CHAPTER III
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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES / MOUNDS / OCCURRENCES

The chapter proposes to discuss the characteristics of settlements generally termed as mounds/sites/occurrences associated with the Kushāna period of Mathurā and its surroundings. Due to short field investigations, our knowledge about the nature of the settlements may not be reached at a point of accuracy. However, the following discussion certainly has a merit, which we have gathered during our field visits. The region was first explored by Sir Alexander Cunningham and later on visited by several scholars including Dr Dilip.K. Chakrabarti. Our attention is to summarize the basic description of sites/mounds and occurrences reported in earlier publications along with our field reports. The latter certainly throws new light on the nature of settlements and the proliferation of different settlement complexes associated with the status of settlement activities including the religious/secular and other components developed during the period of the Kushānas. In this context it is to be noted that, the mixed up materials recorded from the surface or exposed areas constrain us to define a complete sequence including the overlapping of the pre- Kushāna and the post- Kushāna phases. Our observation is essentially guided by earlier researches on the same period by different archaeologists, historians and art historians.

In recent years, Dilip. K. Chakrabarti and his associates\(^1\) also carried out extensive fieldwork in this region. Their report contains some new findings in and around Mathurā, including those, which have already been reported. In this context it is to be mentioned that the report never classified the chronological status of archaeological findings precisely. Therefore, it is very difficult to come out with the particular
findings of the Kushāna phase. However, it is obvious that most of the sites had association with types of artefacts and remains reported from the Kushāna period. Their work is a significant addition to the researches in cultural history as well as settlement patterns of this region, which flourished during the Kushāna period.

Here our description of sites and assemblages follow a general norm, i.e. excavated sites and explored sites.

**Excavated Sites/Mounds:**

Excavated sites/mounds are situated inside as well as outside the Mathurā city.

**Excavated Sites / Mounds located inside the Mathurā City** (Map 3)

(27°31’N/77°41’ E)

Before entering into the discussion of excavated sites/mounds located inside the Mathurā city, we should mention that the brief reports of IAR (IAR 1973-77), inadequately described the antiquities and archaeological remains found from a particular mound, rather they stated about the antiquities recovered from the respective seasons of excavation work by following a general periodization.

**Dhulkot:** (Pl.I) In 1973-74 M.C. Joshi and others of the A.S.I. undertook digging operations at two spots across the extension of the ancient fortification or Dhuilkot. These spots are situated in the north-western part of the city of Mathurā. The excavators marked these spots as **MTR-1** and **MTR 3**. The main objective of the excavation was to examine the actual character of Dhulkot. The excavation confirmed that it was
originally built as a mud fortification around the ancient city of Mathurā. The excavation revealed that it had been raised on the uneven natural soil resulting from successive floods. The undulating surfaces were levelled by the primary filling of compact and fine brownish clay, topped by kankar-mixed hard earth and clay. The archaeological materials recovered from here consisted of fine grey wares associated with red wares besides the NBPW and red wares bearing paintings of the early centuries of the Christian era. The fortification thus could be tentatively dated to the Śaka-Kushāṇa period. The enclosed area within the fortification is over 3sq km. The existing traces of Dhulkot indicate that with Yamuna on the east it had an irregular crescent shape having a more prominent southern end. Having its northern end near Gokarṇeśvara, the fortification encircles a large portion of the Mathurā city including Katra Keśavadeva and Holi Darwaza.2

With a view to examine the antiquity and contents of the ancient earthen fortification or Dhulkot, the A.S.I. undertook excavation at another part of Dhulkot situated to the north-west of Krishna Nagar, near Delhi-Mathura railway line in 1974-75. In the excavation reports of the A.S.I. the site is marked as MTR 4. The digging across Dhulkot revealed two distinct phases of fortification divisible into seven Layers—

**Phase I** *(circa 3rd century B.C.- circa 1st century B.C.)*—Layers 4-7 probably belonged to this phase. In the beginning of this phase the builders laid compact layers of earth mixed with kankar to a maximum height of 6.45m over the undulating surface. The archaeological materials recovered from this phase were sherds of plain grey ware, NBPW and related red wares, terracotta animal figurines of the Mauryan period, copper punch marked coins etc. Most probably, during the beginning of the 1st century B.C. or slight earlier the mud fortification had lost its utility and its inner part was found to be superimposed by a
layer of ash and mud, overlain by remains of mud and baked-brick structures.

**Phase II** (circa 1st – 3rd centuries A.D. /Śaka-Kushāṇa)- Layers 1-3 probably belonged to this phase. In the second phase the fortification was not only revived but also enlarged. The notable antiquities recovered from this phase were stamped pottery and associated wares.³

So, it is clear that the ancient mud-fortification or Dhulkot survived from the Mauryan to the Śaka-Kushāṇa period.

**Habitation area in the vicinity of the Mahavidya Temple:** The area is situated on the northern end of the Katra Keśavadeva mound, near the Mahavidya temple. The site was also undertaken for excavation during 1973-74 by the A.S.I. In the excavation reports of the A.S.I. the site is marked as **MTR-2**. The main objective of the excavation was to assess the nature of settlement of the Śaka-Kushāṇa period. The area was found to be much disturbed due to water erosion, pits and dumps. The excavation at the site has revealed three successive Periods –

- **Pd I:** Fine grey ware and red ware sherds.
- **Pd II:** NBPW and associated wares, ring wells, mud floors, some terracotta figurines, a square copper coin and a square seal of shell reading *Idrayasa* in Brāhmī letters.
- **Pd III:** Roughly corresponding to the Śaka-Kushāṇa Period and was represented by a brick structure having fine and strong floors of rammed brick, a few ovens, traces of drains, a small brick-lined *kunda*; pottery including bright and dull red wares of different shapes like vases, dishes, bowls, sprinklers; human and animal terracotta figurines, bird shaped rattles, votive tank, a seal reading *vijayasivagramarddāhah*, terracotta stamps and two later Kushāṇa coins etc.⁴
It is our assumption that this site was a habitational site ranging from the pre-Kushāṇa to the Kushāṇa period. Later in the Kushāṇa period the site was partially dominated by the structural remains.

Kaṅkālī Tīlā: (Pl.II) Kaṅkālī Tīlā is situated half a mile or 1 km to the south of Katra mound in the heart of the Mathurā city.

In 1871, Cunningham first visited the mound and in course of his exploratory digging many broken images of Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras (some were inscribed), railing pillars and cross bars have been recovered from the western end of the mound. Twelve inscriptions discussed by him ranging in date from the year 5 of the reign of Kaṇiśka to year 98 of Vāsudeva.5

Subsequently, Mr. Hardinge collected two colossal standing Buddha (?) images (7’6” in height) from the mound.6

During 1888-91, Dr A.Führer carried out excavations at the mound of Kaṅkālī Tīlā. In course of excavations, remains of a brick stupā, (47’ in diameter) and two Jaina temples besides numerous sculptural and epigraphical evidences have been unearthed.7

During 1974-75, 1975-76 and 1976-77, M.C.Joshi and others of the A.S.I. conducted excavations at Kaṅkālī Tīlā. In the excavation reports of Mathurā it is marked as MTR 5. In 1974-75,8 the excavation was undertaken to assess the nature of deposit at the site. Six trenches namely B2, D1, J2, K1, T1 and U5 were laid in different parts of the mound. In course of excavation an impressive tank complex with a circular structure near its entrance was exposed. The tank was ascribable to the Śaka-Kushāṇa period. It was made of bricks of various sizes (40X26X5 cm, 38X26X4 cm and 30X15X5 cm). It was rectangular in plan with paved brick floor. The tank had four phases of constructions. The most important findings from this tank were an inscription of the fifth regnal year of Kaṇiśka, torso of a Tīrthaṅkara, a
fine Jina head, two stone plaques (one depicting Mahishāsura-mardini and the other Pārvatī in the post-Gupta style) and potsherds of red ware. Besides, large mud platforms and remains of a few mud floors, Jina torso, fragments of architectural members and a few Indo-Greek coins have been unearthed from the higher area of the Kaṅkālī Tīlā. In 1975-76, digging was carried out in the already exposed tank-complex at Kaṅkālī Tīlā to get further details. The excavation of this season unearthed a platform-like projection at the south-west corner of the tank-complex besides certain later structural remains. During 1976-77, in continuation of the previous year’s work, further excavation was undertaken at the tank-complex of Kaṅkālī Tīlā. The excavation in this season revealed that the circular structure, which was in 1974-75 supposed to be the base of a stūpa, is actually a well contemporary to the tank-complex. It also became clear that the outer wall of the tank was older than the tank complex.

It is clear, that Kaṅkālī Tīlā was a flourishing religious structural site of the Kushāṇa period probably associated with the Jaina cult.

Hathi Tīlā: (Pl.III) The ancient mound of Hathi Tīlā is located close to Kishori Raman College, Mathura. The mound was undertaken for excavation during 1974-75 by the A.S.I. under the supervision of M.C.Joshi. In the excavation reports of the A.S.I. the mound is marked as MTR 6. Altogether six trenches (A2, A6, B1, B2, B6 and T2) were laid to obtain archaeological sequence and materials of the early historical settlements of Mathura. Excavation at the mound has revealed four distinct Periods divisible into nine separate layers.

Pd I (circa 4th -3rd century B.C.)
Pd II (circa 2nd -1st century B.C.)
Pd III (circa 1st -3rd century A.D.)
Pd IV (circa 4th-5th /6th century A.D.)
However, we have limited information about the nature of deposit of the mound of Hathi Tilā, but it is clear that the mound was occupied from the Mauryan to the Gupta periods.

**Habitational Area of Dhulkot:** The site/mound is situated near the face of the Dhulkot. The site was undertaken for excavation during 1974-75 by the A.S.I. under the supervision of M.C. Joshi. In the excavation reports of the A.S.I., the mound is marked as MTR 7. The principal objective of the excavation was to obtain archaeological sequence and materials of the early historical settlements of Mathurā. Excavation at the mound has revealed two distinct Periods:

- **Pd I** (circa 4th – 3rd century B.C.) – In one of the trenches, three pits containing ash, fragments of animal bones, terracotta figurines terracotta beads sherds of NBP and red wares besides some full pots of fine grey ware. The exact purpose of these pits could not be determined, but probably they were used for ritualistic purposes.

- **Pd II** (circa 2nd – 1st century B.C.)

  We have meagre information about the site. But it is clear that the site occupied during the Mauryan period and continued till the period of 2nd-1st century B.C. We may assume that further excavation at the site will give more information about the later occupational periods including Kushāṇa and post-Kushāṇa phases.

**Ambarish Tilā:** The mound is located towards the northern end of the present city of Mathurā. The A.S.I. undertook excavation at the mound during 1975-76 under the supervision of M.C. Joshi. In the excavation reports of the A.S.I., the mound is marked as MTR 8. Altogether eight trenches (ZA1, YA1, XA1, XB1, XC1, A1, B1 and C1) were laid to locate the earliest habitational levels besides further assessment of the early
historical Mathura. The excavation revealed four periods divisible into eight layers.\textsuperscript{15}

**Pd I** (*circa 6th century B.C. – 4th century B.C.*) – Characterized by the presence of PGW and associated potteries. This Period is divisible into two Sub-periods.

**Sub-Period IA**- Characterized by two structural levels, the earlier represented by a floor with post-holes and the later by a partially extant mud-platform. The main ceramics of this Sub-Period were PGW, red ware, some sherds of black-slipped ware, some plain grey ware sherds and a few sherds of BRW of inferior quality. Other antiquities included terracotta discs, a bone arrowhead, two broken styli and a terracotta amulet.

**Sub-Period IB**- Characterized by a few mud floors. No noticeable changes were visible in the ceramic industry. Fifteen sherds of the NBPW, a few with coarser variety were found in this Sub-Period. Some new designs like herringbone, oblique lines, and dots within circlets were noticed in the PGW. Other notable findings were a disc of translucent glass, gamesmen, terracotta animal figurines, a terracotta bead and a hopscotch of terracotta.

**Pd II** (*circa 4th –3rd century B.C.*)

**Pd III** (*circa 2nd –1st century B.C.*)- Structural remnants of MTR-8 consisted of a fallen burnt brick structure, mud platforms, ring wells, rammed floors of mud and brick-jelly or of potsherds. A room with a jar inside was also found from this Period.

**Pd IV** (*circa 1st century-3rd century A.D.*)

It is clear, that Ambarish Tīlā was a habitational site ranging from the PGW to the Kushāṇa periods and partially dominated by the structural remains.
**Katra:** Katra is the most important archaeological site/mound in the heart of the Mathurā city. Since pre-Independence period, the site was explored and excavated for several times by various scholars. It is an oblong enclosure 804 feet in length and 653 feet in breadth. The Jama Masjid stands on a large mound (of approximately 25-30 feet in height) in the centre of this enclosure. Here once stood a Hindu temple of Keśavadeva, which is now superimposed by the Great Mosque of Aurangzeb.16

In 1953, Sir Alexander Cunningham first visited the site and discovered some carved pillars and a capital from Katra. The notable findings were a fragment of a railing pillar with a female figure standing below a tree (identified as Māyā Devī) and a fragmentary inscription containing the genealogy of the Gupta emperors down to Samudragupta. Besides, two large capitals (one with 3 feet in height) have also been discovered by Cunningham.17

In 1862, Cunningham resumed his exploration at Katra and collected an architrave of a Buddhist gateway carved with sculptures, trees and gateway. An important discovery made in this year was an inscribed standing Buddha image (4'3.5") dated in the Gupta year 230 (A.D. 549-50) mentioning that the image was dedicated by the Buddhist nun Jayabhaṭṭā to the Yasa Vihāra. Other findings were an image of Buddha in meditation and some fragmentary pieces of sculptures including a colossal arm.18

In 1896, Dr A. Führer undertook an exploratory digging at the mound of Katra. A trail trench measuring (80X20X25) feet was laid at the northwestern part of the mound. Excavation has unfolded fragmentary parts of an ancient Buddhist stūpa at the depth of 20'. A short dedicatory inscription discovered from the site mentioned that this stūpa was repaired in samvat 76 by the Kuśāṇa king Vāsiṣṭka.19
In 1911-12, Pandit Radha Krishna conducted trial excavations at the site. The work unearthed remains of a brick stūpa of about 6th century A.D., numerous sculptural fragments of the Keśavadeva temple and an inscribed four-fold Jaina image. But the excavations failed to trace the inscription of Vāsiṣṭka, as earlier mentioned by Führer.  

In 1954-55, under the supervision of Shri Venkataramyya and B. Saran, the A.S.I. conducted a small-scale excavation at the mound of Katra. A small trial trench was laid about 500 feet north of the superimposed mosque of Aurangzeb. The excavation has unfolded five successive occupational Periods –

Pd I - Few sherds of handmade pottery, plain grey ware, polished black ware, perforated pottery and terracotta discs, balls etc. This Period may be ascribed to the 6th century B.C.

Pd II - Characterized by the use of NBPW and divisible into three Sub-periods-

Sub-period IIA – Remains of bamboo- and reed huts with scanty baked bricks, three ring wells, terracotta mother goddess and animal figures, bone needles, carnelian beads etc.

Sub-period IIB – Square copper coins, terracotta beads, terracotta mother goddess and animal figures, etched carnelian beads etc.

Sub-period IIC – Baked brick structures, drains, wells, copper smith’s furnace and workshop, copper coins, beads of shell, glass and crystal, terracotta figurines etc.

This Period ended about 2nd century B.C.

Pd III - Various types of semi-precious stone beads, Kushana copper coins, stone caskets etc.

Pd IV - Characterized by double moulded terracotta figurines of dwarfs and grotesques identical with the Ahichchhatra specimens datable to A.D. 100-350.
Pd V - Terracotta sealings and coins of the early and late Gupta periods besides terracotta figurines. This Period ended about 6th century A.D.

Besides this, an exploratory survey at the site revealed the existence of two big mud platforms, the first one is elliptical in shape and the second one comprised within the first one is quadrangular in shape.

The A.S.I., under the supervision of M.C. Joshi undertook excavations at Katra from 1975-76 and 1976-77. To examine the character and contents of elevated earthen mass of L-shaped plan near Katra, the A.S.I, conducted excavations at a section of earthen mass in the northern extension of the Katra mound in 1975-76. The spot was marked as MTR 9. Four trenches, namely B1, C1, D1 and H1 were laid in MTR 9. The excavations revealed three successive Periods divisible into ten Layers—
Pd I (circa 4th –3rd century B.C.)- One of the platforms belonged to this Period had large sized baked bricks (64X42X7/9) cm facing.
Pd II (circa 2nd – 1st century B.C.)
Pd III (circa 1st – 3rd century A.D.) – Construction of an inner mud fortification as represented by the above-mentioned elevated earthen mass. A cutting across this inner fortification revealed that it was raised on the structural remains of the previous Period by using a packing of wet mud and clay lumps, further strengthened by a retaining wall of discarded/redundant bricks, brick-bats, tiles and burnt lumps of mud along the outer side. The pottery and antiquities recovered from the mud-fillings of this fortification represented mixed up materials of all Periods.

In continuation of the earlier work, the A.S.I. carried out further excavation at the Katra extension (MTR 9) in 1976-77. The objective of this season’s excavation was to examine the inner fortification in details. The excavation has revealed the following sequence—
Pd I (circa 4th –3rd century B.C.)
Pd II (circa 2nd – 1st century B.C.)
Pd III (*circa* 1st – 3rd century A.D.)
Pd IV (*circa* 4th–6th century A.D.)- Mud platforms with traces of structures on top.

Besides, some section scraping was also conducted on the northern part of the inner fortification. This spot was marked as MTR 14.

So, it is obvious that Katra was an important archaeological site in the city of Mathurā. It is our assumption that Katra was mainly a structural site partially dominated by the habitational remains. In one hand the site possessed an inner fortification ranging in date from the Mauryan to the Gupta periods, on the other hand it also yielded Buddhist and Hindu sculptural and architectural remains, including inscriptions mentioning the erection of a Buddhist *stūpa*. While correlating the occupational and structural/sculptural remains, we may suppose that the site was probably occupied from the pre-Mauryan to the Mughal periods. Further excavation will throw enough light on the habitational remains of the site.

**Geeta Enclave:** The site is located in the vicinity of Bhūteśvara Railway Station. During 1975-7624 the site was taken up for excavation by the A.S.I. under the leadership of M.C.Joshi. In the excavation reports of the A.S.I. the mound is marked as MTR 10. The principal objective of the excavation was to assess the nature and details of the early historical Mathurā. The excavation at the site revealed two Periods.25

Pd I (*circa* 4th – 3rd century B.C.)
Pd II (*circa* 2nd – 1st century B.C.)

We have meagre information about the nature of deposit of the site. But it is clear that the site was probably occupied from the Mauryan to the period of the 2nd-1st century B.C. Further excavation at the site will
give more information about the later occupational periods including Kushâna and post–Kushâna phases.

**Goal Para:** The site is located in the heart of the city about 100 m west of the river Yamuna. During 1975–76 the site was taken up for excavation by the A.S.I. under the leadership of M.C. Joshi. In the excavation reports of the A.S.I. the mound is marked as MTR 11. The principal objective of the excavation was to assess the nature and details of the early historical Mathurâ. The excavation at the site tentatively revealed four Periods divisible into eighteen layers.

Pd I (*circa* 4th – 3rd century B.C.)
Pd II (*circa* 2nd – 1st century B.C.)
Pd III (*circa* 1st – 3rd century A.D.)

After that there was probably a gap in the occupational periods.

Pd IV (Medieval)– From this Period a few floors of mud of medieval times, brick-bats and a sealing reading *Sri Ravilah and Jilam bhaga (valah)* have been recovered.

We have meagre information about the nature of deposit of the site. But it is clear that the site was probably occupied from the Mauryan to the medieval periods. In the medieval time the site was probably dominated by the structural remains.

**Compound of Mathurâ Water Works:** The site is located in the western part of Mathurâ city. During 1976–77 the A.S.I. undertook excavation at the site under the leadership of M.C. Joshi. In the excavation reports of the A.S.I. the mound is marked as MTR 12. We have meagre information about the site and its stratigraphy. The excavation at the site tentatively revealed three following Periods.

Pd I (*circa* 4th – 3rd century B.C.)
Pd II (*circa* 2nd – 1st century B.C.)
Pd III (circa 1st–3rd century A.D.)

We have little knowledge about the nature of deposits of the site, but it is obvious that the site was occupied from the Mauryan to the Kushāṇa periods.

**Govindnagar:** The site is located in the western part of Mathurā city near Bhūteśvara. During 1976–77 the A.S.I. undertook excavation at the Govindnagar Housing Colony area under the leadership of M.C. Joshi. In the excavation reports of the A.S.I. the mound is marked as MTR 13. Two trenches (D15 and E12) were laid to examine the nature of deposit and stratigraphical position in the western part of the Mathurā city. The excavation at the site tentatively revealed four following Periods divisible into eight Layers.

**Pd I (circa 4th–3rd century B.C.)**

**Pd II (circa 2nd–1st century B.C.)**- Remains of floors of mud, surkhi, brick-bats and bricks exposed in this Period.

**Pd III (circa 1st–3rd century A.D.)**- Structural remains represented by surkhi, mud and brick floors. The notable findings include- a flaming Buddha figure and a stone inscription of Huviṣka of 50+ regnal years, recording a gift to the Dhanyavarma-Vihāra.

**Pd IV (circa 4th–6th century A.D.)**- Structural remains represented by mud platforms of considerable extent. A Vishnu Image (head missing) has been unearthed from this Period.

Subsequent clearance at the site yielded a large number of sculptural fragments dated to the 1st century B.C. to 6th century A.D. It includes Buddha images of the Kushāṇa and Gupta periods and a few Brāhmaṇical deities, architectural fragments like parasols, halos, rail posts, crossbars etc.; terracotta objects of the pre-Mauryan and Kushāṇa period; dated inscriptions of the Kushāṇa and Gupta periods; a hoard of 1543 copper coins consisting coins of the later Kushāṇa and Sasanian
rulers. The monastery which stood in the Kushāṇa and Gupta periods has been recorded in one of the inscriptions of the years 121 and 15 as Viradattavihāra. It seems that the monastery existed in the Kushāṇa and Gupta periods.32

During our filed works, we have noticed a small mound in the Govindnagar area. Bricks, brickbats and potsherds of the Kushāṇa period have been encountered from the upper part of the mound. (PI.IV)

It seems that Govindnagar was a major structural site yielding religious and non-religious structural remains. The site was probably occupied from the Mauryan to the Gupta periods, with its flourishing condition in the Kushāṇa-Gupta phase.

**Chamunda Mound:** The mound is situated at the northern end of the Mathurā city. In 1973-74,33 under the supervision of M.C. Joshi, the A.S.I. undertook a trial excavation at the mound. A trial trench (A1) laid at the mound has yielded a deposit containing NBPW and associated wares superimposed by a brick structure of the early centuries of the Christian era. Besides scanty remains of later structures of brick were also noticed at the mound.

Due to limited excavations we have meagre knowledge about the mound. It is our assumption that the mound was probably occupied in the NBPW (Mauryan) period and continued till later dates.

**Excavated Sites / Mounds located out side the Mathura City** (Map 5)

**Sonkh** (Pl.V) (27°24’ N/ 77°30’ E): The site is situated about 30 km (25 km via Kumbher and 32 km via Aring and Govardhan) south-west of the Mathurā city. The site possessed a large mound situated north of the village extending over an area of 300-250 m. The mound consisted of a three-fold levels, of which the highest one rising to a height of 13.68m
above the field level. The site was excavated by a team from the Berlin Museum of Indian Art under the supervision of Prof. Herbert Härtel during 1966-73. The main objective was to determine the archaeological importance as well as the cultural sequences of the site.34

During 1966-67,35 a trench (36X5) m was laid at the relatively undisturbed northern end of the citadel elevation. In course of excavation the following thirteen Phases have been traced from bottom to top-

Phase I- This Phase laid on the natural soil, reached on an average depth of 15.3m below datum. The pottery of this Phase included PGW along with BRW, brown polished ware, coarse grey ware and red wares. Other notable finds were iron slags, stone balls, terracotta caskets, terracotta bangles etc.

Phase II- This Phase was characterized by the occurrences of NBPW, besides red wares, plain gray wares, black-slipped wares etc. The important findings were a Mauryan terracotta Mother Goddess and an uninscribed cast copper coin.

Phase III- This Phase was ascribed to the 2nd century B.C. Dishes, plates and bowls of plain or coarse grey and black-slipped ware continued with the introduction of red wares. At the bottom of Phase III, two pieces of terracotta animal figures, a few carnelian and semi-precious stone beads have been recovered. From the slope side, a piece of gold-lead ornament and a big bronze plate with handles and thrones have been found.

Phase IV- Besides a horizontal floor of two brick layer, remains of two triangular drains have been exposed in the Phase. Both the drains were probably extended to the north.

Phase V- This Phase was traced in the small range of 20m band showing a few bricks.

Phase VI- This Phase consisted of the remains of two parallel walls. From the deposit above the walls, a much fragmented piece of perforated Kushāṇa relief was found.
Phase VII- This Phase belonged to the citadel side of the excavation site. On the slope, an oblique wall running from east to west, probably a part of a rampart has been exposed. The pottery of this Phase included coarse red wares decorated with svastikās, hamsas, lotuses and other designs.

Phase VIII- A few traces of structures have been yielded from this Phase.

Phase IX- This Phase was separated from the previous one by a rubble floor that extended from the slope to the southern end of the excavation area. Phases IX and X seem to have been destroyed by a great calamity.

Phase XI- This Phase consisted remains of a rounded entrance bastion of a gateway with connecting walls to the west. Later on the baked brick walls of this Phase served as foundation for the late mud-brick fortification of the Jāṭ Period.

Phase XII- This was the upper most Phase of the Mound.

During 1967-68, an area of 50 sq.m. was excavated. This season’s excavation unearthed five strata from the top of the citadel area. The structures of this Phase belonged to the Jāṭ period.

During 1968-69, structural remains ranging from the 15th to the 9th century A.D. have been exposed below the Jāṭ fortress. The lowest level of this Phase consisted of antiquities like fragments of grey stone plaques with Hindu deities and red-brown bowls decorated with lotus, sankha and other designs. Below the deposits of the early medieval period, the ruins of the late Kushāṇa period structures were exposed. A small digging on the southern slope of the citadel revealed PGW, Mauryan, Śuṅga and Kushāṇa deposits. The finds from this part included terracotta figurines, inscribed seals, punch-marked silver coins, an uninscribed cast coin and potteries.

During 1969-70, the excavation was continued in the previous year’s area to determine the extent of the late Kushāṇa settlement, partly exposed during 1968-69 excavation. The excavation revealed that Level 15 and latest phase of Level 16 belonged to the Gupta period having
poorly built structures of re-used Kushāṇa bricks. The pottery from these levels included several jars and bowls of brown-red ware, painted with black parallel lines and pieces of moulded pottery. Others notable finds comprised of clay seal bearing an inscription of the Gupta period, fragment of a terracotta relief and a small Vishṇu image of the Gupta idiom. Remnants of seven houses have been exposed from the earliest phase of Level 16. The notable finds from these houses were potteries, terracotta and stone plaques of Durgā Mahishāsura-mardini, Skanda, Vishṇu and Mātrikās of typical Kushāṇa features, two bronze images, a small jar containing one hundred and twenty copper coins of Huviṣka, Vasudeva I and Kaṇiṣka III. Towards the end of this season’s work, a structure of unusual plan was exposed to the east of the mound. The structure was enclosed by seven houses. Levels 17, 18 and 19 belonging to the Kushāṇa period were partly unearthed at the northern border of the area.

During 1970-71, in continuation of the earlier year work the excavation was carried out at the mound of Sonkh. In course of this excavation the remaining areas of Levels 17 and 18 were exposed. This structure was finally found to be the apse of a Kushāṇa brick temple, which had been renovated, enlarged and partly re-built during the Kushāṇa period. The building was probably located in the centre of the old habitational area. The structures of the lower levels (Level 19 and 20) were found to be robbed and incomplete in plan. On the basis of coins and associated finds the Levels 21 and 22 are probably ascribable to the period of Kaṇiṣka. Among the antiquities found from the remaining houses was a small bronze figure of Skanda, a hollow etc. A few structures belonging to the Levels 23 to 26 have been exposed along the slope of the great ditch to the north of the excavation area. The sizes of the bricks vary from (37X23X5) cm in the Kushāṇa levels to (40X25X5) cm and (42X26X6) cm in the pre-Kushāṇa levels. The pottery shapes
recovered from these levels are of pre-Kushāṇa types. In Level 25/26 a separate house with a ring well has been exposed. During this season a small trench was laid to the southern side of a modern temple and unearthed the remains of a second apsidal temple. It had an outer width of 3.85m.

During 1971-72, the excavation revealed the complete plan of the second apsidal temple. The temple had two structural phases, of which the lower phase was built of mud-bricks of (48X23X7 cm) and the upper phase seen only near the entrance in the east, where the remains of a baked brick superstructure were found. This superstructure belonged to a later phase of the temple. On the basis of the coins this later phase was ascribable to the time of Kaṇiṣka I. Stone sculptural and architectural members including makara and nāga panels have been unearthed from this temple. The temple was dedicated to the Nāga cult.

In 1972-73, several Nāga sculptures and green glazed pottery have been discovered from the Apsidal Temple no 2. On the basis of the coins this temple was dated to the period of Kaṇiṣka. The earlier phase of this temple probably belonged to the first half of the 1st century B.C. But, we do not have any information about the cult to which the older sanctuary was related. Besides, horizontal diggings were carried out to determine the pre-Kushāṇa settlement at the site. This year’s excavation yielded Mitra, Datta, Kṣatrapa coins, pre-Kushāṇa potteries etc. A final stratigraphical sequence starting from PGW Period to the 19th century A.D. has also been reported from this season’s work.

The site still possesses the surviving part of the excavated mound, completely encroached by the modern habitation.

It is clear, that Sonkh was a major habitational mound simultaneously dominated by secular and religious structural remains. The mound had a long cultural sequence starting from the PGW to the Jāṭ periods.
The following chart shows a comparative periodization obtained from the excavations at Mathurā and Sonkh.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Mathura</th>
<th>Sonkh</th>
<th>Periodization</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Period I (PGW &amp; BRW)</td>
<td>(circa 6th century B.C. – 4th century B.C.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Levels 40-37)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Period II</td>
<td>Period II (Pre and Early Maurya, Maurya, Śuīga)</td>
<td>(circa 4th century B.C. – 2nd century B.C.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Levels 36-29)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Period III</td>
<td>Period III (Mitra)</td>
<td>(circa 2nd century B.C. – 1st century B.C.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Levels 28-25)</td>
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<td>Period IV (Kṣatrapa and Rāmadatta)</td>
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<td>(Levels 24-23)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Period IV</td>
<td>Period V (Kushāṇa)</td>
<td>(circa 1st-3rd century A.D.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Levels 22-16)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Period V</td>
<td>Period VI (Gupta to early Medieval)</td>
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<td>(Levels 15-12)</td>
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<td>Period VII (Medieval)</td>
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<td>Period VIII (Mughal to Jāt)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(Levels 7-1)</td>
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</tbody>
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**Chart. 1: Comparative periodization between Mathura and Sonkh as revealed from the excavations.**

**Mātr**: (27°43'36" N / 77°43'19" E): The site is situated 9 miles or 14.5 km north of Mathurā city on the left bank of the river Yamuna. The site
possesses a flat-topped ancient mound, locally known as Tokri Tila to the east of the village on the north side of the road towards Raya. After the initial explorations, Pandit Radha Krishna conducted excavations at the site during 1911-12. The excavations unearthed three more or less complete Kushāṇā royal statues, two images probably of deities, two lengthy inscriptions of the Kushāṇā period and the ruins of an ancient brick building structure. The structure, 100 feet in length and 59 feet in width, was built on a large plinth, paved with flat bricks. According to scholars this structure could be identified as a royal sanctuary of the Kushāṇā period.

In recent years Dilip K. Chakrabarti and others revisited the site. At present the mound is much destroyed and the existing part is not more than 3 acres maintaining a low height of 2.5m. The discovery of the Kushāṇā royal sanctuary made a tremendous impact on the villager's mind, therefore the place where the discovery was made is still pointed out by the villagers. Today the destruction of the site reduced to a mere complex consisting only of a rectangular depression surrounded by a low dike. Our visit failed to get information related to the character of the settlement and nature of collections.

It is clear, that Māṭ was a prominent religious structural site probably occupied during the Kushāṇā period. Further excavations at Māṭ will definitely throw more light on the pre-Kushāṇā and post-Kushāṇā settlements of the site.

Maholi: Maholi is situated 4 km southwest of the Mathurā city. In ancient times the site was known as Madhuban or Madhupuri. The site possesses extensive mounds of about 2.5m high and 120 m long virtually covered with cultural deposits. In 1938, some Buddhist sculptures of the Kushāṇa period have been reported from this site. Foremost among the sculptures were the colossal Bodhisattva image and a Bodhisattva image
with an inscription dated in the reign of Kushāṇa king Vāsudeva, mentioning the name of Vṛṣṇa Vihāra. Later, in 1940, a small-scale excavation was carried out at the site under the supervision of Hilary Waddington. The excavation has yielded a large number of materials of the Kushāṇa period including typical Kushāṇa bowls ("open bowls"), Kushāṇa glazed pottery, architectural fragments showing a figure carrying a pot with flange rim, two grooves and stamped motifs on the shoulder and others materials of the Kushāṇa period. Not a single object later than the Gupta period has been reported from the site.

Due to the inadequate information it is very much difficult to review the nature of deposits of the site. But, findings of large numbers of potteries in the excavation help us to conclude that it was probably a habitational site of the Kushāṇa period partially characterized by the structural remains.

**Explored Sites/ Mounds:**

Explored sites/mounds are also situated inside as well as outside the Mathurā city.

**Explored Sites / Mounds located inside the Mathurā City (27°31'N/77°41'E)**  
(Map 3 & 4)

**Bhūteśvara:** Bhūteśvara is located between Katra and Kaṅkālī Tīlā in the heart of the Mathurā city. The high mound is presently occupied by a modern Siva temple of Bhūteśvara. Growse collected a large railing pillar (18.5"broad, 12"thick) from the top of this mound. It was carved with a life-size figure of a female parasol-bearer. The pillar was also decorated with a bas-relief depicting a Jātaka story. Growse also discovered eleven cross-bars of a railing pillar from the enclosing wall of a tank,
known as Balbhadar Kuṇḍa. During 1871-72 General Cunningham discovered five railing pillars (4' 7" in height and 11" wide) carved with Yakshis standing on a dwarf. The obverses of these pillars were carved with Jātaka stories (Visvantara-Jātaka, Vyaghri- Jātaka and Kachchhapa-Jātaka) and events of Buddha's life. These architectural members are now kept in the Indian Museum, Kolkata, Mathura Museum and Lucknow Museum. A number of Buddhist sculptural and architectural fragments and inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period, now kept in the Mathura Museum have been procured from this mound.

During our fieldworks we have noticed an isolated mound (Pl.VI) in front of the Bhūteśvara Railway Station. It is a small mound containing occupational deposits of the ancient settlement. A pit containing potsherds and brickbats of the Kushāṇa period was found from the upper part of the exposed sections. (Pl.VII)

It seems that Bhūteśvara was a major religious structural site of the Kushāṇa period probably associated with the Buddhist cult. Further investigation will help us to know more about the nature of deposit of this site.

**Chaubārā Mounds:** The Chaubārā mounds (a group of twelve circular mounds) are situated about one and half mile or about five km southwest of Katra in the heart of the Mathurā city. During 1871, Sir Alexander Cunningham explored Chaubārā mounds and marked them as mounds 'A', 'B', 'C' and 'D'. During exploration and trail digging in mound 'A', centre of a brick built stūpa about 16 feet in diameter and a steatite casket ware recovered. Mound 'B' has yielded a Persepolitan capital measuring (3X2X2 feet), formed by four recumbent animals with faces, possessing horns and wings. Mound 'C' has yielded seated colossal draped Buddha with fragments of head and right knee and a fragmented part of a seated image with left hand resting in the lap. In 1868, during
the construction of Sonkh the road through the small mound ‘D’, a Buddhist relic chamber, a small golden casket and two flat pieces of copper plates have been discovered. According to Cunningham all these mounds were probably Buddhist in nature.50

In subsequent years F.S.Growse explored one of the Chaubārā mounds and discovered a colossal head “of very Egyptian cast of features”, lower portion of a large seated Buddha with an inscription dated in the year 33 of Huviśka’s reign and several railing pillars, cross bars and small figurines. From the inscription of railing pillar it appears that there was a stūpa, which thrived in the middle of the 1st century A.D. The inscription mentioned the name of the stūpa as Madhuravanaka.51

Findings of the site clearly indicate that it was a structural site (probably a Buddhist stūpa site) associated with the Kushāṇa period.

**Chaurāsi Mounds:** The Chaurāsi mounds are situated just 1 mile to the west of the Katra and about same distance to the north of the Chaubārā mounds. There are three distinct mounds, of which the mound around the Jain temple of ‘Jambu Swami’ is the largest. The mound is 15-20 feet in height and covers an area of 350 square feet. The second mound is situated 500 feet to the south-east of the Jain temple and the third mound is located about 200 feet south west of the Jain temple. Unfortunately, Cunningham failed to collect any stone sculptures or other materials from these mounds.52 A number of sculptural and architectural fragments of the Kushāṇa period now kept in the Mathura Museum have been procured from this mound.

Though, we are not aware about the nature of the site, but there is enough possibility of the Kushāṇa habitation at the site.
Jail / Jamālpur / Kacchari Mound: The mound is located 1.75 miles from the Holi Gate and about 2 km south-east of Katra Keśavadeva.

In 1860, during the foundations of the Collector's Court, this mound had to be partly cleared. General Cunningham referred to it as the 'Jail Mound', whereas Growse called it 'Jamālpur Mound'.

In 1860, Cunningham discovered a circular inscription, mentioning the name Huvishka vihāra and subsequently in 1863 he discovered another inscribed stone slab mentioning the name of Kuṇḍa suka vihāra. The mound has yielded a large number of images, bas-reliefs, Buddhist railings, votive stūpas, stone umbrellas pillars and pillar-bases of the 1st century A.D. Among other collections of Cunningham, mention can be made of two standing and seated Buddha images, three lion figures, fragment of a coping stone and the railing pillars.

Later, Growse recorded few inscriptions from this mound. Among them mention may be made of an inscribed slab beginning with the word Siddham and mentioning about a shrine dedicated to Dadhikarna Nāga. Another was a fragmentary inscription dated in the year 28. Growse supposed it was probably assigned to the reigns of Kaṇiśka. From a small mound 1.5 mile west of Jamālpur, Growse discovered the lower parts of two large seated figures (one was a Buddha image and another was a mother and child).

The mound was definitely a religious structural site (probably a Buddhist monastic complex) occupied during the Kushāṇa-post-Kushāṇa period. A number of sculptures and inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period acquired from this mound are now kept in the Mathura Museum.

Saptarshi Tīlā: The mound is situated on the bank of the river Yamuna. In 1869, Bhagvanlal Indraji discovered two stone images from this mound. One is a female statue 'in style and material prove to be a
Gandhāra sculpture' and another is a famous lion with Kharosthi inscriptions of the time of Kṣatrapa Śoḍāsa. Presently the mound is completely occupied by the modern habitation.

Though we are not aware about the nature of settlement, but the site was probably occupied during the pre-Kushāṇa and Kushāṇa periods.

**Sītālā Ghāṭi:** The mound is also situated on the bank of the river Yamuna. Alexander Cunningham discovered a broken Jaina image with an Indo-Scythian inscription, dated in the year 57 from the mound of Sītālā Ghāṭi. This image is now kept in the Mathura Museum. Besides, the site has also yielded few sculptural fragments of the Kushāṇa period, now preserved in the Mathura Museum.

Though we are not aware about the nature of settlement, but the site was probably occupied during the Kushāṇa period.

**Arjunapura Mohalla:** - The mound is situated to the north-west of Sitala Ghati. In 1882-83, Alexander Cunningham discovered numerous fragments of sculptures and large size bricks (18X10X2.5 inches) from the site. A notable discovery from the site was a railing pillar inscribed with Mauryan character, read as Amogharakhitaye dānam.

Though we are not aware about the exact nature of the settlement, but it was probably a religious structural site occupied during the pre-Kushāṇa period and continued for a longer time.

**Rāja-Bali-Kā-Tīlā:** The mound is located at the south-eastern end of Mathurā city. Our recent survey has yielded few P.G.W. sherds from the lower part of this mound. There is a temple at the top of the mound, in which some ancient images probably of the Kushāṇa period are lying.
Though we are not aware about the nature of settlement, but the site was probably occupied during the pre-Kushāṇa period and continued to the Kushāṇa period.

**Gokarnesvara:** The lofty mound of Gokarṇeśvara is situated inside the entrance of the modern city of Mathurā on the road to Brindāban. It is located at the spot where the ancient fortification wall joins the river Yamuna.

During 1920-21 Pandit Radha Krishna and his associates discovered a life-sized portrait of an Indo-Scythian king. This image is presently worshipped as Gokarṇeśvara Mahādeva in a modern temple located on the top of the mound. It is 6 feet in height, seated on a simhasana and wears a loose open coat and a high conical cap. On stylistic ground the portrait could be comparable to the portraits of Wima Kadphises or Kaṇiṣka.59

In 1947, Sri K.D. Bajpai laid a trial trench at the base of the mound in the flat, sandy flood plain of the river. The 40 feet long and 10 feet wide trench has yielded a large quantity of Buddhist materials including inscribed bricks, broken halos and fragments of statues of the Gupta period.60

Though we are not fully aware about the nature of the settlement, but the site was probably a religious structural site (associated with the Buddhist cult) occupied during the Kushāṇa period and continued to the post-Kushāṇa period.

**Site near Triveni Factory/ Triveni factory mounds:** (Pl.VIII) The site is situated beside Delhi – Mathurā highway. During our field survey we have noticed bisected disturbed mounds (probably part of a single mound) of approximately 9 m in height with flat-top and eroded surface. The mounds are virtually covered with bricks and brickbats besides
potsherds of the Kushâna and Gupta periods traceable on the surface and slopes. (Pl.IX)

It is our assumption that it is a major structural site, partially characterized by the habitational remains of the Kushâna and post-Kushâna periods.

Besides, there are undulating tracts (Pl.X) and a number of small disturbed mounds scattered all over the modern city of Mathurâ. All these mounds are strewn with PGW, BSW, Śuṅga, Kushâna and Gupta potteries and brickbats. During our field works we have recorded such small mounds at the following sites -

1. **Mound in Railway Colony Area** - Small approximately 1-1.5 m high mound covered with Kushâna pottery and brickbats.
2. **Mound in Army Cantonment Area** - Small mound of approximately 1 m height strewn with red are of the Kushâna period.
3. **Mound near Gokul Ghat** - Mound of approximately 1 m height covered with Kushâna pottery.

**Stray finds / occurrences:** (Places merely known as the find spots of inscriptions or sculptural/architectural remains of the Kushâna period)

2. **Dalpat-Ki-Khirki Mohalla**\(^2\): Buddhist image inscription dated in the year 14 of the Kushâna era.
3. **Balabhadra Kunda**\(^3\): Jaina image inscription dated in the year 84 of the Kushâna era.
4. **Delhi-Agra Road side in the western outskirts of Mathurâ city**\(^4\): Stone inscription.
5. **Dhûnsârpara Quarter**\(^5\): Buddhist image inscription of the Kushâna period.
6. Deeg Gate: Inscription and a bracket (carved with a lady holding a branch of an Aśoka tree) of the Kushāṇa period.

7. Gopalpur Quarter: Railing pillar inscription of the Kushāṇa period.

8. Holy Gate: Jaina stone slab inscription of the Kushāṇa period.


10. Katholi Kūa: Stone image inscription and a panel showing five dancing women of the Kushāṇa period.

11. Manoharpur Mohalla: Jaina inscription and a stele with Kubera, Lakshmi and Hārīti figure of the Kushāṇa period.

12. Mātā Gali: Buddhist stone inscription of the Kushāṇa period.

13. Vinayaka Tilā: Seated Yaksha of the Kushāṇa period.

14. Sadar Bazar: Small bowl carried on a human head (Yaksha) and a large spotted red sand stone bowl of the Kushāṇa period.

15. Saptasamundri Well, Mathura Museum Compound: Suiya, Brahma with four heads of the Kushāṇa period.


17. Seth Bhikhchand ka naglā, Dampier Park: A fragmentary doorframe depicts the scene of worship of Śivalītiga.

18. Kacehrighat well: A bust of the Nāga or Balarāma and a figure of Bodhisattva Maitreya.

19. Surajghat: A figure of Indra.


Explored Sites / Mounds located outside the Mathurā City

Gosna (27°31’24" N/77°44'01" E): Gosna is a village, in the suburb of Mathurā, which was explored by Dilip. K. Chakrabarti and his
associates. The report specifies about 10 acres of an area covered by 10 m high flat-topped and eroded mound, strewn with BRW, PGW, NBPW and later historic wares.87

According to our observation, it was definitely a habitational mound occupied in the pre-Kushāṇa period and continued till the Kushāṇa and post-Kushāṇa phases.

**Raya** (27°33'32" N / 77°47'26" E): The site is located 12.9 km north-east of Mathurā city on Hathras road. In recent years Dilip.K.Chakrabarti and others explored the site. The site possesses a relatively low mound (8-9 m high) covering about 10 acres of land. The location of the mound is overlain by the modern village of Raya. The surface collection containing grey and BSW have been recorded both from the top of the mound and the exposed section noticeable around the rain gully of the mound.88 A visit to the site resulted in the discovery of some ruins/remains associated with the Kushāṇa period in general.

So, it was probably a habitational site occupied in the pre-Kushāṇa period and continued to the later periods.

**Airakhera** (27°35'42" N / 77°49'15" E): The location of the modern village on the old habitational mound covers approximately 10 acres or more areas. The height of the mound is about 5 m. There is a modern temple on the top of the mound. The visit of Dilip. K.Chakrabarti and his associates resulted in the discovery of archaeological materials datable from 200 B.C. onwards. The exposed section, which is 2 m in thickness contain occupational debris of the ancient settlement.89

The overall nature of the site is by and large uncertain, but probably, occupied before the period of the Kushāṇas and continued for a longer time.

125
**Barnoli-Ki-Dhai** (27°36′26″N/77°44′32″E): It is a small site on the left bank of the river Yamuna containing a mound covering 3 to 4 acres of land and 6-8 m in height. Dilip.K.Chakrabarti and others reported about 2 m thick deposits strewn with potsherds of PGW, BRW and BSW. Besides, there are some corded wares associated with other potsherds of the early centuries A.D. It is our assumption that the site was definitely a habitational site ranging in date from the PGW period upto the Kushāṇa period.

**Taintigaon** (27°43′36″N/77°44′13″E): The site is located to the north-east of Mathurā city, about 10 km from Māṭ. The ancient mound is bisected by the modern Māṭ and Nohjheel road. The old occupational debris of the mound is entirely covered by the modern village of Taintigaon. Unfortunately the chronology of the mound is by and large uncertain. According to Dilip.K.Chakrabarti and others, its chronology could be post-Gupta to early medieval. We have meagre information about the nature of the settlement. However, there is enough possibility of Kushāṇa habitation at the site.

**Mirpur** (27°48′48″N/77°42′49″E): It is a small site possessing a mound of 7-10 acres of land with 3-4 m heights. Presently the modern village occupies the site. In recent years Dilip.K.Chakrabarti and his associates explored the site. The surface collection in form of PGW, BRW, BSW, plain grey ware and other potteries of the early centuries A.D. are scattered over the mound. It was obviously a habitational site occupied in the PGW phase and continued till the Kushāṇa period.
**Nohjheel (27°50'51"N/77°38'43"E):** The site is situated 48.3 km north of Mathura city on the right bank of the river Yamuna. In 1985-86, Dr. R.C. Gaur reported PGW from this site. 93

In recent years Dilip K. Chakrabarti and others explored the site and reported a large and high mound covering at least 15-20 acres of land and about 10-15m in height. There is a modern police station at the top of the mound, which possibly destroyed some part of the ancient habitational ruins. In his report Dilip K. Chakrabarti mentioned the discovery of BRW, plain grey ware and pottery of the early centuries A.D., besides a single sherd of a dull red pottery of thick fabric decorated with wavy lines on the inner side. This sherd is probably a part of the OCP or Late Harappan assemblage. 94

Our short visit at the site resulted in the discovery of Kushāṇa potsherds of different fabrics.

It is our assumption that, the site was certainly a major habitational settlement in the pre-Kushāṇa and Kushāṇa period.

**Bajna (27°53'59"N/77°40'31"E):** It is an important archaeological site in the suburb of Mathura.

In 1918, some trial digging at the site resulted in the discovery of few sculptures. Notable among them are a life-size image of Bodhisattva- Maitreyā, pedestal of a seated Buddha image on lion throne, standing Buddha figure, fragment of an attendant of a Buddha figure holding chauri, Buddha with moustache etc.95 Some of theses sculptures are now kept in the collection of the Mathura Museum.

In recent years Dilip K. Chakrabarti and others explored the site and reported a mound covering approximately 5 acres of land and 3m in height, now occupied by a modern market place. Though the chronology of the site as well as the artefacts is unknown, but according to
Dilip.K.Chakrabarti and others it is invariably from post-Gupta to early medieval.\textsuperscript{96}

We are not aware about the nature of the site, but there is enough possibility of Kushāṇa occupation at the site.

\textbf{Bhadarban (Ramnagala) (27°40′49″N/77°42′46″E):} Bhadarban is located on the left bank of the river Yamuna. Recent exploration of Dilip.K.Chakrabarti and others recorded a mound, about 4-5 acres in land and 5 m in height from the site. The structural complex by and large dominated the site. Each and every sloping parts of the mound contain brickbats, besides BRW, PGW and potsherds of early centuries A.D.\textsuperscript{97}

It is our assumption that, the site was a major structural site partially characterized by the habitational deposits of the pre-Kushāṇa - Kushāṇa periods.

\textbf{Pālikherā (27°28′34″N/77°38′35″E):} The small village of Pālikherā is located 5 km (2.5 miles) southwest of the Mathurā city.

In 1873-74, Growse discovered a so-called Bacchanalian group and three \textit{in situ} bell-shaped bases of large columns 13 feet distant from one another at the three corners from an ancient mound just outside the village of Pālikherā. In the space between the pillar bases were found some small clay figurines glazed with bluish colour.\textsuperscript{98} The bluish glaze possibly indicates Kushāṇa glazing or the polish of NBP in figurines.

During his visit in 1882, Cunningham made a proper documentation of these bases and recorded a group of \textit{nāga} figures from the mound.\textsuperscript{99}

In 1915-16, trial excavations at the site by Pandit Radjha Krishna have yielded an inscribed stone bowl mentioning about a \textit{vihāra} of the Mahasanghikā school besides, an inscribed Bodhisattva image and an
inscribed detached head (probably of an Indo Scythian prince) of the Kushāṇa period. In recent years Dilip.K.Chakrabarti and his associates visited the site and reported a low and much destroyed mound covering an area of approximately an acre. The occupational deposit of about 2.5m is strewn with PGW, BSW, pottery of the early centuries A.D. and bricks of the Mauryan period.

A number of sculptures and inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period, now kept in the Mathura Museum have been procured from this site.

It is our assumption that Pālikhērā was a major structural site of the pre-Kushāṇa-Kushāṇa periods, partially dominated by the habitational remains.

**Bhojpur Nagala** (27°29'09"N/77°38'10"E): It is a typical village on the right side of Sonkh road, associated with an agrarian set up. Dilip.K.Chakrabarti and others reported a low mound with 1.5 acres of land strewn with many brickbats, potsherds and other artifacts. Potsherds ranging from 2nd century B.C. to later periods could easily be recorded from the existing mound. According to the investigators it is dominantly a structural mound of the early centuries A.D.

Our survey at the site has yielded Kushāṇa potsherds from the eroded surface and exposed sections of the mound.

It was probably a pre-Kushāṇa onwards habitational site, which later became a major structural site of the Kushāṇa period.

**Naugawn** (27°28'23"N/77°31'13"E): It is an important archaeological site in the suburbs of Mathurā. The report of Dilip.K.Chakrabarti and others specifies a mound covering more than 10 acres of land. Presently the mound is covered by the modern village of Naugawn. BRW, potsherds of
circa 2nd century B.C and later periods have been collected from the
surface of the mound.\textsuperscript{103}

It was probably a habitational site occupied in the pre-Kushāṇa
period and continued till the Kushāṇa phase.

**Usphar** (27°26′32″N/77°36′47″E): It is a large sprawling village in
Mathurā District. Today the ancient ruins are partly covered by the
modern village of Usphar. The report of Dilip.K.Chakrabarti mentioned a
long occupational sequence of the site ranging from early centuries A.D.
to post-Gupta and early medieval period.\textsuperscript{104}

Though the overall nature of the site is by and large uncertain,
Usphar was probably an important archaeological site having a long
chronological sequence from the Kushāṇa to the early medieval periods.

**Tarsi** (27°25′39″N/77°38′18″E): The site is located along the Mathurā-
Bharatpur road. Dilip.K.Chakrabarti and others reported a lofty mound
of 11 m high extending over an area of more than 10 acres of land. Today
the modern village of Tarsi covers the ancient mound. Though the place
has no exposed profile, but the nature of the mound clearly suggests that
it was a large settlement during early centuries A.D. to later periods and
invariably occupied during the Kushāṇa period.\textsuperscript{105}

An Indra image of the Kushāṇa period now kept in the Mathura
Museum was procured from the site.\textsuperscript{106}

Though the overall nature of the site is by and large uncertain, but
it was probably an important site of the Kushāṇa and post-Kushāṇa
periods.

**Dhangaon** (27°24′47″N/77°38′46″E): The site is located opposite Tarsi on
the Mathurā-Bharatpur road.
In recent years Dilip.K.Chakrabarti and his associates explored this site for revealing its archaeological character. The mound of this locality is covered by modern habitation. Red wares of the historical period have been recovered from the surface of the mound. Sculptures have been occasionally reported during the digging of ponds.\textsuperscript{107}

During our field survey we have collected few Kushāṇa stamped pottery from the eroded surface of the mound. There is enough possibility to record more materials of the Kushāṇa period from here.

It is our supposition that it was a habitational site probably occupied during the Kushāṇa period. Further investigation will help us to know whether there was any pre-Kushāṇa or post-Kushāṇa occupation at the site.

**Kosi Khurd** (27°23'12"N/77°36'56"E): Dilip.K.Chakrabarti and others reported a mound covering an area of 3 acres of land and about 5m height occupied by the modern locality of Kosi Khurd. It is certainly an ancient site containing different types of artefacts including BRW and materials of the early century A.D.\textsuperscript{108}

Our general observation suggests that the village was probably a habitational settlement of the pre-Kushāṇa-Kushāṇa period associated with agrarian economy.

**Sonoth** (27°21'10"N/77°36'09"E): A lofty mound about 15 m high still surviving with 10 acres of land at this locality virtually covered with potsherds and brickbats traceable on the surface or slopes. The report of Dilip. K. Chakrabarti and his associates mentioned that on the whole it is a major structural mound of the early centuries A.D. The site yielded plain grey ware and other potsherds of the Christian era.\textsuperscript{109}

We have no doubt that it was a structural site partially dominated by the habitational remains of the Kushāṇa period.
Nagla Jhinga (27°21'16"N/77°35'34"E): An area of about 3 acres of land occupied by a naturally formed mound. There is a modern temple of Mansa Devi on the top of the mound. A collection of sculptures of the Kushana period now kept in the Mathura Museum was procured from the site. The visit of Dilip K. Chakrabarti and others did not resulted in the discovery of any archaeological materials from the site.110

Although at this moment we are not aware about the archaeological character of the site, our general observation is that the site was possibly occupied during the Kushāṇa period and there is enough possibility to record more archaeological materials from here.

Phondar (27°21'49"N/77°32'35"E): The site is located on Ol-Sonkh road. Dilip K. Chakrabarti and others reported a lofty mound of about 8m high extending over an area of more than 6 acres of land. According to the investigators, it is a structural mound that yielded plenty of brickbats of the Kushāṇa period from the exposed sections of the mound.111

Our visit has yielded few brickbats of the early centuries A.D. from the surface.

It is clear that it was a structural site of the Kushāṇa period. Further exploration will help us to know more about the site and its archaeological character.

Loriya Patti (27°23'10"N/77°32'35"E): In recent years the site was explored by Dilip K. Chakrabarti and others. The site possesses a small mound of 3-4 m high in the outskirts of the modern village of Loriya Patti. The mound is presently bisected by the Jajan Patti-Sonkh-Govardhan road. The surface collections from the site contain, PGW, BSW and other potteries of the early centuries A.D. It is basically a structural mound of the early centuries A.D. 112
Our general observation is that the site was initially a habitational site in the pre-Kushāṇa-Kushāṇa phase and was later dominated by the structural remains of the Kushāṇa period.

**Gunsara** (27°22′34″N/77°29′17″E): It lies on the Mathurā – Rajasthan border. Recent exploration at the site by Dilip.K.Chakrabarti and others resulted in the discovery of a lofty mound of 10m high on the bank of a Tal. The total estimated area of the site is more than 5 acres. Presently the mound is completely covered by the modern village of Gunsara. Surface collections include BRW, potteries of the later periods and bricks of the Kushāṇa - post- Kushāṇa period.113

It is our general observation that, it was initially a habitational site of the pre-Kushāṇa-Kushāṇa phase, later dominated by the structural activities in the Kushāṇa – post-Kushāṇa period.

**Unchgaon** (27°26′20″N/77°35′20″E): The site is situated on the Sonkh road. A lofty mound covers an area of more than 10 acres of land and 12 m high occupied by the modern village of Unchgaon. Recent survey by Dilip.K.Chakrabarti and his associates in this area yielded grey ware, a bowl of the Śuṅga period (200 B.C.) and potteries of the early centuries A.D. 114

In recent years one head-less image probably of the Gurjara-Pratihara period has been reported from the site.115

During our fieldwork we have also collected few Kushāṇa red ware sherds and others artefacts from the surface of the mound.

It is our assumption that Unchgaon was a habitational site occupied during the pre-Kushāṇa period and continued to the Kushāṇa and probably till later dates.
**Satanha** (27°29′51″N/77°37′34″E): The site is located on the right side of the Mathurā-Govardhan road. A high mound of about 15 m high extended an area of 15 acres presently occupied/overlies by the modern village of Satanha. There is a modern temple on top of the surviving mound. The visit of Dilip K. Chakrabarti and his associates resulted in the discovery of BRW, grey ware, potteries of the early centuries A.D., besides bricks of the Kushāṇa period.  

The site was initially a habitational settlement of the pre-Kushāṇa – Kushāṇa period, later characterized by the structural complex of the Kushāṇa period.

**Asgharpur** (27°29′59″N/77°36′56″E): The site is also located to the right side of the Mathurā-Govardhan road. Recent exploration of Dilip K. Chakrabarti and others resulted in the discovery of a small destroyed mound covering an area of about 1-2 acres. BRW and potteries of the early centuries A.D. have been found from the surface of the mound.

It was probably a habitational site occupied during the pre-Kushāṇa period and continued till the Kushāṇa phase.

**Junsuty** (27°27′53″N/77°34′23″E): A high mound of about 13 m high extended over an area of approximately 15-20 acres of land presently occupied by the modern village of Junsuty. Dilip K. Chakrabarti and others collected BRW, PGW, NBPW and early historic potteries from the surface.

It is our assumption that Junsuty was a habitational site having a long chronological sequence probably ranging from the PGW to the Kushāṇa periods.
**Aring** (27°29'08"N/77°32'02"E): The site is situated 19.31 km west of Mathura city and 6.44 km east of Govardhan. The site was earlier reported as a PGW site\(^{119}\) and in the list of Agra Circle it has been mentioned as an O.C.P. site\(^{120}\).

In recent years Dilip. K. Chakrabarti and others visited the site and reported a destroyed mound covering an area of about 15-20 acres of land and about 10 m in height. A modern market is placed near the mound. Grey ware, black-on-red painted pottery (probably of Rangmahal type) and bricks of the Kushāṇa period have been collected from the exposed sections of the mound\(^{121}\).

The site was probably a habitational site occupied during the PGW phase and continued till the Kushāṇa period. Later, in the Kushāṇa period the site partially became a major structural site of this region.

**Govardhan** (27°29'29"N/77°28'15"E): The site is located 5 km west of Mathurā city. Actually it is a hilly complex containing a series of mounds surrounding the site of Govardhan.

During early seventies Prof. R.V. Joshi of the Decan College, Pune and M.C. Joshi of the Excavation Branch (II), A.S.I. discovered a Stone Age site on the Govardhan hill. The site was situated on the low quartzite ridge near the southern bank of the Yamuna. The tools collected from the site were choppers and flakes of quartzite\(^{122}\).

Subsequently A.K. Sinha and K.P. Poncha of the A.S.I. reported some hand axes from the same area\(^{123}\).

In recent years, Dilip. K. Chakrabarti and his associates reported a small mound of about 4 m high. There is a school on top of the mound. Brickbats, PGW and potteries of the early centuries A.D. have been collected from the exposed sections around the rain gully of the mound\(^{124}\).
It is our assumption that Govardhan is a very rich habitational site from the pre-historic to the early historic periods and was definitely occupied during the Kushāna period. Sculptures and Inscriptions of the Kushāna period, now kept in the Mathura Museum have been reported from this site.

**Gantholi** (27°29'07"N/77°25'30"E): The site is located on the Govardhan-Deeg road. The report of Dilip.K.Chakrabarti specifies a mound covering an area of 20 acres and about 13 m in height. The modern village of Gantholi overlies the ancient mound. The surface collections include black-on-red painted pottery, a sherd with wavy incised design (probably part of OCP assemblage), fragments of pedestalled bowl and grey ware. At present it is very difficult to specify the chronological sequence of this site. But it is clear that Gantholi was a habitational site occupied during the pre-Kushāna period and probably continued till the Kushāna period.

**Parmandra** (27°32'14"N/77°18'15"E): Dilip.K.Chakrabarti and his associates reported a mound which extended over an area of approximately 8 acres and about 9 m in height from the site. Surface collections from the mound include black-on-red painted pottery, grey ware and 'Sūga bowl'. Such painted sherds have been reported from the OCP assemblages. It was probably a habitational site occupied during the pre-Kushāna – Kushāna periods.

**Sanketban** (27°40'41"N/77°22'57"E): The site is situated on the Nandgaon-Barshana road. Earlier PGW and NBPW were reported from this site.
Recent visit of Dilip.K.Chakrabarti and others reported a mound extending over an area of 5 acres with 10 m in height. The mound is located behind the modern village of Sanketban. Exploration in this locality has yielded grey ware, black-on-red painted pottery and BRW from the surface.\textsuperscript{128}

According to our observation it was a habitational mound possibly occupied during the pre-Kushāṇa period and continued to the Kushāṇa period.

**Ajnokh** (27°40'22"N/77°24'48"E): The site is located on the Barshana-Chhata road. The visit of Dilip.K.Chakrabarti and his associates reported a mound extending over an area of 5 acres and about 15 m in height strewn with BRW, grey ware and potsherds of early centuries A.D. The structural remains of the mound consist of bricks and brickbats of the Kushāṇa period.\textsuperscript{129}

It is our supposition that it was primarily a habitational site of the pre-Kushāṇa – Kushāṇa phases and later it became a structural complex in the Kushāṇa period.

**Khagara** (27°41'49"N/77°26'11"E): The site is also located on the Barshana-Chhata road. A mound of about 10-12 m high situated at the back of the modern village of Khagara covers an area of 4-5 acres. Dilip.K.Chakrabarti and his associates noticed some early medieval sculptures on top of the mound.\textsuperscript{130}

Although the report never specifies the archaeological artefacts from the site, it is our assumption that the site was probably occupied during the Kushāṇa period and continued for a longer time.

**Bhadawal** (27°42'55"N/77°28'07"E): The site is located about 3 km from Chhata on the Barsana-Chhata road. The report of Dilip.K.Chakrabarti
and others specifies a mound that covers 7 acres of land and about 6 m in height. The modern village is situated on top of the mound. The site yielded BRW and materials of the early centuries A.D. from the surface.\textsuperscript{131}

During our survey we have also gathered materials of the Kushāṇa period from the site.

According to our assumption, it was a habitational site probably occupied during the pre-Kushāṇa period and its flourishing stage could be visualized during the Kushāṇa period.

\textbf{Navisenari} (27°40'19"N/77°32'04"E): The site is located on the Chhata-Mathurā road. In recent years Dilip.K.Chakrabarti and his associates visited the site and reported a lofty mound of about 12 m high covering an area of approximately 5 acres strewn with grey ware, black-on-red painted pottery (part of a OCP assemblage) and potteries of the early centuries A.D.\textsuperscript{132}

The site was definitely a habitational site occupied during the pre-Kushāṇa-Kushāṇa period.

\textbf{Khursi} (27°46'09"N/77°35'57"E): The site is situated on the Shergarh-Chhata road. The location of the village on the old habitational mound covers approximately 2-3 acres of area. The height of the mound is about 15 m. Dilip.K.Chakrabarti and his associates collected BRW, painted black-on-red pottery, potsherds with wavy incised designs and potteries of the early centuries A.D.\textsuperscript{133}

Our visit at the site has yielded few terracotta objects as well as potsherds of the Kushāṇa period from the surface.

It was obviously a habitational site probably occupied during the pre-Kushāṇa - Kushāṇa period.
**Shergarh (27°47’16"N/77°36’58"E):** Recent visit of Dilip.K.Chakrabarti and others at the site resulted in the discovery of a large mound on the bank of the river Yamuna. Black-on-red painted pottery with incision on the rim and potteries of the early centuries A.D. have been recovered from the exposed sections of the mound.\(^{134}\)

Our recent survey has yielded Kushāṇa stamped wares and mica slipped wares from the surface.

From the above findings it is impossible to determine the exact chronology of the site, but it was invariably a habitational site of the Kushāṇa period.

**Ranhera (27°44’59"N/77°34’53"E):** The site is located on the Shergarh-Chhata road. The modern village of Ranhera covers the ancient habitational mound. The visit of Dilip.K.Chakrabarti and others resulted in the discovery of a 10-12 m high mound covering an area of 10-12 acres strewn with BRW and artefacts of the early centuries A.D.\(^{135}\)

Our visit at the site has yielded Kushāṇa and later historic wares from the surface.

The overall nature of the site suggests that it was a habitational site and an early village farming settlement can be traced before the period of the Kushāṇas and continued to the Kushāṇa and post-Kushāṇa times.

**Chhata (27°43’23"N/77°30’23"E):** The site is located 33.8 km north-west of the Mathurā city. Earlier it was reported as a PGW site.\(^{136}\)

In recent years, Dilip.K.Chakrabarti and others explored the site to unfold its archaeological character. There is a Mughal period ‘Sarai’ on the top of the ancient mound. Unfortunately, it is a highly congested area and restricted the visitors to detect any exposed sections. Only a few bricks of the Kushāṇa period are scattered around the mound. Although
the chronology of the site is uncertain, but according to Dilip.K.Chakrabarti its chronology could be earlier than the Kushāṇa period.137

Meagre information about the site constrains us to determine the overall nature as well as the chronology of the site, but it was probably occupied during the pre-Kushāṇa period and continued till the Mughal period. It is also suggested that during the Kushāṇa period some kind of structural activities took place in this site.

**Ranwari** (27°41'21"N/77°29'59"E): Ranwari is also a village in the suburb of Mathūrā, explored by Dilip.K.Chakrabarti and his associates. The modern village of Ranwari overlies the location of the mound. The site possesses a relatively low mound (7m high) covering about 7-8 acres of land. Unfortunately the chronology of the mound is by and large uncertain. According to Dilip.K.Chakrabarti its chronology could be traced from the early centuries A.D.138

Due to lack of information it is impossible to determine the nature of the site. But, there is enough possibility of Kushāṇa habitation at the site.

**Alwai** (27°40'27"N/77°29'50"E): The location of the village on the old habitational mound covers approximately 10 acres of land and height of about 11m. The mound is situated on the bank of a 'Tāl' and presently occupied by a modern village. Unfortunately the chronology of the mound is uncertain, but according to Dilip.K.Chakrabarti the site could be occupied during the early centuries A.D.139

Due to lack of information it is impossible to determine the character of the site. But, there is enough possibility of Kushāṇa habitation at the site.
**Sankhi** (27°39'19"N/77°29'34"E): The site is situated on the Chhata-Govardhan road.

During 1970-71 the site was explored by the Department of Archaeology, Government of U.P.\(^{140}\)

Later exploration by Dilip.K.Chakrabarti and others reported a 13 m high mound covering an area of about 15 acres. Bricks of the Kushâna period have been recovered from each and every sloping part of the mound. According to the investigators the site was definitely occupied during the early centuries A.D.\(^{141}\)

According to our assumption it was probably a structural site of the Kushâna period. Further work will help us to throw enough light on the habitational remains of the site.

**Sahar** (27°37'45"N/77°28'50"E): The site is also situated on the Chhata-Govardhan road. The report of Dilip.K.Chakrabarti specifies a mound covering approximately 15 acres of land and 13 m in height. The mound is surrounded by a 'Tal' on three sides. The site was definitely occupied during the early centuries A.D.\(^{142}\)

Due to lack of information it is impossible to determine the nature of the site. But, it is clear that the site was occupied during the Kushâna period.

**Bharnakalan** (27°35'50"N/77°28'02"E): The report of Dilip.K.Chakrabarti and others specifies a mound covering an area of approximately 15 acres and about 7-8 m in height, virtually covered by an occupational deposit of more than 15 m. The ancient mound is presently covered by the modern village of Bharnakalan. Two *Yaksha* figures in the Šuṅga style, now kept in the Mathura Museum were procured from this village. According to the local villagers, the Šuṅga images of circa 100 B.C. were found from the upper level of the occupational deposit.\(^{143}\)
Although we have meagre information about the cultural remains of the site, it was probably occupied during the pre-Kushāṇa period and continued till the Kushāṇa period.

**Pali** (27°33'59"N/77°27'40"E): It is an important archaeological site in the suburb of Mathura. The report of Dilip.K.Chakrabarti and others specifies a habitational mound covering an area of 5-6 acres and about 4-5 m in height, situated on the bank of a 'Tal'. The mound is presently covered by the modern village of Pali. Though chronology as well as artefacts from the site is unknown, the site was possibly occupied during the early centuries A.D. 144

We have inadequate information about the character of the site. But, it is our supposition that the site was probably occupied during the Kushāṇa period.

**Sihana** (27°37'31"N/77°32'42"E): Dilip.K.Chakrabarti and others reported a small mound about 5 m high extending over an area of 5 acres. This ancient mound is situated on the bank of a 'Tal' and is presently covered by the modern village of Sihana. Artefacts as well as chronology of the site are uncertain, but it was possibly occupied during the early centuries A.D. 145

We have inadequate information about the nature of the site. But, it is our supposition that the site was probably occupied during the Kushāṇa period.

**Akbarpur** (27°38'46"N/77°33'25"E): The site is located by the side of the Mathura-Delhi highway. The report of Dilip.K.Chakrabarti and others mentions a small mound located a little away from the modern village covering an area of 2 acres and about 2 m in height. It is basically a
structural mound containing plenty of brickbats besides grey ware and potteries of the later periods.\textsuperscript{146}

During our survey we have noticed a thick red ware deposit on the exposed sections of the mound.

Although the chronology of the site is not clear to us, it was probably a structural mound partially characterized by the habitational remains of the pre-Kushāṇa – Kushāṇa periods.

**Gokul** (27°26'40"N/77°43'33"E): Gokul is situated about 14.48 km south east of the Mathurā city. Dilip.K.Chakrabarti and his associates reported a lofty mound of about 6-7 m height still surviving with 1-2 acres of land. This site is virtually covered by structural remains. The report of Chakrabarti mentioned that it was a structural mound of the early centuries A.D.\textsuperscript{147}

It was probably a structural site of the Kushāṇa period. Further work will help us to throw enough light on the habitational remains as well as the chronology of the site.

**Mahāvan** (27°26'17"N/77°44'21"E): Mahavān is located 12.87 km south-east of the Mathurā city.

In 1882-83, Cunningham first visited the site and discovered railing pillars and an inscription dated in the samvat 1207 or A.D. 1150 from the Great Masjid of 'Assi-Khamba'.\textsuperscript{148}

In recent years Dilip.K.Chakrabarti and others reported a mound about 6-7m in height still surviving with 2 acres of land. The mound possesses occupational deposits with black and ashy patches containing material remains of the early centuries A.D. An extensive series of mounds roughly covering 1km area has also been noticed at the site.\textsuperscript{149}

Mathura Museum has few architectural fragments recovered from this site.
Due to lack of information it is very difficult to detect the nature and chronology of the site, but possibly the site was occupied during the Kushāṇa period and continued for a longer time.

**Sarai-Ali-Khan** (27°26'23"N/77°44'40"E): The report of Dilip.K. Chakrabarti and others specifies a mound of about 8 m high still surviving with 1.5 acres of land. It is a structural mound occupied during early centuries A.D. and continued for a longer time.¹⁵⁰

It is our assumption that it was a structural site of the Kushāṇa and post-Kushāṇa periods.

**Parkham** (27°17'23"N/77°43'18"E): Parkham is an old village situated 14 miles from Mathurā city.

In 1882-83, Cunningham first visited the site and discovered the famous *Yaksha* image of the Mauryan period from a low mound near the village. It was a colossal pot bellied figure, 7 feet in height and 2 feet broad.¹⁵¹

During their visit at the site, Dilip.K. Chakrabarti and others succeeded to identify the ancient mound from where the *Yaksha* image had been discovered. They reported two early pieces of sculptures from the site. One is a small sculpture of the Śuṅga period measuring (40X25) cm and depicting a man seated on a horse. This isolated piece suggests the existence of a small *stūpa* during the Śuṅga period at this site. Another is a torso of the Kushāṇa period measuring (100X60) cm and depicting a man with a short sword/ dagger in a scabbard at his waist. The Śuṅga piece is now cemented by the villagers to a wall, while the Kushāṇa piece is lying loose. The report also mentioned two modern temples containing two sculptural pieces. One temple has a Sivalinga, which seems to be of the early centuries A.D. and another temple has an old sculptural piece of 8ᵗʰ century A.D. According to the investigators
Parkham was a famous place of sculptural activities from the 2nd century B.C or earlier. 152

We have insufficient information regarding the structural and habitational remains of Parkham. It was possibly a major art producing centre of this region and was occupied from the 3rd-2nd centuries B.C and continued for a longer time.

**Balhera** (27°17'07"N/77°42'14"E): The site is situated in the outskirts of the modern village of Parkham. Dilip.K.Chakrabarti and his associates reported a more or less undisturbed mound of about 2 m high extending over an area of approximately 2 acres. The surface collections include BRW, ‘Suṅga’ bowl of circa 200 B.C. and potteries of the early centuries A.D. 153

It was probably a habitational site possibly occupied during the pre-Kushana period and continued till the Kushāṇa phase.

**Ol** (27°18'12"N/77°37'31"E): The site is situated on the Mathurā – Rajasthan border. The report of Dilip.K.Chakrabarti and his associates specifies a high mound of about 9 m high and covers an area of 15 acres. This high mound is located on the bank of a 'Tal' and covered by the modern village of Ol. The artefacts as well as the chronology of the site are uncertain, but possibly of early centuries A.D. 154

During our field survey we have noticed Kushāṇa and post-Kushāṇa occupational debris on the exposed sections of the mound.

Although, it is impossible to determine the nature and chronology of the settlement, possibly this site was occupied during the Kushāṇa and post-Kushāṇa periods.

**Jhopra** (27°20'30"N/77°36'18"E): It is also located on the Mathurā – Rajasthan border. The ancient habitational mound of about 5 m high
covers 4 acres of land and is located on the bank of a 'Tal'. The modern village of Jhopra presently covers this mound. The report of Dilip.K.Chakrabarti and others did not mention the chronology and artifacts of the site, but it was possibly occupied during the early centuries A.D.\textsuperscript{155}

Due to lack of information it is very difficult to detect the nature and chronology of the site, but possibly the site was occupied during the Kushāṇa period.

\textbf{Rairh (27°19'11"N/7733'20"E):} The site is situated on the Mathurā – Rajasthan border. The report of Dilip.K.Chakrabarti and others specifies a lofty mound about 15 m high, occupied by the modern town of Rairh. The total area of the site is uncertain, but possibly covers about 120 acres of land. The surface collections containing fine grey wares (probably PGW) have been found from the edge of the mound.\textsuperscript{156}

Due to lack of materials it is impossible to determine the nature of the settlement, but probably it was occupied during the PGW phase and continued for a longer time. There is enough possibility to record more materials of the Kushāṇa period.

\textbf{Jaisinghpura:} Jaisinghpura is situated some 3 miles or 5 km from Mathura city in the direction of Brindaban.

Earlier F.S.Growse has collected two railing pillars from the site. On one side they show a female figure with flowers in her left hand and standing under a balcony. The reverse is carved with a medallion depicting a conventional lotus or a stūpa.\textsuperscript{157}

Some trial diggings at the site have yielded Buddha images of the Kushāṇa period, some elaborate halos of the Gupta period and a clay tablet on sealing having resemblance to the clay tablets of the other Buddhist sites.\textsuperscript{158}
It was probably a religious structural site (Buddhist monastic complex) occupied during the Kushāṇa and post-Kushāṇa periods.

**Kotā:** Kotā is a small village, 3 miles or 5km north of Mathurā city. In the ancient times the site was named as *Kutak-ban*. The site possesses a large *kuṇḍa* or reservoir.

During 1882-83, General Cunningham discovered a number of antiquities including several small railing pillars. According to Cunningham, these pillars were probably parts of a Buddhist *stūpa*. One of the pillars showing a male figure in typical Indo-Scythian dress. Another important finding from the site was a pedestal-bearing inscription of the Kushāṇa characters.159

It is our general observation that it was definitely a religious structural site (probably a Buddhist monastic complex) occupied during the Kushāṇa period. A number of inscriptions acquired from this site are now kept in the collection of the Mathura Museum.

**Mora:** Morā is a small village situated 7 miles west of Mathurā city. While visiting the site in 1882-83, Sir Alexander Cunningham discovered an inscribed stone slab (7.5-8X3.5 feet) from a well near the village. The inscription confirmed the existence of a sanctuary during the reign of Mahakṣatrāpa Śoḍāsa.160

In 1911-12, Sir John Marshall visited the site and discovered two uninscribed male torsos, lower half of a standing female image inscribed with the names of Kaṇiṣṭha and Tosha from Morā.161

Subsequently, Pandit Radha Krishna undertook a small trial digging at the site, which yielded surface remains of a round brick building and some large inscribed bricks of the late 2nd century B.C.162

In recent years, one stone image of early medieval period and another image of 3rd-4th century A.D. have been reported from the site.163
Our recent visit at the site failed to get more information related to the character of settlement and the nature of collection.

It is our assumption that the site was a religious structural site (probably a Buddhist sanctuary) occupied during the pre-Kushāṇa-Kushāṇa–post-Kushāṇa periods.

Ganeshrā: Ganeshrā is situated about 3 miles west of the Mathurā city and to the north of the road to Govardhan. The site comprises three distinct mounds from where several sculptural and architectural fragments have been recovered from time to time by various scholars. Dr. A. Führer collected a life – size Bodhisattva figure from this site and Pandit Radha Krishna discovered a seated Bodhisattva figure from a well near the site. The most important finding of the site was an incomplete inscription mentioning the construction of a stūpa at the place. The inscription mentioned the term ‘Kshaharata’, which may be connected with the western Kṣatrapa. The character of the inscription closely resembled the Brāhmī script of the reign of Kaṇiska or even earlier. Besides, the site has also yielded about twenty-four inscribed bricks and brickbats datable to the 3rd – 2nd centuries B.C., Bodhisattva head and numerous fragmentary railings etc.\(^{164}\)

Presently the ancient mound is completely destroyed and only few remnants of the earlier ruins could be visible.

The site was a religious structural site (probably a Buddhist sanctuary) of the pre-Kushāṇa and Kushāṇa period.

Anyor: Anyor is situated to the south-eastern foot of the Govardhan hill.

In 1882-83, Cunningham discovered a large statue of Buddha with an inscription mentioning the name of uttaraharusha vihāra.\(^ {165}\)

Later, Pandit Radha Krishna collected two inscribed statues of Buddha (worshipped as Goddess Durgā) from the site.\(^ {166}\)
In absence of any structural and habitational remains it is difficult to detect the nature of the settlement, but it was possibly occupied in the pre-Kushāṇa-Kushāṇa period.

Isāpur: Isāpur is situated on the left bank of the river Yamuna, in the suburbs of Mathurā. This site is known as Hans Ganj by the local villagers. The site possesses a high mound known as Duvasa Tila, from where Growse reported a small nude statue of a female figure and the remains of a bauli made of large blocks of red sand stone.  

In 1910, Rai Bahadur Pandit Radha Krishna discovered two stone pillars from the bed of the river Yamuna. Among them one was inscribed and the other was uninscribed. These pillars were originally set up as sacrificial posts (Yūpa). The inscribed pillar, measuring (19.19X1.1X1) feet is dated in the reign of Kushāṇa king Vāsiśka. The uninscribed pillar, 20.2 feet in height is almost similar to the first one.  

Recent exploration at the site resulted in the discovery of a small mound about 2m in height strewn with plenty of red ware and other associated materials.  

Few Brāhmaṇical sculptures (including Ardhanārīśvara) of the Kushāṇa period from this site are now kept in the Mathura Museum.  

It is our observation that Isāpur was probably a habitational site of the Kushāṇa period partially dominated by the structural evidences.  

Mahwan: The small village of Mahwan is situated 13 miles to the south of Mathurā city. The site possesses a long high mound, from where broken bricks and fragmentary stone sculptures have been discovered by Cunningham in 1882-83. The most important discovery was a stone sculpture having engraved characters of the Indo-Scythian period.  

It was probably a structural site occupied during the Kushāṇa period.
**Lohban:** Lohban is located on the eastern side of the Yamuna, 3 miles from the city of Mathurā.

In 1882-83, Cunningham first visited the site and discovered a lower portion of an image, being worshipped as Lohasura or Lohajangha by the local villagers.\(^{171}\)

Recently some broken images (including an image of Umā-Maheshwar) of the 8\(^{th}-9\)th century A.D. have been reported from the site.\(^{172}\)

Our survey at the site resulted in the discovery of a small mound of about 4-5 m in height. Unfortunately, our visit failed to throw enough light on the occupational remains of the site.

Though it is very difficult to determine the nature of the site, it was possibly occupied during the Kushāṇa period and continued for a long time.

**Chaumuha (27°37'N/ 77°36'E):** The old village of Chaumuha is located about 16.1 km north west of Mathurā city, beside Delhi-Mathura National Highway. The site was named after a four-faced image, worshipped as God Brahma by the local villagers. According to Growse, it is a circular pedestal of a Jaina statue with lion at each corner, whereas Cunningham preferred to identify it as a Buddhist sculpture. Actually it was a broken piece of a Buddhist pillar with four lions seated at four corners. The sculpture was known as Chaumuha or Chatur-mukha.\(^{173}\)

Our recent fieldwork resulted in the discovery of a highly disturbed mound of about 6m high, presently occupied by the modern village of Chaumuha. Unfortunately, our visit at the site failed to get more information related to the character of settlement and the nature of collection.
Due to lack of information it is impossible to determine the nature as well as the chronology of the site.

**Kakretiya:** The site is located 8 km from Mathurā city on a local link route between Gosna and Khirari.

A broken Hāriti image of the Kushāna period with a child in her lap has been reported from the site.\(^{174}\)

Our recent visit at the site resulted in the discovery of a small mound, approximately 1m in height containing occupational debris of the Kushāna period.

Though the nature of the settlement is by and large uncertain but the site was probably occupied during the Kushāna period.

**Sunrakh:** The site is located 1 km away from Brindaban, on the bank of the river Yamuna containing a lofty mound of about 8 m height.

In recent years a broken torso of 1st century A.D. has been reported from the site. It was probably an image of some royal person wearing a thick necklace and holding a sword in the left hand.\(^{175}\)

Our visit at the site has yielded some broken idols of the Kushāna, Gupta and post-Gupta periods from the eroded surface of the mound.

No structural as well as habitational remains have yet to be found from the site. The site was probably occupied during the Kushāna and post-Kushāna periods.

**Nandghat:** The site is situated between Piprauli and Bhimgaon, along the river Yamuna. Archaeological exploration at the site resulted in the discovery of a small mound of about 4 m in height containing PGW, besides artifacts of the Kushāna, Gupta and post Gupta and early mediaeval periods.\(^{176}\)
In recent years, three important sculptures have been reported from the site. Among them two belonged to the Kushāṇa period and the third one belonged to the medieval period. The most important was a pot-bellied figure seated on a throne in *ardhaparyankasana* and holding a cup of wine. This image is quite similar to those of Palikhera image of Silenus and the Bacchanalian scene.\(^{177}\)

It was probably a habitational site ranging in date from PGW period to the medieval period.

**Bati:** It is located on the left side of Delhi-Mathura National Highway, on the north-west of Mathurā city. Presently the site is occupied by the modern village of Bati. Archaeologically, the locality has relevance as a low mound with 6 m height containing potsherds and other materials of the Kushāṇa, Gupta and later periods, is in existence.

According to our assumption it was probably a habitational site of the Kushāṇa and post-Kushāṇa periods.

**Arhara:** It is a village in the suburb of Mathurā. Recent exploration at the site recorded a small mound of about 1.5 m in height containing NBPW besides potsherds and terracotta of the Kushāṇa and Gupta period. Some broken images of the Kushāṇa period and a ring stone of early historical period have also been recovered from the site.\(^{178}\)

It is probably a habitational site occupied in the pre-Kushāṇa period and continued to the post-Kushāṇa phase.

**Jakhangaon:** The site is situated on Mathurā-Govardhan road, in the suburbs of Mathurā. Recent exploration at the site resulted in the discovery of a lofty mound of about 7m in height strewn with the materials of the Kushāṇa period. Besides, few fragmentary Kushāṇa and Gupta sculptures have been reported from the site.\(^{179}\)
It was probably a habitational site of the Kushāṇa - post-Kushāṇa periods.

**Songaon:** The site lies on Sonkh-Bharatpur road, in the suburb of Mathurā. Our survey at the site recorded a mound about 14-15m in height. The ancient habitational mound is now completely occupied by the modern village of Songaon. Kushāṇa and post-Kushāṇa materials have been recovered from an exposed section of the mound. The site has also yielded a beautiful Ganeśa image of the late Kushāṇa or early Gupta period.180

According to our supposition Songaon was a habitational site occupied during the Kushāṇa and post-Kushāṇa period.

Besides there are a few newly reported sites having a long time span starting from PGW to Kushāṇa period. Among them the most important are- Sakhitara, Sakrya, Khirari, Taroli, Bidhali, Astoli, Syamari, Jatipura etc.181

**Stray finds/occurrences:** (Places merely known as the find spots of inscriptions or sculptural/architectural remains of the Kushāṇa period)

1. **Jaint** – Surya image of the Kushāṇa period.182
2. **Gudgāon** – Railing pillar of the Kushāṇa period.183
3. **Chargāon** - Inscribed Nāga image184 and stone slab inscription185 of the Kushāṇa period.
4. **Brindāban** – Nāga deity186 and others architectural fragments of the Kushāṇa period.
5. **Diwana Kalan** - Architectural fragments (part of a door jamb)187 of the Kushāṇa period.
6. **Dhauli Piau** – Railing pillar188 of the Kushāṇa period.
7. **Gigla** – Śiva liṅga image inscription189 of the Kushāṇa period.
9. Naugava – Buddhist image inscription of the Kushāṇa period.
10. Saknā – Sculptures and an image inscription of the Kushāṇa period.
11. Bairagpurā – Architectural member of the Kushāṇa period.
12. Kukargram – Figure of Balarāma of the Kushāṇa period.
13. Rāl-Bhadār – Nāga image inscription and Buddhist image inscription of the Kushāṇa period.
15. Girdharpur – Torso of Balarāma and railing pillar of the Kushāṇa period.
16. Saraniazampur – Architectural specimen (umbrella) of the Kushāṇa period.
17. Salempur – An inscription of the Kushāṇa period from a well nearby.

In the foregoing pages we have discussed the nature of assemblages recorded in different excavated and explored sites/mounds of the Mathurā region. In this context we should mention that our interpretations about the sites/mounds are not conclusive, rather suggestive. This study may not have incorporated descriptions of all the sites, as there are still huge numbers of unrecorded archaeological sites throughout the district. Proper excavations and explorations in this area will further help us to marshal relevant information on the settlement history of this region.
Roshan Dalai has made an attempt to study on the spacing and relationship between settlements of different periods besides radiation of settlements in the Tahsils of Mathurā and South Chhata. Linear distances between PGW sites in the Mathurā region suggest that both the spacing and relationship between the settlements were random. In the NBPW period distances between sites in this region suggest a relatively uniform spacing. In the Śuṅga-Kushāṇa period the settlement pattern was more complex and certain new sites emerged during this time. In the Tahsils of Mathurā and south Chhata, sites were located in a series of three concentric semi-circles radiating from the city of Mathurā. The first circle includes the sites of Kotā, Bajna, Gaṇeshrā, Girdharpur, Pālikherā, Maholi, Narhauλi and the Jail mound. All these places are four to five km distant from one another. The second circle comprises of the sites of Brīndāban, Chhatikara, Saknā, Morā, Maya Nagla, Jansuit, Usphar, Tarsi and possibly Azampur. Distances between these sites and Katra vary between seven and a half mile to ten and a half km. The third semi-circle includes the sites of Chaumuha, Ral, Jakhangaon, Aring, Bhadar, Naglā Jhinga and Chargaon. Distances between Katra and these sites vary between thirteen to seventeen km.

In their recent work, Dilip.K.Chakrabarti and his associates have made an attempt to identify the probable linkage routes by which Mathurā was connected to other contemporary sites of the adjoining areas. Although, the present work has limited scope to discuss on this issue, the work of Dilip.K.Chakrabarti and his associates definitely has a merit towards the research orientation on this aspect.

In the east of the Yamuna the linkage routes were-
1. Mathurā to Noh-jheel and from there toward the Ganga. This route probably leads to the site of Sankara in the Aligarh territory, from
where the Ganga could be crossed to travel in the direction of Ahichchhatra.

2. Mathurā to Atranjikhera or other sites of Etah area via Madhuban.

In the west of the Yamuna the linkage routes were-

1. Mathurā to Brindāban along the Yamuna and from Brindāban across the Yamuna to the mound of Barnoli-ki-Dhai, which leads to Raya and joins the Mathurā-Nohjheel road.

2. Mathurā to Chhata and thus leads to the old Indraprastha or modern Delhi. From Chhata there was an ancient alignment to Shergarh on the bank of the Yamuna, where the river could be crossed to join the Mathurā-Nohjheel road. Another alignment from Chhata goes to Govardhan through Bharana Kalan.

3. Mathurā to Sonkh, perhaps to go to Govardhan.

4. Mathurā to Govardhan via Aring and Anyor.

5. Mathurā to Bharatpur.

6. Mathurā to Parkham and beyond.

At the present state of our study, it is difficult to distinguish the 'Core Area' and the 'Peripheral Area' of the Mathurā region. The present investigation failed to explain the centre of activities in relationship between the two (core area and peripheral area). However, we made an attempt to define the same and tried to extend our viewpoint about this aspect, though, preliminary in nature. Our working hypothesis suggests that the concentration of settlements at the central point of Mathurā could be termed as the 'Nucleus Zone' or the 'Core Area'. This zone includes both excavated and explored sites/mounds situated inside the Mathurā city (covering both fortified complex and its immediate surrounding areas). The sites/mounds located within the fortified complex are- Mahavidya mound, Hathi Ōlā, Ambarish Ōlā, Katra, Geeta Enclave, Goal Para, Mathura Water Works, Govindnagar,
Bhūteśvara, Jail mound, Saptarshi Țilă, Sitală Ghāṭī, Rāja-Bali-Ki-Țilă, Gokarṇeśvara and others. The sites/mounds placed in the immediate surroundings of the fortified complex are- Kaṅkālī Țilă, Chamunda mound, Chaubārā mounds, Chaurāsī mounds etc. Therefore, it is clear that important religious structural sites like Kaṅkālī Țilă and Chaubārā mounds are located in the ‘Nucleus Zone’, but are outside the fortified complex. The ‘Peripheral Area’ probably includes radiation or distribution of settlements outside the Mathurā city. This zone consists of important excavated sites like Sonkh, Māṭ and Maholi and a number of explored sites discussed above. In this context it is to be noted that, there are few more sites/mounds (like Bhūteśvara, Rāja-Bali-Ka-Țilă, Saptarshi Țilă, Sitala Ghāṭī, Chaubārā, Chaurāsī, Jail mound and others) situated in the ‘Core Area’, which are yet to be excavated or not scientifically excavated. On the other hand we have more important sites like Sonkh, Māṭ, Maholi, Gosna, Nohjheel, Bajna, Pālikherā, Govardhan, Koṭā, Morā, Parkham etc., which were located beyond the nucleus zone.

Insufficient excavated materials constrain us to explain the settlement history of this region as well as its entire development in the context of interrelationship between one area to others. So, we have meagre records to trace the spatial distribution of structural and non-structural complexes and their relationship with the fortified complex.

From the above analysis we can divide the entire distribution of sites into structural sites, non-structural/habitational sites and sites having mixed up characters (both structural and habitational). Our study leads us to put forward some tentative observations about the nature of the sites. The most highlighting points are-

1. Dhulkot, Kaṅkālī Țilă, Govindnagar, Māṭ, Bhūteśvara, Chaubārā, Jail/Jāmalpur, Arjunapura Mahalla, Gokarṇeśvara, Phondar,
Sankhi, Gokul, Sarai-Ali-Khan, Jaisinghpura, Koṭā, Morā, Gaṇeshrā, Mahwan, Chhata etc were probably structural sites.

2. The sites/mounds of Kaṅkāḷi Ṭilā, Bhūteśvara, Chaubārā, Jāmalpur, Gokarṇeśvara, Arjunapura Mahalla, Jaisinghpura, Koṭā, Morā, Gaṇeshrā, Māṭ and Mahwan apparently represented religious structural sites. Among them the mounds of Bhūteśvara, Chaubārā, Jāmalpur, Gokarṇeśvara, Jaisinghpura, Koṭā, Morā, Gaṇeshrā were primarily Buddhist, whereas Kankāḷi Tila was predominantly Jain. Māṭ was a Royal sanctuary site. The sites/mounds like Dhulkot, Phondar, Sankhi, Gokul, Sarai-Ali-Khan and Chhata were probably secular structural sites. Govindnagar contained both religious and secular structural evidences.

3. Gosna, Raya, Barnoli-Ki-Dhai, Mirpur, Nohjheel, Naugawn, Dhangaon, Kosi Khurd, Unchgaon, Asgharpur, Junsuty, Govardhan, Gantholi, Parmandra, Sanketban, Bhadawal, Navisenari, Khursi, Shergarh, Ranhera, Balhera, Nandghat, Bati, Arhara, Jakhangaon and Songaon were probably habitational sites/mounds datable from the pre-Kushāṇa to the Kushāṇa and post-Kushāṇa periods.

4. There are some sites/mounds which were probably structural mounds partially or simultaneously characterized by the habitational remains. These sites are- Katra, Bhadraban, Pālīkherā, Sonoth, Triveni factory mound and Akbarpur.

5. Our study also reveals that the sites/mounds like Amabarish Tīlā, Sonkh, Maholī, and Īṣāpur were probably habitational sites partially dominated by the structural remains.

6. There are some sites, which were initially habitational sites but became a major structural complex in the later periods (Kushāṇa-post-Kushāṇa periods). These sites are- mounds near Mahavidya.
temple, Bhojpur Nagla, Loriya Patti, Gunsara, Satanha, Ajnokh and Aring.

7. Meagre information about the material remains and artefacts constrain us to determine the nature of the following sites. These sites are- Hathi Tilä, Geeta enclave, Goal Para, Mathura Water Works, Chamunda mound, Chauräsī mounds, Saptarshi Tirä, Sitalā Ghāṭi, Rāja-Bali-Ki-Tilä, Airakhera, Taintigaon, Bajna, Usphar, Tarsi, Naglā Jhinga, Khagara, Ranwari, Alwai, Sahar, Bharanakalan, Pali, Sihana, Mahavan, Chumuha and Kakretiya.

As most of the sites/mounds possess mixed up materials of different phases, it is very much impossible to distinguish the particular sites of the Kushāṇa period. Moreover, in various cases we have meagre information regarding the chronological sequences of the sites/mounds. From our study we may assume that, most of the sites were occupied during the pre-Kushāṇa period and continued up to the Kushāṇa and sometimes to the post-Kushāṇa period.

a) At least thirty two sites were probably continued from the pre-Kushāṇa to the Kushāṇa period. These sites are- mound near Mahavidya temple, Ambarish Tilä, Mathura water works, Saptarshi Tirä, Rāja-Bali-Ki-Tilä, Airakhera, Barnoli-ki-Dhai, Mirpur, Nohjheel, Bhadarban, Palikhera, Bhojpur Nagala, Naugawn, Kosi-Khurd, Loriya patti, Satanha, Asgharpur, Junsuty, Aring, Govardhan, Gantholi, Parmandra, Sanketban, Aknokh, Bhadawal, Navisenari, Khursi, Bharanakalan, Akbarpur, Balhera, Gaṃeshrā and Anyor.

b) At least fifteen sites were continued from the pre-Kushāṇa to Kushāṇa and post-Kushāṇa periods. These sites are- Hathi Tilä, Katra, Goalpara, Govindnagar, Chamunda mound, Sonkh, Gosna,
Gunsara, Unchgaon, Ranhera, Chhata, Parkham, Morā, Nandghat and Arhara.

c) At least fifteen sites were continued from the Kushana to the post-Kushāṇa periods. These sites are- Jail mound, Gokarṇēśvara, Triveni Factory mound, Mahāvan, Raya, Usphar, Tarī, Sarai-Ali-Khan, Ol, Jaisinghpura, Lohban, Jakhangaon, Sunrakh, Bati and Songaon.

d) There were at least twenty three sites, which had yielded only Kushāṇa occupational remains. These sites are- Kankali Tila, Mat, Maholī, Bhūtesvara, Chaubārā, Sītalā Ghāṭi, Dhangaon, Sonoth, Phondar, Khagara, Shergarh, Ranwari, Alwai, Sankhi, Sahar, Pali, Sihana, Gokul, Jhopra, Koṭā, Īsāpur, Mahwan and Kakretiya. We have limited information about the pre-Kushāṇa or post-Kushāṇa occupation of these sites.

The above categorization of sites present a somehow picture about the evolution of settlements from the pre-Kushāṇa to the post-Kushāṇa periods by following the material remains reported from the above mentioned sites. We tentatively observed that, there were atleast eighty five Kushāṇa sites, among them forty seven sites had evidence of pre-Kushāṇa habitation and thirty sites had evidence of post-Kushāṇa habitation.

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