

Chapter 6

Discussion and Conclusion

Chapter 6

Discussion and Conclusion

The present research on ‘A Study on the Archaeological Sites of Malda, DakshinDinajpur and Uttar Dinajpur’ has been carried out with some objectives; to understand the historical geography of the study area; secondly to examine the urban character of the major and minor sites, and the relationship between them. An endeavour has been made to fill up the gaps of the political history of the study area with the help of new archaeological findings of epigraphy, numismatics and sculptures. Apart from this, a micro level study and surface exploration have been made of the major and minor sites of the study area on village-to-village basis. As a result of this, many sites were explored of which some sites were placed for the first time on the archaeological map. A large number of artefacts were surveyed/collected, which helped us to reconstruct various facts of different periods. This effort leads to the identifications and locations of the lost archaeological treasures of ancient Bengal. The summary of the research findings, observations, interpretations and scope for further research are discussed below.

6.1. Historical Geography

The historical geography of the study area shows some new discoveries of the area under study. It shows rise and fall of some important sites in time spans. Sometimes small political units have overtaken the political hegemony of the bigger political units, as we can see in the case of Vyāghrataṭī *maṇḍala* and Mahantāprakāśa *viṣaya*. The formal political sequence was *bhukti*, *viṣaya* and *maṇḍala*, but in this case, Vyāghrataṭī *maṇḍala* had the political supervision of the Mahantapraśa *viṣaya*. For reconstructing the historical geography of the study area, epigraphic records have an important role. These records bear a unique feature to demarcate the boundaries of the donated land with accurate measurement and distinct borderlines and landmarks (*sīmacinha*), which can be taken as novel achievement in this part of Bengal. Even to the extent of marking a date tree, a banyan tree or a small water body as the natural landmark for demarcation of a plot of land. (Khalimpur CPI: 1/32, ‘*uttarēnaKādamva(mba)rī-dēvakulikākharjjūra-vṛikshas=cha*’) After scrutinizing the facts of epigraphic record, this study framed the boundary of the Puṇḍravardhana

bhukti between the rivers Mahananda on the west and the Karatoya on the east; the Ganges on the south and the foot hills of the Himalayas on the north. This land has several other large and small rivers like the Kosi (Kauśikī), Atreye, Punarbhaba, Tangan, Nagar, Kalindi, Chiramati (Śrīmatī), Jamuna (*chota*), etc.

It has now become possible to correctly identify the Vyāghrataṭi *maṇḍala*, which was wrongly identified by the scholars till date with the Sundarban region. The Vyāghrataṭi *maṇḍala* is identified by this study with the land east of Nālandā *viṣaya* and west of Mahantāprakāśa *viṣaya*. The study also tentatively suggests its head quarters in the undivided Purnea district. The Anulia CPI of Lakshmaṇasena provides valuable information in this regard. The donated plot of land of this grant, i.e. Māthraṇḍiyā of Vyāghrataṭi *maṇḍala*, has been identified by this study with the village of Methrani of Gajol, Malda.

In this chapter an endeavour is made to tentatively identify the present locations of the territorial divisions mentioned in the epigraphic records.

Places mentioned in the inscription	Tentative Location
Khalimpur CPI	
Mahantāprakāśa	Southern part of the Gajol PS and Old Malda
Krauñchaśvabhra	BṛddhiKāmach
<i>Grāma</i> Bilba	Raṅjubil
Temple of Kādambarī	Kāluarī
Khātaka-yānikā[m]	Khātiakān
Nalacharmmaṭat	Nalbōnā
Māḍhāśāmmalī	Mādhavpur
Sthālikkaṭa	Thīlikat
Āmrashaṇḍikā	Āmsol
Gōpipalī	Gopālpur and Pipplān
Udragrāma	Udgram

Places mentioned in the inscription	Tentative Location
Baigrama CPI	
Panchanagari	Panchbibi
Chañdragrāma	Bara Changram and ChhotaChangram
Vāyigrāma	Baigram
Palāśvīndaka	Palasbari
Śrīgōhālī	Hili
Trivṛitā	Tripura
Nandapur CPI	
Āmbilagrāma	Āmail
Jangoyika	Jangoi
Belwa CPI	
Gañēśwara	Ganeshpur
Jagajjibanpur CPI	
Nandadīrghikā	Nandagarh or Nādgarrh bill
Kāsiggara-bandhaka	KāsiDīghi
Anulia CPI	
Māthraṇḍiyā	Methrani
Jalapilla	Jājilpārā
Mālāmancha-vāṭī	Mālanipur, Manchāmpur

Among the recent discoveries of the epigraphic records, the Mastakaśvabhra grant of Pradyumnabandhu of 159 GE (650 CE ?), Nāgavasū Grant and two grants of Mahati-Raktamālā and their toponyms have similarities with the toponyms of the Khalimpur grant of Dharmapāladēva and many other grants of north Bengal. Particularly the nomenclature of toponyms of the Mastakaśvabhra grant and the Khalimpur grant are very similar.

<u>Suffix/pref</u>	<u>Khalimpur Grant</u>	<u>Mastakaśvabhra Grant</u>	<u>Nāgavasū Grant</u>	<u>Mahati-Raktamālā Grants</u>
-śvabhra	Krauñchśvabh ra	Mastakaśvabh ra		
-khātaka	Khātaka- yānikā[ṛ]	Śivaguptakhata ka		
-ikā	Jēnandāyikā,	Śaṅkarapallika, Audumvarikā	Madhyamasṛgāli kā	Dugdhotikā
-pippali-	Gōpippalī	Pippalivanikā		
-saṅḍikā	Āmrasaṅḍikā	Ṣaṅḍadvipa	Saṅḍikā	Madhyamasanḍi kā

In Khalimpur inscription mention has been made of the ‘Kāṇā-island’, while in the Mastakaśvabhra inscription it is mentioned as after the latter (Bṛhacchankajoṭā), down again to the stream near the silk cotton tree of Kāṇālatī. Both these inscriptions also mentioned many water bodies, islands, marshlands etc.

<u>Khalimpur grant</u>	<u>The Mastakaśvabhra grant</u>
Kāṇā-island	Ghoṇā-island, Ṣaṅḍa-island, Pravara-island
Koṅṭhia river	Trighaṭṭika River
Ganginikās, dike of RājaputraDēvaṭa, dike of Viṭaka	Optra (?) canel, Śṛṅgāṭaka pond, Bṛhacchankojoṭā, Kāṇā stream

Last but not the least both these grants have similarity in respect of flora also. Example, ‘it goes to and enters a citron grove’ in the Khalimpur grant and ‘the village Mastakaśvabhra along with its citron-grove’ in the Mastakaśvabhra grant. So the

search for the toponyms of the Mastakaśvabhra grant and other three grants can be done in or out side of the identified places of the Khalimpur grant.

The present study locates the Matsya *janapada* in eastern India, in spite of its previous identification with Jaipur region of Rajasthan. This identification is made on the basis of the facts of ancient texts, epigraphic records, archaeological fragments and local legends. Matsyadeśa roughly corresponds with the territory lying between the river Mahananda on the west and Jamuna on the east. The Matsyadeśa consists of large part of the Purnea district of Bihar, almost entire part of North Dinajpur and South Dinajpur and northern part of Malda district that includes the police stations of Kharba and Harishchandrapur. The western part of the district of Dinajpur is in Bangladesh, while another part of Matsyadesa is also in Bangladesh forming part and parcel of Rajshahi district.

6. 2. Urbanization and Geopolitics

The earlier phase of urbanization of the study area is quite similar with the Gangetic valley urbanization. This study tried to understand the process of urbanization of the study area through the Central Place Theory, which is not conventionally used in the study of archaeology. It would appear that a number of big cities of Bengal were built in our study area. These were Koṭivarṣa, Gauḍa, Rāmāvati, Pānduā, and Ṭānḍa; sometimes they were used as capital city of certain powers. As we know, the urbanization of India have three distinct phases, of which two phases are concerned with our study. The process of Aryanisation played an important role in the development of the urban sites of the study area. The study area had a number of urban settlements during the phase of second urbanization. Important sites of this phase are Bangarh, Asuragarh, Kandan, Panchbibi and Mahatī-Raktamālā. This study differs with the previous views about the degradation of the sites like Bangarh particularly during the time of the Guptas. After examining the archaeological remains and the epigraphic data this study proposes that the importance of the city of Bangarh was further increased during that time. The word *anubahamāna* (ever-prospering) in the Damodarpur copper plates, population density and the rise of the eminent personalities with *dutta*, *pāla*, *nandin* etc. suffix in the Gupta administration proves our point.

During the third urbanization period, the study area witnessed many political upheavals and became an important part of Indian civilization. This time under the great rulers like Śaśāṅka, Dharmapāla, Devapāla and so on Bengal gained its separate regional identity. Some of the cities like Pichli (ancient Gauḍa), Kandaran, Suryapur, Ekdala-Bairhatta, Amati, Madanavati gained in importance.

6.3. Political Scenario

In this chapter of the dissertation, we have tried to fill up the gaps of the political history of North Bengal as far as possible with the help of the archaeological findings. It had continuous political holds right from the time of the Mauryas to the Senas of Bengal. This study also proclaims the paucity of source materials for the Śuṅga and Kuṣāna period. Newly discovered terracotta plaques and coins from the study area throw some lights on this time. This study also discusses the fact of the original homeland of the Guptas. This study proposes the Kandaran region of Malda as the tentative locations of the Mrigasthapana *stupa* and the ‘temple of China’ constructed by Śrī-Gupta of I-Tsing’s record. Newly discovered inscriptions like two Mahatī-Raktamālā CPIs, the second Baigram CPI, Nāgavasū CPI, and Mastakaśvabhra CPI have been scanned in this chapter which rendered huge sources of information about this time.

This study, for the first time, tries to find out the *Prakritis*, who select Gopāla as their leader to put an end of the practice of fishes (*matsyanyāya*). In this chapter, the chronology of the Pāla king is scanned on the basis of epigraphic records and proposed a tentative chronology.

6.4. The Remains

‘Mr. India’, ‘Double Dekker’, ‘Bon Jhakri’, ‘Der Futia’, ‘Chhota Bachcha’, – these are the code words of the antique hunter/smuggler active in this region. ‘Mr. India’ means the Buddha image; ‘Double Dekker’ means the Uma-Maheswara image; ‘Bon Jhakri’ means any kind of tribal mask, ‘Der Futia’ means miniature sculpture on any varieties and ‘Chhota Bachcha’ means the sculpture of Gopāla. These are the code words of the antique smugglers of the study area. This chapter dealt with such kind of archaeological sites, which are lying completely unprotected and have become

an open field for antique smugglers. This chapter is the result of scholar's years long field surveys.

In this work, present scholar has extensively surveyed many archaeological sites of our study area and briefly discussed the finding of those sites. The data collected from the archaeological sites surveyed by present scholar, are compared with the data of epigraphic and literary sources. These sources have been discussed in relevant chapters in this study.

Here in below some of the sites surveyed for the study have been listed

Sl. No.	Place Name	Tentative Period
1.	Batun, DakshinDinajpur	Pala-Sena
2.	Bansihari, DakshinDinajpur	Kuṣāna, Pala-Sena
3.	Jagaddal, Bamongola, Malda	Pala-Sena
4.	Jagjivanpur, Malda	Pala-Sena
5.	Kandaran, Malda	Kuṣāna, Gupta, Pala-Sena
6.	Madanabati, Malda	Pala-Sena
7.	Pandua, Malda	Pala-Sena
8.	Panisala, uttarDinajpur	Pala-Sena
9.	Piprithan,	Gupta
10.	TungiDighi, Uttar Dinajpur	Pala-Sena
11.	Amati	Pala-Sena
12.	Asuragarh	Maurya, Gupta
13.	Bangarh, DakshinDinajpur	Maurya, Suṅga, Kuṣāna, Pala-Sena
14.	Baragram	Pala-Sena
15.	Bindol	Pala-Sena
16.	Chanditala	Pala-Sena
17.	College Para	Pala-Sena
18.	Dehabandh	Pala-Sena
19.	Kamlabari	Pala-Sena
20.	Udaypur	Pala-Sena
21.	Sonapur	Pala-Sena

22.	TamachhariMathbari	Pala-Sena
23.	Tenahari	Pala-Sena
24.	Kharmuja-ghat	Pala-Sena
25.	Pouti, Uttar Dinajpur	Pala-Sena
26.	Tapan, DakshinDinajpur	Pala-Sena
27.	Kushmandi, DakshinDinajpur	Pala-Sena
28.	Budhura, DakshinDinajpur	Pala-Sena
29.	Methrani, Malda	Pala-Sena
30.	Narayanpur, DakshinDinajpur	Pala-Sena
31.	Kardaha, DakshinDinajpur	Pala-Sena
32.	Mahipala-dighi, DakshinDinajpur	Pala-Sena
33.	Itahar,	Pala-Sena
34.	Bhadrashila,	Pala-Sena
35.	Dehabandh	Pala-Sena
36.	Pichli	Gupta, Pala-Sena
37.	Panchanagari	Gupta, Pala-Sena
38.	Masirgarh	Maurya, Gupta
39.	Charaiyya	Maurya, Gupta
40.	Bāhādurganj	Maurya, Gupta
41.	Danga	Gupta, Pala-Sena
42.	Sambhunagar	Gupta, Pala-Sena
43.	Caitanpati	Gupta, Pala-Sena
44.	Anandaganj	Gupta, Pala-Sena
45.	Govindapur	Gupta, Pala-Sena
46.	Gourhanda	Gupta, Pala-Sena
47.	Vangapal	Gupta, Pala-Sena
48.	Damanviti	Gupta, Pala-Sena
49.	Virasthali	Gupta, Pala-Sena
50.	Dakshinsahar	Gupta, Pala-Sena
51.	Sanjib	Gupta, Pala-Sena
52.	Alihanda	Gupta, Pala-Sena

53.	Vandar	Gupta, Pala-Sena
54.	Kusidha	Gupta, Pala-Sena
55.	Bhaluka	Gupta, Pala-Sena
56.	Suryapur	Gupta, Pala-Sena
57.	Ganipur	Pala-Sena
58.	Chate	Pala-Sena
59.	Daharol,	Pala-Sena
60.	Kachra,	Pala-Sena
61.	Eshnail,	Pala-Sena
62.	Aminpur,	Pala-Sena
63.	Katashan,	Pala-Sena
64.	Dehabanḍh,	Pala-Sena
65.	Patiraj,	Pala-Sena
66.	Adhyakhanda,	Pala-Sena
67.	Mahatur,	Pala-Sena
68.	Jagdalla,	Pala-Sena
69.	Mahendra,	Pala-Sena
70.	Surohor,	Pala-Sena
71.	Harirampur	Pala-Sena
72.	Raikhandighi	Pala-Sena
73.	Dhana-ManarBhita	Pala-Sena
74.	Bamongola	Pala-Sena
75.	Bangapala	Pala-Sena
76.	Damanbhita	Pala-Sena
77.	Kaimar	Pala-Sena
78.	Madhubana	Pala-Sena
79.	Tenohari	Pala-Sena
80.	Bindol	Pala-Sena
81.	Swaminath	Pala-Sena
82.	Kukrakunda	Pala-Sena
83.	Sonapur	Pala-Sena
84.	Karandighi	Pala-Sena

85.	Tungidighi	Pala-Sena
86.	Chopra	Pala-Sena
87.	Kajaldighi	Pala-Sena
88.	Ranidighi	Pala-Sena
89.	Bauldighi	Pala-Sena
90.	Laldighi	Pala-Sena
91.	Ballabhasagar	Pala-Sena

Limitations of the Research

Though the research work revealed many important information of the study area, like other scientific field research this time-bound project also have limitations. As we have mentioned heretofore that the study is based on the surface collections from the archaeological sites, sometimes access to some of these sites become difficult due to some unavoidable situations. In some cases, accesses to the private collectors become troublesome due to collectors' unfair motives. The most important lacuna for not only this work but for the entire research world is that, the unawareness of the inhabitants of the study area regarding their culture and history. For this reason the unholy personnel make selling of the artefacts as their way of livelihood. Another important weakness of the study is that the unavailability of large-scale archaeological excavation reports of the ancient sites of the area. We have only a portion of the mound of Bangarh and Ballalhati have been excavated so far. Most of the sites of the study area, particularly the Asuragarh mound, Ganeshvita, mounds of Kamalabari, mounds of the Kandaran region, will be vanished by the encroachment of increasing population and agricultural works. In respect of the manuscripts, found from the study area, lack of initiatives of preserving and reading is going to be vanished completely from the realm of history.

In this context, however, more detailed scientific excavations can be carried out at different sites on the basis of their importance which may reveal more information of the human activities of the past. These efforts will help us to understand the epigraphic data and the interpretations of the sites with more accuracy. The future excavations will also increase the possibility of tourism. If the accurate identification of the Jagaddala monastery after excavating the proposed areas has been done, then this area can be a great place of interest for the Buddhist world.

Table

Table 1: Gupta Inscriptions found in North Bengal dealt with in this thesis

	King	GE corr espo ndin t AD	Issued from	Seal	Applica nt	Donat ed/Sol d to	Purpose	Land : Measur ement & rate	officials	Toponyms	Other
Dhanaid aha	Kumaragupta I (<i>Parama- daivatapara ma- bhaṭṭāraka</i>)	113 GE(4 32-33 CE)	Khādā(ṭa ?)pāra	no seal preserved	-	Varāhas vāmin	<i>Nivī- dharma</i>	One <i>kulyavāp a</i> and 8 x 9 reeds, @2 <i>dināras</i>	Mahattaras- Dēvakīrti, Kshēmadaṭṭa, Gōshṭhaka, Varggapāla, Piṅgala, Suṅkuka, Kāla..., . . .viṣṇu, Dēvaśarman, Viṣṇubhadra, Khāsaka, RāmakaGopāla, Śrībhadrā, Sōmapāla, Rāma. Scribes- Śrībhadrā, written by Stambhēśvaradāsa, Brāhmaṇas -Śīvaśarman, Nāgaśarman	Khādā(ṭa?)pāra	Basak, 1920, 345-48
Kalaikur i- Sultanpu r	Not mentioned	120 GE <i>Vaiśā kha</i> 1 (440 CE)	Śrīngaver avaithēy a - Pūrṇakau śikā	no seal preserved	<i>Kulika</i> Bhīma and others	Dēvada tta, Amarad atta and Mahāse nadatta	Religious merit, To perform five great sacrifices	Nine <i>kulyavāp as</i> , @2 <i>dinār as</i>	Āyuktaka- Acyutadāsa, scribes- Prabhucandra, Rudradāsa, Artisan Bhīma, Lakshmaṇa, Kāntidēva, Śambhudatta, Kṛishṇadāsa, record keepers - Siṃhanandin and Yaśōdāman	Vātā river, Gulmagandhikā, Tāpasapōttaka, Dayitāpōttaka, Hastiśirsha, Chitravātāngara, Vibhītaka, Pūrṇakauśikāvīthī,	
Damoda rpur 1	Kumaragupta I (<i>Parama- daivatapara ma- bhaṭṭāraka, m ahārājadhira ja</i>)	124 GE Phālg una 7 (444 CE)	Kotivarṣ a	no seal preserved	Karpaṭika	Karpaṭi ka	To perform agnihōtra rites	1 <i>kulyavāp a</i> and 2 <i>dronavā pas</i> @2 <i>dināras</i>	Chirātadatta (Uparika), Vētravarman (kumārāmātya), Dhṛitipāla (guild president), Bandhumitra (marchent), Dhṛitimitra (chief artisan), Sāmbhapāla (chief scribe), Karpaṭika (Brāhmaṇa)	Dōngā	
Jagadish pur	Not mentioned (dated Kuāragupta I)	128 GE Chaitr a 20(44 8 CE0	Pūrṇakau śikā	no seal preserved	<i>kuṭumbin</i> (s) Kṣemaka, Bhōyila and Mahīdāsa	6 drona out of 1 kulya entruste d to Balaku ṇḍu (Śrama ṇa- ācārya)	1) built a <i>vihāra</i> for Arhats, 2) built a <i>vihārka</i> for Arhats and 3) built a temple for Sahasraras mi (Sun god)	1 <i>kulyavāp a</i> / @2 <i>dināras</i>	Vīthī-mahattara: Kuāradeva, Gaṇḍa, Prajāpati, Jyeṣṭhadāman. Kuṭumbin: Yaśoviṣṇu, Umayaśas, Hariśarman, Sarpapālita, Hiranyagupta, Kumārayaśas, Kumārabhūti, Śivakuṇḍa, Śiva, a second Śiva, Somaviṣṇu, Salyaviṣṇu, Kaṅkaṭi, Nandadāman, Vīranāga, Nārāyaṇadāsa, Rudra, Bhava, Guha, Acyuta, Kubera, Śarvanāga, Bhavanāga, Śrīdatta, Bhabadatta, Dhanaviṣṇu, Guṇaratha, Naradeva. Pustapāla: Siṃhanandin&Yaśōdāman. Kulika: Bhīma. Written by Rudradāsa, engraver-Susīrṇha	Gulmagandhika, Samgōhālīka, Mūlakavastukā, Mecikāmra, Sambapura, Mecikāmra, Pūrṇakauśikā (head quarter of Śrīngavera-vīthī.	

Damodarpur 2	Kumaragupta I (<i>Parama-daivataparama-bhaṭṭāraka, mahārājadhira</i>)	129 GE Vaiśākhā 13 (448-49 AD)	Kotivarṣa	no seal preserved	-	-	To perform pañchamahāyajñas	5 <i>dronas/2 dināras (kulyavāpa @3 dināras)</i>	Chirātadatta (<i>Uparika</i>), Vētravarman (<i>kumārāmātya</i>), Dhṛitipāla (guild president), Bandhumitra (marchent), Dhṛitimitra (chiefartisan), Sāmbhapāla (chief scribe), Risidatta, Jayanandin and Vibhudatta (recordkeepers)	Airāvata,	
Vāyigrāma fragment	-	-	-	-	Śivanandin	-	-	-	-	Śṛīgōhālī, Vaṭagohālī	
Vāyigrāma	Not Mentioned	128 GE Māgha 19 (447-48 CE)	Pañchanagarī	no seal preserved	Bhōyila and Bhāskara	-	Daily worship and repair of Gōvindasvāmin temple	3 <i>kulyavāpas / @3 dināras/ 8 x 9 reeds</i>	Kulavṛiddhi (<i>kumārāmātya</i>), Durgādatta and Arkkadāsa (<i>pustapāla</i>), Bhōyila and Bhāskara (<i>kuṭumvin</i>), Śivanandin (father of Bhōliya and Bhāskara)	Pañchanagariviśaya, Vāyigrāma, Trivritā, Śṛīgōhālī	
Tāvira		159 GE Jyesthā 1			Varāhasoma	Guhādāman	Nīvī-dharma	22 <i>kulyavāpas / @2dināras/ 8 x 9 reeds</i>	Nandabhūti (viśayapati), notables – Brahmasena, Viṣṇudeva, Satyaghoṣa, Sattvarakṣita, Vanadāman, Jayaviṣṇu and Prabhudāman; land holders - Satyaviṣṇu, Skandaviṣṇu, Praiyaviṣṇu (?), Balapāla, Guṇadeva, Guṇāsarman, Bhavadeva, Kuṇḍakṛṣṇa, Ā...cirātaviṣṇu (?), Śāmbhukīrtti, Bhaktidāman, Manaḥkṛṣṇa, Kṣemarudra, Bhavadāman, Lakṣmaṇa, Mitrasoma, Baladāsa, Jayadāsa, Śuṅgadāman, Vyāgraśarman, Yaśodāman, Dāmodaradāman, Sthāvaradāman, Kumāradāman, Ga...dāman (?), Adbhutaviṣṇu, Rājyasīmha, Upendrapāla, Premasīmha, Kṛṣṇasoma, Rājyasoma and Bhavadāman. Record keepers – Sumati and Vīrasīmha	Vidalaka and Sannāhakuṭumbaka	

Mahati-Raktamala 1	Budha-Gupta (<i>paramabhāṭṭāraka, paramadeva</i>)	159 GE =478 CE, <i>Jyeṣṭhā</i> 8	Mahati-Raktamala <i>agrahāra</i> , Kuddāla <i>khātaviṣaya</i>	Primary seal- 'Of the council of appointees of the territory of Madhyamaṣaṇḍika'. Secondary seal- 'of Yūthapati'	Brāhmaṇa Nandabhūti	Brāhmaṇas of Dugdhatikā	To perform pañchamahāyajñas	2 <i>kulyavāpa</i>	Yūthapati (<i>kumārāmātya</i>), Suvarcasadatta (<i>mahāmātra</i>), Brahmadata (<i>uparika</i>), Svāmīcandra (<i>deśoparika</i>), Āryadāsa (<i>scribe</i>), Manorathadāsa (<i>pustapāla</i>)	Kuddālakhāta (<i>viṣaye</i>) Mahati-Raktamālā (<i>agrahāra</i>), Khuḍḍi-Raktamālā, Govardhanaka, Dugdhatikā, Madhyamaṣaṇḍika, Kuddālakhāta, Mahati-Raktamala <i>agrahāra</i>	
Mahati-Raktamala plate2	<i>paramabhāṭṭāra</i> <i>arakapādānu</i> <i>ddhyātaḥ</i>	1xx, day 13, x	_lavilintī <i>agrahāra</i>	Primary seal- same as plate #1. Secondary seal- indistinct	Gaṇadatta (<i>kulaputra</i>)	Yaśobhūti (Brāhmaṇa)		1 <i>kulyavāpa</i> /100 kāṛṣāṇa/ 8x9 reeds	Gopāla (<i>kumārāmātya</i>), Keśavadatta (<i>pustapāla</i>),	Mahati-Raktamālā (<i>agrahāra</i>), Khuḍḍi-Raktamālā,	
Paharpu r		159 GE, Māgha 7, 478 CE	Puṇḍrava <i>rdhana</i>		Brāhmaṇa – Nāthaśarma an and his wife Rāmī.	Monastery of Vaṭago hālī		1 <i>kulyavāpa</i> and four <i>drōṇāvāpas</i>	Maintenance and worship of Arhats	Vaṭagohālī, Prṣṭhimapottaka, Goṣātapuñjaka, Bilvagohālī, Dakṣiṇāmsaka- <i>vīthī</i> , Nāgīraṭṭa- <i>maṇḍala</i>	
Damodarpur CPI 3	Budha-gupta (<i>paramadaivata, paramabhāṭṭāraka, mahārājādhirājaprihvīpatī</i>)	163 GE, <i>Āṣāḍha</i> 13 (482- 83)	Palāśavṛndaka	no seal preserved	(<i>Grāmika</i>) Nābhaka		Settling some Brāhmaṇas	1 <i>kulyavāpa</i> @2 <i>dināras</i> / 8 x 9 reeds	Brahmadatta (<i>Uparika-mahārāja</i>), Sthāya(ṇ)pāla, Kapilā, Śrībhadrā, Patradāsa (<i>pustapāla</i>)	Palāśavṛndaka, Chaṇḍagrāma Vāyi-grāma	
Nandapur CPI	Not mentioned	169 GE vaiśākha 7 (488 CE)		no seal preserved	Chhatramaha (<i>vishayapati</i>)		A Brāhmaṇa, whose name ended with ..svāmin	4 <i>kulyavāpa</i> a/ 8x9 nalas (reeds)/ 2 <i>dināra</i>	Chhatramaha (<i>vishayapati</i>), Pradyōta-sirṃha and Bandhudāsa (<i>pustapāla</i>), Darvvikarmma (of Baigram CPI)	Nanda-vīthī, Khaṭapūra <i>agrahāra</i> , Gōrakshita and Gōpālibhōga (village)	

DamodarpurCPI 4	Śrīgupta (Parama- daivatapara ma- bhaṭṭāraka,m ahārājadhira ja)	-Lost-		no seal preserved	Ribhupāla	To build two temple of Kōkām ukha- svāmin and Śvētava rāha- svamim and their two store room	Ribhupāla	4 +7 = 11 kulyavāp a/3 dināra	Jayadatta (<i>Uparika</i>), Śaṇḍaka (<i>āyuktaka</i>), Ribhupāla (<i>nagara-śrēshṭhin</i>), Vasumittra (<i>marchent</i>), Varadatta (chief kulika), Viprapāla (chief scribe), Viṣṇudatta, Vijayanandin and Sthāṇanandin (<i>pustapālas</i>)	Ḍōṅgā-grāma in Himavachchhikhara	
Nāgavas u CPI		198 GE Śrāva ṇa (518 CE)		no seal preserved	Nāgavasu			2 kulyavāp a/2 dināra	Śarva (<i>prathamapustapāla</i>), Prīti, Viṣṇudhara, Jayadatta, Rāmadatta, Sudarśanaśrīdāsa and Bhavadāsa (<i>ādyapustapāla</i>)	Śiṣīpuṅja, Madhyamasrgālikā, Grāmakūṭagohālī, Ārya (village) falling under Abjatatāpagaccha, Śaṇḍika (division)	

Table 2: Two Early Medieval Inscriptions of North Bengal

Mastakaśvabhra copper-plate Inscription of Pradyumnabandhu											
King	Seals	Bhukti pati	Vishaya	Vishayapati	Receiver	Purpose	Toponyms / water body/ies	Brāhmaṇa	viṣayadhikarāṇika	Pustapāla (record keeper)	Price and quantity
ma(hā)rājādhirā Pradyumnabandhu	Primary <i>Ghoṇādvīpaka viṣaya adhikaraṇasya</i> '(Seal) of the council in Ghoṇādvīpaka district' Secondary <i>'pradyumnabandhoḥ'</i>	<i>Uporika Cellaka</i>	Ghoṇādvīpaka (viṣaya adhikaraṇasya)	<i>Mahāprati ihāra</i> Avadhūta	<i>Brahmana</i> Jayadeva through the hand of <i>Mahāprati hāra</i> Avadhūta	regular performance of the five great sacrifices	Ghoṇādvīpakaviṣaya, Mastakaśvabhra <i>grāma.pāṭaka</i> Varṣagrīma, Śaṇḍa dvīpa, Pravara dvīpa, Navadevakula, Pīppalivanikā, Pātravāṭa, Śaṅkarapallika, Śivanagara, Varahakoṭṭaka, Śivaguptakhataka, Arḍrala, Audumvarika, Kāpalati, Trighattika (river), Opra (?) canal, Srogataka pond, Brhacchaokajota	Mahāmahattarā- Āḍityadeva, Jayadeva, Śivabhadro, Śarvadeva, Pavittrasoma, Kṣemadeva Mahattara- Gaurakakiraṇasvāmi, Rudrasvāmi, Śambhusvāmin, Bhākideva, Gopasoma, Bhaṭṭadharmmasvāmin, Bhadrāsavāmin, Śrīcandra, Kṣemaśarman, Amṛtaśāntanu, Dharmmakunḍa, Śivagupta, Jalla, Jalacandra, Śyāmadeva, Abhinandana, Malayarudra Brāhmaṇa- Guhayaśas	Śambhudatta, Kṛṣṇadatta, Paurudatta and others	Naradatta, Eḍita(nu), Devasena	The entire village of Mastakaśvabhra, 45 kārsāpana annual additional tax collection

Khalimpur Copper-plate Inscription of Dharmapāla

King	Date	Vishaya	Seal	Applicant	Donated /Sold to	Purpose	Land : Measurement & rate	officials	Toponyms	Other
Dharmapāladēva (<i>ParamaēśvaraPar amabhaṭṭāraka, mahārājādhirāja</i>)	32 regnal year of Dharma pāladēva		<i>ŚrīmānDharm apāladēvaḥ</i>	<i>Mahāsāmantādhipati Nārāyaṇavarman</i>	The temple of N[u]nna- Nārāyaṇa and the LāṭaBrāh maṇas, priests and other attendants			<i>Yuvarāja</i> Tribhuvanapāla (Dūtaka) Shashthādrikṛita, Daṇḍasakti, Khōla, Jyēshtakāyastha, Dāśagrāmika, Vapyāṭa, Dayitavishṇu, Gōpāla, Dēddadēvi, Dharmapāla, Nārāyaṇavarman, Tribhuvanapāla. Scriber- Tāṭaṭa son of Subhata and grandson of Bhōgata	<i>agrahāra</i> of Pāṭliputra, Śubhasthali, Krauñchaśva bhra, Mādhāśamma li, Pālitaka, Gōpipali, Vyāghrataṭim <i>aṇḍala</i> , Āmrashaṇḍik <i>āmaṇḍala</i> , Mahantāprak <i>āśaviṣaya</i> , Sthālikkaṭaviṣ <i>aya</i> , Udragrāmam <i>aṇḍala</i> , Kalikāśvabh ra, Gaṅginikā, Jēnandāyikā, Kāṇā island, Kōṇṭhiyā river	Kings attended= Bhōja, Matsya, Madra, Kuru, Yadu, Yavana, Avanti, Gandhāra, Kira

Table 3: Land measurement

8 <i>mushtisor</i> handfuls	1 <i>kuñchi</i>
8 <i>kuñchis</i> (64 handfuls)	1 <i>pushkala</i>
8 <i>pushkalas</i> (256 handfuls)	1 <i>ādhaka</i>
4 <i>ādhakas</i> (1024 handfuls)	1 <i>drōṇa</i>
8 <i>drōṇas</i> (8192 handfuls)	1 <i>kulya</i>

Source: Maity and Basham, 1957, p. 103.

Table 4: Boatmen and fisherman communities

CASTE	FIRST PROFESSION	SECOND PROFESSION	THIRD PROFESSION
Musahor	Fisherman	-	-
Kol	Fisherman	-	-
Bindu	Fisherman	-	-
Bagdi	Fisherman	-	-
Suraiya	Fisherman	-	-
Malo	Fisherman	Boatman	-
Keot	Fisherman	Boatman	-
Gangoar	Fisherman	-	-
Gangothi	-	Boatman	Wood Cutter
Kharowar	Fisherman	Palanquin bearer	Cultivators
Kuri	Fisherman	-	-
Chai	Fisherman	Vegetables seller	Boatman
Chabi	Fisherman	-	-
Markendeo	Fisherman	-	-
Hrishi	Fisherman	-	-
Barhai-kandol	Fisherman	-	-
Toraha	Fisherman	-	-
Tior	Fisherman	-	-
Muriari	Fisherman	Cultivator	Boatman
Chandal/Chanral	Fisherman	-	-
Patni (Mainly in Rongpur)	-	-	Boatman
Kandar/Kandal	Fisherman	-	Ferryman

Source: Bhattacharyya, M. 2018, p. 111.

Table 5: Ādityas

No. of the Adityas	Vedic Literature	Bhavisya Purāna	Kurmma Purāna	Bhagavata	Sabda-Kalpa Druma
1	<i>Mitra</i>	Do	Do	Do	Do
2	<i>Aryaman</i>	Do	a)Do b) <i>Bhaskara</i>	Do	Do
3	<i>Bhaga</i>	Do	Do	Do	Do
4	<i>Varuna</i>	Do	Do	Do	Do
5	<i>Daksa</i>	<i>Parjjanya</i>	a) <i>Parjjanya</i> b) <i>Ravi</i>	<i>Savita</i>	<i>Savita</i>
6	<i>Amsa</i>	Do	Do	<i>Rudra</i>	<i>Bidhata</i>
7	<i>Surya</i>	<i>Pusa</i>	<i>Pusa</i>	<i>Surya</i>	<i>Pusa</i>
8	<i>Mārtanda</i>	<i>Tvasta</i>	Do	Do	Do
9	<i>Dhata</i>	Do	Do	Do	Do
10	<i>Indra</i>	Do	Do	<i>Pusa</i>	Do
11	<i>Vivasvat</i>	Do	Do	Do	Do
12	<i>Viṣṇu</i>	Do	Do	Do	<i>Urukrama</i>

Source: Bhattashali, N., 2008, p. 155.

Table 6: Caturvimsati Murtaya of Lord Viṣṇu.

No	Name of the Murti	Back right hand	Back left hand	Front left hand	Front right hand
1	<i>Kesava</i>	<i>samkha</i>	<i>cakra</i>	<i>gada</i>	<i>padma</i>
2	<i>Narayana</i>	<i>padma</i>	<i>gada</i>	<i>cakra</i>	<i>samkha</i>
3	<i>Madhava</i>	<i>cakra</i>	<i>samkha</i>	<i>padma</i>	<i>gada</i>
4	<i>Govinda</i>	<i>gada</i>	<i>padma</i>	<i>samkha</i>	<i>cakra</i>
5	<i>Viṣṇu</i>	<i>padma</i>	<i>samkha</i>	<i>cakra</i>	<i>gada</i>
6	<i>Madhusudana</i>	<i>samkha</i>	<i>padma</i>	<i>gada</i>	<i>cakra</i>
7	<i>Trivikrama</i>	<i>gada</i>	<i>cakra</i>	<i>samkha</i>	<i>padma</i>
8	<i>Vamana</i>	<i>cakra</i>	<i>gada</i>	<i>padma</i>	<i>samkha</i>
9	<i>Sridhara</i>	<i>cakra</i>	<i>gada</i>	<i>samkha</i>	<i>padma</i>
10	<i>Hrisikesa</i>	<i>cakra</i>	<i>padma</i>	<i>samkha</i>	<i>gada</i>
11	<i>Padmanabha</i>	<i>padma</i>	<i>cakra</i>	<i>gada</i>	<i>samkha</i>
12	<i>Damodara</i>	<i>samkha</i>	<i>gada</i>	<i>cakra</i>	<i>padma</i>
13	<i>Samkarsana</i>	<i>samkha</i>	<i>padma</i>	<i>cakra</i>	<i>gada</i>
14	<i>Vasudeva</i>	<i>samkha</i>	<i>cakra</i>	<i>padma</i>	<i>gada</i>
15	<i>Pradyumna</i>	<i>samkha</i>	<i>gada</i>	<i>padma</i>	<i>cakra</i>
16	<i>Aniruddha</i>	<i>gada</i>	<i>samkha</i>	<i>padma</i>	<i>cakra</i>
17	<i>Purusottam</i>	<i>padma</i>	<i>samkha</i>	<i>gada</i>	<i>cakra</i>
18	<i>Adhoksaja</i>	<i>gada</i>	<i>samkha</i>	<i>cakra</i>	<i>padma</i>
19	<i>Narasimha</i>	<i>padma</i>	<i>gada</i>	<i>samkha</i>	<i>cakra</i>
20	<i>Acyuta</i>	<i>padma</i>	<i>cakra</i>	<i>samkha</i>	<i>gada</i>
21	<i>Janardana</i>	<i>cakra</i>	<i>samkha</i>	<i>gada</i>	<i>padma</i>
22	<i>Upendra</i>	<i>gada</i>	<i>cakra</i>	<i>padma</i>	<i>samkha</i>
23	<i>Hari</i>	<i>cakra</i>	<i>padma</i>	<i>gada</i>	<i>samkha</i>
24	<i>Srikr̥ṣṇa</i>	<i>gada</i>	<i>padma</i>	<i>cakra</i>	<i>samkha</i>

Source: Rao, T., 1914, pp. 229-230.

Picture



Picture 1: Northern *ghat* of Pirpukur, Methrani, Gajol, Malda.

(photo collected by researcher)

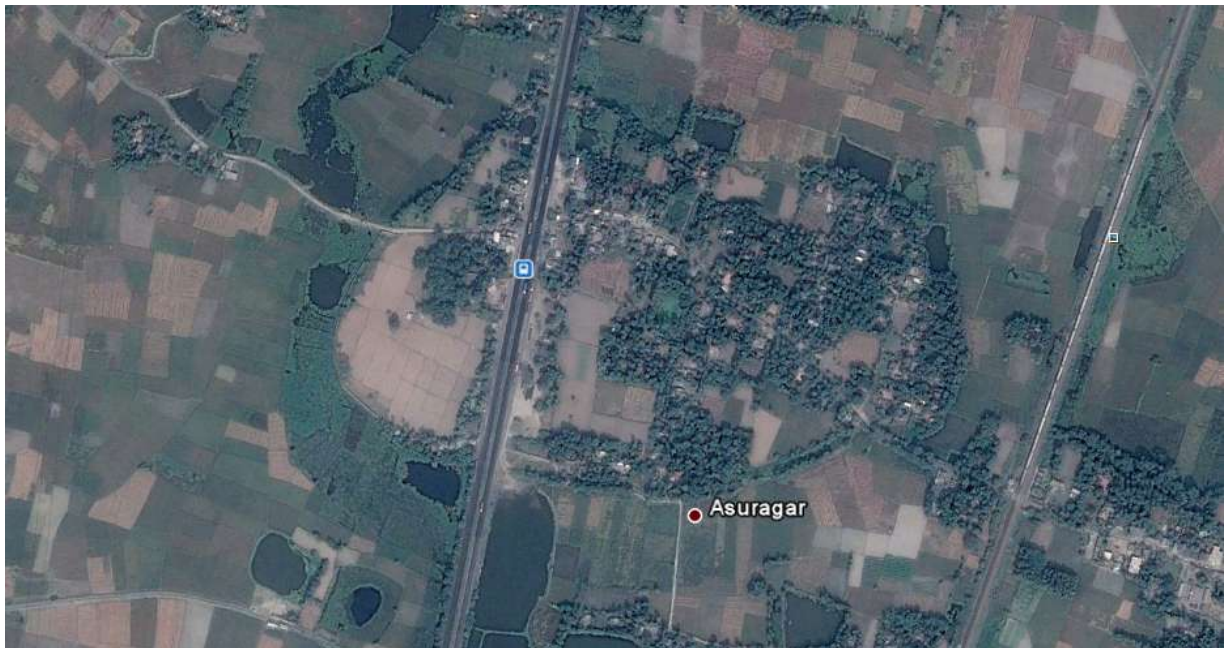


Picture 2: Temple like structure, Methrani, Gajol, Malda.

(photo collected by researcher)



Picture 3: Earthenware Male Head, Kandaran, Malda. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture: 4. Ariel View of Asuragarh. (photo collected from goole.earth by researcher)



Picture: 5. Rajpukur, Asuragarh, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture: 6. Curious Terracotta Head from Asuragarh, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture: 7. Terracotta Śivalinga, Asuragarh, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture: 8. Terracotta Śivalinga (2), Asuragarh, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture: 9. Potteries, Asuragarh, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



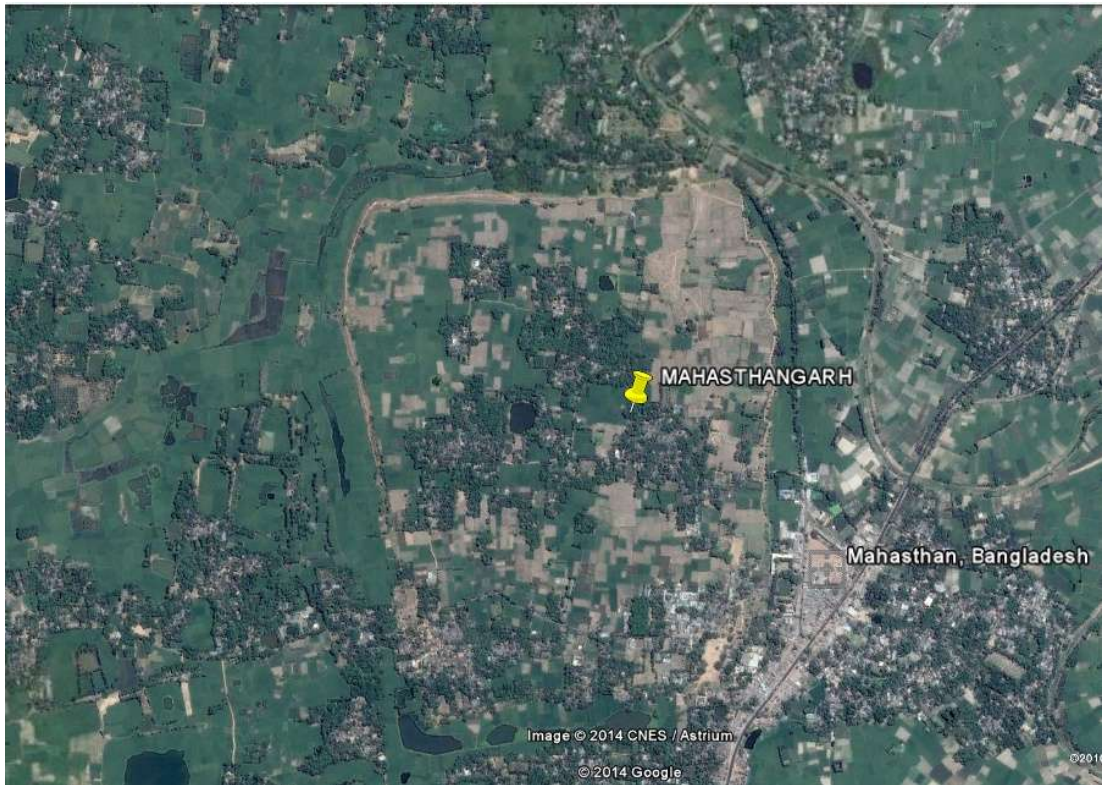
Picture: 10. Ariel View of Bangarh Mound



Picture 10a: Moat and mound of Bangarh, Dakshin Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 10b: Bulwark of Bangarh, Dakshin Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture: 11. Ariel View of Bangarh Mound



Picture: 12. Ariel View of the Mounds



Picture 13: Bow curving from Mahendra. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 14: Pillar from Mahendra. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 15: Pillar from Mahendra. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 16: Terracotta Plaque from Bangarh. Courtesy: ASI, Patna Branch



Pictr 17: Suṅga Coin from Bangarh. Courtesy: S. Adhikary.



Pictr 18: Coin of Kuṣānaking Vima Kadphises from Bangsihari. Courtesy: S Adhikary.



Picture 19: Fragment Baigram CPI. Courtesy: Indian Museum Website, Kolkata.



Picture 20: Mahatī-Raktamālā CPI of 159 GE. Image of secondary seal. Courtesy: Griffiths.



Picture 21: Gold coin of Śaśānka, Banshihari, South Dinajpur. Courtesy: S. Adhikary.



Picture 22: Ground plane of Ballalabati, Gaur, Malda. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 23: Chhaghati, Aminhat, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 24: Basement of temple, Chhaghati, Aminhat, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 25: Pilaster from Aminhat, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 26: Viṣṇūpaṭṭa from Aminhat, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 27: Votive Stupa from Joyhat, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 28: Votive Stupa (2) from Joyhat, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



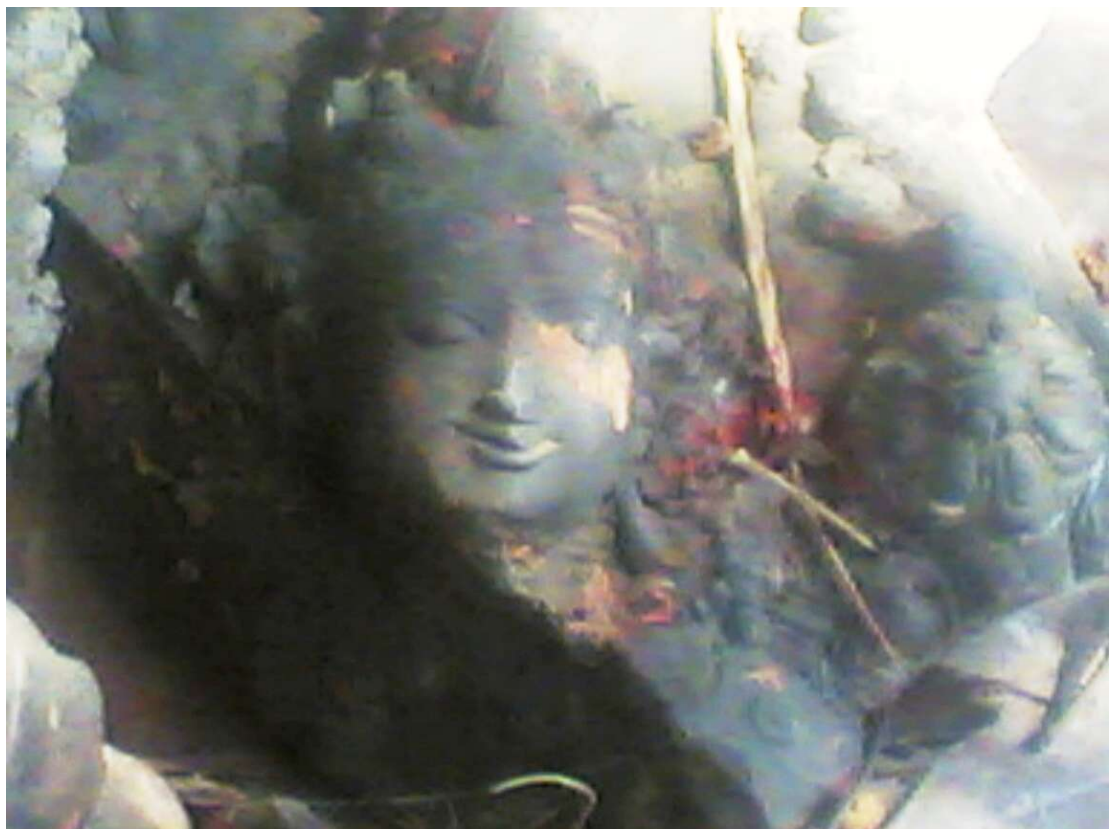
Picture 29: Votive Stupa 3 from Joyhat, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 30: Votive Stupa 5 from Joyhat, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 31: Heap of fragmented Sculptures, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 32: Head of a Viṣṇu Image from Jotnarottam, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 33: A part of Votive stupa, Kotbari, Amati, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 34: Mound of Jagdal (1) near Amati, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 35: A colossal gargoyle with *Makaramukha* design, Jagdal, Uttar Dinajpur.
(photo collected by researcher)



Picture 36: Brick road between Amati and Jagdal, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 37: Mound of Mahendra. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 38: Pillar from Mahendra. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 39: Decorative pillar from Mahendra. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 40: Brick wall of Jagaddala near Mahendra. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 41: Couchant bull (*nandi*) from Bangarh, Dakshin Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 42: BatukaBhairava from Bangarh, Shivbari, Dakshin Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 43: Vajrasattva from Bangarh, Dakshin Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 44: Colossal Viṣṇu from Gangarampur PS, Dakshin Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 45: Face of the colossal Viṣṇu image, Dakshin Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 46: Second Viṣṇu image from Gangarampur PS, Dakshin Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



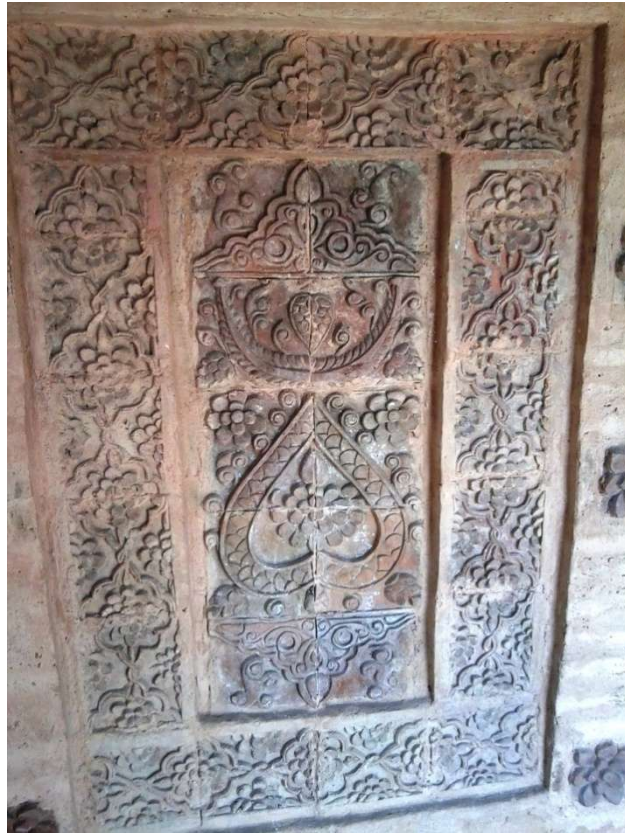
Picture 47: Fragment from workshop, Bangarh, Dakshin Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 48: Fragmented decorated pillar, Rajibpur, Dakshin Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 49: MartandaBhairav, Bindol, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



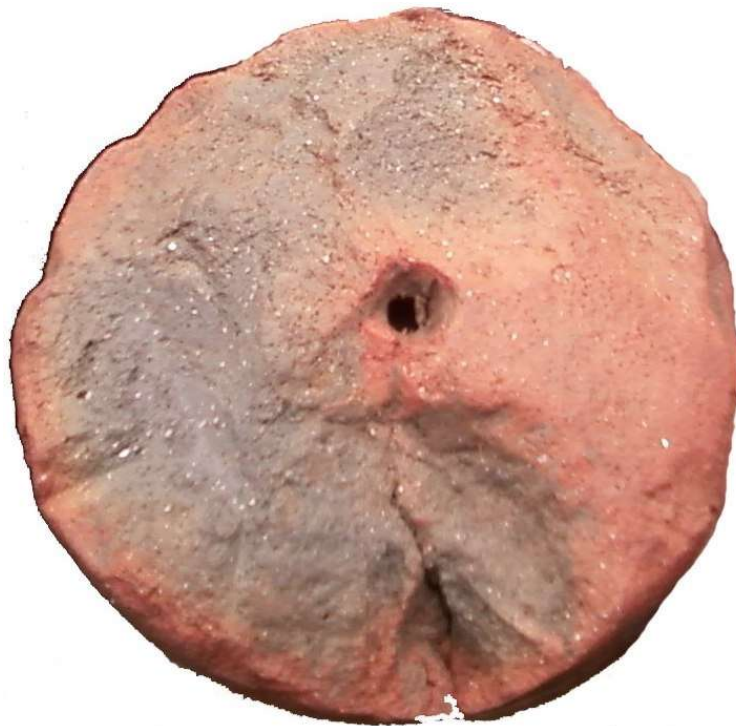
Picture 50: Terracotta, Bindol, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 51: Remains in the temple, Bindol, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 52: DwipRajarDighi, Panishala, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



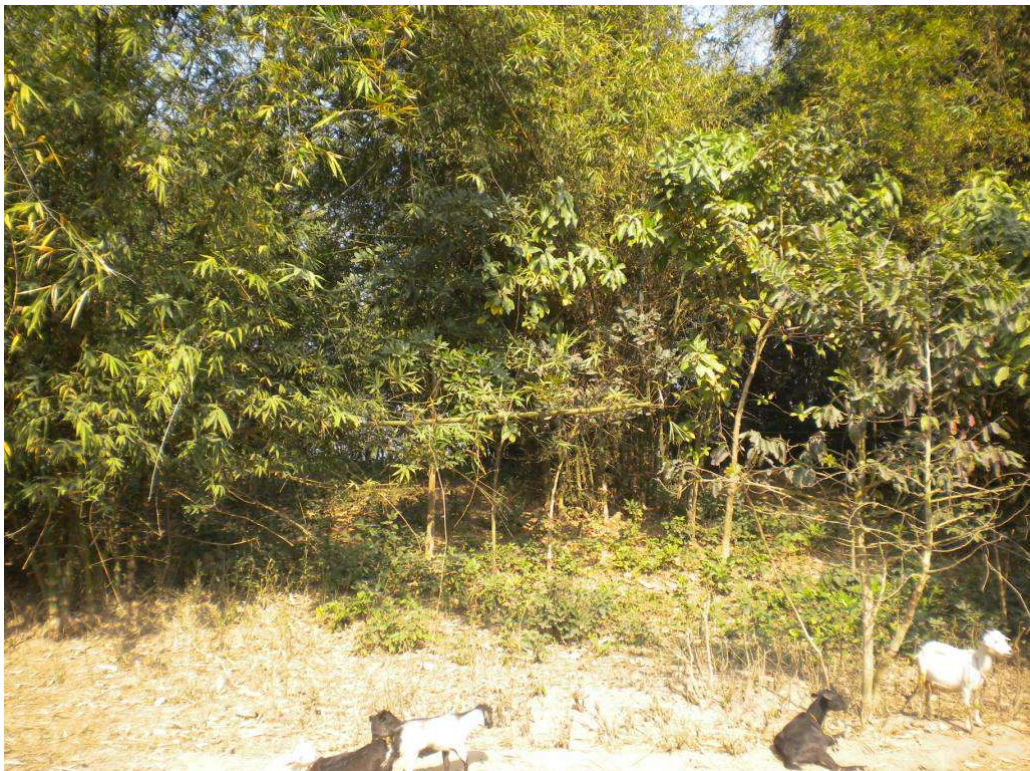
Picture 53: Terracotta disc from Panishala, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 54: Jambhala, Panishala, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 55: Stone slab with Viṣṇu image from Panishala, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 56: Mound of Tamasari Mathbari. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 57: Use of iron bar in architecture, Tamasari Mathbari. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 58: Seating Ganesh image, Ganeshbhita, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 59: Pillars from the mound of Ganeshbhita, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 60: Inscription, Ganeshbhita, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 61: Dashdala mosque, Kamlabari, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 62: Mound of 21 pillars, Kamlabari, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 63: Fragment of sculpture, Ganeshbhita, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



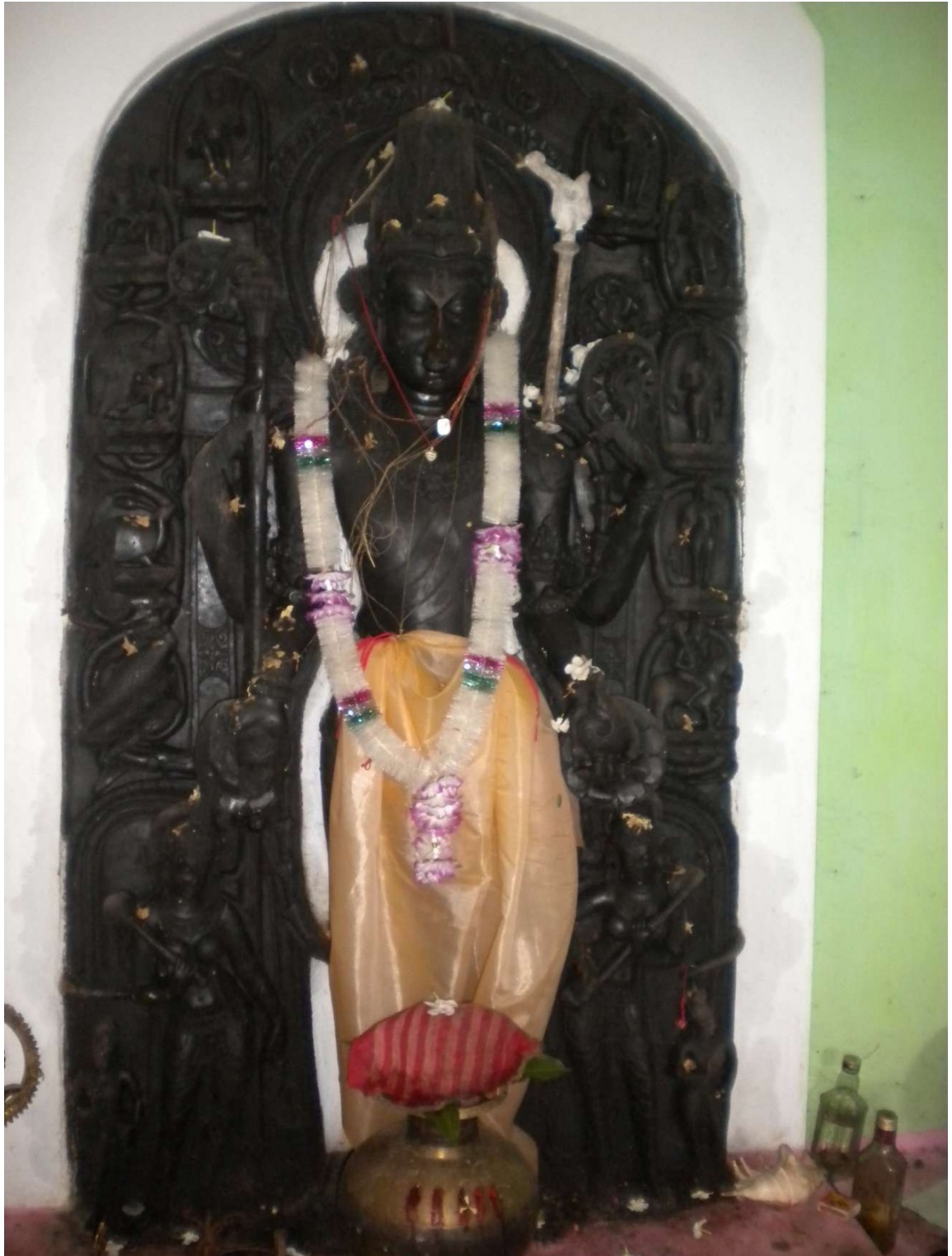
Picture 64: Islamic inscription, Kamlabari, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 65: Giant kalasa, Kamlabari, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



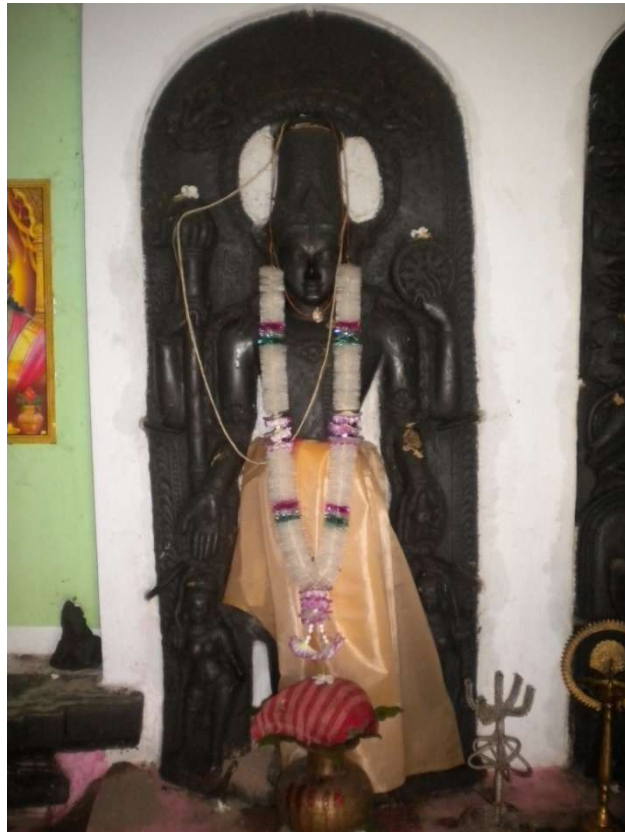
Picture 66: Patalghora pond, Tenohari, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 67: DasavatāraViṣṇu image, Tenohari, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 68: the eighth figure, DasavatāraViṣṇu, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 69: Second Viṣṇu image, Tenohari, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 70: Śiva linga with yonipaṭṭa, Tenohari, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 71: Dancing Ganeśa, Sonapur, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 72: fragment of the figure of a goddess, Sonapur, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 73: Fragment of a Goddess image, Sonapur, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 74: Sand stone of Ganeśa image, Sonapur, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 75:Khasarpaṇa image, College para, Raiganj, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 76: Viṣṇu image, Kharmujaghat, Raiganj, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 77: Fragmented Khasarpaṇa image, Udaypur, Raiganj, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 78: Inscription of the Khasarpaṇa image, Udaypur, Raiganj, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 79: Basement of temple, Chanditala, Raiganj, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 80: Wood of a giant boat, Chanditala, Raiganj, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 81: Mahiṣamarddinī image, Chanditala, Raiganj, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 82: Manasā image, Chanditala, Raiganj, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 83: Mound of Dehabandh, Dakshin Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 84: use of stone chips as building material, Dehabandh, Dakshin Dinajpur.
(photo collected by researcher)



Picture 85: colossal *āmalaka* design, Dehabandh, Dakshin Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 86: Doorjamb, Dehabandh, Dakshin Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 87: Gargoyle, Dehabandh, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 88: Fragmented Viṣṇu image, Baragram, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 89: Torso, Baragram, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 90: *chhatravali*, Baragram, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 91: Broken image of Garuḍa, Baragram, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 92: Fragmented head, Baragram, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 93: Fragment, Baragram, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 94: Fragment, Baragram, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 95: Śivalinga, Bagram, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 96: Viṣṇu image with inscription, Pauti, Uttar Dinajpur. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 97: Warrior image in a monolithic column, Gour, Malda. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 98: Monolithic Column, Gour, Malda. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 99: Monolithic block of toilet (?), Gour, Malda. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 100: Gancing Ganeśa, Pandua, Malda. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 101: Dancing female figurine, Pandua, Malda. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 102: Ganeśa image, Pandua, Malda. (photo collected by researcher)



Picture 103: Garland bearer, Pandua. (photo collected by researcher)