Mahiṣamardinī, Gaṇeśa and Sūrya. In this temple Buddhist devī Cundā has been worshipped as Kālī (Rajarajeswari). Subsequently this temple developed as a renowned tourist spot of Tripura.

Pilak, from where these images are carried is one of the outstanding sites of Tripura. Pilak is the site of 8th-12th century of this state. This site stands mute as a persuasive symbol of Hindu-Buddhist cultural affinity as well as the glorious cultural past of the State. At present it is a contiguous area of Jolaibari, a smallest town of South Tripura. Archaeological remains are spread over a cluster of villages Purva and Paschim Pilak, Jolaibari, Devdaru, Hrisyamukh, Tulsipahar etc. A large number of detached Brahmanical and Buddhist sculptures and remain of Buddhist monastery has been recovered from a vast area of Pilak (**Plate 14.1**). It is a plain land surrounded by a hill range and a hilly stream named Pilakcherra, once flowed across it.² The remains of Buddhist Monastery of Shyamsundar Tilla of Paschim Pilak is demeanor the similar architectural type of Mainamati, Comilla in present Bangladesh (**Plate 14.2**). Incidentally Belonia Sub-division is the adjacent to Noakhali, the region of present Bangladesh which was included in Samatāṭa and Harikela, two geo-political units of South-eastern Bengal in early mediaeval period.

The image of Cuṇḍā (**Plate 14.3**) which is worshipped as Kālī in this temple demands special mention. The image is interesting not only for its large size but for its eighteen arms. The image is abraded and being worshipped daily it is covered with oil and vermilion. Large sized flower garland covered the entire appearance of the image. Modern gold ornaments also obstruct the perfect identification of the iconographic details. However, the goddess sits in *vajraparyñkāṣana* on a *viśvapadma*. The forearms are probably in *dharmacakrapravartana* posture or in Cuṇḍā mudra.³ One of the right arms is rested on the right knee showing *varamudrā* while the corresponding left one is rested on the left knee possibly holding a flask. One of the right hands holds a sword or spear and one of the left hands holds a lotus. A prabhāvalī might be pointed at the top. The stela is in horse shoe shaped narrowing down the base. Probably Dhyānī Buddhas are depicted on the back slab. The lower part of the image has been restored in the recent past. Buddhist manuscript *Aṣṭasahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* refers to an image of sixteen armed Cuṇḍā from Paṭṭikera⁴ (in present district of Comilla, near Mainamati) (**Plate 14.4**). The image of Pilak resembles to the image of Niyamatpur, Rajshahi district of Bangladesh (10th century CE.) in the term of number of arm (**Plate 14.5**). But the back-slab of the later one is much decorated than the stela of Cuṇḍā of Pilak. Other details are hard to identify as this image is crudely redone by the present worshippers. However, from the unimpaired part of the image it can be assumed that stylistically the image of Pilak may be dated to the ninth century CE.

Along with the image of Cuṇḍā, few sculptures from Brahmanical pantheon are also housed in the same place. The stela of these images are showing the similar features of Cuṇḍā image. These are the images of Sūrya, Maḥiṣamardinī and Gaṇeśa. The antiquity of the worship of female goddess in India can be traced to a distant past. The Harappan people probably worshipped a particular form of mother goddess. The Devīmāhātmya chapters of Puranic literature *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* reveal different iconographic representations of the images of Mother



Plate 14.1: The site of Pilak. Photo: author.



Plate 14.2: Mainamati, Devaparata. Courtesy: flickr. com.



Plate 14.3: Cuṇḍā, Rajarajesvari Asram. Photo: author.



Plate 14.4: Cuṇḍā from Paṭṭikera, Courtesy N.K. Bhattashali. Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum, Dacca, 1929.



Plate 14.5: Cuṇḍā Niyamatpur, Rajshahi district. Courtesy, Enamul Haque & Adalbert J. Gail (eds.), 2008, *Sculptures in Bangladesh*, ICSBA.

Goddesses.⁵ Accordingly extant sculptural specimens confirm these representations. In Bengal pre Pāla Devī images are very rare in number. The number increases from 9th century CE onwards.⁶ In Bengal Mahiṣamardinī representation of Devī is most popularly worshipped. Accordingly seven Mahiṣamardinī images are recovered from Tripura and their provenances are Western and Southern Tripura. The present Mahiṣamardinī image (**Plate 14.6**) was recovered from the Sagardheba mound of Pilak and carried to Muhuripur. At present this sculpture is covered with oil, sindur and garland which is a hindrance to identify some of the features of the image. The image shows the eight armed Devī stands in *ālīḍha* pose with right foot bent at knee and placed on the neck of the demon while the left leg stretched and placed on the ground. The goddess with her main right arm holds a *triśūla* which pierces the demon and her front left arm uplifts the hind part of the buffalo demon by holding its tail. Other attributes held by the rest of the arms are hard to identify at the present state of preservation. Ratna Das in her book, ‘Art

and architecture of Tripura' refers these attributes of the sculpture which are clockwise *bāṇa* (arrow), *cakra* (discuss), *tarabārī* (sword), *nāga* (snake), *dhāla* (Shield), *dhanu* (bow).⁷ The detailed features of the ornaments of the goddess are also now rubbed out but it could be *jaṭāamukūṭa*, heavy earrings and simple necklace. The lion *vāhana* is absent in this presentation. The back slab is rounded at the top and shaped like horse shoe narrowing down the base. The gesture of the figure Mahiṣamardīnī is depicted vigorously. A sense of the motion of war is prevailed in the whole composition. Over all the modeling is sensuous. Styistically the image may be dated to the eighth century CE.



Plate 14.6: Mahiṣamardīnī Rajarajesvari Asram.



Plate 14.7: Sūrya Rajarajesvari Asram.



Plate 14.8: Sūrya Shing-ne-date-taung, Burma. Courtesy, Pamela Gutman, *Ancient Arakan with special reference to its Cultural History between 5th and 11th centuries.*

From very earliest time Sūrya was being worshipped in India. The reference of Sūrya and his various aspects as Savitr̥, Puṣaṇ, Bhaga, Vivasvat, Mitra, Āryamān and Viṣṇu have occurred in the Vedic texts.⁸ The Vedic texts as well as the ethnic traditions also revere Sūrya as the healer of diseases. The antiquity of the worship of the symbolic representation of Sūrya can be dragged down to Harappān era or prior to that.⁹ The sun worship in his anthropomorphic form probably started from fourth century B.C.¹⁰ but the recovered archaeological evidence of this form of Sūrya is reported from third century B.C. In Bengal the worship of Sūrya is referred from the Gupta period onwards. Plenty of Sūrya images recovered from Bengal (present West Bengal and Bangladesh) indicates that the worship of the Sun god remained popular until 12th century C.E.¹¹ Tripura was also not exceptional, as the southern, western, north-western part of the present day of Tripura were a continuation of Samatāṭa and Harikela i.e., South-eastern part of present Bangladesh a number of Sūrya images have been recovered from various sites of this region.



Plate 14.9: Gaṇeśa Rajarajesvari Asram.



Plate 14.10: Piraka coin. Courtesy Jahar Acharjee (ed.), 2006, *History – Culture and Coinage of Samatata and Harikela*, Vol. I, pp. 121-123.

Generally Sūrya is depicted as standing in *samapadasthānaka* pose holding a pair of lotuses. His feet are either covered by boots or hidden by the chariot in which he stands. In most of the images Sūrya's attendants are Daṇḍin and Piṅgala.¹²

The Sūrya images reported from Tripura are mostly fragmented. Recovered from pilak and now kept at Rajarajesvari Asram Muhuripur Belonia the deity of Sūryais also partly abraded. Daily process of worship makes the figure to be covered with oil and sindur which is hindrance to identify the intricate iconographic features. Not only that, black paint is also applied regularly on the upper surface of the composition at present day which is also obstructed to assert the facial expression of the image. The image is carved out of horse shoe shaped stela narrowing down the base. Sūrya stands in *samapadasthānaka* but the lower portion of the leg is not executed only the upper part of the leg is placed on the pedestal (**Plate 14.7**), as this part is supposed to be covered by the chariot. He is holding the stalks of a pair of lotuses in both of his hands. He is wearing angular kirītamukūṭa. Two twisted locks of hair fall on each side of the shoulder. The rounded pedestal is carved with seven horses which are in galloping attitude. One horse is carved at the center of the pedestal framed by a rectangle and rests of the six are placed, having three on each side of the pedestal. Except two flying vidyādhara flanking the central figure, entire back slab is plain and uncrowded. The mobility of the entire composition is represented by flying vidyādhara and galloping horses. It is an example of good workmanship. The lower part of the leg is not depicted in this image. This execution of lower part is also can be seen in an image of 6th century, recovered from shing- ne-date-taung, Burma (**Plate 14.8**).¹³

So the image of Pilak might be influenced by the image of Arakan and this piece can be dated stylistically to the seventh-eighth century CE.

Gaṇeśa is one of the images among four in this asram. Gaṇeśa or Gaṇapati is the principal deity of the Gāṇapatyas, one of the five major sects of Brahmanism. Gaṇeśa is also worshiped by the Buddhists and the Jainas.¹⁴ The origin of the cult of Gaṇapati, according to the view of some scholars is comparatively much later development than any other cult. In Brahmanism, Gaṇeśa is the god of the destroyer of obstacles (Vighṇanāśana) or bestower of success (Siddhidātā). So far his assured position it is a common practice among the believers of Brahmanical religion to invoke him at the beginning of any religious ceremony.¹⁵ The *Purāṇas* and *Āgamas* described the god as the son of Pārvatī alone or as the son of Śiva and Pārvatī, which was an attempt to amalgamate this deity with more important cult deities of much earlier origin.¹⁶ The literal meaning of Gaṇapati is the head of the Gaṇas. In a chapter of *Mahabharata* Śiva is referred as Gaṇeśvara. Thus this reference would explain the association of this deity with the cult of Śiva and Śakti.¹⁷ Again, the same Epic states the animal face of the Mahapariśadas of Rudra.¹⁸ Some scholars intended to explain the origin of Gaṇeśa from the Yakṣa and Nāga as some of the characteristics of both Yakṣa and Nāga are prominent in the iconographic features of Gaṇeśa. In this context the reference of the depiction of an image of a Yakṣa on Amaravati coping, made by A. Coomarswami is worth to be mentioned. Here Yakṣa is executed as potbellied and elephant headed.¹⁹

According to the description of iconographic texts, the earliest images of the god show that he stands in *samapadasthānaka* and *dvibhaṅga*. He is depicted in *lalitāsana* and *mahārājālīlāsana* when seated. He is elephant headed pot-bellied with one tusk (ekadanta). He also wears *vyalajñopovīta* (sacred thread made of serpent). Sometime he is prescribed with a third eye and a garment of tiger skin. The earliest of Gaṇeśa images were endowed with two hands which hold a hatched (paraśu) and a radish (mūlaka).²⁰ Gopinath Rao assimilated the descriptions of the general form of Gaṇeśa from various texts which characterise the god as four – armed. The attributes of the four armed images would be any four of the *svadanta*, *aṅkuśa*, *pāśa*, *kapitha*, *nāga*, *akṣamālā*, *paraśu*, *utpala*, *mūlaka*, *laḍḍuka*, *varada*, *abhaya* etc.²¹ His *vāhana* is rat. The extant Gaṇeśa images from India as well as from South-eastern Bengal are depicted with two to ten hands.²²

The image of Rajarajesvari Asram (**Plate 14.9**) though carved out of shale is now painted with black and covered with oil and sindur. Therefore, the iconographic features of the sculpture are hard to identify. The upper part of the back slab is broken while the lower part is narrowing down the base taking a shape of horse shoe. The four handed god is seated in *Lalitāsana*. Though the *ayudhas* of his hands are rubbed out yet the tusk of the god touches the object held by his right hand. Therefore the object is *laḍḍuka*, as one of the common iconographic features of Gaṇeśa image is the tusk touches *laḍḍuka*, held by his front arm either left or right. The head

gear might be *jaṭāmukuṭa* which is now became too abraded to find out the detailed features. The figure shows broad shoulder chest and usual potted belly. Other features like ornaments and rat as *vāhana* have been erased.

The figures are set against horse shoe shaped stela narrowing down the base. The stela are also simple and undecorated. In this period a new stylistic trend had been initiated with the combination of later Saranath idiom and local perception of form.

The stylistic analysis of the extant sculptures should be understood against the historical context of the region under discussion. Pilak is located one kilometer away from river Muhuri. A rivulet Pilakcherra also flows through Pilak.²³ It is constituted with Purva, Paschim Pilak Jolaibari, Devdaru and an extensive adjacent area. Plenty of Samataṭa and Harikela coins recovered from this site and its adjacent area with Belonia reveal its inclusion within the currency network of the sub region. A large number of debased Gupta imitation gold coins have been recovered from Pilak area bearing a name *Pr̥thuvīra*.²⁴ According to some of the scholars the date of this coin can be assigned to the early seventh century CE.²⁵ Again the name on the coin also read as *Pr̥thuvala* by some scholars. That *Pr̥thuvala* is used as epithet of the great grandfather of *Bhāṣkarvarmaṇa* is known from Dubi inscription of the later.²⁶ So there may be a connection of Pilak with *Kāmarūpa*. *Nidhanpur* copper plate of *Bhāṣkarvarmaṇa* refers to the fact that Southern Sylhet was under the occupation of the *Varmaṇa* family.²⁷ Being the adjacent area of Sylhet, *Samataṭa* may have been within the network of *Kāmarūpa*. Accordingly Pilak was also included within this network.

One gold coin and few silver coins recovered from Pilak area resembling the Archer type of Gupta coin which bears the designs, king standing with bow and arrow on the obverse and standing goddess on the reverse. According to Debala Mitra these types of coins have been recovered from Bogura, Faridpur, Jessore area of Bangladesh.²⁸ D.C. Sircar states that they may be issued by the *Khāḍga* dynasty.²⁹ He also states that these were struck by the local traders not by any government. These coins were in circulation only in South-eastern Bengal. From Southern Tripura a silver coin of *Balabhata* has been recovered which bears the name of king as well as an image of archer on obverse and an image of *Lakṣmī* on reverse.³⁰

The silver coins with recumbent bull on obverse and trident on reverse and with *Harikela* legend have been found from various places of Southern Tripura, South-eastern Bangladesh and Sylhet.³¹ A coin dated to 7th century and issued by the king of *Ārākān Dharmavijaya* has been recovered from Southern Tripura. This indicates that this king had some control over those regions.³² Again some other *Harikela* coins, comparatively lighter in weight and probably issued later also have been recovered from Pilak and elsewhere in Southern Tripura.³³ These types of coins were recovered in hoards from various areas of present Bangladesh, such as Chittagong, Noakhali and Comilla region.

Coins bearing the legend Harikela, Viraka, Piraka, Jayāgiri were recovered in Belonia, South Tripura district around 1978 and in between 1980 to 1984. They are found in three hoards.³⁴ Pirak possibly stands for Pilak (**Plate 14.10**). The scholars intend to identify Viraka with Barak valley which is beyond satisfactory. However the legend Piraka on the coin and the places from where they were recovered indicate to the importance of Pilak as well as entire Southern Tripura in the Harikela network. The recovery of these coins proves the growing importance of Harikela as a port and a particular commercial zone. From the account of Chinese traveler I-jing it appears that Wu-hing sailed from Srilanka and came to Harikela. So Harikela might be a coastal area.³⁵ The Arab source like Hudud al A'lam refers Harikela along with Samandar as a place on the sea coast. Probably after the fall of the port Tāmralipta, Harikela developed as a sea port and maintained maritime connection with south India Srilanka and West Asia.³⁶ Pilak and a considerable part of Tripura seem to be served as a hinterland of it along with Puṇḍravardhana and Kāmarūpa. So Harikela coins also served as prototypes to the coins of Paṭṭikeḍa coins of c. 8th century and also of silver pieces of the Ākara family of Chittagong of about 8th-10th century CE.³⁷ Thus the prevalence of international and internal trade was supported by these coins.

Pilak corroborate the fact that this region not only flourished as a commercial zone but also as a religious center. Moreover a brick structure revealing the pattern of a Buddhist monastery recovered from Pilak clearly indicates to the establishment of a Buddhist religious center. This vast foundation could not be materialized without any patronage, either royal or private. As no epigraphic evidence has been unearthed from this area as well as from Tripura till date it would be suggested that the patronage seems to have come from the royal families of adjacent South-eastern Bengal or any influential rich traders, local merchants or persons attached with the royal court. The Buddhist architectural remain of Shyamsundar Tilla has close resemblance to that of Mainamti. The terracotta plaques of Shyamsundar Tilla are very much akin to the latter in terms of subject matter and execution. The artists are probably trained in same atelier.

As mentioned earlier, the image Cuṇḍā, recovered from Pilak is comparable with the image of Paṭṭikera. Though the present location of this sculpture is not known till date the image is illustrated in miniature form in *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Pragñāpāramitā*³⁸ The idea of Cuṇḍā is transported to South East Asia from this region. The stone sculptures clearly owed to the Eastern Indian idiom in term of style and iconography.

Again Pilak is under the Harikela currency network, the influence of Chittagong on this zone is not at all surprising. Pilak along with adjacent vast area up to Belonia in west and Sabroom in south were under the sway of different ruling families of South-eastern Bengal. Here mention may be made to the praśasti of the Ārākān ruler Ānandacandra where we have reference to Pilakkavanaka. Stanza 57 of the inscription mentions a place called Pilakkavanaka: (At [the place] called Pilakkavanaka, formerly named Domagha (?), also there have been constructed streets,

various pleasancess, causeways and passages). This record and the coins of Candra dynasty clearly reveal the influence of Ārākān on Pilak.³⁹ In this context the reference of the Maga inhabitants of Tripura should be furnished. In present day the entire Southern Tripura with Pilak, Sabroom, Belonia areas are populated by Magas who are said to be originated in Burma.⁴⁰ So to relate the ancestors of this Maga populace with the evolution of Pilak in early period is not at all impossible. One would clearly felt the role of Ārākān or Maga people in rendering the facial features of the human figures depicted on the terracotta plaques of Shyamsundar Tilla. Their short nose, thick lips, bulging eyes reveal the influence of Indo-Mongoloid features in them.

It will be in order to look at the geo-physical condition of Pilak which attracted the settlers to choose the place for establishing vast foundation. Pilak with adjacent region is too alluvial and produced crops for three times yearly. Any vast settlement needs fertile land for considerable production to maintain that. Excess production led to successful trade and also can meet the tax to rulers. Again as said earlier river Muhuri and a small stream Pilakcherra are flowing through the place which makes the land suitable for agriculture. Any Buddhist religious settlement tends to be established close to habitation as the monks have to alms from the dwellers for their livelihood. In Pilak also this tendency was followed as the monastery of Shyamsundar Tilla was built near the locality.

A part of Paschim Pilak used to be called Sagar-Dheba. Dheba stands for marshy land in local parlance. This place was a marshy land and in the seventh decade of last century it was reclaimed and converted into paddy land. The nearest small village of Pilak is Jolaibari. Here a short note on the nomenclature of Jolaibari can be furnished. This note is written by Debala Mitra which states that the word Jolaibari is derived from the word Jola or yola. An early inscription from Veśālī area (near Mrohaung) of Arakan gives a reference of Sṛīlakkaā- Jolā which formed one of the boundaries of granted village. According to D.C. Sircar, in Bengali Jolā means a channel. A maṇḍala, Yolāmaṇḍala is mentioned in the Dhulla plate and Madanpur plate of Śrīcandra. Here the word *bāḍī* stands for religious establishment in local dialect. So Pilak and adjacent Jolaibari should be marked for marshy land and religious establishment from very early time. The antiquity of the name Jolaibari is uncertain, but it clearly reveals the early socio religious features of the place.⁴¹

Clearly from above discussion it can be assumed that the art activities in Tripura can be coincided to the art activities of South-eastern Bengal. Again two strands of art activities are visible; standard canonical art and ethnic form of art. The historical context of these activities also suggests interactions with Comilla-Noakhali as well as Sylhet-Cachar. The sculptural activity in Tripura from 8th-9th to 10th-11th century CE depends on dominant Eastern Indian idiom. The Eastern trend though depends on Saranath idiom had its bonding with local elements which had been infused in the art form. This trend is redefined in this region. Some of the forms

of art especially the facial features of the bronzes are exhibiting this blending. Not only that the human faces depicted on the terracotta plaques are also showing ethnic characteristic. This certain features are entirely regional in character as the local ruling families and the habitats of South-eastern Bengal possibly a branch of indo mongoloid in origin and their appearance enabled the artists to depict the faces in that style. In this context it is worth mentionable that from 2nd century B.C. Assam and various parts of present North-eastern India experienced the migration of Austric and Indo mongoloid clans who started to settle in the plain and forest areas of these regions.⁴² Moreover, the art activities of Pilak might be influenced by the occupation of the Ārākān rulers and the Maga populace.

Notes and References:

1. Nalini Ranjan Roychoudhury, 1983, *Tripura through the ages*, Sterling publisher, New Delhi, pp. 2-3.
2. K. D. Menon, 1975, *Tripura District Gazetteers*, p. 2.
3. Debala Mitra, 1976, 'Antiquities of Pilak and Joliaibari', *Journal of Asiatic Society*, Vol. xviii, pp. 62-63.
4. N. K. Bhattasali, 1929, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, Dacca, p.13.
5. Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta, 2000, *Pratimā Śilpe Hindu Devadevī*, Pashchimbanga Bangla Academi, Kolkata, pp. 114-116.
6. Enamul Haque and Adalbert J. Gail (eds.), 2008, *Sculptures in Bangladesh*, The International Centre for Study of Bengal Art, Dhaka, pp. 74-77.
7. Ratna Das, 1997, *Art and Architecture of Tripura*, Tribal Research Institute, Agartala, pp. 31-32.
8. J. N. Banerjee, 2002, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers (reprinted), New Delhi, p. 428.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 432-433.
10. Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta, *Pratimā, op.cit*, p. 93.
11. Enamul Haque and Adalbert J. Gail, *op.cit*, pp. 44-45.
12. Priyabala Shah, 1996, *The Sun Images*, Aditya Prakashan, New Delhi, pp. 94-95.
13. Pamela Gutman, 1976, *Ancient Arakan with special reference to its Cultural History between 5th and 11th centuries*, Ph. D. Thesis, Australian National University, pp. 281-284.
14. Enamul Haque and Adalbert J Gail, *op.cit*, pp. 92-93.
15. J. N. Banerjee, *op.cit*, p. 355.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 355.

17. Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta, *Pratimā*, *op.cit*, p. 157.
18. J. N. Banerjee, *op.cit*, pp. 355-356.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 356.
20. Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta, *Pratimā*, *op.cit*, p. 157.
21. J. N. Banerjee, *op.cit*, p. 357.
22. Enamul Haque and Adalbert J. Gail, *op.cit*, p. 93.
23. K. D. Menon, *Op.cit*, p. 390.
24. S. K. Bose, 1991, 'Coinage of Tripura', in Jai Prakash Singh and Gautam Sengupta (ed), *Archaeology of North Eastern India*, North Eastern Hill University, p.199.
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.*
27. Kamalakanta Gupta, 1967, *Copper Plates of Sylhet*, Vol- I, Lipika Enterprises LTD, Sylhet, East Pakistan, pp. 84-85.
28. Debala Mitra, 1976, 'Antiquities of Pilak and Joliaibari', *Journal of Asiatic Society*, Vol. xviii, pp. 56-57.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 71.
30. S. K. Bose, 'Coinage. *op.cit*, pp. 203-204.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 204.
32. Nicholas Rhodes, 2006, 'Harikela Coins-An Attempt Towards a Chronology', in Jahar Acharjee (ed.), *History – Culture and Coinage of Samatata and Harikela*, Vol. I, Raj-Kusum Publication, Agartala, pp. 59-60.
33. S. K. Bose, 'Coinage', *op.cit*, p. 204.
34. Nicholas Rhodes, 'Harikela Coins', *op.cit*, p.69.
35. Suchandra Ghosh, 2013, 'The Trans Meghna Region: Making of a Sub-Regional Identity', *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol. XXVII, p. 222.
36. Suchandra Ghosh and Sayantani Pal, 'Political Geograph', *op.cit*, p.86.
37. Nicholas Rhodes, 'Harikela Coins', *op.cit*, pp. 69-73.
38. N.K. Bhattasali, *op.cit*.
39. F. H. Johnston, 1944, 'Some Sanskrit Inscriptions of Arakan' *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. II, pp. 377-388, stanza 52.
40. Krairy Mog Chowdhury, 2011, *Mog Janajātir Jīvan Dhārā* (in Bengali), Tribal Research Institute, Agartala.

41. Debala Mitra, 'Antiquities' *op.cit*, p. 56.
42. Mahadev Chakraborty, 2007, *Āsāmer Itihās* (in Bengali), Progressive Publishers, Kolkata, pp. 41-42.