Chapter – II

EARLY HISTORIC BEGINNING: SETTLEMENT PATTERN, EXPANSION, AND NUCLEARISATION

In traditional history writing, South-Kośala has been termed as the ‘region of isolation’ or a ‘peripheral zone’ where historical development took place at a later date and largely through the ‘diffusion’ from the core region. It has also been seen as the outcome of large-scale settlement expansion through land donations to the Brāhmaṇas.

It is in this context that the study of the early historic period has profound historical implications for the understanding of the early medieval period. This chapter will discuss issues like settlement pattern, resource mobilisation, interaction with neighbouring regions and belief systems to

1 B. Subbarao has identified three different cultural zones in India i.e., ‘Region of Attraction’, ‘Region of Relative Isolation’ and ‘Region of Isolation’. According to him, the major river basins of the country like the Indus, Ganga, Narmada, Tapi, Krishna, Godavari and Kaveri etc emerged as major centres of power due to the high potential of agriculture and scope for settlement. However, the areas of relative isolation are characterised by their distance from main highways for the movement of people and culture. Here they display a different and complicated cultural pattern since their isolation was frequently broken by fresh movement. The regions of isolation are the less favoured regions such as mountains and forests where people lived in primitive economy, Subbarao, B. (1958), The Personality of India. Baroda. On the basis of its peculiar geomorphology and dense forest cover, South-Kośala was categorised as a region of isolation.

2 Romila Thapar, in the context of the Mauryan Empire, has identified three cultural zones i.e., metropolitan region centring around Magadha, core region centring around the provincial capital and the rest levelled peripheral zones or ‘Ātavikarajya’ as mentioned in the Asokan edicts, Thapar, Romila (1987), Mauryas Revisited, New Delhi.

3 The early medieval period is considered to be a period of intensive state formation in the so-called peripheral zones. Though the proponents of the feudal and integrative models of state formation have put forward contradictory opinions regarding the origin, nature, and structure of the early medieval state but they agreed that the peripheral zones were open for large scale settlement expansion and wet rice cultivation. According to them, large-scale land donation to Brāhmaṇas led to their migration, who played a seminal role in the introduction of agricultural technology, Sastric knowledge, appropriation of tribal deities and setting up the first ‘Hindu’ temple. For a detailed discussion and references see introduction.

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highlight the processes of cultural evolution and to contest some of the existing notions.

A thorough analysis of the early historic settlements of South-Kośala will provide a broad idea about the geographical distribution of settlements and the emerging patterns. This will also help us to compare and contrast the distribution area of early historic settlements with the early medieval settlements, as evident from the inscriptions and verify whether there was a major shift in their distribution pattern or was it a case of consolidation of already settled areas.

Resource mobilisation is an indicator of the nature of subsistence pattern, and material, cultural and social complexities of a society in a given time frame. In the context of South-Kośala, it will help us to understand the social composition of the region and to evaluate how far this was different from that of neighbouring regions.

South-Kośala’s interaction with its neighbouring regions can be traced from its participation in the wider trade and exchange networks of early India. Trade and exchange not only involved the mobilisation of the goods and commodities but also facilitated the transfer of ideas and movements of artisans. This chapter would also discuss the religious tradition and belief systems of the period under review. This will help us understand the religious processes of the pre-temple period and how it was transformed by the emergence of new religious tradition, and the development of standard architectural norms in the subsequent period.

(II) Settlement Pattern

Archaeological explorations and excavations in South-Kośala have led to the discovery of a large number of early historic fortified and unfortified settlements. On the basis of their geographical distribution, they can be categorised into the settlements located in the upper Mahanadi basin, Tel basin and middle Mahanadi basin. These three identified sub-regions are not
mere geographical creations but have deep historical ramifications for the cultural evolution of South-Kosala in the subsequent period.

**Upper Mahanadi Basin**

Limited explorations and excavations in the upper Mahanadi basin have yielded around fifteen early historic sites. Among these, three are fortified and rest twelve are unfortified settlements (See Table No. I, Map No.-2).

Malhar is the largest early historic and early medieval fortified urban settlement in the upper Mahanadi basin. It is located in an excellent geographical setting, surrounded by three rivers i.e., Arpa in the west, Lilagarh in the east, and Seonath in the south. The site has a mud rampart surrounded by two ditches, one internal and the other external, which might have served the purpose of moats. The dimensions of the settlement are about 3 km in length and 2 km in width. Excavation at the site has revealed four layers of cultural deposits, the lower most of which may be dated to c. 4th century B.C. and the upper most to the medieval period.

The first two layers, which fall within the time bracket of the early historic period, witnessed large-scale construction activities. The first layer dates to c. 4th century B.C. to c. 3rd century A.D. It is characterised by houses built of stone slabs, for which locally available materials were used. The second phase of construction activities is characterised by the use of baked bricks, the foundation of which was filled with gravel and black soil. The habitation of this period appears to be protected by a mud wall. The second layer, dated to c. 3rd century to c. 6th century A.D., is characterised by baked bricks and stone structures having rammed floors. The artefact assemblage consists of ceramics, coins, terracottas and sculptures (See Table No. I, SL No. 1).

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EARLY HISTORICAL SITES OF THE UPPER MAHANADI BASIN

Map No. 2
The nature and dimension of the site indicates that it was the foci of local powers and served as an important political centre for centuries. In the beginning of the Christian era, the site was under the rule of local powers, but later the Maghas, who ruled around c. 2nd–3rd centuries A.D, captured it. In the subsequent period, it may have come under the rule of Mahendraditya and Sarabhapuriyas but it is yet to be corroborated by evidences.

Malhar was a minting centre of local coins. Coins having a distinct mark have been found at the site in large quantity and its adjoining areas. The coins of Roman, Kuśāṇa, Pancala, and Mahendraditya (a local ruler) were found at the site (See Table No. V, VI, VIII). The ceramics assemblage consists of the Northern Black Polished Ware, red slipped ware, and black slipped ware. Beads of precious and semi precious stones, Mauryan terracottas, and large number of sculptures are other important discoveries. These artefacts suggest that Malhar was a major trade, commerce, and art production centre. These two aspects are discussed in detail in subsequent sections.

Malhar was the epicentre of urban conglomeration of upper Mahanadi basin. At least seven other sites have been found in and around the main urban centre (See Map No.3). In some sites like, Chakrabedha and Burhikhar, early historic artefacts were found, whereas the other sites contain the remains of sculptures and architectural fragments, dated to 7th-8th century A.D. However, a systematic survey is required to establish the nature of these sites and their relationship with Malhar.

Pirda and Bhanwarpur are two other fortified sites. Like Malhar, Pirda also had double moat along with the mud rampart. The specimen of early historic pottery and other artefacts are found from the site. At Bhanwarpur,  

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5 A large number of artefacts including a variety of beads, ceramics, sculptures, terracottas, seals and sealing are in the private collection of Gulab Singh, a resident of Malhar. These materials have neither been studied properly nor published so far.


8 Ibid., p. 20.
MALHAR AND ITS ADJOINING SITES

Bilaspur
Chakrabedha
Pakna
Jaipur
Malhar
Burikhar
Bethari
Tewari
Kharoll

Map No.3
traces of the moat have been found, but due to repeated floods, the major part of the moat is filled with dirt and the rampart walls have been totally wiped out.

Rajim, Balpur, Kharod and Arang are four unfortified settlements. Rajim\textsuperscript{9} is located at the confluence of the Mahanadi and Pairi, which might have served as the natural defence for the site. The strategic location of Rajim might have helped the site to control the riverine trade on the Mahanadi. Similarly Balpur\textsuperscript{10} is also located at the confluence of the Mahanadi and Mand. The site has yielded a large number of coins, which indicates that it was either a trading centre or a halting station in the riverine trade on Mahanadi (See Map No.-6). However, Kharod and Arang are not riverbank sites but located at a little distance from it. Kharod\textsuperscript{11} seems to be located at a trade route, which crossed Mahanadi at a little distance from Kharod. The recent discovery of an Indo-Greek coin hoard from Seorinarayan\textsuperscript{12}, an adjacent village on the bank has corroborated this assumption. Arang\textsuperscript{13} is located at a little distance from the right bank of Mahanadi. The pottery specimens and other antiquities found from the site indicate its early historic beginnings.

Sirpur\textsuperscript{14} and Maraguda\textsuperscript{15} are two important early medieval metropolis. Both the sites contain a large number of temple remains and sculptures dated to c. 5\textsuperscript{th}-8\textsuperscript{th} centuries A.D. But recent excavations at both the sites have

\textsuperscript{9} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 25, also see, Thakur, V.S. (1972), \textit{Rajim} (in Hindi), Bhopal.
\textsuperscript{10} \textit{JNSI}, Vol.IX, p.31, \textit{JNSI}, Vol.XLIII, pp.133-134. Also personal communication with Rahul Kumar Singh, Chief Archaeological Officer, Bilaspur, who surveyed the sites.
\textsuperscript{11} \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{12} Personal communication with Dr. Bhanu Pratap Singh, a coin collector of Raipur, who was able to acquire few coins of the hoard for his personal collection.
\textsuperscript{13} \textit{Ibid.}
unearthed important pottery specimens, which indicate their early historic beginnings.

**Middle Tel Basin**

Tel or ancient *Telavāha*\(^\text{16}\) is a principal right bank tributary of the Mahanadi in the western part of Orissa. At present, it forms the boundary line between the districts of Kalahandi and Nuapada in its upper basin, Kalahandi and Bolangir in the middle basin, and Boudh and Sonepur in the lower basin. In its middle basin, the Tel is joined by the Ret Utei, Raul and Sagada, which mainly drains the district of Kalahandi. Similarly the Udanti, Indra, Lanth, and Sungarh join the Tel on its left bank, which drains the district of Bolangir.

Limited explorations, especially on the right basin of the Tel, have unearthed thirty-four early historic sites. These consist of three fortified sites, while the rest thirty-one are unfortified settlements (See Map No.4).

Asurgarh\(^\text{17}\) (Narla) is the biggest fortified settlement of this sub region. It is located in the upper reaches of the Sandul, a branch of the Utei, which is a tributary of the Tel. The site covers an extensive area of around one square km. The elaborate fortification and sophisticated water management system indicates that it was an important centre of power.\(^\text{18}\) The site had commercial and religious functions as well. A large number of coins belonging to the pre-

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\(^\text{16}\) *The Suri Vamija Jataka* refers to the flourishing trade on the river *Telavaha* (Tel). Traders coming from the kingdom of *Suri* cross the river *Telavaha* to reach the rich city of Anandapura. Sahu, J.K. (1997), *Historical Geography of Orissa*, Delhi, pp. 229-230.


\(^\text{18}\) The square fort is provided with high boundary walls, which measures 1 km in length on each side and is made of brickbats and rubble. Four gates were arranged at four cardinal directions, where a guardian deity was installed. The fort was also provided with excellent hydraulic management. The moat, which circumscribed the fort in three directions, was open to the river Sandul at both ends. So the water of the Sandul was channelised through the moat for its protection. Additional arrangements were made in case of any water shortage in Sandul. The site had a lake of about 200 acres on its eastern side and the lake was provided with two sluice gates to fill up the moat. *Ibid.*
Mauryan, Mauryan, post-Mauryan\textsuperscript{19} and Kuşâṇa\textsuperscript{20} periods have been found (See Map No.-6 and Table No. IV, VI, VIII). The local minting of coins is demonstrated by the discovery of finished and semi-finished specimens along with coin moulds from stratigraphical context\textsuperscript{21}. The excavation at the site has also unearthed a huge circular structure identified as a shrine,\textsuperscript{22} the first of its kind from this sub-region. The important antiquities found from the site are ceramics (Northern Black Polished Ware, black burnished ware, red ware, black and red ware, black slipped ware with graffiti mark and Kuşâṇa red ware), punch-marked coins (pre-Mauryan, Mauryan and post-Mauryan and local), variety of beads, (chalcedony, agate, carnelian, crystal and coral), amulets, rhinoceros pendant, glass bangles, moulds for preparation of beads and ornaments, iron objects (arrowhead, spear, draggers, nail, and hook), slag, Asokan sandstone piece, stone bowl, coin moulds, terracotta figures and figurines, four legged saddle querns, gold, silver and terracotta ornaments, faunal remains,\textsuperscript{23} etc. On the basis of stratigraphy and material artefacts, the site is dated from c. 4\textsuperscript{th} century B.C. to c. 5\textsuperscript{th} century A.D.

Explorations in and around Asurgarh (Narla) have uncovered three more sites, two of which bear early historic material remains and the third one is a temple site, dated to c. 6\textsuperscript{th} century A.D. (See Map No.-4). The early historic sites of Bhimkela and Sirpur may be small in dimension but excellent

\textsuperscript{19} A coin hoard consisting of 539 silver punch-marked coins was found from the site. A systematic classification reveals that out of 539 coins, 69 belong to the pre-Mauryan, 272 to Mauryan and 198 to post-Mauryan period. See Deo, P.K. (1966), 'Forgotten Forts of Kalarhendi (Part 1), Asurgarh Fort and a Hoard of Punch-Marked Coins'. \textit{OHRJ}, Vol. XIV (No. 3), pp. 25-43.


\textsuperscript{21} As many as fifty punch-marked coins of silver and bronze were found deposited in the plinth level during the excavations. \textit{Ibid.}, p.3

\textsuperscript{22} Limited excavation has been undertaken at the unearthed site. A circular brick structure, 40 feet in diameter along with a small terracotta female figurine and broken terracotta figures of different animals have been unearthed from the excavation. This led the excavator of the site Dr. N.K. Sahu to identify it as a temple of mother goddess. \textit{Ibid.}, p.4.

early historic materials are found from the sites, some of which has close affinities with that of Asurgarh (See Table No. II, SL No. 2,3, &14).

Kharligarh\textsuperscript{24} is another major fortified early historic site of the Tel basin. The fort is almost square in plan and covers an area of 54 acres of land. Excellent planning was made firstly, to provide the site with a natural defence through the river and secondly, to place it in such a location that it could be safe from inundation.\textsuperscript{25} It appears to be a riverine port. The strategic location might have helped it to emerge as the leading centre of trade and commerce. This is the only fortified site of this sub-region, which is located on the main course of the river Tel. From here it could have controlled the riverine trade of the middle Tel basin and the trade and communication network of the sites located in the upper reaches of the Raul.

Recent excavation at the site has unearthed eight occupational layers without reaching the natural soil.\textsuperscript{26} A large number of artefacts have been

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\textsuperscript{24} Das, H.C. (1990), Urban Centres in Ancient Orissa (3\textsuperscript{rd} century B.C. to 7\textsuperscript{th} century A.D.) in A.K. Ray and S. Mukherjee, (eds.), \textit{Historical Archaeology of India}. New Delhi, pp. 187-188.

\textsuperscript{25} The square fort is located on a meander of the river Raul, just above its confluence with the Tel. The Raul has circumscribed the fort in the north, east and south sides and served as a natural defence. The only side (western) not protected by the riparian system was however protected by a mammoth wall of 400 meters long and is 20 feet in height, and made of burnt bricks. The western side was also protected through a moat, whose both openings were connected to the Raul. The embankment was constructed to divert the water to the moat. Mohanty, P. and Mishra, B., (2002), \textit{Op.cit.}, p. 474.

\textsuperscript{26} In last year’s excavation, three trenches were taken. Trench I reveals eight occupational layers without reaching the natural soil, where as in Trench II and III the occupational deposits beyond layer 4 were blocked by massive brick structures. Layer I consists of 16cms of deposit, the findings are plain red ware, red slipped ware, black ware, tiles, iron objects (spearhead), stone beads (agate, and Carnelian), and terracotta beads. Layer II consists of 16 cms of deposit, material finds include red ware, red slipped ware, black ware, tiles, iron objects (spearhead, chisels, and nails), hopscotch, stone beads, bead polisher. Layer III consists of 20cms of deposit, findings include RW, RSW, BW, perforated ware, iron objects (nails and chisels). Layer IV has a deposit of 8cms, sterile of artefacts. Layer V is a deposit of 22cms and antiquities found include RW, RSW, BW, tiles, burnt bricks, iron objects (nails, chisels, sword fragments, clamps), saddle querns, stone pestle, terracotta hopscotch, perforated ware and a copper punch marked coin. Layer VI has a deposit of 23cms of deposit and objects found include RSW, BW, RW AND BRW. Iron objects (nail, spearhead, chisels, copper ring, stone moulds for ornaments and ring stones). Layer VII consists of 23cms of deposit and the artefacts are RW, RSW, BW, BRW, iron objects. Layer VIII consists of 40cms of deposit and antiquities unearthed include RW, RSW, BW and iron objects. See Garnayak, D.B.
DISTRIBUTION OF EARLY HISTORICAL SITES IN THE TEL BASIN

1. Asurgarh (Narla)
2. Bhimkela
3. Dehi
4. Budhgarh
5. Khairgarh
6. Gudvela
7. Kharikhaman
8. Sankuda
9. Madekeia
10. Telmunda
11. Ratakhandi
12. Samaleswan
13. Turia Bridge
14. Sirpur
15. Terasingha
16. Bichakhraman
17. Amatgarh
18. Bilaikan
19. Utrukupagarh
20. Talbhamra
21. Belkhandi Ragpadi
22. Gumperbali
23. Chamankhunta
24. Chhatukuda
25. Gudanga
26. Chandrapadar
27. Jamugudapadar
28. Changargad
29. Reamunda
30. Nehra

Map No 4
collected from the site. Some of the important findings are ceramics (red ware, red slipped ware, black ware, black and red ware, black slipped ware, Kuṣāṇa red ware, and predominantly red slipped ware), iron objects (nail, chisel, spear head, sword fragments and clamps, however, nail is predominant) and slag, beads of precious and semi precious stones (agate, cernelian, quartz and coral), a stone bead polisher, copper punch-marked coin, Kuṣāṇa coin, copper ring, stone pestle, smoking pipes (hookas), hopscotch, saddle querns and terracotta objects, etc.

The vicinity of Kharligarh is dotted with early historic settlements (See Map No.-4 and Table No.II). Some of them are less than one hectare in dimension and appear to be single culture agricultural settlements, whereas others are large settlements with multifunctional activities like pottery making, brick manufacturing, fishing, agriculture, and collection of forest products. The pottery assemblage of all these adjoining sites has close affinities with that of Kharligarh. It indicates the close interaction between the fortified and unfortified settlements.

Budhigarh is another fortified settlement of this sub-region. The site is located on the upper reaches of the Raul, the same river on whose mouth Kharligarh is located. Unlike the other two sites, its fortification wall is completely lost and the moat is filled with dirt. The site is spread over an
extensive area. Surface exploration at the site has yielded excellent early historic and early medieval material. Some of the important findings are Northern Black Polished Ware, Knobbed Ware, punch-marked coins (silver), beads (copper and stone), iron implements, animal pendant, amulets, gold coins (Mahendraditya and Sarabhapurīya), gold ornaments, ornament mould, jasper seal with Kharoṣṭhi-Brāhmī script, earstud (jasper), glass bangles, smoking pipes (hookahs), terracotta objects, icons of Brahmanical deities and faunal remains. The surface collection indicates the early historic beginning of the site and its continuation well up to the early medieval period.

The rich material remains indicate Budhigarth to be an important settlement in this landscape. The site might have multifunctional activities i.e. political, commercial, manufacturing and religious. But due to lack of corroborative evidences, nothing can be ascertained precisely. Systematic excavation or survey at the site will be able to provide answers to many queries about South-Kośala's ancient history.

Besides these three fortified settlements, the remaining thirty-one sites are unfortified settlements (See Map No.-4 and table No.II). These unfortified settlements can be categorised into two groups i.e. (a) settlements measuring more than one hectare, and (b) those less than one hectare. There are eight settlements of the first category. Among them Nehna, Urlukupagarh, Dumerbahal and Bileikani are most prominent.

Nehna is located in the upper reaches of the Under or Indra, a left bank tributary of the Tel. Cultural materials ranging from early historic to medieval period have been found at the site. The noteworthy finds of the site is ceramics (black and red ware, with and without white paintings, Knobbed Ware), iron implements, beads of precious and semi-precious stone, polychrome glass bangles, copper plates charter and gold coins of the

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Sarabhapurīya dynasty. The trial trench at the site has exposed two cultural layers, i.e., early historic and early medieval period. Some of the ceramics of the site show close affinity with that of the central Indian variety.

Urlukupagarh\textsuperscript{31} is located in the upper reaches of the Utei, a tributary of the Tel. The site is situated on a meander, which circumscribed it from three sides, the fourth side was probably provided with a moat connecting both ends to the rivers. The artefacts found from the site are ceramics, iron slag and implements, terracottas and ring stones, and a gold coin of the Sultanate period.

The early historic site of Dumerbahal\textsuperscript{32} is located on the right bank of the Ret, a tributary of the Tel. The ceramic assemblage of the site consists of black and red ware, red ware, dull red ware, black burnished ware, black slipped ware with concentric circles, and coarse grey ware. Other antiquities are beads of precious and semi-precious stone, faunal remains, stone ploughshare and iron objects.

Bilaikani\textsuperscript{33} is located on the right bank of the Tel. Besides the early historic remains, the site has great importance for its burial remains. The site has yielded megalithic remains like menhirs and stone circles spreading over an area of more than one hectare of land. It is important that there is a clear separation between the habitational area and burial ground (See Table No.II).

**MIDDLE MAHANADI BASIN**

Geographically the middle Mahanadi basin lies between the northern upland and south-eastern hilly regions of Orissa.\textsuperscript{34} In its main course from

\textsuperscript{31} The author discovered them during the survey with Dr. Baba Mishra.

Sambalpur to Boudh in downstream, Mahanadi is joined by tributaries like the Danta, Jira, Ang, Tel and Bagh on its right bank and a large number of seasonal streams of water on its left bank. Explorations in the valley of the Mahanadi from Binka to Boudh and in the lower courses of the Ang, Suktel and Tel have unearthed thirty-nine early historic sites (See Map No.-5). Out of thirty-nine sites, six are fortified settlements and the rest are unfortified settlements.

Asurgarh (Manamunda, hereafter MND) is the largest fortified settlement of the middle Mahanadi basin. It is located on the right bank of the Tel at its confluence with the Mahanadi. The site spreads over an extensive area of 1.5x0.5 square kms. The rampart wall of the fort, made of brick, is visible on the edge of the river bank. The site has been excavated twice and yielded important antiquities and structural remains. One such structural remain, dating to first century of the Christian era, is identified as a sacrificial altar. (See Table No. III, SL No. 1) On the basis of stratigraphy and material remains, a date of c. 4th century B.C. to c. 5th century A.D. is assigned to the site. Its strategic location might have helped it to emerge as a leading trade centre and this function of the site is reflected in the inscription of the site.

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37 The site was first excavated in 1981 as a joint venture of the Department of Archaeology Deccan College, Pune and P.G. Department of History, Sambalpur University, Orissa as a part of the project to search for the Lanka of Ravana. In early 1990's the site was further excavated by the P.G. Department of History, Sambalpur University, Orissa.

38 The excavation of early 1980's had unearthed two cylindrical hollow pillars made of brick; one of them was excavated up to its surface level measures 8 meters in height. Its inner diameter is 0.80m and outer diameter is 126m. In the clearance of the inner surface of this structure, 6 earthen pots were found about 30 feet below the surface. All the pots were arranged one above the other. A layer of sand was arranged at the bottom of the Pots. A huge deposit of charcoal was found in the layer of sand. This layer has also yielded the jawbone of an animal. Taking all these into consideration, the excavator has identified it with a ritual altar or havankund, Behera, S.C. (1987), ‘Manamunda’, in S.C. Behera (ed.), ‘Interim Excavation Report’, Sambalpur, pp. 19-20.
subsequent period. All the major trading routes connecting coastal Orissa with central India through western Orissa touch this site. A detailed analysis of these issues is included in the section dealing with trade and trade routes in this chapter.

All the early historic sites including Asurgarh (MND) were closely linked with each other, as is evident from the close affinities in ceramic assemblage and other antiquities (i.e., beads & iron implements). The common potteries types found from these sites are black and red ware, black ware, black slipped ware, red ware, and red slipped ware. Though certain differences existed in the ceramic types, it was because of cultural and temporal gaps and linked to the other factors as well. (See Table No. III).

The adjacent settlements are varied in dimension, ranging from small settlements measuring less than one hectare to three to four hectares. Besides the agricultural function, they also appear to be involved in fishing, pottery making, iron metallurgy and commercial activities. The last three activities are attested by the discovery of beads of precious and semi-precious stones, iron slag and cowrie shells. The discovery of 21 kg of iron slag from a trench of 2x2 meters along with a furnace is a definite indicator of iron metallurgy.

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39 In the early medieval period, the settlement had shifted from the confluence to the bank of the Mahanadi just above the confluence. It had served as the political headquarter of the Somavamsis for a considerable period of time. A large number of inscriptions were issued from this place. It was also an important trade centre. In the Jatesinga Dungri plates, it is mentioned as Pattana-Suvarnapura (Shastri, A.M., 1995) (for details see next chapter).

40 Corded ware was an important pottery type of the Neolithic period found from Hikudi. Similarly sites like Nuagarh and Khambeswaripali have yielded a large quantity of black and red ware with white paintings, a yardstick pottery specimen of the proto-historic period. Northern Black Polished Ware (inferior quality) is found in plenty from Asurgarh (MND).

41 The excavation at Kurumpadar has yielded a huge quantity of iron slag, (21 kg from a trench of 2x2 meters) and with a furnace, is a strong indication of metallurgical activities. A silver punch-marked coin (imperial variety) has also been found from the excavation Personal Communication with Dr. P.K. Behera and Subash Khamari the excavator of the site.
EARLY HISTORIC SITES OF THE MIDDLE MAHANADI BASIN

Map No. 5
Binka is another notable site of this sub-region. It is located on the right bank of the Mahanadi, at a distance of 20 km upstream from Asurgarh (MND). This settlement has early historic beginning but became prominent in the early medieval period. The fortification walls and moat were probably later constructions. In c. 9th-10th century A.D., the Somavamsis occupied this settlement for quite some time and established their political headquarter here. In their charters, this settlement is referred to as Vinitapura Kataka.

Exploration alongside the same bank of the Mahanadi has unearthed eight more early historic settlements. Except Kartang (two hectares), all others are small sites less than one hectare in dimension. The close resemblance in their ceramic assemblages reveal their inter linkages. (See table No. III and Map No.-5)

The upland areas of the middle Mahanadi basin are dotted with four fortified settlements. All four are known as Asurgarh or the 'fort of the Demons'. The right side upland areas have three of them. (See Map No.-5) They are known from a preliminary survey which reveals the similarities of fortified settlements dated to early historic and early medieval periods.

Exploration on the lower Ang and lower Suktel valley has led to the discovery of large number of early historic sites. (See Map No.-5) These settlements are small in size and mostly less than one hectare in dimension.

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42 The site was surveyed by the author himself and Subash Khamari; Also see Sethi, A.K. (1995-96), An Archaeological Survey in the Middle Mahanadi Valley: from Binka to Sonepur, Orissa, Unpublished M. Phil. Dissertation submitted to P. G. Department of History, SU. pp. 28-33.

43 The sites located upstream from Binka were surveyed by the author himself and Subash Khamari in the year 2002. The sites located downstream were reported by A.K. Sethi, (1995-96) Op. cit., pp. 34-35.


But the materials found from them have far reaching consequences. The glass bangles of different variety (i.e., monochrome, bi-chrome and polychrome) are an important aspect of antiquities found at these sites. (See Table No III)

The above discussion indicates that by the early historic period (c. 5th century B.C. to c. 5th century A.D.) South-Kośala, in general, had witnessed the expansion of settlements to different ecological-zones. On the basis of spatial distribution of sites, we can categorise them into (a) flood plain sites (located on the banks of the Mahanadi and Tel), (b) inland sites (located on the upper reaches of small rivers and the area contiguous to the forest), and (c) upland sites (located in the foothill areas). However, the settlement pattern of the three identified sub-regions was not homogenous in nature. The settlement pattern of the upper Mahanadi basin was dispersed in nature. Settlements were spread over a wide geographical zone, but mostly restricted within the ambit of Mahanadi's flood plain or areas adjacent to it. Except at Malhar, no evidence of site clustering is noticed yet.

However, the settlement pattern of the middle Tel basin was a combination of both the dispersed pattern and site clustering. But, in a marked contrast to the upper Mahanadi basin, the majority of the settlements including two prominent fortified settlements in the Tel basin were located in the upper reaches of small rivers and area contiguous to the forest. The urban complexes like Kharligarh and Asurgarh (Narla) were surrounded by small settlements, which indicate clustering of sites within small ecological-zones.

The settlement pattern of the middle Mahanadi was linear in nature. A majority of the settlements were located along both the banks of the Mahanadi and its tributaries like the Tel, Ang and Suktel (tributaries of the Tel). The close proximity of sites within this linear pattern showed their inter-linkages. Besides these river valley sites, certain important sites expanded towards the upland areas, which was mostly because of the availability of resources. Badmal is an excellent example of this.
This analysis of settlement pattern is totally based on the sites discovered till date. Since this region has an immense potential of archaeological research and new evidences keep coming up frequently, this assumption is subject to change in the light of new discoveries.

The distribution pattern of settlements across the landscape reveals valuable data regarding man-land relationship on the one hand and the nature of socio-economic, political and religious life of a given society on the other. The above-mentioned aspects can also be ascertained through a systematic analysis of the function(s) of settlements, though the identification of the primary function of a settlement is a complex issue since most of them had several functions. On the basis of size, location and material remains, we can broadly categorise settlements into those associated with production function, political function, manufacturing, trade and commerce and ritual practices.

Agriculture was the mainstay of the early historic subsistence economy and was also the primary function of a majority of settlements. Besides agriculture, settlements were also involved in activities such as fishing, herding, gathering and manufacturing. The geographic location of a settlement was the main determinant of its involvement in other functions. The settlements, located in the flood plain areas of major rivers, appear to be primarily agricultural in nature. The fishing and manufacturing (i.e., pottery, brick, iron, glass beads, etc.) were other functions in which these sites might have involved. The settlements, which were located in the upper reaches of small rivers, were equally dependent upon agriculture and collection of forest products and utilisation of the mineral resources.

(II) Resource Mobilisation

Along with agriculture, utilisation of natural resources was an important aspect of the early historic economy. Iron, which was already in use from the Megalithic period onwards, was exploited on a large scale during the early historic period. Almost all the early historic sites of this region have yielded
large numbers of iron objects, both from surface explorations and in excavations. The iron objects mainly comprise of nail, knife, axe dagger, spearhead, arrowhead, sickle, hinge, door clamp, etc. The functional analysis of these objects indicates hunting, gathering, fishing, house building and boat making activities. The discovery of iron slag from the sites reveals the local production of these objects and iron metallurgy. As some of the sites are located in close proximity to iron ore deposits areas, they were perhaps engaged in exploitation of this metal.

From the historical records it is clear that, iron was exploited not only to meet the local requirement, but used as a commodity in trade and exchange. Coastal Orissa was perhaps one such region with which trade and exchange in iron metal took place. Coastal Orissa, being a Holocene formation does not contain any major iron deposits, but this metal is found in plenty from early historic sites of the same region. Moreover, it is interesting to notice that in the Arthāśāstra the swords of Kalinga are highly praised. In such circumstances it is probable that this was brought from the inland and upland areas and given different shapes in coastal Orissa.

The use of precious and semi-precious stones was an important feature of early historic resource mobilisation. Beads of precious and semi-precious stones, both in finished and semi-finished forms are a common feature of material remains from early historic sites of South-Kośala. Till date nineteen varieties of stones used for beads manufacturing have been identified. The most common types are carnelian, agate, jasper, sapphire, quartz, ruby, garnet, crystal, etc.

South-Kośala contains some of the important precious and semi-precious stone deposit zones of India. There are three important localities of this region, which bear these deposits i.e., (a) the landmass between Boudh

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Interestingly, a large number of early historic sites have been found from the first two localities, however, the Sambalpur region has not been explored, as the diamond bearing zone and its adjoining areas have been submerged in the Hirakud dam project. From the archaeological records we can identify five beads manufacturing sites. They are Badmal and Maryakud (Sonepur and Boudh localities), Asurgarh, Budhigarh, and Nehna (Kalahandi region).

The precious and semi-precious stones of South-Kosala were highly praised and in great demand in the ancient period. The _Arthasastra_ of Kautilya refers to a territory called Indravana famous for diamond. A _Historical Atlas of South Asia_ of Chicago University has identified Indravana with the landmass between the river Indravati and Tel, both of which flow through the Kalahandi district.

The Greek Geographer Ptolemy refers to a town named Sambalaka situated on the bank of Manada which was famous for diamond trade, and diamonds extracted from this region were highly appreciated in the Roman Empire. Sambalaka has been identified with the modern township of Sambalpur, located on the bank of the Mahanadi, and Manada has been identified with the Mahanadi. In the British period, the diamond mines of

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48 A recent survey by the Orissa Mining Corporation has identified the region between Boudh and Sonepur as rich in precious and semi-precious stone deposits. Khuntia, S. (n.d), _Geology of Gemstone Resources of Orissa_, Orissa Mining Corporation, Bhubaneswar.

49 Jilingadar, located near Junagadh in Kalahandi has been identified as the largest ruby deposit belt in Asia by the Geological Survey of India. Kalahandi is also the only district in Orissa which has deposit of alexandrites. Mohanty, P. and Mishra, B. (1999), 'Beads from the Archaeological Site of Kalahandi District, Orissa" in _Bead Study Trust Newsletter_, No. 34, London, p. 15.


Sambalpur were very famous. The East India Company had sent Thomas Mottee\textsuperscript{54} from Calcutta to Sambalpur to explore the possibilities for diamond trade with Sambalpur. Moreover, Mottee, who visited Sambalpur, has given a vivid description of the diamond mines of Sambalpur and the way the precious stone was mined. The subsequent visitors, travellers and officers of the British period like V. Ball,\textsuperscript{55} Breton,\textsuperscript{56} and Kitto\textsuperscript{57} have also referred to the diamond mines of Sambalpur. This view has also been substantiated by the \textit{Geographical Survey of India}, which has declared it as a rich diamond-bearing zone.\textsuperscript{58}

The use and popularity of the gem stone in antiquity in this region can also be seen from the names of local deities and forts (garh) which are associated with various semi-precious stones. Manikēśvari (goddess of ruby) is a venerable local deity of Kalahandi region. Similarly, Pannēśvari (goddess of emeralds), Khambēśvari (goddess of crystal, crystaberyl), and Sambaleśvari (goddess of resources) have also been identified. Sambaleśvari is the presiding deity of Sambalpur region. Manikgarh (fort of ruby) was a famous medieval fort of Kalahandi.\textsuperscript{59} This overlap in the name of semi-precious stone and that of local deities of South-Kośala is suggestive of some kind of symbolism, pertaining to the gem stone resources and the association of communities with it.


\textsuperscript{57} Kitto, M. (1839), 'Accounts of the Journey from Calcutta via Cuttack and Puri to Sambalpur and from there to Madnipur Through the Forest of Orissa'. \textit{JASB}, Vol. 8, pp. 367-389.

\textsuperscript{58} See, Sen, S.N. (1971), \textit{op. cit.}, and Krishna, M.S. (1971), \textit{op. cit.}.

The ethnographic evidence also indicates the traditional method for diamond collection in this region. A large number of people are still engaged in the collection of diamonds by washing the river gravel of the Mahanadi.\textsuperscript{60} Such practices were also prevalent in the British period, which has been elaborately recorded by Thomos Mottee.\textsuperscript{61}

Glass bangles and glass bead manufacturing involved the optimum use of natural resource. South-Kosâla has a number of rivers, which carry huge amount of sand, the chief raw material for glass manufacturing. The early historic sites of this sub-region have yielded a large number of bi-chrome, monochrome and poly-chrome glass bangles and beads. Recent archaeological investigation at the confluence of the Mahanadi and Tel sub-region has identified glass manufacturing activities at Deuli, Kurumpadar, Kapasira, Kutasingha and Sakma.\textsuperscript{62}(See Table No-III and Map No.-5) A systematic excavation at these sites and scientific analysis of glass objects is needed for further information on this issue.

Along with the mineral resources, the natural resources (fauna and flora) of this region might have formed an important part of the early historic trade and commerce. Among the forest products, the most important were timber (Sali), bamboo, fibre like hemp, roofing materials, dry medicinal herbs, wild agricultural products, lac, wax, hides, skins, bones and teeth (elephant and tiger), horns and birds, etc. The discovery of animal bones from explorations and excavations indicates the diversity in resource mobilisation.\textsuperscript{63}

\textsuperscript{60} Tripathy, B. (2000, a), \textit{Ibid.}
(iii) Trade and Exchange Network

In the early historic period, South-Kośala was one of the focal points of pan-Indian trade and exchange networks. Many important trade routes passed through this region, which connected South-Kośala with different parts of India. The strategic location of this landmass and its natural resources (i.e., flora, fauna and mineral) played a leading role in augmenting the trading activities. This fact is corroborated by literary, numismatic and archaeological evidence.

The traditional accounts trace South-Kośala’s relation with the neighbouring regions to a remote past. The Mahābhārata alludes to a mass migration of people from North-Kośala to south owing to the terror caused by Jarasandha. Pargiter holds the view that South-Kośala came into existence because of this exodus. The Nalapākhyaṇa section of the text describes the existence of some important routes. After proceeding a little distance from the outskirts of the Niśāda kingdom, king Nala points out to his consort Damayanti three routes, one of which runs towards the south after crossing the country of Avanti and Rakṣa mountain, the second towards Vidarbha (Berar) and the third toward South-Kośala.

The Suttanipāta mentions the migration of a Brāhmaṇa ascetic named Bavari from Kośala to the bank of the Godavari in the Assaka country. Geographically South-Kośala lies between the territory of Kośala and Assaka. So, the route connecting these two territories passed through South-Kośala.

Direct evidence regarding trade and commerce comes from the Aṣṭādhyāyi of Panini (c. 5th century B.C). It refers to the flourishing trade of

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64 MBH, 11, 13.
65 AJHT, p. 278, Note 1, JRAS, (1908), p. 32.
66 MBH, III, 61, vs. 21-23, also see Sahu J.K. (1997), Historical Geography of Orissa, New Delhi, p. 243.
67 Suttanipāta, verse 1011, 1013, Ibid., p. 244.
Taitila Janapada, which was famous for trade in Kadru. The Taitila Janapada has been identified with modern Titlagarh town in Bolangir district. 68 J.K. Sahu has interpreted Kadru as tawny coloured materials, whereas V.S. Agrawala thinks that it was rhinoceros hides. Similarly, S.C.Panda suggests it may be identified with cotton fabric. The Seri Vantiya Jataka refers to the flourishing trade on the river Telavaha with traders coming from the kingdom of Seri across the river Telavaha to the city of Andapura. Telavaha has been identified with the river Tel on whose bank the township of Titlagarh is located. In the previous section, it has clearly been proved that the banks of Tel river are dotted with a large number of early historic sites. J.K. Sahu suggests that Titlagarh was so named probably because of the profuse trade in oil and oil seeds carried through it.

Dakshinapatha, the ancient highway which connected the Ganga valley with the south passed through South-Kosala. There was another important route running from Ujjain to Toshali through Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and Orissa. It connected important sites like Vidisha, Sirpur, Nehna, Asurgarh (Narla) and Asurgarh (MND). In the ancient period, a trade route existed between the Ganga valley in the north and Kalinga through South-Kosala. It started from Kausambi (Allahabad), and passing through Bilaspur-Raipur

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68 Agrawala, V.S (1953), *India As Known to Panini*, Allahabad, pp. 61, 440.
69 Sahu. J.K. *op. cit.*, p. 244.
districts entered South-Kośala. From Kośala it ran towards Kalinga through forests and mountains.77

The Mahanadi, which flowed through South-Kośala, was the main artery of communication between coastal Orissa and central India. The Mahanadi and Tel are two leading navigable rivers of Orissa and this fact is corroborated by the records of the British period.78 The special Kalinga edicts at Dhauli state that Kumāra visited Tosali from Ujjain through Madhya Bhārat,79

In the ancient period, South-Kośala and Kalinga were connected through an important route. Aryadeva, the great philosopher (c. 2nd century A.D.), seems to have taken this route while travelling from Kalinga to Kośala to meet the Mādhyamika philosopher Nagarjuna.80 Moreover, it appears that Samudragupta had adopted the same route to reach Kalinga from Kośala.81 The Allahabad pillar inscription82 (c. 350 A.D.) vividly describes the southern campaign of Samudragupta and the movement of his army from one kingdom

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78 The British records reveal the navigability of the Mahanadi, as Colonel Harcourt, Commissioner of Cuttack, objected to the handing over of Sonepur Boudh region to the Marathas citing security reasons and wanted a hold over the navigational parts of the Mahanadi, see, Nayak, P.M. (1999) ‘Ancient Routes of Sonepur’. OHRJ, Vol. XLIII (No. 1-4), pp. 107-113.
81 R.K. Mukherjee states that after ‘leaving the Yamuna valley, Samudragupta must have marched through the modern Rewa state and Jabalpur district and came up to the kingdom of Kośala, comprising eastern Madhya Pradesh (present day Chhattisgarh) and western Orissa which was the first state to be attacked. From Kośala, Samudragupta marched towards Kantara or Mahakantara and defeated king Vyaghrarāja. Kantara country has been identified with the region comprising major parts of Bastar and Koraput and a portion of South-Kalahandi. This indicates that he must have marched through Bastar (Chhattisgarh) and Koraput (Orissa) towards Kalinga. Mukherjee, R.K. (1948), The Gupta Empire, Bombay, p. 20.
82 This inscription vividly describes Samudragupta’s southern campaign. Out of the 12 states, three states i.e., Mahendra of Kośala, Vyaghararāja of Kantara or Mahakantara and Mantarāja of Kaurala belonged to South-Kośala of the subsequent Period, CII, III, pp. 1-17.
DISTRIBUTION OF EARLY HISTORIC COINS
IN SOUTH KOSALA REGION

Map No.6
to the other. In the subsequent period, the Chinese pilgrim HuenTsang (639 A.D.) visited Kośala from Kalinga through the same route.³³

The route linking coastal Orissa with western Orissa passed along the course of the Mahanadi. The Ratnāvalī,³⁴ a work on drama of c. 7th century A.D., refers to a route from Kalinga coast up to Kausambi passing through South-Kośala. The military expedition of a general of Rajendra Coḷa (c. 1023 A.D) to Ganga valley marched through Kośala and Odra.³⁵ The Coḷa army first subdued Sakkarakotam, Madurai-mandalam, Namanai Konam, Pancapalli and Masunidesa, all in Cakrakota-mandala (Bastar), then proceeded towards the Somavamśicapital Yayātinagara, situated on the bank of the Mahanadi. A route from the river Indravati near Jagdalpur (Bastar) to the Mahanadi near Boudh passed through the north-west of Koraput district and the heart of Kalahandi and Phulbani district. It is admitted in the Coḷa record that the route was difficult to approach due to dense forests.

The existence of the above-mentioned trade and communication routes are to a great extent corroborated by numismatic findings from South-Kośala. A large number of coins have been found from this region, dated between c. 5th century B.C. to c. 7th–8th century A.D. It consists of both the regional and extra-regional varieties. Some of the important findings are punch-marked coins (imperial and local), Kuśāṇa, Sātavāhana, Roman, Indo-Greek, Indo-Sassanian, Yaudheya, Gupta, western-Kshatrāpa, Byzantine, and Chinese coins. Local coin finds belong to dynasties like Māghan, Mahendraditya, Sri Nanda, Nala and Sarabhapuriyas. (See Table on Coins, see Map No. 6 &9).

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³³ The Chinese pilgrim who visited Kośala (South-Kośala) in 639 A.D. mentions that, from Kalinga the traveller went north-west through hill and forest and after covering a distance of nearly 350 miles reached Kośala. See, Watters T.E. (1904-1905), Yuan Ch1vang's Travel in India, part, II 189-94.

³⁴ Acharya, P. op. cit., p. 46.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 47, also see Sahu, J.K. op. cit. p. 253.
The South-Kōśala Janapada type of punch-marked coins has been found from seventeen localities. (See Map No.-6) Out of these, two are fortified urban settlements (Asurgarh Narla and Malhar). Two others are early historic sites (Arang and Balpur). Five find spots are located on the banks of the Mahanadi and Tel, i.e., Sonepur, Sambalpur (on middle Mahanadi), Jaunda (on upper Mahanadi), Tarabha (on the Tel) and Lukapada (on the Suktel) (See Table on Coins).

The discovery of local punch-marked coins from outside the territorial boundary of South-Kōśala reveals the wide distribution networks and its interaction with neighbouring regions. South-Kōśala variety of punch-marked coins have been found from three important regions such as Dhapewara (Balaghat district, M.P), Salepur (Cuttack district, Orissa), and Adam (Vidarbha region in Maharashtra). The imperial variety of coins have also been found from eleven localities, of which five are fortified settlements (Narla Asurgarh, Malhar, Budhigarh, Kharligarh, and Asurgarh MND) and from Kurumpadar, an early historic iron manufacturing settlement located on the bank of Mahanadi (See Map No.-6).

Sātavāhana and Kuśāṇa coins are found from Balpur (on the Mahanadi), Malhar, Kharligarh, Asurgarh (Narla) and from the bed of river Mand. Roman coins have been found from Malhar, Chakrabadha and Bilaspur, whereas the Indo-Greek coins were found from Seorinarayan. A solitary piece of Byzantine coin was collected from Malhar. Arang has yielded Gupta coins. Besides these, a large number of coins have also been found from the inland and upland areas (See Map No.-6).

The literary and numismatics evidence are further substantiated by the archaeological findings of this region. We have already discussed the beads of precious and semi-precious stones of this region. The discovery of Indo-Pacific glass beads (Bhimkela and Budhigarh), coral beads (Kharligarh, Badmal, and Asurgarh Narla) and etched beads indicate the existence of trade.
in beads. Besides beads, precious and semi precious stones were also used for manufacturing exotic goods, such as tiger nail pendant made of quartz (Sirpur) animal pendant (Budhigarh), rhinoceros pendant (Asurgarh Narla) and tortoise pendant (Badmal). The discovery of a piece of agate bowl from Bhimkela indicates the high material status of the inhabitant of this region. Such bowl has only been found from Arikamedu and Taxila, dated to c. 3rd century B.C.86

Besides the metal and metallic objects, ceramics are an indicator of contacts. The Knobbed Ware is such a pottery type, found from Asurgarh (MND), Budhigarh, Kartang, Maryakud, Deuli, Nehna, etc. It has also been found at the early historic sites of coastal Orissa like Sisupalgarh and Radhanagar.87 Since this was not a local variety of pottery, it must have come to this region as a result of trade and exchange. The early historic sites of this region has also yielded Northern Black Polished Ware (Malhar, Budhigarh, Asurgarh Narla and Asurgarh MND), and red glazed Kuśāṇa ware (Asurgarh Narla, Bilaikani and Maraguda), indicating contacts with the Ganga valley. The above discussion provides ample evidence of South-Kośala's continued interaction with its neighbouring regions and participation in the wider trade and exchange networks of early India.

(iv) Religious Belief and Practices

Religious beliefs and practices are as old as human civilization. These perhaps owe their beginnings to the symbolisation of natural forces and the practice of rituals in diverse ways. Such symbolisation and ritual practices varied from one society to the other. More importantly it was not static, but evolved continuously with growing complexities in society. It has a long

development, from primitive animism to complex religious structures and sculptures involving elaborate rituals. Furthermore, at no single point of time, there was complete homogeneity in religious and ritual practices; rather they were diverse and very complex in nature. So the study of any single aspect will not reflect the total picture of any given period. What is needed is a more comprehensive analysis of all the available materials to understand the underlying meanings. Unfortunately, religion has been studied mainly through literary, inscriptive, monumental or sculptural evidences, which manifest a linear pattern in religious transformation from one period to the other. But scholars have failed to understand the religious and ritual practices due to paucity of evidence.

South-Kośala is one such region which does not have the above mentioned source materials until c. 5th century A.D. This prompted scholars to assume that the religious process in this region started in the post-Gupta period. They argued that the migration of Brāhmaṇas led to the diffusion of Brahanical religious traits in this region which manifested itself in the emergence of temples. But, such studies do not ever discuss the long antecedent period of religious transformation whose traces are preserved in the forms of rock-paintings, megalith, terracottas, coins and ring stones, found abundantly in this region. So, the aim of this section is to document and undertake a systematic analysis of these source materials to understand the religious processes of the pre-temple period. However, the above mentioned sources are not bereft of constraints. Many doubts have been raised regarding their dating and meaning. But for dating, instead of an absolute one, I will try to determine their relative dating or the broad cultural period to which they belong. Similarly, in case of meaning I would like to use ethnographical data to draw a parallel between them.
ROCK PAINTINGS

Rock paintings and engravings are one of the earliest repositories of man and his environment. Here man has documented various aspects of his life in the form of animate and inanimate symbols. Hence it is imperative to identify and understand these symbols first, to reveal the underlying meaning behind them. Here I have made an attempt to attribute specific meanings to certain symbols which occur in the rock paintings.

The highland areas of South-Kośala are full of rock paintings and engravings. They are distributed over certain geological formations. There are around seventy rock shelters with engravings and paintings, which have been discovered. They consist of both individual as well as cluster of rock shelters in a single site. The subject matter is by and large non figurative abstract pattern and motifs comprised of human figures, foot prints, palm, and a great variety of animals like deer, antler, boar, hare, rhinoceros, tiger,

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88 The rock formation of the highland areas is represented by the sedementaries of fossiliferrous purple, ferruginous sandstone, silt stone, and shales and grit. The rock formation comprises soft, medium grained sandstone and red shale of Cuddaph group which weather easily. The natural weathering process has created a larger number of rock-shelters and cavities. This area is also replete with natural resources. The perennial or seasonal stream of water which flows nearby fulfilled their requirements. Besides this the medium and low hill ranges are thick in vegetation which yields a wide range of roots and fruits. This is also the abode of diverse wildlife like boar, elephant, deer, antler, bufflo, tiger, nilgai, hare, sambar, and birds, etc. So, the natural rock shelter formation replete with natural resources played a major role in the distribution of rock painting sites. Pradhan, S. (2001), Rock Art in Orissa, New Delhi, p. 26.

snake, lizard, frog, fish and tortoise. However the depiction of human figures is very meagre.

The inanimate figures encompass a host of intricate and enigmatic and abstract geometric and non-geometric designs. The patterns and motifs include triangles resembling female sexual organ, rhomboids, honeycombs, circle, spiral lines, cross hatches, zigzag lines and broom patterns. The interpretation of rock art is not easy. In the absence of comparable data, scholars attribute diverse meanings to it. But on the basis of thematic analysis we can ascribe certain religious and ritual meanings to them.

Triangles are the most commonly depicted motifs. The repeated depiction of triangles with or without dot and a small vertical line inside, led scholars to interpret it as female sexual organ and a representation of the fertility cult. The depiction of wavy lines, having a triangle at one end, is another frequently depicted motif. Such motifs have been identified with the symbolic representation of snake. The representation of group dancing, albeit rare, is an important aspect of community activity of the past society. Such depictions are noticed from Manikmunda, Lekhamunda and Kabrapahar rock shelters. The dancers hold musical instrument In Lekhamunda rock-paintings. Such portrayal can be identified as ritual dancing. Burkitt has pointed out that it is probable that prehistoric man also indulged in ceremonial dance, when game was scarce and struggle for existence became acute. The depiction of a human figure having headgear can be identified as a leader or a Shaman (priest). Superimposition is another important indication for the existence of some specific religious meaning of the ‘space’ where rock

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91 M. Eliade's research demonstrates that “serpent was, since the palaeolithic age, a symbol of the vital forces causing births and rebirths as well as of the latent, mysterious and occult dynamic energies pervading the entire universe, man’s life included. Quoted from Brighenti, F. (2001), Sakti Cult in Orissa, New Delhi, p. 36.

paintings and engravings were done repeatedly. The rock art of this region shows that paintings and engraving were carried out at certain 'spaces' again and again, even if there was no dearth of empty rock shelter or spaces within the painted shelter.

Along with these, the rock shelters also bear a large number of inanimate motifs. Although, at the present state of our knowledge it is very difficult to ascertain their particular meanings, but the repeated depiction of same motifs over longer span of time suggests that they carried certain important meanings known to the author but this was lost with their disappearance. On the continuation of symbols and the religious meanings from one generation to other, Schapira93 and Nicolson94 hold the view that, only under very strong pressure, fundamental beliefs and symbolic meaning changes over the centuries. This is especially true of religious iconography and symbols associated with ideology.

Like other parts of India, the rock art of Orissa has considerable antiquity. Local people living in the vicinity of the rock art sites do not claim their authorship nor do they claim the authorship of their ancestors within their living memory.95 Although rock-art belongs to a remote past, its absolute dating remains uncertain. But considering the colour composition, superimposition, thematic representation along with associated materials, a relative chronology can be worked out for them.

On the basis of colour composition, all the rock-paintings of this region can be classified into three broad phases. All the monochrome paintings in dark red belong to Phase I, roughly corresponding to the Mesolithic period. All the polychrome or bi-chrome paintings of red and

93 Quoted from Pradhan, S. (2001), Rock Art in Orissa, New Delhi, p. 57.
94 Ibid.
white may be placed in Phase II, which may be of Neolithic period. S. Pradhan observes that the painted motifs in the Chalcolithic potteries at Golbai, Khambeswaripali, Bhejidini, and Nuagarh have striking resemblance with the decorative motifs of rock-paintings. He further asserts that white as a pigment was introduced during the Chalcolithic period and the white painted black and red ware is a characteristic pottery of this period.\(^96\) Similarly, all monochromatic paintings in white and buff red superimposed on the earlier paintings may be attributed to Phase III.

The superimposition of rock paintings is an important criterion to determine the chronological dating.\(^97\) The rock paintings at Manikmunda, Lekhamundo (shelters II and X), Ulapgarh, Ushakothi, show superimposition. The colour composition of the paintings of these shelters reveals that, there were certain periods of time gap between them.

The thematic analysis of rock-paintings provides valuable information regarding their relative chronology. The depiction of hunting scenes with human figures holding shaft or stick of wood and metallic weapon like swords, spears certainly belong to two different time brackets. Similarly, the hunting scene, herding scene, scene depicting agricultural activities and fighting scene of human wielding sword and shield are definite indicators of the long continuation of rock paintings and representation of cultural life of different time periods. The depiction of monkey god (Hanumāna) carrying a hillock in flying pose is important, as the theme is perhaps drawn from the epic Rāmāyāna and belongs to a later date.

The archaeological materials found from the rock-shelters having rock paintings and engravings shows the continuation of the tradition of rock art


from Mesolithic to early historic period. A trial trench\(^9\) at Lekhamunda has unearthed three occupational layers. Layers I has a deposit of 30 cm and yielded an iron chisel and a large assemblage of ceramics, i.e., red ware, red slipped ware, black slipped ware and black and red ware along with microliths. The ceramics were made of levigated clay, wheel turned, well potted and well baked and can be compared with the chalolithic and early historic specimens from the plains.\(^9\) Layer II is a deposit of 40 cm below layers. It yielded microliths in association with hematite. The other important discoveries are two specimens of Neolithic Celts, three pieces of ring/hammer stone, one pounders and potteries. Layer III is a deposit of 20 cm. It yielded few pieces of microliths, but there is no evidence of ceramics. This discovery clearly shows that, the Lekhamunda rock-shelter was occupied from Mesolithic through the early historic period. This long occupation is also manifested in the rock-paintings through superimposition.

Since the rock-art itself does not reveal anything substantial regarding their religious and ritual significance, the ethnographical data can be used in their interpretation. Marwood\(^1\) opines that “in the study of primitive art, ethnographic case studies which document the functional relationship between art, ideology, social organisation, resource use and the transforming process by which the material evidence for the relationship is incorporated into the archaeological record have obvious utility”. Tacon\(^1\) discussing the validity of ethnographic interpretation holds the same view.

The extensive study of Saura (a primitive community inhabiting the densely forested part of the Koraput and Ganjam districts of Orissa) paintings

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\(^9\) Ibid., p. 48.

\(^1\) Quoted from Pradhan, S. (2001), *Rock Art in Orissa*, New Delhi, p. 58.

\(^1\) Ibid.
evinces valuable information regarding the functional aspects and religious meanings of the paintings.

The study reveals that when the primitive mind fails to comprehend the cause of unnatural tragedies like earthquake, lightning, killer epidemics, even attack by tiger or other ferocious animals, they attribute the cause to malevolent gods and spirit who need to be propitiated and appeased by drawing icons. The drawing of icons are conceived and created in three stages. In the first stage, the Shaman (priest) identifies the spirit or the power that has caused the disease or death, which needs to be propitiated for the welfare of the family and whose icon is to be drawn. In the second stage, the icon is drawn on the house wall either by the Ittalmaran (artist) or Shaman (priest). In the third stage, the icon is consecrated by the Shaman through an elaborate ritual. This involves invocation to all gods and spirits of the Saura world. The particular spirit, in whose honour the icon has been prepared, is invoked to come and occupy the house. All sorts of fruits, grains, corns including wine were offered and finally either a goat or a fowl is sacrificed.¹⁰²

The ittal so drawn is regarded as a little temple within the house. It is a one-dimensional home of the dead, the heroes and the gods. Offerings are made before the picture on every ceremonial occasion like the first eating ceremony and the harvesting festivals. The icons include drawing of men, women, animals, birds, lizard, flower, plants, and heavenly bodies like sun, moon, stars, agricultural and hunting implements. The drawings of weapons include plough, sickle, spear, bow and arrow, means of transport like bicycle, jeep, train, aeroplane, etc. V. Elwin¹⁰³ has categorised the Saura icons into seven types i.e.,

(a) Icons designed to promote or preserve the fertility of crop

¹⁰³ Elwin, V. (1951), The Tribal Art of Middle India, A Personal Record, London, pp. 183-212.
(b) Icons dedicated to avert disease

(c) Icons made to assist easy childbirth

(d) Icons made to honour tutelaries

(e) Icons made in honour of dead

(f) Icons made for those who have gone abroad, and

(g) Icons representing hills and shrines.

Sitakanta Mahapatra's systematic study of the Saora paintings endorses the same view. He argues that instead of an attempt to ward off the evil or malevolent spirits, here the spirit is brought in or rather pulled or dragged in and installed/imprisoned in a ritualistic one-dimensional temple of the icon. Thus, Saora community draw icons for their general well being and success in their struggle for survival. Elwin aptly remarked, “Among the hill Saora there is no art that is not inspired and directed by religion”.

Thus considering the deep religious meaning of Saora paintings, we can presume that the rock-art had certain religious meanings related to day-to-day life of the occupants of these rock shelters in the past.

**Megaliths**

Megaliths are perhaps the earliest structural remains, generally associated with burial, but also imbued with ritual meanings. However, in the present state of our knowledge, and due to inadequate data, nothing can be said concretely.

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105 Elwin, V. (1951), *op.cit.*
What at best can be done is an ethnographic study of the Megalithic practices of the present day communities to draw a parallel between them.

Similar to other parts of India, a large number of megalithic remains have also been reported from South-Košala. They mainly consist of menhirs, cairns, and stone circles of different varieties and dimensions. Of all the reported sites, Karkabhat\textsuperscript{106} (Durg district) and Bartia Bhatt\textsuperscript{107} (Raigarh district) are partially excavated whereas the rest are only explored sites. The artefacts found along with the megalithic remains are black and red ware, iron implements and slag, copper objects, stone beads\textsuperscript{108} etc. Interestingly, the distribution pattern of megalithic remains coincides with the three identified sub-regions. While the megalithic remains of the upper Mahanadi basin are extensive, the data regarding the Tel basin\textsuperscript{109} and middle Mahanadi basin\textsuperscript{110} are just coming in.

The discovery of a large number of burials from a single site reveals that they served as the focal point for performing the last rites of the deceased in society.\textsuperscript{111} The absence of any habitational deposits within the burial ground indicates that there was a separation between the ‘burial’ ‘space’ and the ‘habitational space. The dating of megaliths is as controversial as that of


\textsuperscript{111} Karkabhat Megalithic burial space has around 800 burials. Similarly Bartia-Bhatta has 700 and Lilar Bhawanmara has 400 burials. Recently similar kind of huge burial space has been found. Bilaikani, a site located on the Tel river, has yielded a burial space of about 2 hectare.
the rock paintings. But it is generally assumed that in the Indian subcontinent, megaliths had started around second millennium and continued until the present day.

The issues regarding the meanings, functions and motives behind the construction of megaliths still remain unanswered. Jean Pierre Mohen\(^\text{112}\) believes, 'the role attributed to ancestors in the construction of megalithic monuments was inseparable from religious expressions; it is only our modern society that differentiates between the two. Religious belief and pattern of thought in traditional societies generally look on creation as a coherent whole. The possibility that all human society may reflect a cosmology, a system of mythic exploration embracing the essential aspects of the universe, must be considered in order to understand the past'.

'Religion' in the discipline of Anthropology is defined as a set of belief system. In its origin and cause for emergence, Frazer\(^\text{113}\) writes, 'to live and to cause to live, to eat food and beget children were the primary wants of man in future, so long as the world lasts.' Earlier man had to struggle for survival. The mysterious forces of propagation and nutrition acquired, therefore, 'a sacred significance towards which a cautious and numinous attitude was adopted and a ritual technique developed in order to bring them under some measure of magico-religious control.'\(^\text{114}\) Discussing the effects of death on Greek and Roman life, Fuste de Coulanges\(^\text{115}\) stated that this religion of the dead appears to be the oldest and existed among the race of man. Before men had any notion of Indra or of Zeus they adored the dead; they feared them and addressed them with prayers. It seems that the religious sentiments

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commenced in this way. It was perhaps while looking upon the dead that man first conceived the idea of the supernatural. Death was the first mystery, and it placed man on the track of other mysteries. In the context of primitive religion, Taylor\textsuperscript{16} argued that animism or the belief in spiritual beings arose in the context of dream and death experience. A body-soul dichotomy was perceived in dreams and projected into the death situation in which the survival of the ghost soul after destruction of the body was postulated. Elaborating the above mortuary ideas, Frazer\textsuperscript{17} argued that the ritual was motivated by the fear of the deceased's 'ghost' soul and was an attempt on the part of the living to control the actions of the ghosts of the Dead.

Since the megalithic remains do not reflect anything regarding the religious belief and practices, we can use the ethnographical data to understand the meanings of megaliths.

The extensive study of Haimendorf\textsuperscript{18} on the tribes of central India in general and Gadabas and Bondos tribes of Orissa in particular, provides interesting information. According to his studies the Megaliths of Gadabas and Bondos are of two types (a) those put up as memorials for the dead, and (b) those regarded as the seats of deities. Both tribes consider that the bonds between the living and the spirits of the dead can be strengthened by the performance of memorial feast. On such occasions buffaloes or oxen are sacrificed and stones put up in the name of the dead. While the Gadabas place menhirs and flat-sitting stone on the village sadar,\textsuperscript{19} the Bondos build their

\textsuperscript{16} Ibid., p151.

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., p151.


\textsuperscript{19} \textit{Sadar} is a collection of horizontal stone slabs and upright menhirs. The horizontal slabs and boulders which are often piled, one on top of the other ,form a raised platform, with menhirs standing more or less haphazardly amidst the sitting stones. This \textit{sadar} is located in the middle of Gadaba village under a banyan or a tamarind tree. It served as the general sitting place and for the discussion of the village council. Haimendorf, C.V.F. (1943), \textit{Op.cit.}, p. 151.
memorials in the shape of small dolmens close to a path. In both cases they are used as seats by the living and the idea may well be that the magical 'virtue' of the deceased which attaches itself to the stone erected in his honour should impart itself to those in his life. The donor of the memorial feast expects to gain prestige, blessing and assistance of the dead and fertility of the crops.\(^{120}\)

Such megalithic practices also prevail among Murias of Bastar, Mundas of Chota Nagpur and Khasis, Nagas and Angamis of Assam. The Saoras perform a great feast called *Gaur*, sometime after a person's death and put up stone slabs. The stone erected during the *Gaur* feasts are said to stand in clusters at some distance from the houses and always under trees.\(^{121}\) The Mundas of Chota Nagpur also put up megaliths. Their burial ground is called *Sasan*, and is located at the outskirt of the village. The Munda burn their dead and collect bones afterwards. Once in a year a ceremony is performed, when the bones of those who died during the year are buried either under existing tombstones belonging to their respective families or under new stones.\(^{122}\) The Murias (Hill, Bison, Horn) of Bastar set up menhirs, small table stone and sometimes carved wooden post as memorial for their dead, whenever their heirs could afford the expense of the accompanying feast.\(^{123}\) Similarly the tribes of Assam i.e., Khasis, Nagas, and Angamis, also erect menhirs for the departed soul of the dead and fertility rites.\(^{124}\) The close parallels between the


Megalithic rituals of the tribes of Orissa, Bastar, Chota Nagpur and Assam indicate that the megaliths had certain religious and ritual meanings. The above-discussed ethnographic data indicates that the megaliths have deep religious meanings and associated with the death rites.

**TERRACOTTAS**

A large number of terracottas have been found from the early historic sites of this region. These consist of human figures, animal figures and decorative objects. The human figures consist of human heads, human heads with headgear (Budhigarh), the figure of a *Siddha Purusa* (Malhar), figure of a lady (Malhar), hip portion of a lady (Chandalpadar), female figurine (Jamugudapadar), nude female figure (Asurgarh), etc. The animal figures include horse head, ox head, rabbit head, bull, and a large number of limbs of bull, horse, elephants, etc. Since almost all these objects are surface findings, it is very difficult to determine an absolute date for them. But, their discovery from early historic sites indicates that they perhaps belong to the period between c. 5th century B.C. to c. 5th century A.D.

The interpretation of the terracotta objects is as complex as that of the rock paintings and megaliths. Their meanings and functions are highly speculative in nature. But an ethnographical analysis will reveal some valuable information in this regard.

Ethnographical studies on the terracottas of eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar have classified them into (a) ritualistic, (b) decorative, and (c) amusement objects (toys). There are at least five common types of ritual practices, which required terracottas figurines. These are (a) the *kosi-bharana* ritual (b) marriage and sacred-thread ceremonies, (c) offering to *devi-sthanas,*
(d) offering to the babā-sthānas, and (e) rituals that relate to exorcist practices.¹²⁵

Ethnographical studies on Gujarat¹²⁶ also reveal similar kind of evidence. Terracottas have deep religious meanings to the life of the tribal communities. There are diverse reasons and motives involved in the offering of the terracottas. Some of the important ones are (a) for the well being of an individual or village, (b) protection against ill health or averting evil spirits, (c) as a part of the disease curing ritual, (d) to install the spirit of the dead, (e) as offering to ancestors, (f) when offspring are desired, (g) for fertility of animals, (h) when cows or buffaloes do not give milk, (i) to recover property if there is a theft, and (j) if the village wishes to offer a new ‘pedhi’ or a whole set of terracotta. Although, the rituals vary from region to region and from community to community, the ultimate goal is the same: devotion to God.

¹²⁵ Koli-bharana is an important ritual of the chhatha festival in which the Sun god is worshipped. Terracotta elephants are installed in the courtyard of the devotee inside a specially made manḍālapa. The ritual is usually performed after the fulfilment of one or more desires or for the fulfilment of a wish, especially to cure skin diseases. In the marriage and sacred-thread ceremony, it is customary in Bihar to install terracotta elephants. Terracottas are offered to devi-sthānas or local deities, found very often beneath the pipal, neem, or palm tree in the outskirts of small settlements or at similar places within township. The objects of offerings are black painted terracotta elephant and made for the fulfillment of certain wishes. The custom of making offering at the babā-sthāna is similar to that of offering at the devi-sthāna. But, instead of being an abode of a goddess, the babā-sthāna is the place of a male deity. The exorcisms practiced are particularly popular among the people belonging to lower socio-economic strata. It is generally believed that the offering made at these magico-religious places guard the village as a whole against the evil spirit, but more particularly the unmarried youths. Jaiswal, V. et al. (1990), ‘Ethno-archaeological Study of ritual Terracotta of the Ganga Valley’ in L. Chandra& J. Jain (eds.), Dimension of Indian Art, Delhi, PP. 189–203. Also see, (1986), An Ethno-archaeological views of Indian Terracotta (a Comparative study of present and Past terracotta tradition of Gangetic plain), Delhi.

¹²⁶ Haku Shah’s extensive study on the terracottas objects of Gujarat reveal that tribals walk miles carrying the terracotta figures to God’s sanctuary which are always located in remote areas, either high in the mountains or in a cave in a thick forest or near the stream or river. At the sanctuary thousands of terracottas can be seen. Besides these sanctuaries, there also exist village sanctuaries called Utaro. When tribals cannot go to the sanctuary they offer objects at the Utaro, Shah, H. (1985). Forms and Many Forms of Mother Clay: Contemporary Indian Pottery and Terracotta, New Delhi. Also see,, (1985), Living Terracottas of India: Votive Terracottas of Gujarat, New York.
So the ethnographical studies on the terracottas of the Ganga valley and Gujarat have brought to light their deep religious and ritual meanings. Similar study needs to undertaken in the context of South-Košala to understand the underlying meanings of terracottas.

**RINGSTONES**

Ringstones (stone with a hole in the middle) and discs (without hole) have been found in large number in the early historic sites of South-Košala, and especially in the sites of the Tel basin (see Table II). These are made of both hard and soft stone and their size varies from 10 to 20 cms in diameter. As these artefacts are extensively found in the early historic sites, they can safely be associated with the early historic cultural phase.

However, like terracottas, ringstones and discs are also interpreted variously. Cunningham, one of the earliest scholars to document ringstones, is of the opinion ringstones were used as ladies toiletetries. Coomaraswamy also ascribed secular meaning to them. He interpreted them as large earrings. But he himself raised doubts, as some of the specimens were large enough and so heavy to be used as earrings.

Scholars, writing on the ring stones in the subsequent period, often emphasised its religious nature. Marshall has compared the ringstones found in the early historic sites with that of excavated specimens from the Indus Valley. He opined that these were related to yonis or female symbols of generation. In the process, he also contested the view that these objects could have been used as ornaments, and argued that the engraved nude figure represents the goddess of fertility i.e., Prthvi and the discs were votive.

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offerings. J.N. Banerjea\textsuperscript{130} has discussed ringstones at length. He also compared it with prehistoric ringstones of Indus Valley and \emph{yantras} of sāktas. S.P. Gupta\textsuperscript{131} has documented a large number of ringstones. While discussing their meanings to the past society, he is of the opinion that a large body of popular as well as esoteric practices never seem to have found their way to the Vedic and Epic literature. He considered the fabrication and use of ringstones as the natural course of development of Indian beliefs and practices, which like other, became extinct in the second-first century B.C. According to him, the ring or disc stones represent the complete cycle of birth, death and rebirth. However, at the same time he agreed to accept them as \emph{yantras} or \emph{cakras} with magico-religious potency. Similarly, R. C. Sharma\textsuperscript{132} also holds the religious meanings for ring and disc stones. According to him, these objects might have served the purpose of amulets or astrolabes to ward off evils or atmospheric effect particularly on the occasions like solar and lunar eclipse. There could be tied in the neck of elephants or horses as pendants for their protection in battlefield. R.C. Sharma’s view can further be substantiated by the present-day practices in the region of the study. In western Orissa ringstones has been used as a pendant on the neck of cow and bull to cure them from foot and mouth disease.

Thus the present discussion assumes that ringstones and discs formed an important aspect of early historic religious practices. They might have been used as votive offerings, worship and magico-religious objects.\textsuperscript{133}

\textsuperscript{130} Banerjea, J.N. (1956), \textit{Development of Hindu Iconography}, Calcutta, 3\textsuperscript{rd} ed. Delhi, pp. 170-171.

\textsuperscript{131} Gupta, S.P. (1980), \textit{The Roots of Indian Arts}, pp. 53-77.


\textsuperscript{133} Ghosh, A. ed. (1989), \textit{An Encyclopedia of Indian Archaeology}, Vol. 1, New Delhi, pp. 263-64.
COINS

Besides their usual economic value the coins are also important for the study of the art and religion of the past society. The obverse and reverse sides of the coins depict a variety of symbols and motifs that can be classified as anthropomorphic, theriomorphic, floral, and decorative in nature. Scholars have interpreted these symbols in various ways. While some scholars have given emphasis to the secular meanings of symbols\textsuperscript{134}, others have attributed religious meanings to it.\textsuperscript{135} In between these two contrary opinions, another

\textsuperscript{134} Rapson is one of the earliest scholars who propounded the hypothesis of the secular importance of the punch-marked coin, which were used simply as the mark of localities or individuals without any religious significance. The symbols, according to him were used primarily to denote either the localities where the coins were struck, the authority responsible for their issue, or the money changers through whose hands were passed. Rapson, E.J. (1916), \textit{Ancient India}, p. 151. The view of Rapson is endorsed by John Allan. According to him the symbols were the mark or signet of an official. He further asserts that, it might represent a series of officials in diminishing area of jurisdiction, the last and most frequently changing device representing the actual issuer of the coin. The constant symbol, the sun in Allan’s opinion would represent the highest official, perhaps the king himself, and the next commonest one, the various forms of six armed symbols, which stood for the highest officials, next to the king, Allan, J. (1936), \textit{A Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India in the British Museum}, London, p. LXXII. Similarly, Coomaraswamy has pointed out the heraldic significance of symbols depicted on coins. According to him, the secular usage of a particular king, city or community must be considered in the light of a comparative study of find spots and incidental reference to raj-anka of particular ruler, such as the bull mark of the Brihadratha dynasty of Magadha mentioned in the \textit{Mahābhārata}, Coomaraswamy, A.K. (1929), \textit{A History of the Indian and Indonesian Art}, London, p. 44. D.D. Kosambi has made a systematic analysis of symbols and tried to associate some of them to ruling kings or dynasties. According to him, some of the names of the kings mentioned in the Puranic and Buddhist literature lend themselves very readily to direct representation by symbolism of punch-marked coin, for example Sunga means fig tree, the hare in-crescent could certainly be read as Sasanka, the dog with puppy or hare might symbolise Sisupala, Peacock on the arches can only be taken to mean Maurya, the name of the dynasty. The crescent and the hill was the monogram of Chandragupta as he proclaimed descent from the moon. He has associated the increasing arches as the mark of descent from the moon. Kosambi explained that the obverse of the coin bears five symbols regularly, out of which four symbols represent a king and a fifth mark, is either of the issuing authority or province or minister. Kosambi, D.D., \textit{New India Antiquity}, Vol. IV pp. 164-65, \textit{JBBAS}, Vol. XXIV-XXV, p. 35.

\textsuperscript{135} D.B. Spooner is among the earliest scholar who has proposed the hypothesis of the religious importance of symbols. The symbols depicted on punch-marked coins were Buddhist in nature. However, later he revised his opinion and suggested a Zoroastrain meaning to it. Spooner, D. B. (1915), \textit{JRAS}, pp. 411-13. Durga Prasad has suggested a tantric nature of symbols. He has traced the \textit{Bindumandala} or a garland of dots along
group of scholars have attributed both religious and secular meanings to symbols.\textsuperscript{136}

Similar to other parts of India, the earliest coins of South-Kośala can be dated to c. 5\textsuperscript{th} century B.C. In between c. 5\textsuperscript{th} century B.C to c. 8\textsuperscript{th} century A.D., a number of coins were issued from this region containing wide range of symbols and motifs (See Tables on Coins).

Animal symbols formed a major item of coin devices. The religious importance of animals like the bull and the elephant can be traced back to a remote past. Their repeated depiction on the seals and sealings of the Harappan period show their association with religion and rituals. In the subsequent period they were included in the major religious sects like Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism. It is evident from the religious literature and architecture of the period. Similarly, symbols like solar device, six-armed symbols, tree-in-railing, tree, mountain, arched symbol, and crescent were

\textsuperscript{136} A. Cunningham considered the symbols as Buddhist in nature; simultaneously he has tried to identify some of the symbol as representations of localities and states. Cunningham, A. (1891), \textit{Coins of Ancient India}, London, p. 50-57. Walsh opined that the five symbols of the punch-marked coins represent the state, king or local government, place of issue, mint master and religious symbol recognising the deity. Walsh, \textit{Punchmarked Coins from Taxila}, p.5. Similarly, S.N. Chakravarti has also pointed out the religious and secular importance of symbols. According to him, out of the four constant symbols of punch-marked coins, the two most common one probably has religious significance and the other two may have represented localities, where it was struck and the mint master. Chakravarti, S.K., \textit{JBBARs}, XX, p. 84.
probably a manifestation of diverse belief systems. B. Chattopadhyaya\textsuperscript{137} has rightly pointed out that there is a probability that many of the symbols depicted on the coins represented primitive religious beliefs and practices. The tradition of symbolism has been handed down from generation to generation with the transformation of ideas and ideals held by the people who made use of it from the religious point of view. The symbol no doubt indicates the tradition of aniconism, which persisted even after the growth of iconism. From the art point of view, coins were one of the earliest medium where art activities were depicted. The depicted symbols reveal a definite stage in the development of iconography. They have certain apparent artistic values. It represents one of the earliest records of man's urge for self-expression.

The transformation in religious practices from symbolism to structuralism was a gradual one. In the process, while some old forms still continued, certain new developments had taken place in the form of shrines and sculptures. In this regard South-Kośala was not lagging behind. Although, such examples are few in numbers, but are valuable for the study of religious transformation of the pre-temple period.

Burhikhar has yielded an image of Viśṇu. The four-armed standing image is the earliest of its kind. The engraved inscription on the image has been dated to c. 2\textsuperscript{nd} century B.C.\textsuperscript{138} While dealing with the image, R.C. Agrawala identified it as the pre- Kuśāṇa Kṛṣṇa statue, and says that in the entire galaxy of Indian art such an important pre- Kuśāṇa Vaiṣṇva image has not been discovered so far.\textsuperscript{139} Malhar has further yielded some of the earliest


\textsuperscript{139} Puratan, Vol. 9, pp. 17-18.
sculptures of this region. The Ekamukhalinga and Siva-Parvati are recent finds at the site dated to early centuries of the Christian era.\textsuperscript{140} The excavation at the site has unearthed two early art specimens. The excavator attributed one of them to Ardhanārisvara (c. 3\textsuperscript{rd} century A.D.). The other broken one is referred to as the upper part of Siva wearing various ornaments and whose third eye is shown at the top of the forehead (c. 4\textsuperscript{th} century A.D.).\textsuperscript{141}

Along with the sculptures few structural remains are found. The excavation at Asurgarh (Manamunda) unearthed two cylindrical brick structures. One of which is 8 meters in height from the surface. Its outer diameter is 1.26 meters and inner is 0.8 meter. The inner surface of the structure is filled with clay, bones of animals and potsherds up to top level. Interestingly six huge storage jars are arranged one above and the other below the structure. The jars are placed upon a layer of sand, which has yielded plenty of charcoal and bones as well as inferior variety of Northern Black Polished Ware. Taking all this into account the excavator of the site has identified it as a sacrificial altar dated to first century of Christian era.\textsuperscript{142} The excavation at Asurgarh (Narla) has unearthed a circular brick structure 40 feet in diameter. The discovery of terracotta female figurines and broken terracotta figures of different animals in the same layer led the excavator to identify it as a shrine of the mother goddess. The circular brick temple had probably a wooden roof as indicated by grooves for wooden pillars.\textsuperscript{143} The trial trenches at Kharligarh also revealed a brick structure whose identification is yet to be done.\textsuperscript{144}

\textsuperscript{140} Personal communication with Gulab Singh who has discovered the images and which are in his personal collection.


In the present state of our knowledge it will be highly conjectural to hold the view that these structures were precursor of the early medieval temple of this region, which is to be corroborated with other evidence. But ceramics, skeleton, terracottas and charcoal found from these structures indicate the beginning of their ritual function.

The discovery of a seal from Budhigarh provides a new dimension to the nature of the religious practices of the pre-temple period. The red jasper seal bears a legend in a mixed script of Kharoshṭī–Brāhmī and in the Prākrit language dated to c. 2nd century A.D. The legend reads ‘Jana Dhapeta’, its Sanskrit reading thus ‘Jñāna Śthāpīyita’ or founder or establisher of sacrifice or a person patronising and performing Brahmanical sacrifice.145

The findings of this chapter negate the notion of region of isolation or peripheral zone and its blanket generalisation. The present study shows that South-Kośala was an independent politico-cultural unit of early India. Like the other regions of the sub-continent, the early historic South-Kośala was also characterised by expansion and nuclearisation of settlements. The spatial distribution of sites indicates that they spread over a wide geographical area. Within South-Kośala, three sub-regions with heavy concentration of sites can be delineated. However, the settlement patterns of these sub-regions are not the same. The settlement pattern of the upper Mahanadi was disperse in nature, whereas the Tel basin displays dispersion as well as clustering of sites. In contrary to this, the settlements pattern of the middle Mahanadi basin was mostly linear in nature. Furthermore, all the settlements were not of same dimension and nature. There existed a hierarchy, and functionally they differ from each other. Some of the settlements were extensive and elaborately fortified, which might have served the foci of power and centre of trade and

exchange, whereas majority of the settlements were of small dimensions and perhaps involved in production-functions.

The early historic period of South-Košala was also characterised by a rich material culture. The diverse resource mobilisation locally and regionally provided an impetus to its participation in the wider trade and exchange network of early India. Its strategic location and rich mineral resources and forest product also helped South-Košala to emerge as the important point of early historic trade and exchange. The wide range of coins and artefacts found from this region corroborates this opinion. The early historic period was also conspicuous by the prevalence of diverse religious belief and practices. It is in this background that an attempt is made to analyse the early medieval period, which is discussed in the subsequent chapters.
Table No. I: Early Historic Sites of the Upper Mahanadi Basin

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Nature &amp; Dimension</th>
<th>Antiquities</th>
<th>Chronology</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Malhar</td>
<td>Bilaspur Dist., Chhattisgarh, surrounded by the river Arpa in the West,</td>
<td>Fortified settlement, provision of double moat</td>
<td>Period-I (c.4th century BC to c. 3rd century A.D) BRW, NBPW, beads of precious and semi precious stone coins, terracottas, structural remains coins. Period-II (c.3rd–6th century A.D.) BRW, fine RSW, BSW, beads, point and dice of bone, antinomy rod, terracottas, structural remains of stone and backed brick. Coins mould, seals, sealings, &amp; loose sculptures. Period-III (c.7th–9th century A.D), Mica slipped and a golden coloured slipped red ware, iron objects terracotta, glass beads, Buddhist monastery complex Period-IV (c.9th–13th century A.D) coarse RW, a Buddhist vihara and structure of reused materials Others- Icons, temples architectural fragments</td>
<td>Excavated c. 4th – 13th century A.D.</td>
<td>A political, commercial and religious centres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Chakrabedha</td>
<td>Western side of Malhar</td>
<td>Coin find spot</td>
<td>Four Roman coins are found</td>
<td>Explored Early historic</td>
<td>A Part of Malhar Urban localities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Burhikhar</td>
<td>Near Malhar</td>
<td>Unfortified settlement</td>
<td>A sculpture of Visnu dated to 2nd century B.C. has been found</td>
<td>Explored Early historic</td>
<td>A Part of Malhar Urban localities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Jaitpur</td>
<td>Northern end of Malhar</td>
<td>Unfortified settlement</td>
<td>Chaitya vihāra, Buddhist monastery have been unearthed in the excavation</td>
<td>Excavated Early historic</td>
<td>A Part of Malhar Urban localities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Bethari</td>
<td>Situated at distance of 2 k.m. in eastern end of Malhar</td>
<td>Unfortified settlement</td>
<td>Sculptures—Lakshmi–Narayana, Uma-Maheswara, Ganga, Yamuna, Salabharjika and temple fragments</td>
<td>Explored Early-historic &amp; Early medieval</td>
<td>A Part of Malhar Urban localities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>District</td>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Finds</td>
<td>Period</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Pakria</td>
<td>South-western end of Malhar at a distance of 3 km</td>
<td>Unfortified settlement</td>
<td>Temples fragments and loose sculptures, a relief panel depicted ten incarnation of Visnu</td>
<td>Explored Early-historic &amp; Early medieval</td>
<td>A Part of Malhar Urban localities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Rajim</td>
<td>On the confluence of the Mahanadi and Pairi, Mahasamund district, Chhattisgarh,</td>
<td>Unfortified settlement</td>
<td>Ceramics, iron objects</td>
<td>Explored Early-historic &amp; Early medieval</td>
<td>A trade centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Pirda</td>
<td>Raigarh district of Chhattisgarh</td>
<td>Fortified, provision of double moats Six hectares in dimension</td>
<td>Ceramics, iron objects, coins</td>
<td>Explored Early-historic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Bhawanpur</td>
<td>Raigarh district of Chhattisgarh</td>
<td>Fortified, double moat</td>
<td>Ceramics, iron objects</td>
<td>Explored Early-historic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Sirpur</td>
<td>On the right bank of the Mahanadi, Mahasamund district, Chhattisgarh</td>
<td>Unfortified settlement</td>
<td>Fine red slipped ware datable to 2nd – 3rd century A.D.</td>
<td>Explored Early-historic &amp; Early medieval</td>
<td>Incipient early historic beginning, but developed as major political, commercial and religious centers in the early medieval period.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Maraguda</td>
<td>On the upper reaches of the Jonk a tributary of the Mahanadi, Nuapada district, Orissa</td>
<td>Unfortified settlement</td>
<td>BRW, glazed ware, RW, GW, buffware, a glazed ware resembling Arretine Ware dated to early centuries of Christian era, iron objects and beads of precious and semi-precious stone.</td>
<td>Excavated Early-historic &amp; Early medieval</td>
<td>Incipient early history but developed as a prominent metropolis in the early medieval period.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Arang</td>
<td>Located on the flood planes of Mahanadi, opposite to Sirpur</td>
<td>Unfortified settlement</td>
<td>Ceramic, coins (punch-marked, Gupta), sculptures, &amp; architectural fragments</td>
<td>Excavated Early-historic &amp; Early medieval</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Balpur</td>
<td>Located on the confluence of the Mahanadi, &amp; Mand in Raigarh dist., Chhattisgarh</td>
<td>Unfortified settlement</td>
<td>Ceramic, coins (local, Satavanas, Kushanas)</td>
<td>Explored Early historic &amp; Early medieval</td>
<td>Trading or halting station</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Kharod</td>
<td>On the banks of Mahanadi, Bilaspur dist., Chhattisgarh</td>
<td>Unfortified settlement</td>
<td>Ceramic, coins (Indo-Greeks), sculptures, temple remains</td>
<td>Explored Early historic</td>
<td>Trading or halting station</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**References**

- Serial no. stands for foot notes
- **BRW** – Black and Red Ware
- **RSW** – Red Slipped Ware
- **BSW** – Black Slipped Ware
- **NBPW** – Northern Black Polished Ware
- **BW** – Black Ware
- **RW** – Red Ware
- **BBW** – Black Burnished Ware
- **RBW** – Red Burnished Ware

4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., p. 88
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
13. Personal communication with Rahul Kumar Singh, chief Archeological Officer, dist., Bilaspur, Chhattisgarh.
15. Ibid
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Nature &amp; Dimension</th>
<th>Antiquities</th>
<th>Chronology</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Asurgarh (Narla)</td>
<td>On the upper reaches of Sandul a tributary of the Utei Kalahandi dist., Orissa</td>
<td>Fortified settlement provision of wall moat and excellent hydrologic management 1 square km in dimension</td>
<td>Ceramics – BRW, BPW, BBW with concentric circles in the middle, NBPW interior quality, red glazed Kushana ware, dull red ware, iron objects and slag, beads of precious and semiprecious stone (chalcedony, agate, carnelian, crystal and coral), punch-marked coins (finished and semi finished), Kushana coin, a mould for beads and ornaments preparation, rhinoceros pendant, glass bangles, Asokon sandstone piece, stone bowl, coin mould terracotta figures and figurines, four-legged saddle querns, votive lingam. Gold ornaments, a hoard of 539 coins (pre Mauryan, Mauryan and post Mauryan), a circular brick structure perhaps a shrine (?) faunal remains, graffiti on red and black slipped ware, and pinkish ware.</td>
<td>Excavated c. 4th century B.C. to c. 5th century A.D.</td>
<td>A political &amp; commercial centre, including the activities of beds manufacturing and coins minting and traces of religious activities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Bhimkela</td>
<td>On the bank of Sandul near Asurgarh</td>
<td>Unfortified</td>
<td>RW, BSW, iron objects and slag, copper bangles. Indo-Pacific beads, beads of precious and semi-precious stone, agate bowl terracotta figures, bricks, and a sculpture of Visnu, architectural fragments.</td>
<td>Explored Early historic &amp; Early medieval</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Dehli</td>
<td>On the bank of the Sandul at a distance of 1 km upstream from Asurgarh</td>
<td>Unfortified</td>
<td>Remains of ruined stone temple, image of Visnu, inscribed stone slab</td>
<td>Early medieval</td>
<td>Religious centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Budhigarth</td>
<td>On the upper reached of Raul a tributary of the Tel in the Kalahandi dist.</td>
<td>Fortified</td>
<td>Neolithic Celt, ring stone, ceramics including NBPW, Knobbled Ware, BRW, burnished black slipped ware, RSW, dull red ware, copper objects, iron implements large number of beads including etched beads copper beads, animal pendant, amulets. PMC (Imperial and Kosala Janapada), Sarabhapuriya gold coin, gold ornaments, ornament mould, jasper seal with Kharosti – Brahmi script, jasper seal, jasper ear-stud, glass bangles, saddle querns, opium pipes (hookah) miniature Ganesha and Durga Images, brick structure faunal remains.</td>
<td>Explored Early historic to Early medieval</td>
<td>A political and commercial centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Finds</td>
<td>District</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Kharligarh</td>
<td>On the bank Raul near its confluence with the Tel Bolangir, dist., Orissa. Fortified, high rampart wall, moat and complex hydraulic management system.</td>
<td>8 occupational layer, ceramics – BRW, RW, BW, BSW, RSW (predominant) iron implements – spearhead, chisels, clamps, swords fragments, nail (predominant), beads (agate, carnelian, terracotta), a bead polisher, copper ring copper punch marked coin, Kushana coin, bangles of metal and glass, opium pipes (hookah) saddle querns, pottery and stone hopscotch, perforated ware, stone pestle.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Gudavela</td>
<td>On the left bank of the Raul near Kharligarh, Bolangir dist. Unfortified, below one hectare</td>
<td>BRW, RW, Neolithic Celt, a large number of iron implements and slag, terracotta objects, bricks pieces</td>
<td></td>
<td>Neolithic, Early historic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Kharlikhaman</td>
<td>Left bank of the Raul near Kharligarh, Bolangir dist. Unfortified, around two hectares</td>
<td>RW, RSW, BRW, ring stones, microoliths, hopscotch</td>
<td></td>
<td>Explored</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Sankuda</td>
<td>Left bank of the Raul near Kharligarh, Kalahandi dist. Unfortified, one hectare</td>
<td>RW, BW, RSW, ring stones</td>
<td></td>
<td>Do</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Madekela</td>
<td>Left bank of the Raul, near Kharligarh, Bolangir dist. Unfortified, below one hectare</td>
<td>RW, BW, BRW and RSW</td>
<td></td>
<td>Do</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Telimunda</td>
<td>On the right bank of the Tel near Kharligarh, Bolangir dist.</td>
<td>RW, RSW, microoliths, hopscotch, terracotta animal figurine, iron spear head</td>
<td></td>
<td>Do</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Ratakhandi</td>
<td>Left bank of the Tel, near Kharligarh, Bolangir dist. Do</td>
<td>RW, BW, RSW, terracotta female figures</td>
<td></td>
<td>Do</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Samaleswari</td>
<td>Confluence of the Tel and Sagada Bolangir dist. Unfortified, around three hectares</td>
<td>RW, BW, RSW, Iron objects, slag, ring stones, smoking pipes, hopscotch, microoliths and terracotta animal figurine (bull)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Do</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Tusra Bridge</td>
<td>Left bank of the Tel, near Kharligarh, Bolangir dist. Unfortified, around 2 hectares</td>
<td>RW, BW, RSW, microoliths, terracotta figurine, smoking pipes and hopscotch</td>
<td></td>
<td>Do</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Village</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Fortification Status</td>
<td>Archaeological Features</td>
<td>Historical Period</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Sirpur</td>
<td>Bank of the Sandul, 3 Km downstream from Asurgarh, Kalahandi dist.</td>
<td>Unfortified, around 1 hectare</td>
<td>BRW, BW, RW, RSW, ring tone, iron objects (nail, knife, exotic goods (tiger nail pendant made of quartz stone)</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Terasingha</td>
<td>On the right bank of the Tel, Kalahandi dist.</td>
<td>Unfortified, around 3 hectares</td>
<td>RW, BSW, dull red ware, terracotta smoking pipe, beads, copper objects, iron implements &amp; slag, terracotta smoking pipes, bricks and tiles pieces, three copper plate charters</td>
<td>Explored Early historic and Early medieval site.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Bichakhaman</td>
<td>Right bank of the Tel, Kalahandi dist.</td>
<td>Unfortified, around 1 hectare</td>
<td>Microliths, chopper, ring stone, coarse handmade red ware BSW, terracotta smoking pipes, ring stones, slag and iron implements.</td>
<td>Explored Mesolithic and Early historic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Amatgarh</td>
<td>Right bank of the Tel, Kalahandi dist.</td>
<td>Unfortified, about 2 hectares</td>
<td>RW, RSW, BW, BSW, iron slag and implements, terracotta smoking pipes, terracotta objects, sculptures of Ganesha, temple fragments, amalaka, pilasters, inscribed pillars, yonipitha, etc.</td>
<td>Early historic &amp; Early medieval explored</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Bilaikani</td>
<td>Right bank of the Tel, Kalahandi dist.</td>
<td>Unfortified, below 2 hectares</td>
<td>BRW, RW, BBW, Kushana red ware, iron slag and implements, megalithic menhir and stone circles</td>
<td>Explored Megalithic &amp; Early historic Separation between burial space and habitational space</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Urankupagar</td>
<td>Upper reaches of the Utei, a tributary of the Tel, Kalahandi dist.</td>
<td>Unfortified, around 4 hectares</td>
<td>BRW, RW, red ware with graffiti mark, BSW, dull red ware, a large number of terracotta animal figurines ring stones, copper bangles, iron objects, stone relief, brick and a gold coins of Muhamaddan period</td>
<td>Explored Early historic and medieval</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Talbhamra</td>
<td>On the Utei at a distance of 5 km upstream from its confluence with Tel, Kalahandi dist.</td>
<td>Unfortified, around 1 hectare</td>
<td>Red ware, black ware, RSW, BSW, iron implements, smoking pipes and ring stones</td>
<td>Explored Early historic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Rajpadar (Belkhandi)</td>
<td>On the left bank of the Utei near its confluence with the Tel, Kalahandid dist.</td>
<td>Unfortified, around 2 hectares</td>
<td>BRW, RW, BW, BSW, iron implements, terracotta figures, smoking pipes, bricks ring stone, etc.</td>
<td>Explored Early historic and Early medieval</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Place</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Area</td>
<td>Finds</td>
<td>Period</td>
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<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Dumerbahal</td>
<td>Right bank of the Ret, Kalahandi dist.</td>
<td>Unfortified, around 1 hectare</td>
<td>BRW, RW, dull RW, BBW, BSW with concentric circle inside coarse grey ware, beads of semi-precious stone, iron implements (nails, knife) stone plough share faunal remain</td>
<td>Early historic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Dhamankhaunt a</td>
<td>Left bank of the Ret, Kalahandi dist.</td>
<td>Unfortified, around 2 hectares</td>
<td>BRW, RW, coarse grey ware, Decorated potteries, BSW, iron slag</td>
<td>Unfortified, Early historic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Chhatikuda</td>
<td>Left bank of the Ret, Kalahandi dist.</td>
<td>Unfortified, above 2 hectares</td>
<td>BRW, RSW, dull RW, BSW, terracotta figures of animals, smoking pipes, Iron implements, ring stones.</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Gudang</td>
<td>Left bank of the Ret, opposite to Dhamankhaunt a, Kalahandi dist.</td>
<td>Unfortified, below 1 hectares</td>
<td>BRW, BSW, RW, microliths, iron arrow head, ring stone and bricks</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>Chandalpadar</td>
<td>At a distance of 3 km from Bhawanipatna near Medinipur High School, Kalahandi dist.</td>
<td>Unfortified, below 2 hectares</td>
<td>Microliths, largest stone axe (Celt), Celt (medium, large) ring-stones, copper bangles, knife, semi-precious stone beads (carnelian, chert glass), BRW, BSW, decorated red ware, coarse GW, terracotta smoking pipes, terracotta animal, faunal remains</td>
<td>Explored Mesolithic to Early historic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Jamugudapadar</td>
<td>At a distance from 5 km from Bhawanipatna at the left side of Bhubaneswar road, Kalahandi dist.</td>
<td>Unfortified, around 2 hectares</td>
<td>Microliths, Celt, ring stones, spindle whorl, painted RW, RW, BSW, coarse GW, coarse and polished BRW, decorated RW, copper ring, copper griddle, iron implements (spear, knife, nail, sickle), slag, clay figurine, smoking pipes, terracotta animal figure, brick, faunal remains</td>
<td>Explored stone ages &amp; Early historic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>Dhangargad</td>
<td>At a distance of 7 km from Bhawanipatna, Kalahandi dist.</td>
<td>Unfortified, below one hectares</td>
<td>Microliths, Celt, ring stones, RW, BSW (decorated) coarse Grey Ware terracotta figurines, bricks</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>Rajamunda</td>
<td>10 km from Bhawanipatna, Kalahandi dist.</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>BRW, Red Ware, (Hand made and Wheel turned) BSW, iron slag.</td>
<td>Explored, Early historic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>Nehna</td>
<td>Upper reaches Under or Indra a tributary of the Tel Nuapada dis. Orissa</td>
<td>Unfortified, three hectares</td>
<td>RW, Brown Ware, BRW (painted in white), slipped GW, knobbed ware, iron implements and slag, beads of precious and semi precious stone, glass bangles, copper plates, Gold coins, beads polisher and mould</td>
<td>Excavated, Early historic &amp; Early medieval</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
References


18. Personal communication with Dr. Baba Mishra.

19. Surveyed by the author and Dr. Baba Mishra.

20. Personal Communication with Dr. Baba Mishra.


23. Personal Communication with Dr. Baba Mishra.


M.Phil Dissertation submitted to the P.G.D.H., S.U., Orissa.

7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.

14. Personal communication with Dr. Baba Mishra the Surveyor of the site.

Kalahandi, Orissa', *Man in India*, 82, (142), pp. 43-54.

28. Personal Communication with Dr. Baba Mishra

29. Ibid.

### Table No. III: Early Historic Sites of the Middle Mahanadi Basin

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Nature and Dimension</th>
<th>Antiquities</th>
<th>Chronology</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Asurgarh, (Manamunda I)</td>
<td>On the right bank of the Tel in its confluence with the Mahanadi, Boudh Dist., Orissa.</td>
<td>Fortified settlement measuring 1.5x0.5 square km</td>
<td>BRW, BW, RW, RSW, NBPW (inferior variety), BPW, RPW, iron slag and implements (knife, draggers, spearhead, arrowhead, axe, nails door clamps, hinges and sickle) beads (carnelian, opal, coral and quartz), a silver punch-marked coin, copper ring, large seized bricks and circular structures sacrificial altar.</td>
<td>Excavated c. 4th century B.C. to c. 5th century A.D.</td>
<td>A political and commercial centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Manamunda II</td>
<td>On the right bank of the Tel about 2 km upstream from Manamunda I, Boudh Dist.</td>
<td>Unfortified</td>
<td>BRW, BSW, RW, RSW, Iron objects, pottery hopscotch, soakage jars and stone beads</td>
<td>Explored Early historic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Haldipali</td>
<td>On the left bank of the Tel, 5 km upstream from Manamunda I, Sonepur Dist., Orissa</td>
<td>Unfortified</td>
<td>BRW, BSW, RW and RSW, ring well, pottery discs, stone pestles, and iron objects</td>
<td>Explored Early historic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Gabjuri</td>
<td>On the bank of the Tel, 10 km upstream from MND I, Boudh Dist.</td>
<td>Unfortified</td>
<td>BRW, BSW, RW and RSW pottery discs and stone beads</td>
<td>Explored Early historic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Deuli</td>
<td>On the right bank of the Tel, Boudh Dist.</td>
<td>Unfortified</td>
<td>BRW, BPW, RPW, iron objects and slag, plenty of glass bangles (Polychrome, bi-chrome and Monochrome), glass slag, and a sculpture of Nataraja dated to c. 10th century A.D.</td>
<td>Excavated Early historic &amp; Early medieval</td>
<td>Glass manufacturing site. (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Tenda</td>
<td>Left bank of the Mahanadi, 10 km upstream from MND I, Sonepur Dist.</td>
<td>Unfortified around 2 hectares</td>
<td>BRW (fine fabric), BSW (Knobbed ware), RW, RSW, BW, microliths pottery discs, terracotta cakes with finger pressed designs, stone discs and beads.</td>
<td>Explored Early historic</td>
<td>Glass manufacturing site. (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Details</td>
<td>Excavated</td>
<td>Glass manufacturing site</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Khajeriapali</td>
<td>Left bank of the Mahanadi, 8 km upstream from MND I, Sonepur dist.</td>
<td>BRW (plain and painted in white), BSW, RW, RSW, perforated ware (bowls), corded ware, slag, terracotta beads, faunal remains, pottery discs</td>
<td>Excavated Proto historic &amp; Early historic (?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Unfortified below 2 hectares</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Hikudi</td>
<td>Left bank of the Mahanadi, 5 km upstream from MND I, Sonepur district</td>
<td>BRW, BSW (fine quality) RSW, RW huge quantity of corded ware, ground Neolithic Celts of dolerite and basalt, stone sling balls, terracotta animal figure (Bull), a large quantity of finished and semi finished beads and a terracotta ring well</td>
<td>Excavated Neolithic &amp; Early historic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Unfortified below 3 hectares</td>
<td></td>
<td>Beads manufacturing site</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Khambeswaripali</td>
<td>Left bank of the Mahanadi, around 10 km downstream from MND I, Sonepur dist.</td>
<td>Period I – Plain and painted black and red ware, burnished black dark grey ware, RSW, plain red ware. Bones points, of single and double ended, blades and pendant of mollusc, shell beads of carnelian, pottery discs, microliths bangles ivory (?) terracotta beads, stone pestle (broken), faunal remains. Period II – Ceramics industry general degeneration. Painted BRW become scanty, appearance of storage vessels, beads (carnelian and terracotta) a tiny copper objects, bone point and spearhead faunal remain. Period III – Change in pottery industry and presence of iron, a few beads of banded agate, fragments of glass bangles, one copper ring, pottery disc, four cowry shells.</td>
<td>Excavated Chalcolithic to iron age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Unfortified below 2 hectares</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Jamtang</td>
<td>On the right bank of the Mahanadi, opposite to Khambeswaripali in Boudh dist.</td>
<td>BRW (white painted and plain), BSW, RW, RSW, potter discs, iron objects, stone beads, terracotta beads and stone pestles</td>
<td>Proto historic and Early Iron Age (?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Unfortified</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Place</td>
<td>Bank of the Mahanadi</td>
<td>Distance from</td>
<td>Fortification</td>
<td>Excavation/Unfortified</td>
<td>Excavation Details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Kumersingha</td>
<td>Left bank of the Mahanadi</td>
<td>2 km downstream from Khamberwaripali, Sonepur dist.</td>
<td>Unfortified around 5 hectares</td>
<td>BRW (plain), BSW, RW, RSW, pottery discs, stone pestles, semi-precious stone beads, sling balls. Copper plates inscription, iron objects, miniature figurines of semi-precious stone and few megalithic structures</td>
<td>Proto-historic &amp; Early historic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Nuagarh</td>
<td>Left bank of the Mahanadi just below Kumersingha, Sonepur dist.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Unfortified</td>
<td>BRW (plain), BSW, RW, RSW, Pottery discs, iron objects, stone beads, stone pestles and slag</td>
<td>Excavated Early historic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Kurumpadar</td>
<td>Right bank of the Mahanadi opposite to Nuagarh, Boudh dist.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Unfortified</td>
<td>RSW, BSW, Knobbed Ware, grey ware, pieces of glass and slag, iron implements and slag 21 kgs from a 2x2m trench, a fumance, a punch-marked coin (imperial variety) from stratigraphic context.</td>
<td>Excavated Early historic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Maryakud</td>
<td>In an island of Mahanadi below Boudh town, Boudh dist.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Unfortified</td>
<td>BRW, BSW, RW, RSW, GW, Knobbed Ware, iron objects iron slag, plenty of beads (garnet) and garnet nodules</td>
<td>Explored Early historic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Binka</td>
<td>On the right bank of the Mahanadi, 20 km upstream from MND I, Sonepur dist.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fortified around 5 hectares</td>
<td>BRW, BW, RW, RSW, BSW, Iron slag and objects, glass objects, beads of precious and semi precious stone, bricks and traces of structural remains</td>
<td>Explored Early historic and early medieval</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Gulapada</td>
<td>Right bank of the Mahanadi 2 km upstream from Binka, Sonepur dist.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Unfortified below one hectare</td>
<td>BRW, BW, RW, RSW, BSW, Iron slag and implements</td>
<td>Explored Early historic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Ganeshpur I</td>
<td>Right bank of the Mahanadi 3 km from Binka, Sonepur dist.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>BRW, BW, RW, RSW, BSW; Iron slag</td>
<td>Explored Early historic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Ganeshpur II</td>
<td>At a distance of 0.5 km from Ganeshpur I</td>
<td></td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>BRW, BW, RW, RSW, BSW; Iron slag</td>
<td>Explored Early historic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Sindurpur</td>
<td>0.5 km distance from Ganeshpur II</td>
<td></td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>BRW, BW, RW, RSW, BSW; Iron slag</td>
<td>Explored Early historic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Place</td>
<td>Additional Information</td>
<td>Area</td>
<td>Pottery</td>
<td>Slag</td>
<td>Remains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
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<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Manigaon</td>
<td>0.5 km distance from Sindurpur</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>BRW, BW, RW, RSW, BSW; Iron slag</td>
<td>Explored Early historic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Gariapali</td>
<td>On the right bank of the Mahanadi, 10 km downstream from Binka Sonepur dist.</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>BRW, BSW, RSW, RW pottery discs, beads of semi-precious stone, terracotta cakes</td>
<td>Explored Early historic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Kartang</td>
<td>Right bank of the Mahanadi 0.5 km from Gariapali, Sonepur dist.</td>
<td>Unfortified around 1 hectare</td>
<td>BRW, BSW, RW, RSW, discs (pottery and stone) two ground Neolithic Celts of dolerite and faunal remains</td>
<td>Explored Protohistoric and Early historic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Pankital</td>
<td>On the confluence of the Mahanadi and Ang, Just below Kartang, Sonepur dist.</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>BRW, BSW, RSW, RW, Knobbed Ware, pottery discs, beads of semi-precious stone, iron slag and skeletal remains</td>
<td>Explored Early historic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Baljuri</td>
<td>Left bank of the Tel in the Sonepur dist.</td>
<td>Unfortified below 2 hectares</td>
<td>Red ware and black slipped ware</td>
<td>Explored Early historic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Baidyanath</td>
<td>Left bank of the Tel, Sonepur dist.</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Red ware, red slipped ware slipped ware beads of semi-precious stone</td>
<td>Explored Early historic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>Kharjura</td>
<td>On the confluence of the Tel and Suktel, Sonepur dist.</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>RW, RSW, BSW</td>
<td>Explored Early historic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Kutasingha</td>
<td>Right bank of the Ang., Sonepur dist.</td>
<td>Unfortified 2 hectares</td>
<td>RW, BSW, RSW, BRW, plenty of polychrome, monochrome and bi-chrome glass bangles and slag, iron slag &amp; beads of semi precious stone</td>
<td>Explored Early historic Glass manufacturing site</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>Kapasira</td>
<td>Left bank of the Ang, Sonepur dist.</td>
<td>Unfortified below 3 hectares</td>
<td>BRW, RW, BW, RSW, BSW, plenty of glass slag and bangles (polychrome, monochrome, bi-chrome), iron slag, marine shell (cowries) terracotta figurines</td>
<td>Explored Early historic Glass manufacturing site</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>Babupali</td>
<td>Left bank of the Ang, Sonepur dist.</td>
<td>Unfortified below 1 hectare</td>
<td>Only simple red ware</td>
<td>Explored Early historic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>Siali</td>
<td>Left bank of the Ang, Sonepur dist.</td>
<td>Unfortified 2 hectares</td>
<td>RW, BSW, BRW, RWW, iron slag</td>
<td>Explored Early historic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Bank of the River</td>
<td>District</td>
<td>Status below</td>
<td>Fortified</td>
<td>Objects and Finds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
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<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>Bhursapali</td>
<td>Right bank of the Ang., Sonepur dist.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Unfortified below 1 hectare</td>
<td>RW, RSW, BSW</td>
<td>Explored Early historic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>Kudopali</td>
<td>Right bank of the Ang., Sonepur dist.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Unfortified below 1 hectare</td>
<td>RW, RSW, BSW</td>
<td>Explored Early historic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>Sakma</td>
<td>Right bank of Ang, Sonepur dist.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Unfortified around 5 hectares</td>
<td>RW, BW, RSW, BRW, plenty of glass bangles and slag (polychrome, Monochrome and bi-chrome), animal figurine, iron slag</td>
<td>Explored Early historic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>Shankarbbuji</td>
<td>Right bank of the Suktel, Sonepur dist.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Unfortified around 1 hectare</td>
<td>RW, BW, RSW</td>
<td>Explored Early historic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>Khari</td>
<td>Left bank of the Suktel. Sonepur dist.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Unfortified 1.5 hectare</td>
<td>BRW, RW, RSW, BSW, bi-chrome bangle pieces, iron slag</td>
<td>Explored Early historic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>Badmal (Asurgarh)</td>
<td>On the upper reaches of the Harthar Jor, a tributary of the Mahanadi, Sambalpur dist.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fortified</td>
<td>Thousands of finished and semi-finished beads of 19 variety of precious and semi-precious stones (carnelian, agate, lapis lazuli, coral, agate, opal, quartz, ruby) exotic good (animal pendant), ceramics, iron implements and slag, mud rampart</td>
<td>Explored Early historic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>Rampur (Asurgarh)</td>
<td>Sonepur dist.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fortified provision of moat</td>
<td>BSW, RW, BW, iron implements, ornament (bangles, earring copper coin)</td>
<td>Explored Early historic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>Barpali (Asurgarh)</td>
<td>Bargarh dist.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>RW, BW, iron objects</td>
<td>Explored Early historic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39.</td>
<td>Adgaon (Asurgarh)</td>
<td>Upper reaches of the Danta a tributary of the Mahanadi, Bargarh dist.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>RW, BSW, RSW, iron implements</td>
<td>Explored Early historic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
References


36. Personal communication with Dr. P.K. Behera and Subash Khamari, the excavator of the site.


12. Ibid.


16. Surveyed by the outer and Subash Khamari.

17. Ibid.,

18. Ibid.,

19. Ibid.,

20. Ibid.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Find spot and Nature of finding</th>
<th>Issuing Authority</th>
<th>No. of Coins found</th>
<th>Metal</th>
<th>Shape &amp; Weight</th>
<th>Obverse (symbols)</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Sonepur, Sonepur, Dist., (Orissa) Hoard.</td>
<td>Local authority of South-Kosala region</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>Irregular weight – 19.2 to 21 grains</td>
<td>Elephant, Humped Bull, Two Bull Yoked in a plough, Vindumandala or an eye symbol·</td>
<td>c. 5th - 4th century B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Asurgarh (Natla), Kalahandi, Dist., (Orissa) Stratigraphy.</td>
<td>Local authority of South-Kosala region</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Silver &amp; Bronze</td>
<td>Not Mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>c. 5th - 4th century B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Tarapur, Raigarh Dist., (Chhattisgarh), Hoard.</td>
<td>Local authority of South-Kosala region</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>Square, Rectangular</td>
<td>Same as the Sonepur Hoard</td>
<td>c. 5th - 4th century B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Dhapewara, Balaghat, Dist., (M.P.), Hoard.</td>
<td>Local authority of South-Kosala region</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Same as the Sonepur Hoard</td>
<td>c. 5th - 4th century B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Tarabha, Sonepur, Dist., (Orissa), Hoard.</td>
<td>Local authority of South-Kosala region</td>
<td>Around 300</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Pre-Mauryan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Lukapara, Bolangir, Dist., (Orissa), Hoard.</td>
<td>Local authority of South-Kosala region</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Pre-Mauryan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Raipur and adjoining area, (Chhattisgarh), Stray</td>
<td>Local authority of South-Kosala region</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Pre-Mauryan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Bilaspur and adjoining area, (Chhattisgarh), Stray</td>
<td>Local authority of South-Kosala region</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Pre-Mauryan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Sambalpur, (Orissa), Stray Sambalpur.</td>
<td>Local authority of South-Kosala region</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Pre-Mauryan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Salepur, Cuttuck, Dist., (Orissa) Hoard.</td>
<td>Local authority of South-Kosala region</td>
<td>376</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Solar device, and six armed symbol are common, other symbol – Bull, a circle with an enclosure, a rabbit inside on enclosure, 3, 5, 6, armed symbols, rabbit with a pup in his mouth, Elephant, tailed arrow, tree, tree in railing, mountains, four fishes inside an enclosure.</td>
<td>Pre-Mauryan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Thatari, Bilaspur, Dist., (Chhattisgarh), Hoard.</td>
<td>Local authority of South-Kosala region</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>Copper</td>
<td>Square</td>
<td>Dot in the centre with four crescent, svastik, taureine.</td>
<td>c. 2nd century B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Arang, Raipur, Dist., (Chhattisgarh), Stray.</td>
<td>Local authority of South-Kosala region</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not Mentioned</td>
<td>Early historic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Site Details</td>
<td>Local Authority</td>
<td>Currency Type</td>
<td>Indications</td>
<td>Period</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Balpur, Raigarh, Dist., (Chhattisgarh), Stray.</td>
<td>Local authority of South-Kosala region</td>
<td>Copper</td>
<td>Roughly Rectangular Elephant walking to his right</td>
<td>Early historic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Raipur Museum, Stray</td>
<td>Local authority of South-Kosala region</td>
<td>Copper</td>
<td>Rectangular Elephant walking to his right. Lower position of a standing male or female figure.</td>
<td>Early historic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Adam in Maharastra, Stratigraphy</td>
<td>Local authority of South-Kosala region</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Early historic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Jonda on the bank of Mahanadi near Sirpur in Raipur Dist. Hoard</td>
<td>Local authority of South-Kosala region</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>Square, rectangular, &amp; irregular Standard South-Kosalan four symbol on the obverse side of &amp; blank riverside</td>
<td>Early historic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reference – serial no. of the table denotes reference no.


15. Personal communication with Dr. Amarendra Nath, the excavator of the site.

16. A hoard of South Kosalan *janapada* type of punch-marked coin has recently been found from Jonda, located on the bank of Mahanadi. Some of the coins of these hoards are with the private collection of Dr. B. P. Singh. These coins need a proper analysis.
Table V: Malhar Coin (found from Malhar only)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Issuing authority</th>
<th>No. of coin found</th>
<th>Metal</th>
<th>Type, shape, weight</th>
<th>Obverse symbols</th>
<th>Obverse Legend</th>
<th>Reverse symbols</th>
<th>Script and language</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Local authority of Malhar</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>Punch-Marked Coin, PMC square</td>
<td>Sun, Bull, Elephant, Unidentified symbol and Malhar symbol</td>
<td>No legend</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>c. 3rd – 2nd century B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Local authority of Malhar</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Copper (2), Lead (1)</td>
<td>PMC uniface, uninscribed die struck square (1), rectangular (2)</td>
<td>Tusker elephant</td>
<td>No legend</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>2nd century B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Local authority of Malhar</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Copper</td>
<td>PMC bi-faced, uninscribed, die struck</td>
<td>Tusker elephant</td>
<td>No legend</td>
<td>crude figure of a lady (Goddess), Goddess and Peacock (3), and Peacock (1)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>c. 2nd – 1st century B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Silalusiri</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Lead</td>
<td>Bi-faced inscribed square</td>
<td>Crude and dumpy elephant, Malhar symbol</td>
<td>Rano Silalusirisa</td>
<td>Not clear</td>
<td>Brahmi</td>
<td>c. 1st century B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Achadasiri</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Copper</td>
<td>Bi-faced inscribed square</td>
<td>Elephant, wavy line or river, Malhar symbol</td>
<td>Rano Achadasiri</td>
<td>tree-in-railing</td>
<td>Brahmi</td>
<td>c. 1st century B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Dhamabhada</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Elephant, wavy line, river, Malhar symbol</td>
<td>Rano Dhamabhada</td>
<td>tree-in-railing</td>
<td>Brahmi</td>
<td>c. 1st century B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Maghasiri of Magha dynasty</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Lead</td>
<td>Square</td>
<td>Elephant, Malhar symbol</td>
<td>Rano Magha Sirisa</td>
<td>Mostly blank tree in railing (1)</td>
<td>Brahmi</td>
<td>c. 1st century B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Siriya Magha of Magha dynasty</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Copper</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Elephant, Malhar symbol</td>
<td>Siriya Magha</td>
<td>tree-in-railing</td>
<td>Brahmi</td>
<td>c. 1st century B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Sivamagha of Magha dynasty</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Copper</td>
<td>Square rectangular octagonal, round.</td>
<td>Elephant, Malhar symbol</td>
<td>Rano Sivamagha Sirisa</td>
<td>Peacock on a pedestal</td>
<td>Brahmi Prakrit</td>
<td>c. 1st century B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Anonymous ruler of Magha dynasty</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Elephant, Malhar symbol</td>
<td>Invisible</td>
<td>Peacock tree-in-railing</td>
<td>Brahmi</td>
<td>c. 1st century B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Sivasiri Silaluka</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Elephant, wavy line, Malhar symbol</td>
<td>Rano, Siva Siris Silalukasa</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Brahmi</td>
<td>c. 1st – 2nd century A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Not visible</td>
<td>Copper</td>
<td>Elephant deity type square</td>
<td>Elephant, Malhar symbol</td>
<td>Maharajya(Ra) sa Raja, Malha raja, Rajam</td>
<td>Standing deity, Peacock deity with feathered head gear.</td>
<td>Brahmi</td>
<td>C. 2nd – 3rd century A.D.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reference – serial no. of the table denotes reference no.

3. Ibid., p. 15.
5. Ibid., (b) Ibid., pp. 4-5
6. Ibid., (b) Ibid., p. 5.
10. Ibid., pp. 9-10.
11. Ibid., pp. 11-12.
12. Ibid., p. 13.
13. (b) Ibid., pp. 14-16.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Find Spot and Nature of Finding</th>
<th>Issuing Authority</th>
<th>No. of Coins found</th>
<th>Metal</th>
<th>Shape &amp; Weight</th>
<th>Obverse (symbols)</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Asurgarh (Narla), Kalahandi Dist., (Orissa) Hoard.</td>
<td>69 pre-Mauryan, 272 Mauryan, 198 post-Mauryan.</td>
<td>539</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Sun six armed disc or sadarachakra rhinoceros sun sadarachakra crescent on three arched hill, arrow, taurine, fish, dog, tree-in-railing crocodile, bull, srivatsa, man, frog, women, elephant, tortoise, etc.</td>
<td>c. 5th century to 2nd century B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Asurgarh (Manamunda), Sonepur, Dist., (Orissa) Stratigraphy.</td>
<td>Imperial</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>Circular 2.82 gms.</td>
<td>Crescent on hill, rising sun, nandipāda /lotus, elephant, sadarakṣa</td>
<td>Pre-Mauryan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Thatari, Bilaspur Dist., (Chhattisgarh), Hoard.</td>
<td>The mashaka coins are similar to those found elsewhere, i.e. Taxila, Ujain, Bhuṣla, Jahangira, Maheswara, etc.</td>
<td>(253) mashaka 83, rest are karibhapa types</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>Between 2 and 3 grains</td>
<td>One Stamped symbol on mashaka type five symbols on karibhapa variety.</td>
<td>Pre-Mauryan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Akaltara, Bilaspur Dist., (Chhattisgarh), Hoard.</td>
<td>Imperial</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>Silver (259) copper (2)</td>
<td>Rectangular, square</td>
<td>Bear five symbols</td>
<td>c. 4th - 3rd century B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Kurumpadar, Boudh Dist., (Orissa), Stratigraphy</td>
<td>Imperial</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Copper plated Silver</td>
<td>Circular</td>
<td>Five symbols</td>
<td>c. 4th-3rd century B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Raipur, and adjoining area, (Chhattisgarh), Hoard and Stray</td>
<td>Ujain and Eran</td>
<td>575</td>
<td>Copper</td>
<td>Rectangular oblong square,</td>
<td>Eran and Ujain symbols similar to elephant, taurine, lotus, fish, six armed symbol, arrow head tree-in-railing, river, etc.</td>
<td>c. 5th - 4th century B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Not known deposited in Raipur Museum.</td>
<td>Eran coin</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Copper (16) Bronze (2)</td>
<td>Square, Rectangular</td>
<td>Eran symbols</td>
<td>‘do’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Not known Raipur Museum.</td>
<td>Vidisa coin</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Copper</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Vidisa symbol</td>
<td>Early historic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Malhat Bilaspur Dist., (Chhattisgarh), Stray.</td>
<td>Panchala Janapada</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Copper</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>Early historic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Reference – serial no. of the table denotes reference no.


4. NNM, No. 2, p. 25.

5. Personal Communication with Dr. P.K. Behera and Subhash Khamari.


Table VII: Satavahana Coins

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Find spot and Nature of finding</th>
<th>Issuing authority</th>
<th>No. of coins found</th>
<th>Metal</th>
<th>Shape &amp; weight</th>
<th>Symbol and legend (obverse)</th>
<th>Symbol and Legend (reverse)</th>
<th>Script and Language</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Balpur, Raigarh, Dist., (Chhattisgarh), Stray.</td>
<td>Satavahana ruler</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Early historic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Balpur, Raigarh, Dist., (Chhattisgarh), Stray.</td>
<td>Sivasti Apilakas of Satavahana dynasty</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Copper</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Early historic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. In the bed of the river</td>
<td>Not clear</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>Round 27.9 grains</td>
<td>Bust of the king (?)</td>
<td>Ujjaini symbols surmounted by crescent to left six armed hill, surmounted by a crescent to right.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Early historic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Bilaspur, Dist., Chhattisgarh, Stray.</td>
<td>Satakarni, Veda Sri, Sakti Sri, Apalika &amp; Kumbha Satakarni, Satavahana dynasty</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Early historic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Raipur Museum, Stray</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Early historic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reference – serial no. of the table denotes reference no.

### Table VIII: Kushana Coin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Find spot and Nature of finding</th>
<th>Issuing authority</th>
<th>No. of coins found</th>
<th>Metal</th>
<th>Shape &amp; weight</th>
<th>Symbol and legend (obverse)</th>
<th>Symbol and Legend (reverse)</th>
<th>Script and Language</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Bilaspur, Dist., (Chhattisgarh), Stray.</td>
<td>Kushana rulers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Copper</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>c. 1st - 2nd century A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Jhajhpuri, Bilaspur, Dist., (Chhattisgarh), Hoard.</td>
<td>Kanishka &amp; Huviska</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Copper</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>c. 1st - 2nd century A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Kend A Zamindary, Bilaspur, Chhattisgarh, Hoard.</td>
<td>Kushana rulers</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Copper</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>c. 1st - 2nd century A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Malhar, Bilaspur, Dist., (Chhattisgarh), Stratigraphy</td>
<td>Kushana rulers</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Copper</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>c. 1st - 2nd century A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Pendharva, Bilaspur Dist., (Chhattisgarh), Stray.</td>
<td>Kushana rulers</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Copper</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>c. 1st - 2nd century A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>MGM Museum, Raipur, Stray.</td>
<td>Kushana rulers</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Copper</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>c. 1st - 2nd century A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Kharligarh, Bolangir, Dist., (Orissa), Stray</td>
<td>Kushana rulers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Copper</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>c. 1st - 2nd century A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Asurgarh, Kalahandi, Dist., (Orissa), Stratigraphy</td>
<td>Kanishka</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Copper</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>c. 1st - 2nd century A.D.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reference – serial no. of the table denotes reference no.

1. NNM, No. 5, p. 10.
4. MER, p. 34.
# Table IX: Roman and Chinese Coin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Find spot and Nature of finding</th>
<th>Issuing authority</th>
<th>No. of coins found</th>
<th>Metal</th>
<th>Shape &amp; weight</th>
<th>Symbol and legend (obverse)</th>
<th>Symbol and Legend (reverse)</th>
<th>Script and Language</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Chakrabedha, Bilaspur, Dist., (Chhattisgarh), Stray.</td>
<td>Commodus &amp; Antonimu</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Gold</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>c. 2nd century A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Bilaspur, Bilaspur Dist., (Chhattisgarh), Stray.</td>
<td>Hardin, Seotemvis, Serverus &amp; Commodes</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Gold</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>c. 2nd century A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Malhar, Bilaspur, Dist., (Chhattisgarh), Stray.</td>
<td>Not clearly</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Gold</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>c. 2nd century A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Seorinarayan, Raipur Dist., (Chhattisgarh), Hoard</td>
<td>Indo-Greeks</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Early historic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Balpur, Dist., (Chhattisgarh), Bilaspur, Stray.</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3 Silver, 1 Copper</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Sirpur, Raipur Dist., (Chhattisgarh), Stratigraphy.</td>
<td>Kaiyuan, Chinese</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Copper</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>c. 8th century A.D.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reference – serial no. of the table denotes reference no.

2. *Ibid*.
4. A hoard of Indo-Greek coins recently found from Seorinarayan. Some of the coins of this hoard are under the private collection of Dr. B. P. Singh of Raipur. These coins have not been studied yet.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Find spot and Nature of finding</th>
<th>Issuing authority</th>
<th>No. of coins found</th>
<th>Metal</th>
<th>Shape &amp; weight</th>
<th>Symbol and legend (obverse)</th>
<th>Symbol and Legend (reverse)</th>
<th>Script and Language</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Arang, Raipur, Dist., (Chhattisgarh), Stray.</td>
<td>Kumaragupta</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Silver coated copper</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>5th century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Banabanida, Durg, Dist., (Chhattisgarh), Stray</td>
<td>Kacha (1), Chandragupta II (7), Kumaragupta (1)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>4th-5th century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>MGM Museum, Raipur, Stray</td>
<td>Narasimhagupta</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Gold</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>5th century A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>MGM Museum, Raipur, Stray</td>
<td>Kramaditya</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Gold</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>5th century A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>MGM Museum, Raipur, Stray</td>
<td>Ramagupta</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Gold</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>5th century A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Bilaspur, Dist., (Chhattisgarh), Stray</td>
<td>Yaudheya rulers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Copper</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>c. 2nd – 3rd century A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Sirsa, Durg, Dist., (Chhattisgarh), Hoard</td>
<td>Indo-Sassanian rulers</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>Copper</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>MGM Museum, Raipur, Stray</td>
<td>Indo-Sassanian rulers</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Copper</td>
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<td>Not mentioned</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>MGM Museum, Raipur, Stray</td>
<td>Western Kshatrapa rulers</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Reference – serial no. of the table denotes reference no.