Seals and Inscribed Sherds

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Although no inscribed seals of the 'Harappan' style have been found at Rehman Dheri, numerous uninscribed examples have been excavated or picked up from the surface. In addition, sherds frequently show marks, incised almost invariably just above the base of large jars, which may be (and have been - e.g. Durrani 1981, Lal 1992) regarded as precursors to the signs used in the Harappan script. Since both categories of objects act as systems of communication, they may be treated together in spite of their superficial differences.

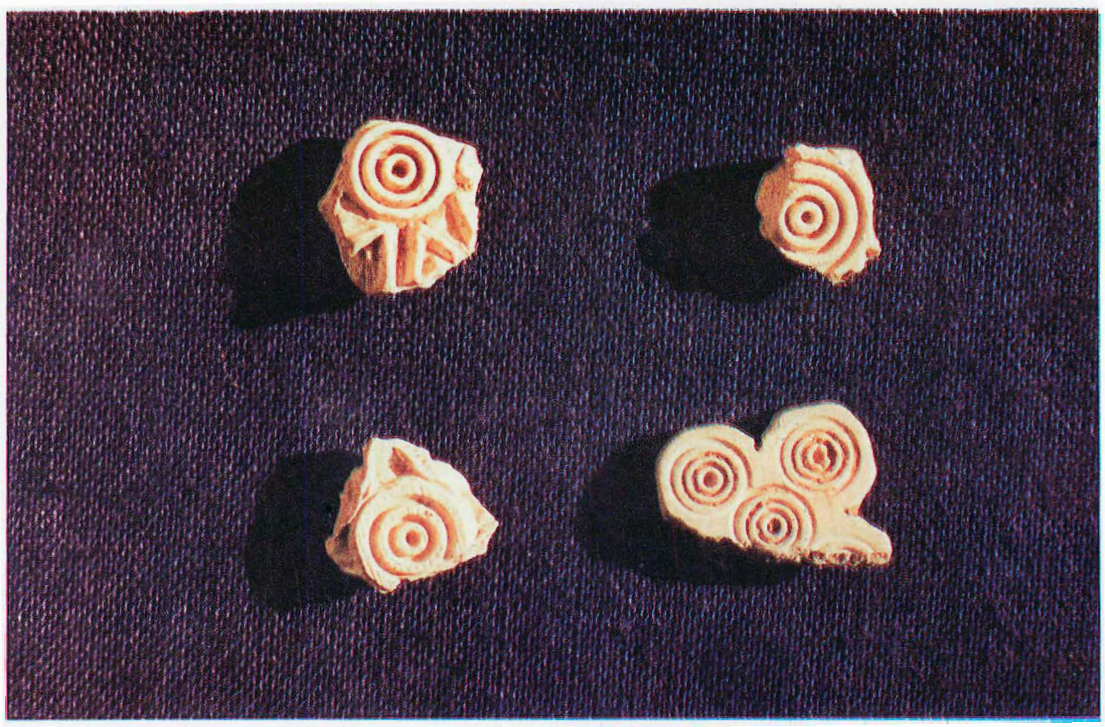
Seals

As there is a fine line separating seals, buttons and amulets, all objects that could possibly be interpreted as any of the above have been listed here. Those that carry a perforated boss on the reverse side are almost certainly seals, as is a conical shaped affair with perforation at the apex and an engraved design on the base. Those that are directly perforated, including the famous bone seal with scorpion and mountain goat designs (#54), may be seals or amulets or even (in the case of some diminutive examples made of shell) buttons; in the absence of any sealings it is difficult to tell which. Stratified examples are distributed quite evenly throughout the site with 4 fragments each coming from Periods IA, IB, IIIA and IIIB and 3 from Period II.

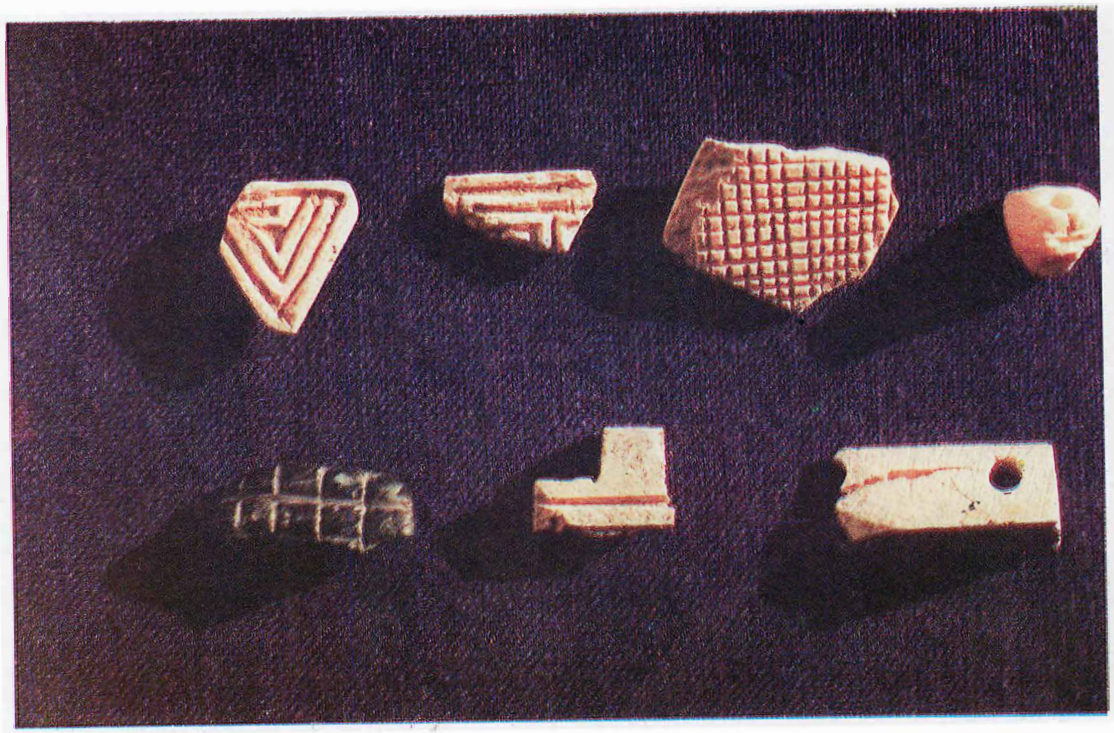
The earliest unambiguous seal comes from level 12, marking the beginning of Period II, and datable to ca. 2850 BC. At least one unfinished example was found in the corpus (with an incomplete perforation), which suggests that seals, amulets and buttons were manufactured locally; this is hardly surprising in view of the overall importance of the site, or of the high degree of skill exhibited by the local bead manufacturers.

No	Trench	Square	Layer	Level	Material	Shape	Length	Width	Thickness	Description
1	EII	16	2	2	Steatite	Cogwheel	0.0	22	4.0	Seal embossed on reverse side and engraved with solar design on obverse
2	SURF	0	0	0	Steatite	Cogwheel?	0.0	0.0	3.5	Seal fragment embossed on reverse side and showing same decoration as #1 on obverse
3	SURF	0	0	0	Steatite	Cogwheel?	0.0	0.0	2.5	Seal fragment embossed on reverse side and showing same decoration as #1 on obverse
4	SURF	0	0	0	Steatite	Cogwheel?	0.0	0.0	3.0	Seal fragment embossed on reverse side and showing same decoration as #1 on obverse
5	BIV	9	11	12	Steatite	Rectangular	19.5	0.0	2.1	Seal embossed on reverse side, with 5 sets of concentric rings engraved on obverse
6	BIV	9	16	18	Steatite	Rectangular	10	0.0	2.0	Fragment, neither embossed nor perforated, but appears to be of the same design as #5
7	F0	3	1	8	Steatite	Rectangular	8.0	0.0	2.0	Fragment, neither embossed nor perforated, but appears to be of the same design as #5
8	SURF	0	0	0	Steatite	Rectangular	8.0	0.0	2.0	Fragment, neither embossed nor perforated, but appears to be of the same design as #5
9	SURF	0	0	0	Steatite	Rectangular	13	0.0	3.0	Fragment, neither embossed nor perforated, but appears to be of the same design as #5
10	BIV	20	2	7	Steatite	Rectangular	11	0.0	2.0	Fragment, neither embossed nor perforated, but appears to be of the same design as #5
11	F0	23	5	14	Steatite	Rectangular	10.5	0.0	3.0	Fragment, neither embossed nor perforated, but appears to be of the same design as #5
12	SURF	0	0	0	Steatite	Triangular	12	12	2.5	Seal embossed on reverse side, and engraved with linear designs on obverse
13	SURF	0	0	0	Steatite	Triangular	12	0.0	2.5	Broken fragment of above (?), neither embossed nor perforated, but with linear designs
14	SURF	0	0	0	Steatite	Foliated	0.0	14	2.0	Foliated with 4 petals, each engraved on both sides with concentric rings, another set of rings in the centre. Embossed on reverse side
15	EII	21	2	2	Steatite	Foliated	12	8.0	4.0	Foliated with 4 petals, each deeply engraved on the obverse side with concentric rings. Embossed on reverse side
16	SURF	0	0	0	Steatite	Rectangular	16	0.0	3.0	Seal embossed on reverse side and engraved with a dense chequerboard design on the obverse.
17	SURF	0	0	0	Shell	Conical	7.0	0.0	8.0	Seal of conical shape perforated at the apex, underside deeply engraved with linear design
18	SURF	0	0	0	Schist	Sub-Rectangular	16	0.0	3.0	Seal embossed on the reverse side, and engraved with a chequerboard design on the obverse
19	SURF	0	0	0	Steatite	?	0.0	0.0	2.3	Small fragment of seal(?) engraved with linear designs on both sides
20	SURF	0	0	0	Steatite	Rectangular	0.0	0.0	6.0	Corner fragment of seal(?), without carving. Perforated
21	BIV	23	2	8	Shell	Button	12	6.0	2.5	Foliated button with 3 perforations and 4 circular impressions in the corners
22	SURF	0	0	0	Shell	Button	9.0	6.0	2.0	Foliated button with 2 perforations and 4 circular impressions in the corners
23	SURF	0	0	0	Shell	Button	14.5	0.0	2.0	Fragment of foliated shell button
24	SURF	0	0	0	Shell	Button	13.5	0.0	2.5	Fragment of foliated shell button
25	SURF	0	0	0	Shell	Button	11	0.0	3.8	Fragment of foliated shell button
25	FfIV	16	3	3	Shell	Button	15	3.2	2.0	Foliated shell button with 4 perforations
25	BIV	20	3	8	Shell	Button	6.2	2.0	2.0	Broken shell button with 1 perforation surviving
26	SURF	0	0	0	Steatite	Foliated	17.5	12.5	2.5	Foliated button (?) with 4 petals, each with concentric rings. 2 perforations. Type found at Mehrgarh VII (Jarrige& Lechevallier 1979 Fig 45.3)
27	F0	23	2	10	Steatite	Foliated	0.0	0.0	0.0	Fragment of above with one perforation preserved
28	SURF	0	0	0	Steatite	Foliated	0.0	0.0	0.0	Fragment of above with two perforations preserved
29	SURF	0	0	0	Steatite	Foliated	0.0	0.0	0.0	Fragment of above with one perforation preserved. Serrated edge
30	SURF	0	0	0	Steatite	Foliated	0.0	0.0	3.0	Fragment of above with no perforations preserved
31	SURF	0	0	0	Steatite	Foliated	0.0	24	4.0	Fragment of above with no perforations preserved
32	BIV	25	2	10	Steatite	Foliated	8.0	0.0	2.5	Fragment of above with one perforation preserved
33	BIV	9	16	18	Steatite	Foliated	22	0.0	2.2	Fragment of above with one perforation preserved
34	BIV	25	4	17	Steatite	Foliated	20	0.0	2.0	Fragment of above with one perforation preserved
35	F0	23	6	15	Steatite	Foliated	12	12	2.2	Foliated, possibly with 5 petals. 2 preserved with their engraved concentric rings

No	Trench	Square	Layer	Level	Material	Shape	Length	Width	Thickness	Description
36	FflV	21	4	4	Steatite	Foliated	0.0	19	3.0	Foliated, possibly with 6 petals. 3 preserved with their engraved concentric rings.
37	SURF	0	0	0	Steatite	Rectangular	17	0.0	3.0	Rectangular, but with two slightly concave sides. 2 perforations and chequerboard design on obverse side.
38	SURF	0	0	0	Chert	Cross	21	21	5.0	Broken amulet with 2 perforations partially preserved. Linear design engraved on obverse side.
39	SURF	0	0	0	Steatite	Circular	0.0	23	2.0	Broken amulet with serrated edge. 1 perforation in the centre; several sets of concentric rings on periphery.
40	SURF	0	0	0	Steatite	Circular	0.0	25	4.0	Broken amulet with serrated edge. 1 perforation in the centre; several sets of concentric rings on periphery.
41	SURF	0	0	0	Steatite	Circular	0.0	0.0	3.5	Possibly a fragment of the above; circular designs in a compartment on obverse side.
42	SURF	0	0	0	Shell	Triangular	16	0.0	3.0	Perforated; engraved with linear designs on one side, and also along the edge.
43	SURF	0	0	0	Shell	Triangular	12	0.0	3.0	Broken fragment of the above, with one perforation preserved along with parts of the design.
44	SURF	0	0	0	Shell	Triangular	16	0.0	3.0	Pendant with hole for suspension at the apex, now broken.
45	BIV	25	4	17	Shell	Triangular	8.0	0.0	2.2	Plain pendant with 2 perforations.
46	SURF	0	0	0	Shell	Triangular	16	0.0	3.0	Plain triangle, without perforation. Probably an unfinished pendant.
47	SURF	0	0	0	Shell	Triangular	12	0.0	2.3	Plain triangle, without perforation. Probably an unfinished pendant.
48	SURF	0	0	0	Steatite	Dragon	13	0.0	3.8	Dragon shaped pendant with perforation at the mouth.
49	SURF	0	0	0	Steatite	Irregular	17	10	4.0	Circular shaped pendant with rectangular projections, one of which is perforated. Engraved with concentric rings on both sides.
50	SURF	0	0	0	Steatite	Rectangular?	10	0.0	3.0	Broken fragment of steatite engraved on both sides.
51	SURF	0	0	0	Steatite	Circular?	0.0	0.0	1.0	Broken fragment of steatite engraved on one side with linear design.
52	SURF	0	0	0	Steatite	Irregular	0.0	0.0	4.0	Uncarved fragment of steatite, rough in outline.
53	BIV	24	8	20	Steatite	Foliated?	0.0	0.0	2.0	Several fragments of a foliated steatite bead/amulet.
54	BIV	25	6	19	Bone	Rectangular	31	28	4.5	Carved bone seal - see text for full description.

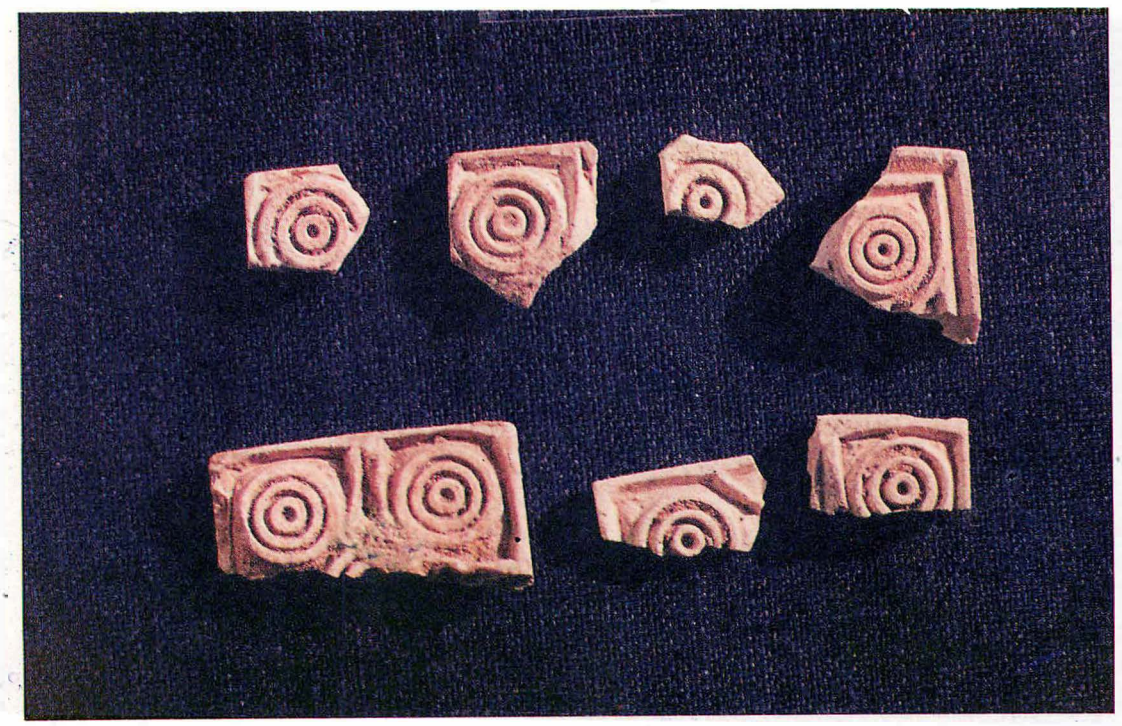


1. Cogwheel Shape Steatite Seals.

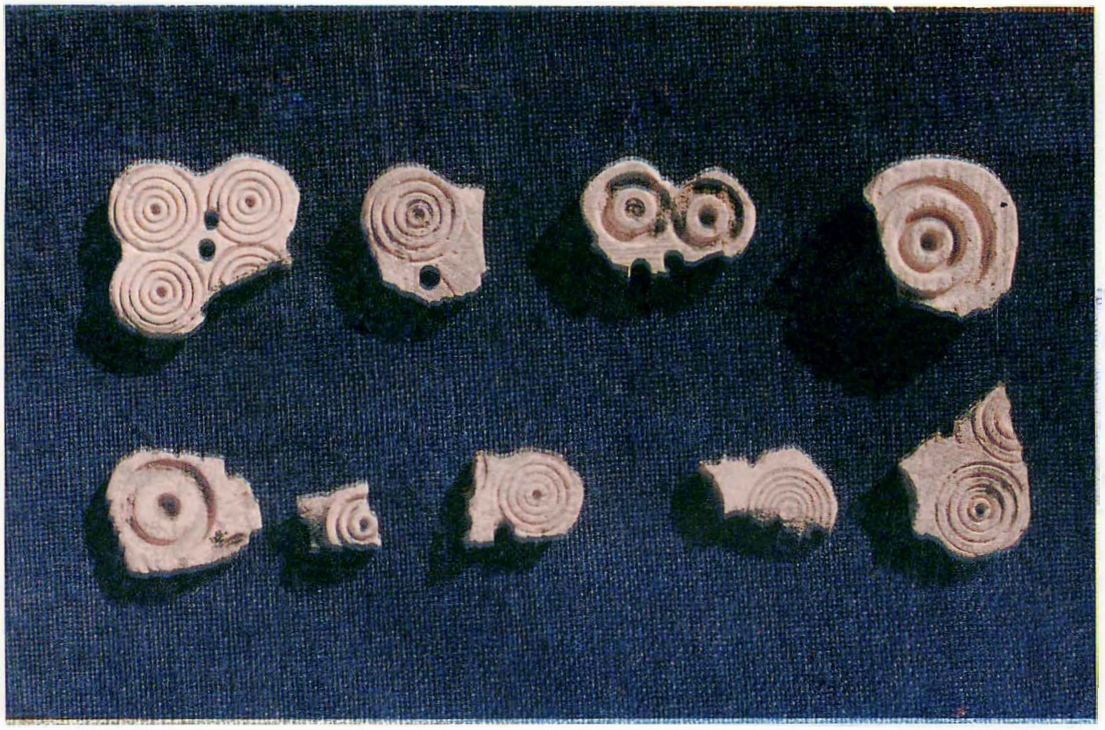


2. Rectangular Steatite Seals.

1. Foliated Seals of Steatite .



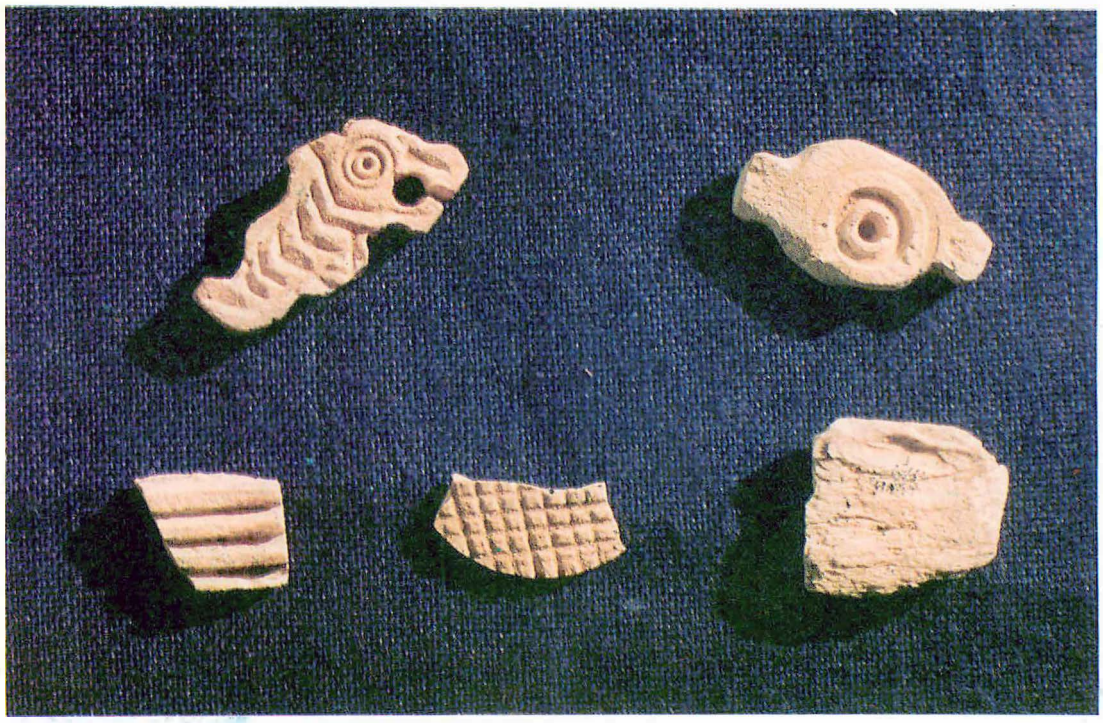
2. Button Seals of Shell .



1. Steatite Foliated Seals.

2. Steatite Foliated Seals.

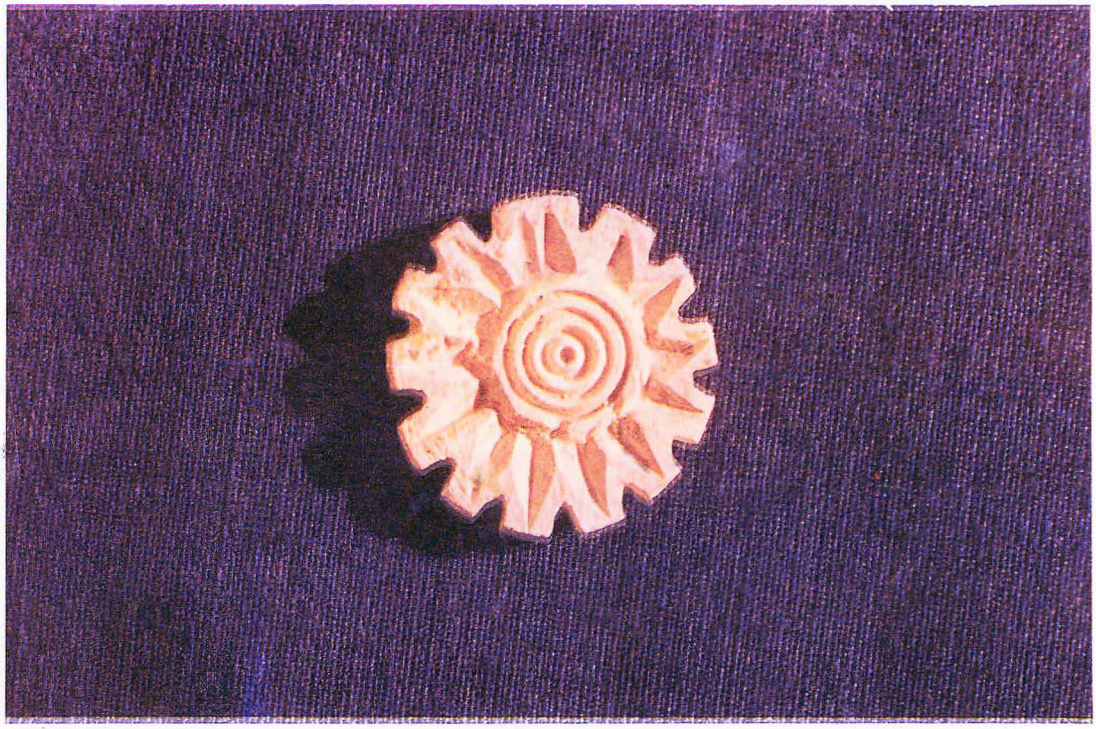
1. Shell, Triangular Seals.



2. Steatite, Various Shapes Seals.

1. Carved mountain goats, arrow and I symbol on (obverse).

2. Carved bone seal with two scorpions, a frog and T. symbol. (reverse).



1. Star shaped seal.

Inscribed Sherds

A total of 314 inscribed sherds have been registered in 1976-82 and in 1991, of which 190 came from stratified contexts. They will all be discussed here together, since the report of the 1991 operations (Durrani, Ali and Erdosy 1991) did not treat this category of finds. As already noted, most of the inscriptions are incised just above the base; exceptions include a few signs incised on the base itself, on the top of lids, on the sides of vessels, on a terracotta wheel, on an axe-head made of terracotta, and on two miniature saddle querns made of terracotta. Similarly, the majority of signs are incised on large storage jars, and only occasionally on bowls and shallow plates.[1]

Whether the signs were intended as potters' marks, or as means of facilitating the registration and movement of goods contained in vessels remains on open question.[2] It may, however, be observed that there is an insufficient variety of signs to accommodate all the individual craftsmen; that only a minute proportion of the ceramic corpus contains marks; and that there are several marks common to archaeological sites over a wide area (recently tabulated by B.B. Lal (1992)). All these factors argue against the signs being used merely to identify potters, and point to the embryonic stages of a system of communication over the Greater Indus Valley, which is reinforced by the presence of

[1] *Some of the signs have already been published by Shah & Parapola (1991) in the second volume of the corpus of Indus Seals and Inscriptions; they are included here for the sake of completeness. On the other hand, printed signs also published in the said corpus have been ignored here, as most of them appear to be mere decorative motifs with no plausible connection to any form of writing.*

[2] *There is, of course, also the problem posed by the inscribed terracotta wheel, which should belong to a toy cart. It represents a significant extension of the principle of using signs, although its full significance remains shrouded in mystery.*

some of the 'proto-Harappan' signs - albeit in modified forms - in the Harappan script itself.

One of the advantages of signs inscribed on ceramics is that the order of writing may be determined in a number of cases, while this has been all but impossible in the case of carefully crafted steatite seals. It has already been surmised (by B.B. Lal) that the Harappan script was written right to left - or, more correctly (K.R. Norman, personal communication), that whoever produced the examples in question was writing in this way. In order to determine the direction of writing on the Rehman Dheri sherds, one must first decide their orientation. In this regard it may be noted that several vertical signs are fatter nearer the base. Although this is at times the product of a wedge-shaped instrument used in producing the mark, in a 'cuneiform' style, elsewhere it suggests that the signs were incised from top to bottom, with the perimeter of the base as the reference point.[3] Assuming this hypothesis to be true, whenever the direction of the Rehman Dheri examples could be determined, the order of writing was from the right to the left, as in the case of the Harappan script. This may reinforce the impression of continuity given by the survival of some 'proto-Indus' signs into the Harappan corpus.

A summary of the various signs is as follows (please refer to the accompanying chart; signs are just above the base of ceramic vessels unless stated otherwise):

[3] *It would also make sense for the signs to be oriented in the same direction as the pot itself; otherwise they would appear upside down to the viewer.*

1.		
	1A.	BIV/9, Layer 8 (Level 9) BIV/15, Layer 2 (Level 3)
	1B.	EII/16, Layer 6 (Level 6).
	1C. (For an explanation of the strategraphic units used in 1991 excavations, see Durrani, Ali and Erdosy, 1991.)	RHD-91, Locus 1029 (Pd. II) Surface
	1D.	BIV/4, Layer 5 (Level 5) BIV/19, Layer 9 (Level 14)
	1E.	CIV/21, Layer 4 (Level 12)
	1F.	BIV/4, Layer 18 (Level 18) FfI/23, Layer 1 (Level 7)
2.		
	2A.	BIV/4, Layer 3 (Level 3) BIV/4, Layer 4 (Level 4) BIV/4, Layer 7 (Level 7) RHD-91, Locus 1022 (Pd. II)
	2B.	EII/16 Layer 17 (Level 18) FfIV/17, Layer 1 (Level 1) FfIV/21, Layer 6 (Level 6) BIV/4, Layer 18 (Level 18) 8 surface examples
	2C.	BIV/4, Layer 5 (Level 5) RHD-91, Locus 1001 (Pd. IIIB)
	2D.	FfIV/21, Layer 4 (Level 4)
	2E.	CIII/21, Layer 3 (Level 6)
3.		BIV/4, Layer 5 (Level 5)
4.		Surface
5.		BIV/4, Layer 14 (Level 14) CIII/21, Layer 1 (Level 4) F0/23, Layer 2 (Level 10) BIV/20, Layer 1 (Level 3) RHD-91, Locus 2004 (Pd. IIIB) 6 Surface examples
6.		
	6A.	CIII/21, Layer 1 (Level 4) EII/16, Layer 2 (Level 2) FfIV/21, Layer 1 (Level 1) FfIV/21, Layer 4 (Level 4) BIV/20, Layer 1 (Level 3) BIV/15, Layer 2 (Level 3) 5 Surface examples
	6B.	EII/16, Layer 2 (Level 2)

		EII/21, Layer 1 (Level 1) FfIV/17, Layer 1 (Level 1) FfIV/17, Layer 4 (Level 4) Surface
	6C.	BIV/4, Layer 9 (Level 9) 2 surface examples F0/13, Layer 1 (Level 8)
	6D. 6E.	BIV/19, Layer 1 (Level 5) Surface
7.		
	7A. 7B. 7C. 7D. 7E.	Surface Surface CIII/21, Layer 1 (Level 4) CIV/21, Layer 4 (Level 12) FfIV/21, Layer 6 (Level 6) FfIV/22, Layer 2 (Level 2) CIV/21, Layer 1 (Level 8)
8.		Surface
9.		BIV/4, Layer 3 (Level 3)
		BIV/4, Layer 7 (Level 7)
		BIV/4, Layer 16 (Level 16)
		BIV/4, Layer 17 (Level 17) BIV/4, Layer 19 (Level 19) BIV/14, Layer 5 (Level 7) BIV/24, Layer 2 (Level 10) CIII/21, Layer 8 (Level 11) CIII/21, Layer 12 (Level 16) CIII/21, Layer 12 (Level 16) EII/21, Layer 1 (level 1) FfI/23, Layer 1 (level 7) FfIV/17, Layer 1 (Level 1) RHD-91, Locus 1002 (Pd IIIB) 3 surface examples
10.		2 surface examples
11.		BIV/9, Layer 1 (Level 2) BIV/9, Layer 4 (Level 5)
12.		BIV/24, Layer 2 (Level 10) CIII/21, Layer 1 (Level 4) CIII/21, Layer 1 (Level 4) CIII/21, Layer 1 (Level 4) CIII/21, Layer 1 (Level 4) CIII/21, Layer 8 (Level 11) CIV/21, Layer 2 (Level 10) EII/17, Layer 8 (Level 8) RHD-91, Locus 1002 (Pd. IIIB) RHD-91, Locus 1004 (Pd. IIIB)

		RHD-91, Locus 1008 (Pd. IIIB) RHD-91, Locus 1011 (Pd. IIIB) Surface
13.		EII/16, Layer 16 (Level 17) BIV/20, Layer 4 (Level 9) BIV/20, Layer 4 (Level 9)
14.		BIV/9, Layer 1 (Level 2)
15.		Surface
16.		
	16A.	CIII/21, Layer 3 (Level 6) CIII/21, Layer 3 (Level 6) BIV/15, Layer 1 (Level 2) RHD-91, Locus 1029 (Pd. II) 4 surface examples
	16B.	Surface
17.		
	17A.	BIV/4, Layer 6 (Level 6)
		BIV/19, Layer 5 (Level 9)
		RHD-91, Locus 1009 (Pd. IIIB)
		RHD-91, Locus 1011 (Pd. IIIB) RHD-91, Locus 2007 (Pd. IIIB)
	17B.	EII/17, Layer 2 (Level 2) 6 surface examples
18.		BIV/9, Layer 12 (Level 14) BIV/24, Layer 8 (Level 20)
19.		RHD-91, Locus 2001 (Pd. IIIB)
20.		2 surface examples
21.		RHD-91, Locus 1024 (Pd. II)
22.		BIV/4, Layer 9 (Level 9) BIV/15, Layer 5 (Level 7) BIV/24, Layer 6 (Level 18) BIV/14, Layer 8 (Level 10) BIV/19, Layer 5 (Level 9) Surface
23.		BIV/19, Layer 2 (Level 6) BIV/19, Layer 6 (Level 10) BIV/24, Layer 3 (Level 12) BIV/24, Layer 5 (Level 17) CIII/21, Layer 1 (Level 4) EII/17, Layer 4 (Level 4) FflV/17, Layer 1 (Level 1) FflV/21, Layer 4 (Level 4) RHD-91, Locus 2003 (Pd. IIIB) RHD-91, Locus 2004 (Pd. IIIB)

		4 surface examples
24.		
	24A.	2 surface examples
	24B.	Surface
25.		BIV/4, Layer 5 (level 5) CIII/21, Layer 1 (Level 4) CIII/21, Layer 1 (Level 4) RHD-91, Locus 1011 (Pd. IIIB) FfIV/17, Layer 4 (Level 4) FfIV/21, Layer 6 (Level 6) F0/23, Layer 3 (Level 11) RHD-91, Locus 1014 (Pd. IIIA) RHD-91, Locus 2007 (Pd. IIIB) 3 surface examples
26.		BIV/4, Layer 8 (Level 8) EII/21, Layer 3 (Level 3) FfIV/17, Layer 2 (Level 2) RHD-91, Locus 2008 (Pd IIIB) Surface
27.		RHD-91, Locus 1004 (Pd. IIIB)
28.		
	28A.	BIV/9, Layer 12 (Level 14) FfIV/16, Layer 2 (Level 2) GVII/12, Layer 1 (Level 1) FfIV/17, Layer 1 (Level 1) CIII/21, Layer 1 (Level 4) RHD-91, Locus 1004 (Pd. IIIB) RHD-91, Locus 2004 (Pd. IIIB) 6 surface examples
	28B.	EII/21, Layer 1 (Level 1)
	28C.	EII/17, Layer 2 (Level 2)
29.		
	29A.	BIV/4, Layer 1 (Level 1) BIV/4, Layer 5 (Level 5) BIV/9, Layer 4 (level 5) BIV/10, Layer 4 (level 5) 4 surface examples
	28B.	Ffl/23, Layer 1 (Level 7)
30.		BIV/4, Layer 6 (Level 6) Surface
31.		
	31A.	FfIV/22, Layer 3 (Level 3) 3 surface examples
	31B.	CIII/21, Layer 2 (Level 5)
	31C.	Surface

32.		
	32A.	BIV/9, Layer 7 (Level 8)
	32C.	BIV/4, Layer 8 (Level 8) BIV/19, Layer 4 (Level 8) RHD-91, Locus 1024 (Pd. II) 3 surface examples
	32C.	RHD-91, Locus 1009 (Pd. IIIB)
	32D.	BIV/14, Layer 16 (Level 20) BIV/14, Layer 5 (Level 7)
	32E.	Surface
	32F.	BIV/24, Layer 5 (level 17)
	32G.	BIV/5, Layer 5 (Level 5)
	32H.	FfIV/22, Layer 88 Level 8)
33.		7 surface examples F0/3, Layer 3 (Level 10)
34.		
	34A.	RHD-91, Locus 1007 (Pd. IIIB)
	34B.	Surface
35.		
	35A.	EII/16, Layer 7 (Level 7) FfIV/21, Layer 3 (Level 3) 6 surface examples
	35B.	BIV/20, Layer 6 (Level 12)
36.		
	36A.	Surface
	36B.	Surface
	36C.	CIII/21, Layer 3 (Level 6)
	36D.	BIV/14, Layer 8 (Level 10)
37.		
	37A.	Surface
	37B.	Surface
38.		
	38A.	Surface
	38B.	Surface
	38C.	Surface
	38D.	F0/23, Layer 1 (Level 9)
39.		
	39A.	BIV/4, Layer 19 (Level 19) BIV/5, Layer 5 (Level 5)
		CIII/21, Layer 1 (Level 4)
		F0/3, Layer 1 (Level 8)
		FfIV/22, Layer 2 (level 2)

		RHD-91, Locus 2001 (Pd. IIIB)
		2 surface examples
	39B.	CIII/21, Layer 1 (Level 4)
	39C.	CIII/21, Layer 0 (surface)
40.		F0/3, Layer 2 (Level 9)
		Surface
41.		BIV/4, Layer 4 (Level 4)
42.		
	42A.	Surface
	42B.	FfIV/16, Layer 4 (Level 4)
		FfIV/21, Layer 6 (Level 6)
		RHD-91, Locus 1006 (Pd. IIIB)
		2 surface examples
	42C.	Surface
	42D.	Surface
	42E.	BIV/14, Layer 7 (Level 9)
	42F.	Surface
43.		RHD-91, Locus 2007 (Pd. IIIB)
44.		Surface
45.		
	45A.	Surface
	45B.	Surface
46.		BIV/19, Layer 5 (Level 9)
		Surface
47.	(NB: found inside the body of the vessel)	Surface
48.		Surface
49.		RHD-91, Locus 2011 (Pd. IIIB)
50.		Surface
51.		Surface
52.		Surface
		Surface
53.	(NB: Found on the body of the vessel)	BIV/14, Layer 7 (Level 9)
54.		
	54A.	F0/23, Layer 2 (Level 10)
		F0/23, Layer 3 (Level 11)
		8 surface examples
	54B.	FfIV/22, Layer 2 (level 2)
	54C.	FfIV/22, Layer 2 (Level 2)
55.		Surface
56.		RHD-91, Locus 1029 (Pd. II)
57.	(NB: found on a terracotta wheel)	FfIV/16, Layer 3 (Level 3)
		Surface
58.		Surface
59.	(NB: sign is on the top of a lid)	Surface

60.	(on terracotta wheel)	F0/13, Layer 2 (Level 10)
61.		BIV/24, Layer 3 (Level 10)
62.		Surface
63.		CIII/21, Layer 3 (Level 6)
64.		Surface
65.		BIV/20, Layer 6 (Level 11)
66.		FfIV/17, Layer 5 (Level 5)
67.		Surface
68.		2 surface examples
69.		2 surface examples
70.		EII/21, Layer 2 (Level 2)
		3 surface examples
71.		BIV/20, Layer 1 (Level 3)
72.		Surface
73.		Surface
74.		Surface
75.		Surface
76.		BIV/25, Layer 3 (Level 12)
77.		BIV/15, Layer 1 (Level 2)
78.		2 surface examples
79.	(on body)	Surface
80.		Surface
81.		Surface
82.	(on body)	FII/21, Layer 5 (Level 5)
83.		Surface
84.		Surface
85.		Surface
86.		Surface
87.		CIV/21, Layer 4 (Level 12)
88.		BIV/14, Layer 5 (Level 7)
89.		BIV/20, Layer 6 (Level 12)
90.		F0/13, Layer 2 (Level 9)
91.		Surface
92.		Surface
93.		Surface
94.	on inside of vessel, just below the rim:	CIV/21, Layer 2 (Level 10)

Altogether 190 signs have been found in a stratified position, and the earliest comes from the very first level of the site. Seven signs come from

Period IA, 12 from Period IB, 14 from Period II, 19 from Period IIIA and 111 from Period IIIB. However, while there is a great increase in signs over time, there is no clear progression from simple to composite signs as earlier surmised. As discussed in a previous paper by Durrani (1981), several signs may be treated as antecedents to the signs found in the Harappan script and this is reinforced by the impression, expressed above, that signs were written right to left. There are also several signs common to other sites, and these have been recently tabulated by Lal (1992). We are, as yet, a long way from understanding the emergence of writing in Pakistan; however, the publicaton of potters' marks (e.g. Joshi and Parpola 1987, Shah and Parpola 1991, Fairservis 1956, 1959, 1977) and the emergence of a stratified series of seals from Harappa (Kenoyer, personal communication) will hopefully contribute towards a solution of this thorny issue.

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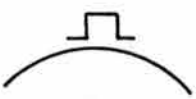
58


67


76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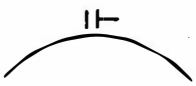
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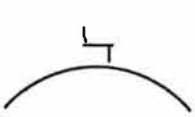
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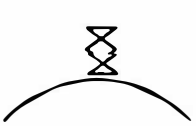
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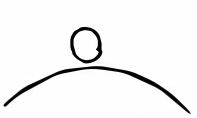
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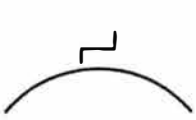
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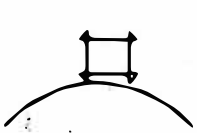
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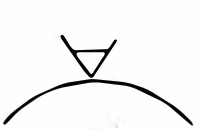
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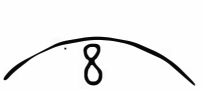
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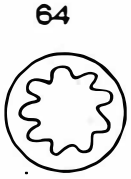
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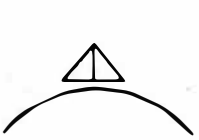
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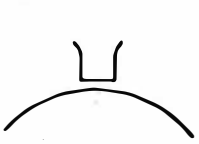
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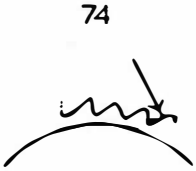
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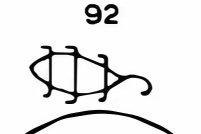
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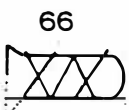
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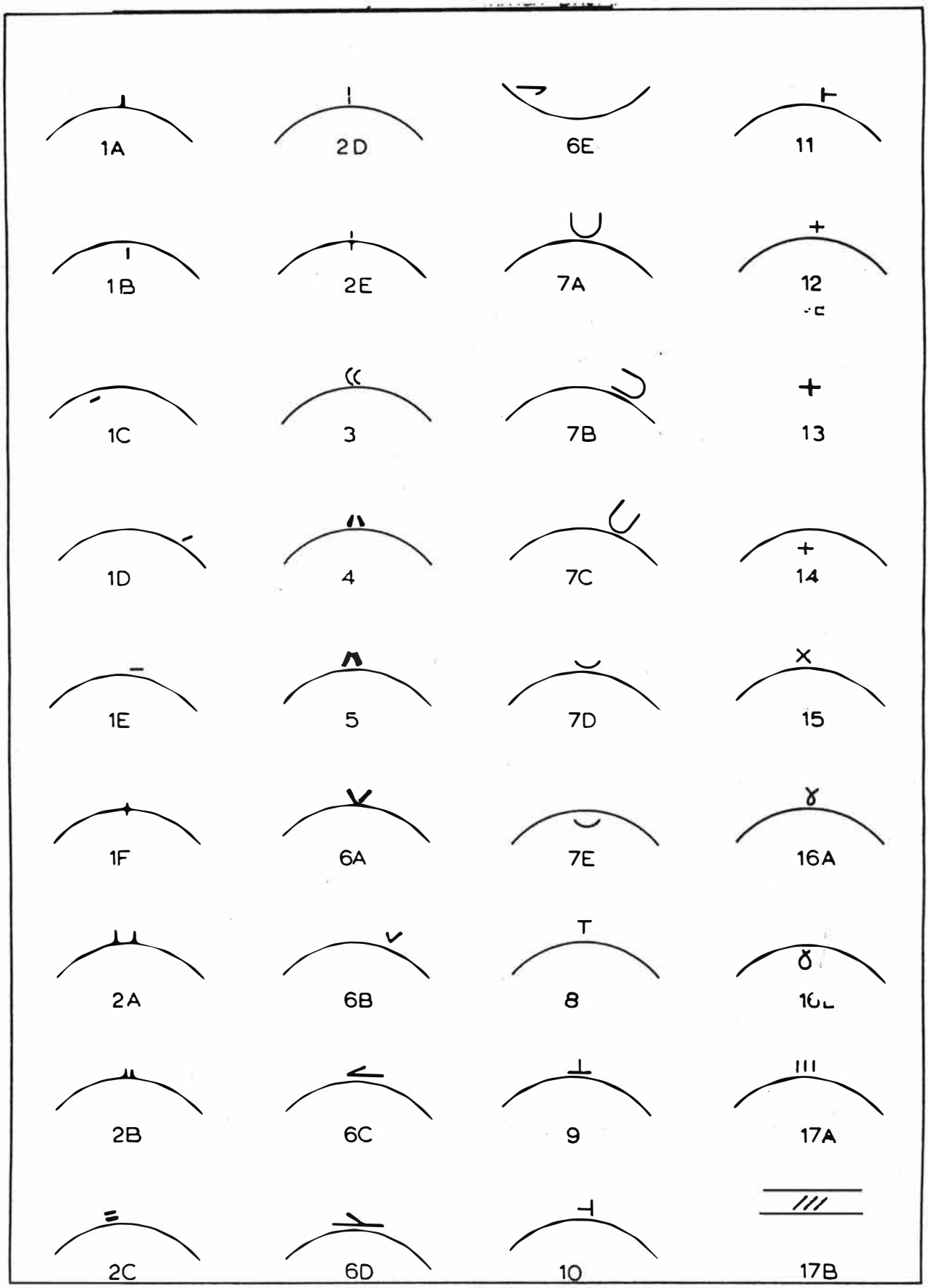

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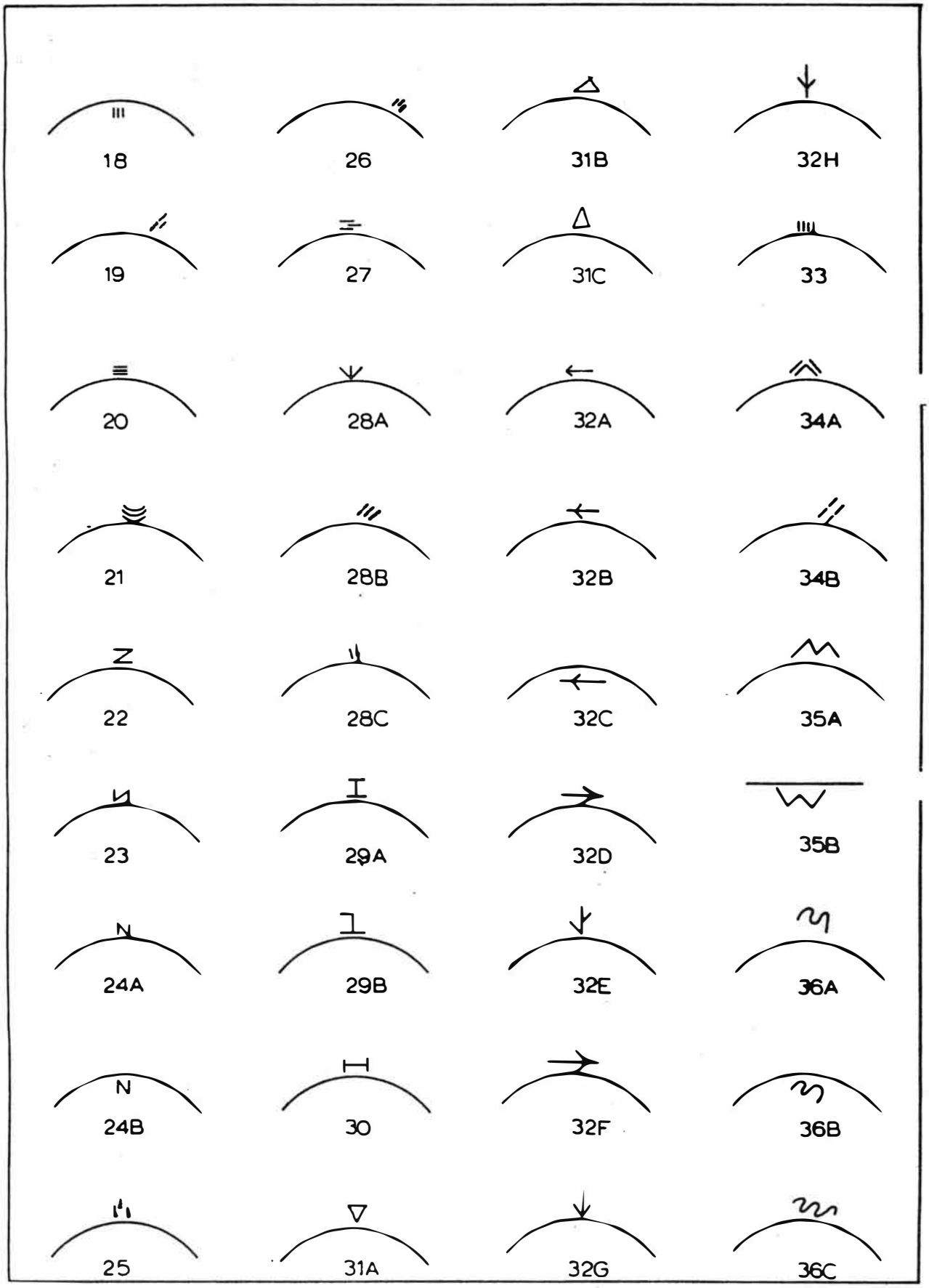

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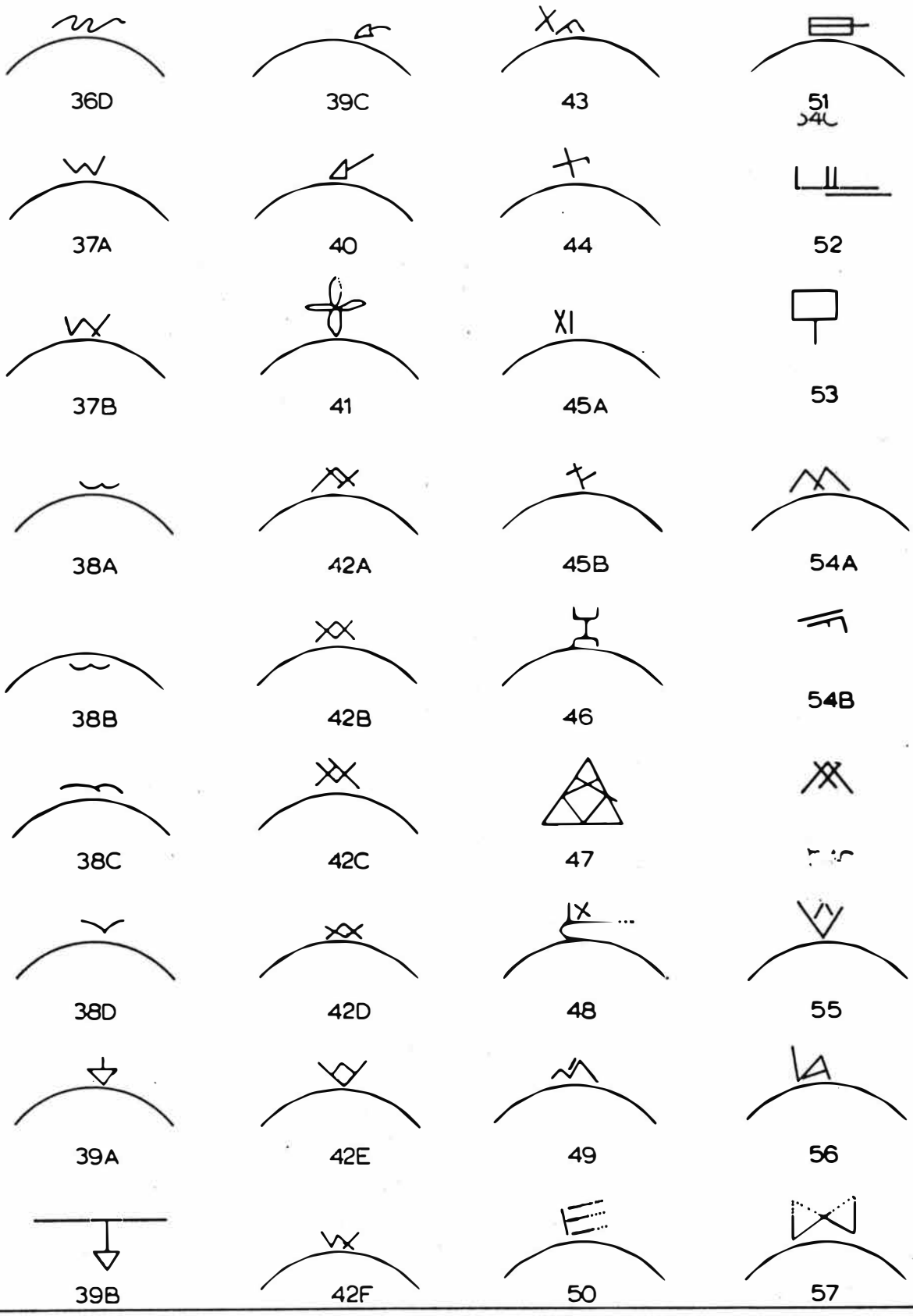

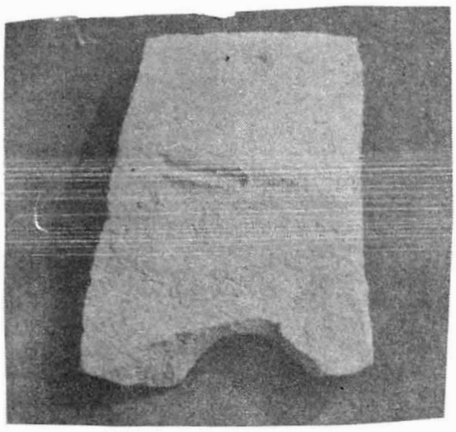

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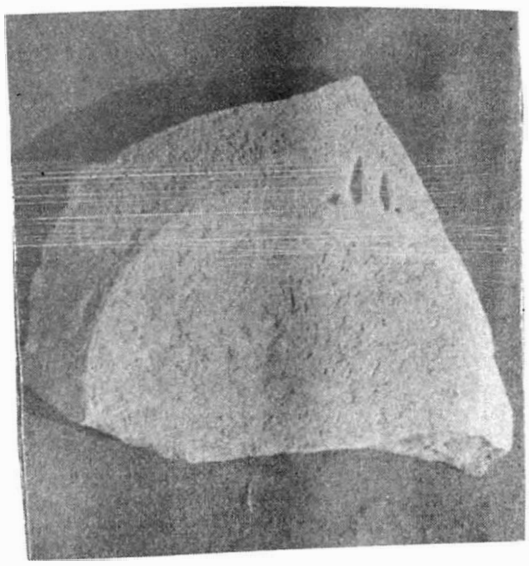

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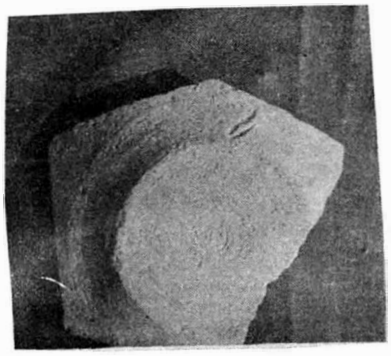

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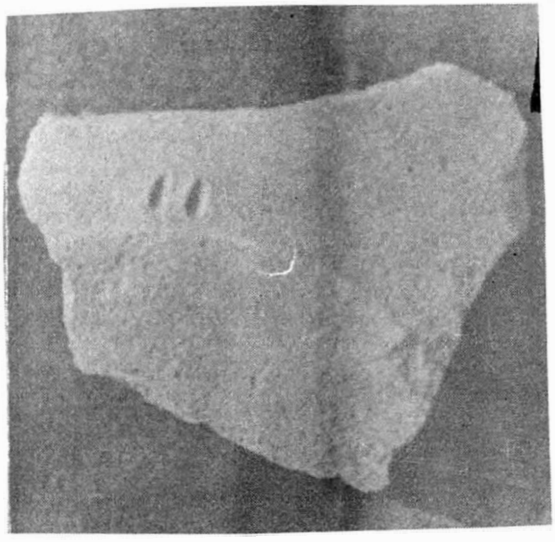

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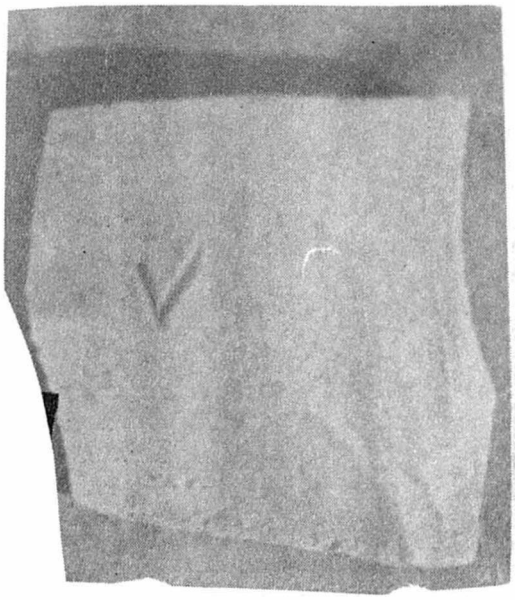

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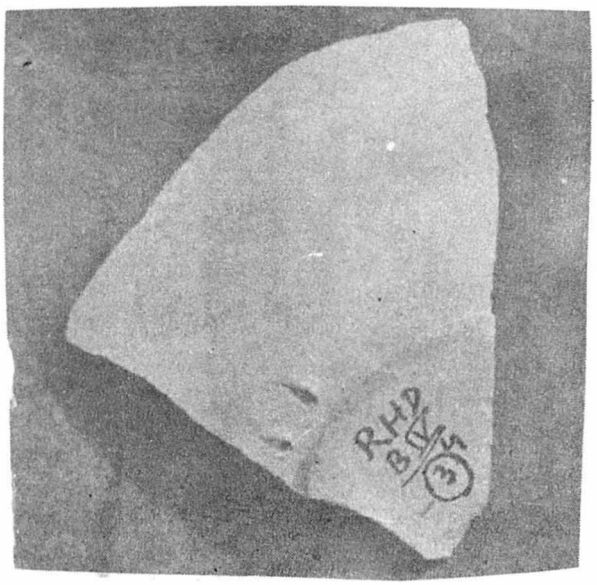

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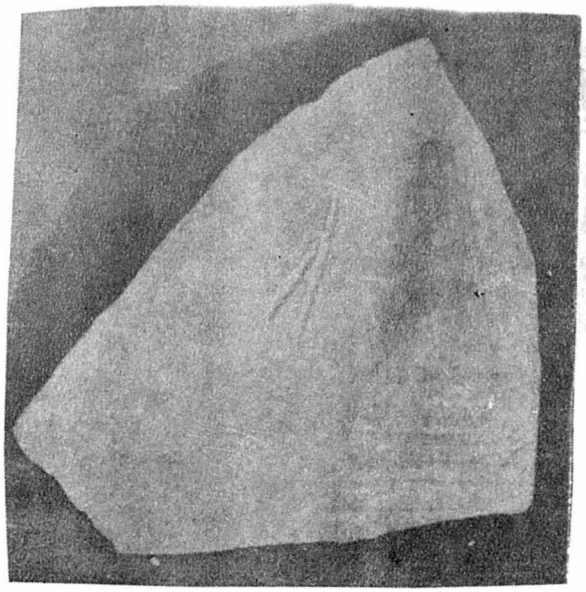

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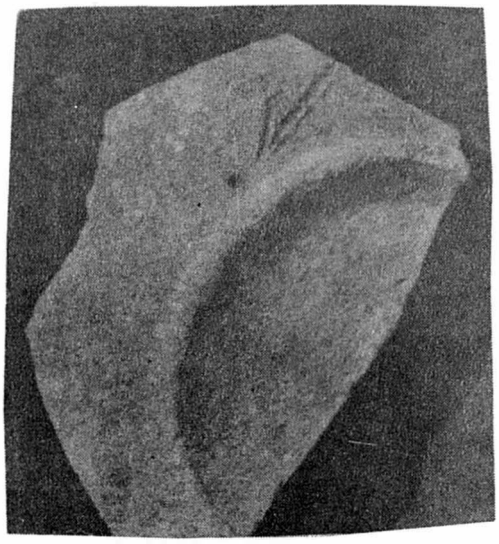

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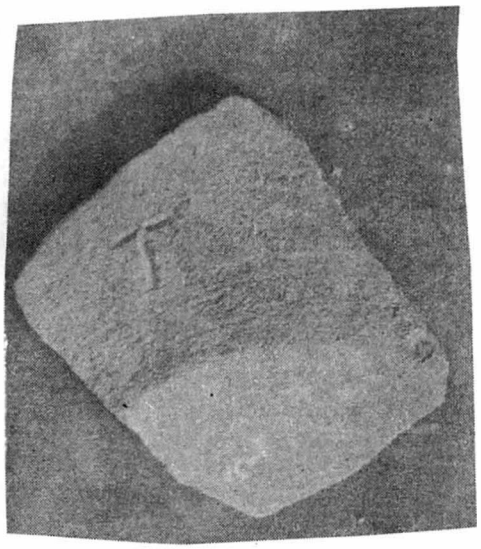

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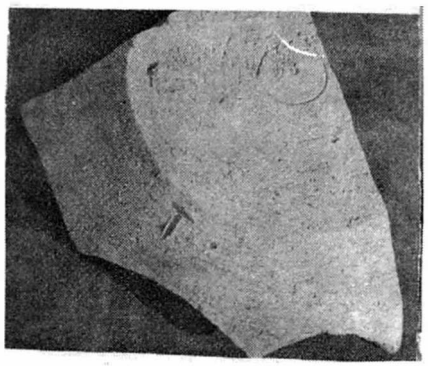

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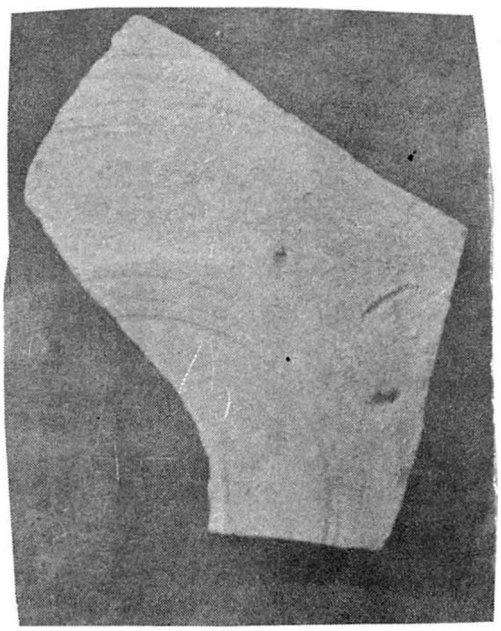

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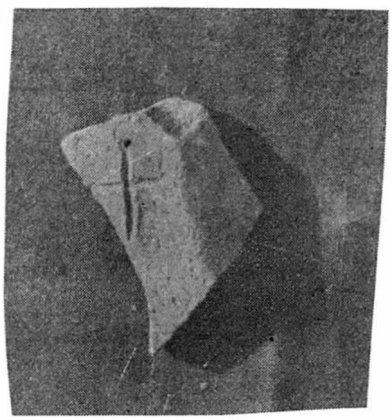

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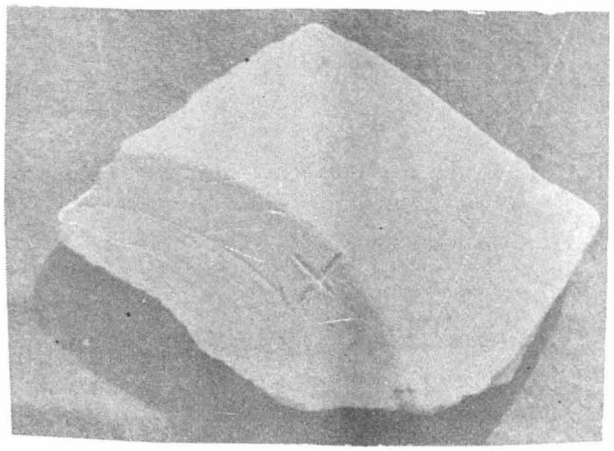

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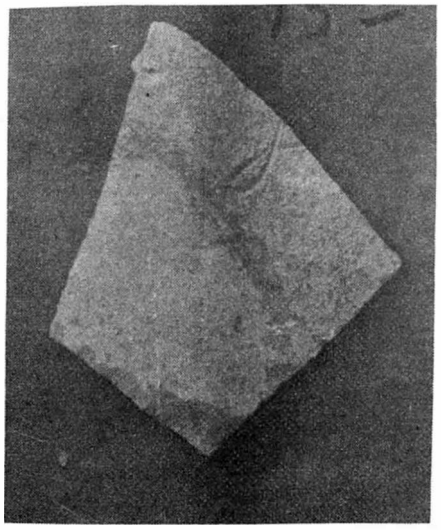

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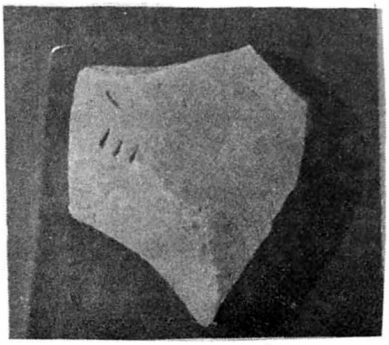

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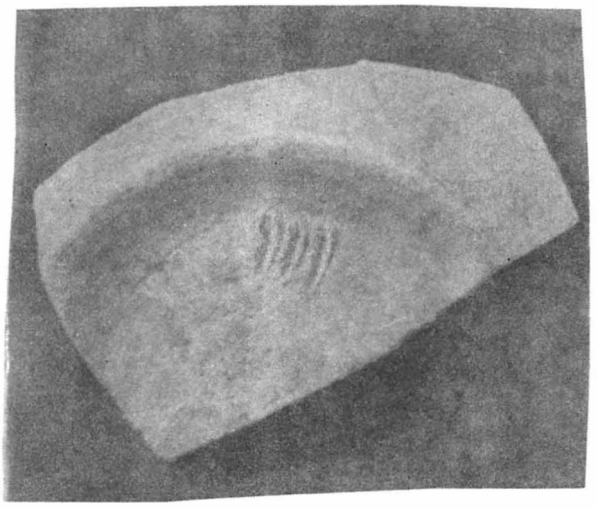

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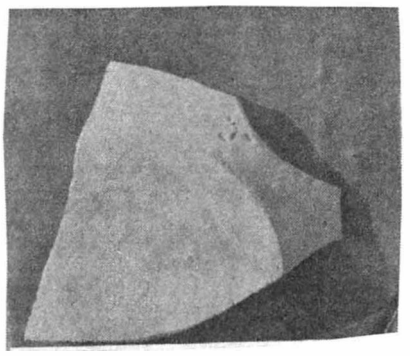

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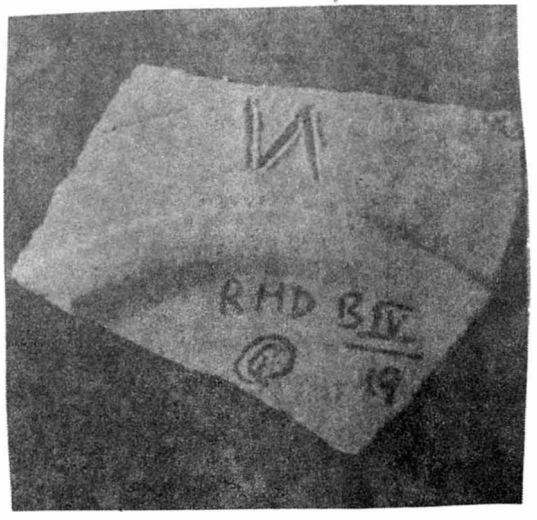

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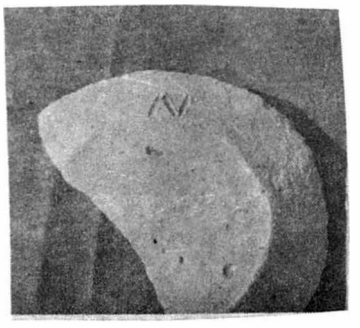

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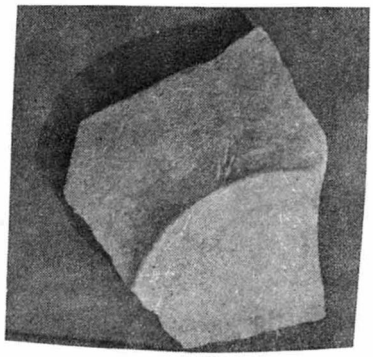

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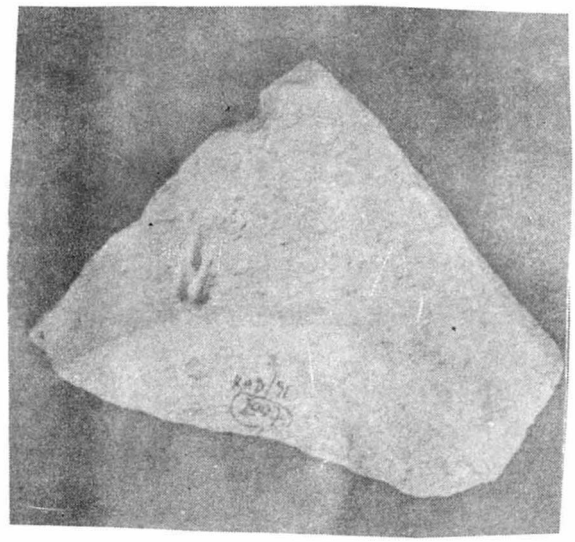

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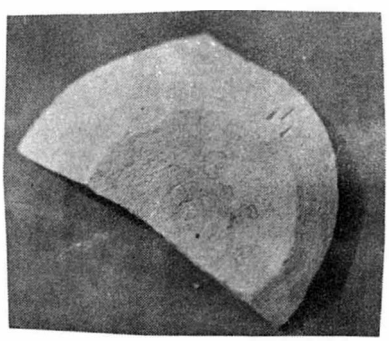

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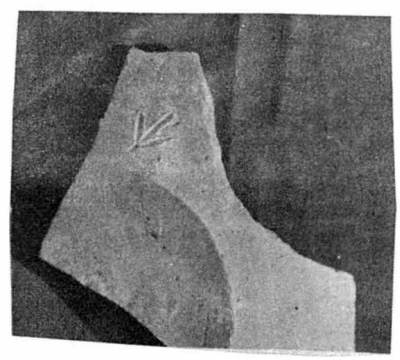

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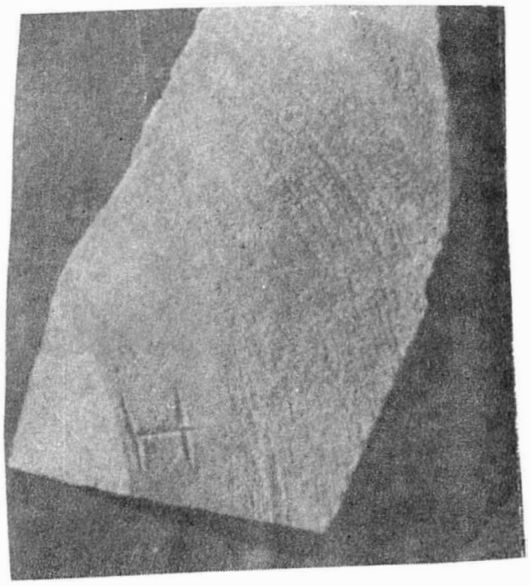

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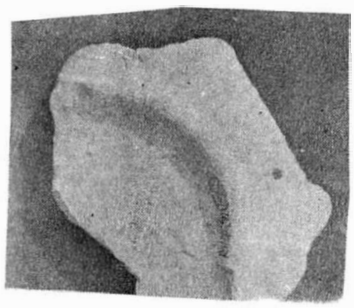

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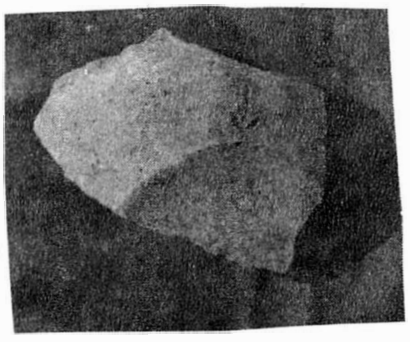

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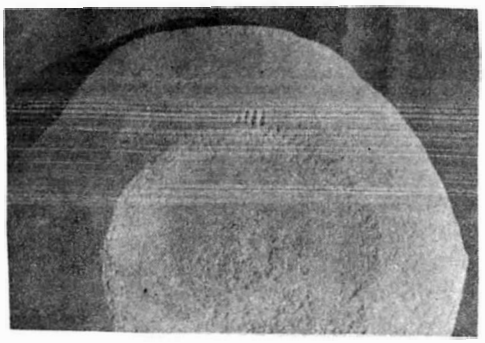

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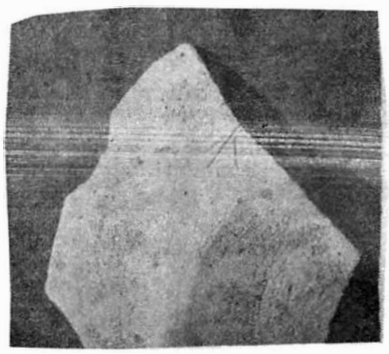

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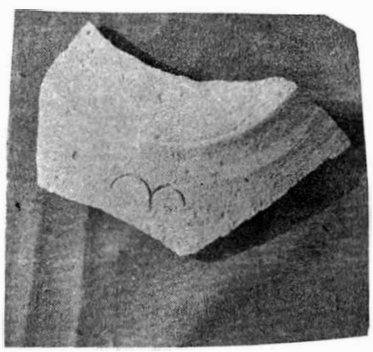

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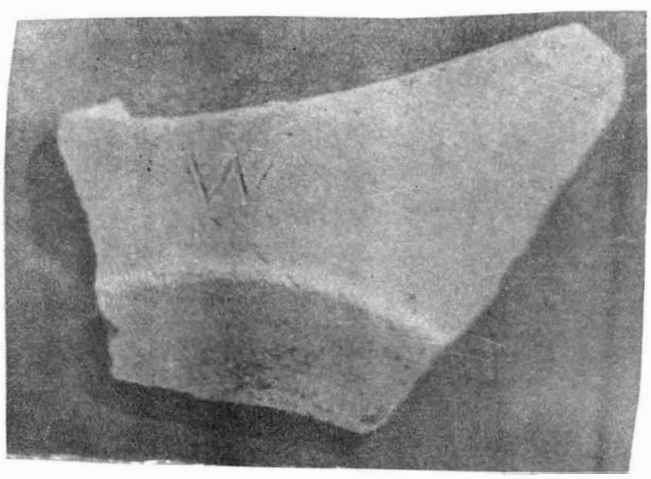

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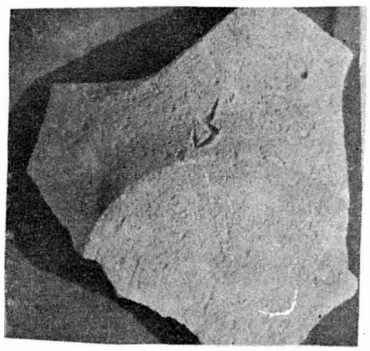

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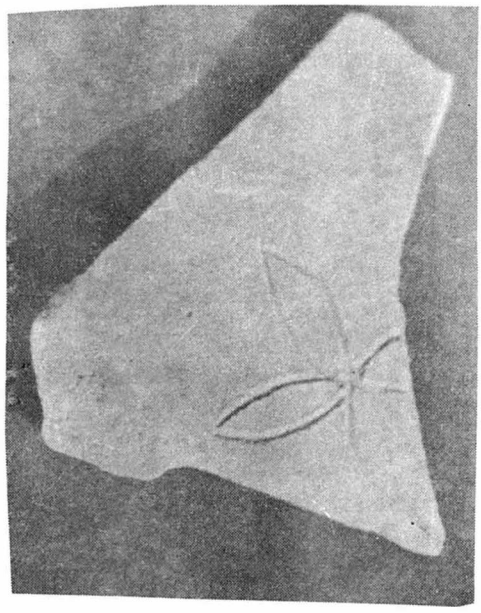

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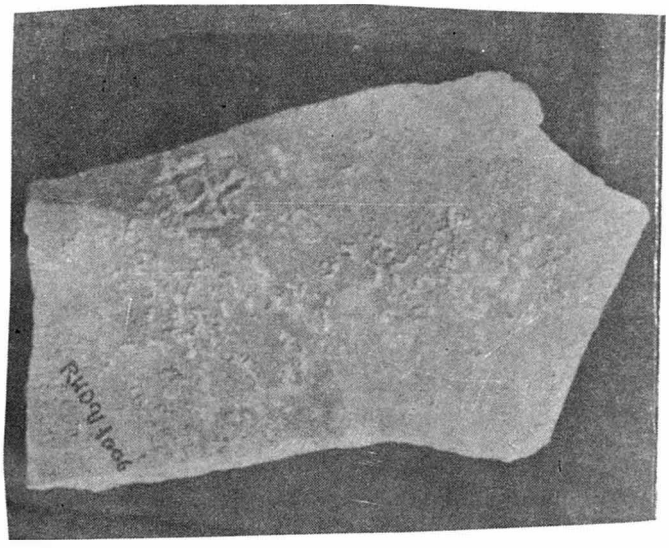

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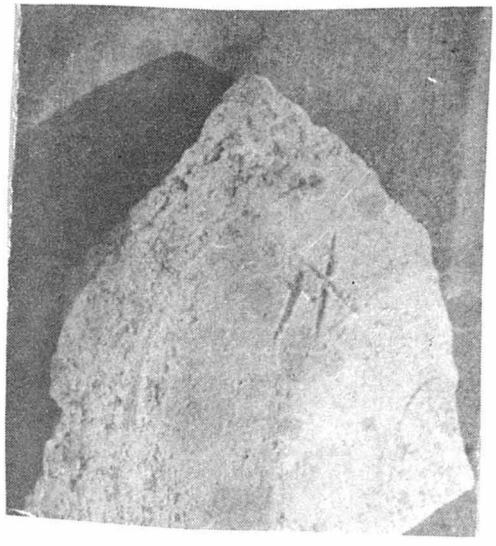

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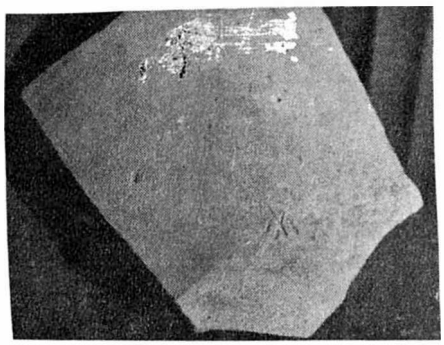

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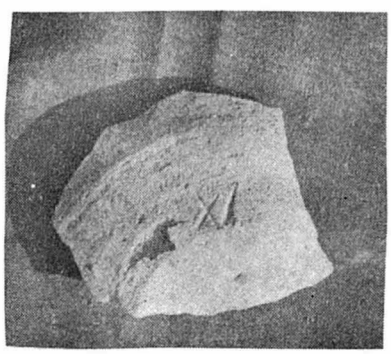
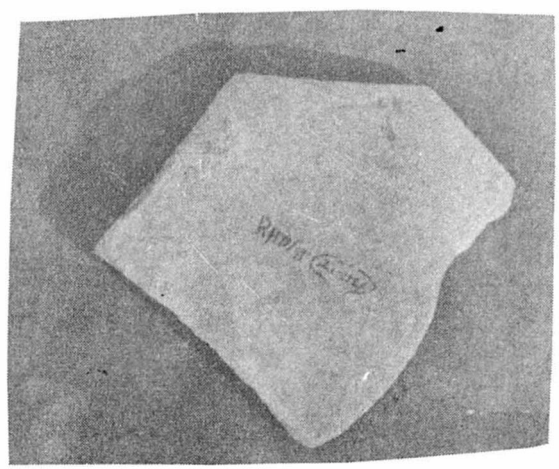
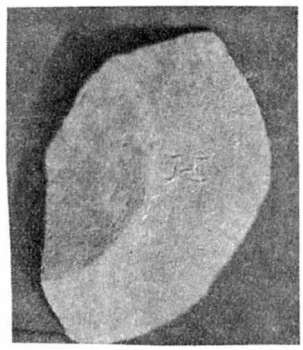


40-45A

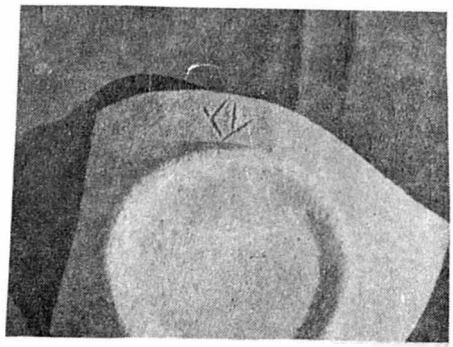


39-44

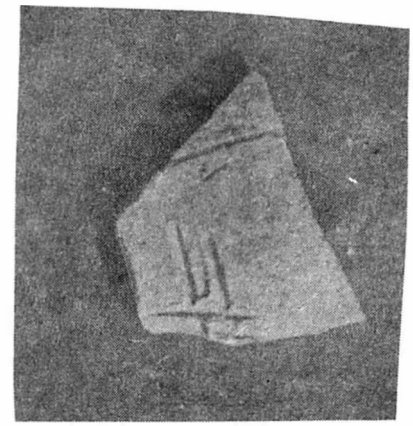


41-46

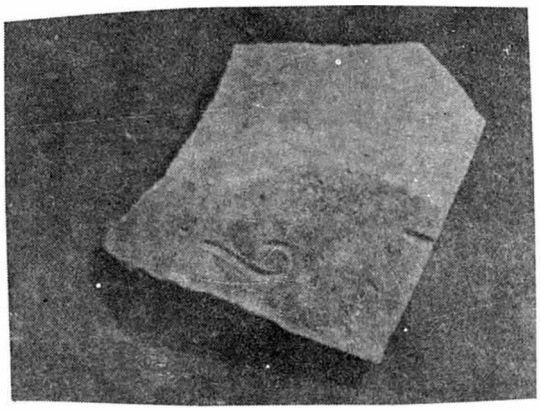
42-49



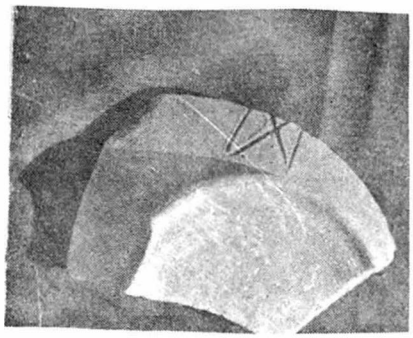
44-55



43-52



46-86



45-57

47-92