Introduction

In this chapter, I will be presenting the results of my study regarding the terracotta artifacts of Indor Khera. As mentioned in the introduction, I will be studying terracotta artifacts other than human and animal figurines that are largely the focus of archaeologists and art historians. These terracotta artifacts, that come under the category of ‘small finds’ comprise discs, wheels, reels, tops, marbles, gamesmen, pendants, pottery stamps, dabbers/anvils, miniature vessels, worked sherds, as well as several unidentified objects.

The methodology I have followed required the study of all the terracotta artifacts from the early first millennium A.D., that were first separated into different type categories. Thus, for example, all terracotta wheels from Indor Khera, belonging to the early first millennium A.D., were taken out of the entire assemblage of artifacts and then analyzed and documented. The documentation adopted the method of studying each wheel, measuring its dimensions with digital calipers, weighing it with a digital weighing scale and describing it. This data was entered in pre-printed small finds documentation forms, so that all the information for each artifact would be available in a standardized format. Where it was possible, I also tried to classify or devise a typology for certain artifact categories. This same strategy was followed then for other artifact categories. The entire documentation done by me of the archive of terracotta artifacts from Indor Khera, is presented in the form of appendices at the end of this dissertation. It should be pointed out that the appendices have been presented in two formats for each artifact category. This is because the excavations at Indor Khera were conducted first by the Wheeler grid method and later by the Harris Matrix method. Thus, the artifacts recovered in the season 2006-07 have been presented for each artifact category first, which is followed by the documentation for the 2008-09 and 2009-10 seasons, which were undertaken using the Harris Matrix method.
It is useful also not to view the Indor Khera material in isolation, but to study and compare it to other sites in the upper Ganga plains. The Indor Khera terracotta artifacts were than compared to those found from Sonkh and Hastinapura. The reasons for specifically choosing these two sites in the upper Ganga plains is that both were urban as was Indor Khera, and also because excavation reports are available for them. The Sonkh report (Hartel 1993), however, has much more detailed and contextual information as compared to what has been presented for Hastinapura (Lal 1954-55). The value of such a comparative exercise is to evaluate the extent of uniformity of artifact categories across sites in the Upper Ganga plains in the early first millennium A.D.

Discs

At Indor Khera, discs belonging to different periods have been found. However, in this dissertation, I will be studying only the discs of the early historic period, more specifically belonging to the first few centuries A.D. The discs are made of terracotta and are largely rounded in shape. They are hand made and deliberately made by the pinching and pressing methods. Most of the discs that are found from Indor Khera are oxidized while a few are reduced but many are ill fired. Most of the discs have designs like incised lines, central perforations, floral motifs, swastika, cross designs, grid patterns, star type designs, ‘U’ and ‘V’ shaped designs and so forth. A restricted number of discs have a plain undecorated surface. There is also some variation in the shape and form of the section of the discs. Some are flat on both faces but some are biconical. There may also be discs which are slightly concave on one or both faces (See appendices 1 and 2).

The function of the disc has been under much discussion. Lal (1954-1955: 87) and Gaur (1983: 20) said, in the context of terracotta discs, that the interpretation of them as ‘gaming counters’ seems to be the most probable one. In order to further study and document the discs, I have devised a typology (see table 1) that is largely determined by decoration.
Table 1: Typology of Terracotta Discs from Indor Khera

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Decoration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Ia</td>
<td>No design. No perforation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Ib</td>
<td>No design with centre perforation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Ib (i)</td>
<td>Two centre perforations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Ib (ii)</td>
<td>Four centre perforations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>IIa</td>
<td>Incised lines on one edge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>IIa (i)</td>
<td>Radiating incised lines on one edge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>IIa (ii)</td>
<td>Slanting incised lines on one edge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>IIa (iii)</td>
<td>Random incised lines on one edge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>IIb</td>
<td>Incised lines on both the edges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>IIb (i)</td>
<td>Radiating incised lines on both edges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>IIb (ii)</td>
<td>Slanting incised lines on both edges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>IIb (iii)</td>
<td>Random incised lines on both edges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>IIc</td>
<td>Incised lines on one face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>IId</td>
<td>Incised lines on both faces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
<td>Incised lines with centre perforation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>IIIb</td>
<td>Incised lines with centre perforation bordered by a circle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>IVa</td>
<td>Double row of incised lines on one face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>IVb</td>
<td>Incised lines with double ‘S’ type design on one face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>IVc</td>
<td>Incised lines with star type design on one face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>IVd</td>
<td>Incised lines with flower type design on one face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>IVe</td>
<td>Incised lines with swastika on one face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Design Type</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>IVf</td>
<td>Incised lines with floral motif on one face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>IVg</td>
<td>Incised lines with cross design on one face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>IVh</td>
<td>Incised lines with grid pattern on one face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>IV (i)</td>
<td>Incised lines with cross which is filled with dots on one face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>No design. Only swastika is on one face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Dot design like cross in the centre on one face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>One surface filled with dots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>Both faces filled with dots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>IX</td>
<td>Disc with stylized floral motif</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Disc with 'V' type design on one surface</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>XI</td>
<td>Disc with 'U' shape design on one surface</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>XII</td>
<td>Disc with sharply impressed shallow crescents on both edges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>XIII</td>
<td>Nail marks around the perforation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>XIV</td>
<td>Triangular marks on both edges</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The discs found from each excavated square have been identified as to type and sub-types. This will also help us to see if there is any concentration of types in a particular square.

A1c – From this trench, four discs were recovered, all of which are oxidized. Two are broken and two are intact. All discs are of la sub-type. But one is slightly confusing as it has some curved grooves and thus may be a worked sherd. All discs show chaff admixture and holes.

A1d – From this trench, seven discs were found. Out the seven, one is of clay, two are reduced and the rest of the four are oxidized. The clay disc is of la sub-
type and is broken. The reduced disc is also of Ia sub-type. One disc has a black painted design. Out of four oxidized discs three are of Ia sub-type and one is of XIII type.

B1a – From this square were recovered seven oxidized discs out of which five are intact and two are chipped on the edge. Out of seven, two are slipped. Out of the two one retains the slip and other slip has flaked off but which can still be seen in traces. Out of the seven, three are of IIb and IIb (ii) sub-types and one is IIa and IIa (iii) sub-types. No. 1296, is of IIIb sub-type on one face and the other face is of IVa sub-type. Out of the seven discs one has fire clouding on one face and the other face is slightly chipped.

B1b – From this square, thirty seven discs were found. Out of the thirty seven, two are of clay and thirty five are of terracotta. Among the thirty five terracotta discs thirty are oxidized and five are reduced. Out of the total number of discs, twenty are intact and fifteen are broken and two are of clay. Out of the thirty oxidized discs, four are slipped. Eight are of IIb and IIb (ii) sub-types. Out of the thirty seven, ten are of IIIa sub-type. No. 2254 is of Ib and Ib(i) sub-types on its two faces and is also well rounded with well made edges. Possibly, it may be used for playing. No. 2457 is of IIb sub type; on one face it is of IVb and IIb (ii) sub-types and the other face is of IVd sub-type. These types of discs are shown on Plate I.

B1c – From this square, sixteen discs were found, out of which two are of clay and twelve are of terracotta. Among the twelve terracotta discs, three are reduced and eleven are oxidized. Out of the eleven oxidized discs, two are slipped and seven are of Ib sub-type. One is of Ib (i) sub-type and other one is of IIIb (iii) sub-type. In six discs, chaff and holes are clearly visible. Among all the discs, the oxidized discs are not well fired because black and grayish patches can be seen in four of them. The two discs, No. 2986 and No. 3048 are slightly biconical in section. Out of the twelve discs, only one disc is of IIb and
IIb (iii) sub-types, and one disc is of IV g sub-type. Otherwise, ten discs have no design. These types of discs are on the Plate II.

B1d — From this square, thirteen discs were recovered in which three are of clay and ten are of terracotta. Out of the three clay discs, one is broken into two pieces and the other two are intact. Among the two clay discs, one is elevated in the centre on both faces. One is of Ib sub-type. Out of the ten terracotta discs, two are reduced and eight are oxidized. Among the two reduced discs, one is damaged and other one is of Ib and Ila (i) sub-types. Among the eight oxidized discs, two are of Ib sub-type. Out of the eight oxidized discs, four are ill-fired and also full of chaff and holes. Out of the remaining four discs, one is of Ia sub-type and two discs are confusing because their edges are not uniform. Possibly these may be pottery bases rather than discs. Out of all the discs, one has cracks and a single impressed mark on one face. These types of discs are on Plate III and IV.

B1a-c-d — From this trench, two discs were found; out of the two, one is reduced and one is oxidized. The reduced disc is broken. It is of IIb and IIb (iii) sub-types and the oxidized disc is of Ia sub-type.

B1a-B1d (Baulk) — From the baulk between the two trenches, one disc was recovered which is intact and oxidized. It is of Ib (i) sub-type.

C1a — From this square, discs have been found, out of which two are of clay and three are of terracotta. Out of the two clay discs, one is intact and the other is broken. The intact clay disc is of Ib sub-type. Out of the three terracotta discs, one is reduced and two are oxidized. The reduced disc is of IIb and IIb (iii) sub-types. The oxidized disc has design. Among the two, one is of IIb and IIb (i) sub-types. The other disc is of IV g sub-type. All discs shows chaff and tiny holes indicating the clay was not well levigated. These types of discs are shown on Plate I.
C1b – From this square, nine discs were found out of which one is of clay and eight are of terracotta. Out of the eight terracotta discs, six are oxidized and two are reduced. The single clay disc is of Ib sub-type. Out of the reduced discs, one has a slight elevation in the centre and both are of Ib sub-type. Out of six oxidized discs, three are of IIb and three are of IIb (ii) sub-type. Out of the three, two are also of Ia sub-type. Out of these three, one has a depression and one is of Ib sub-type. These types of discs are shown on Plate V.

C1c – From this square, nineteen discs were recovered among which two are of clay and seventeen are of terracotta. Out of the two clay discs, one is broken and other is intact. The intact one is of Ia sub-type and the broken clay disc is of IX type on one face and other face is of IV sub-type. Out of the seventeen terracotta discs, ten are oxidized and seven are reduced. Out of the seven reduced discs, two are intact and five are broken. Out of these seven, two are of Ib sub-type and one is of IIb sub-type and two are of Ia sub-type. Out of the ten oxidized discs, seven are of Ib sub-type, and two discs are of IIb sub-type. One disc is of XIII type. Chaff and holes are visible in every oxidized disc. These types of discs are shown on Plates I and II.

C1d – In this trench, nineteen discs were found. Out of them, six are of clay. One is reduced and twelve are oxidized. Out of the six clay discs, five are of Ib sub-type and one is slightly confusing as to whether it is a wheel or disc because the centre perforated side is thicker than the edges, making it look like a wheel. One reduced disc is of IIb and IIb (ii) sub-type. Out of the twelve oxidized discs, four are of Ib sub-type and two are of IIb and IIb (ii) sub-type. No. 1552 is important because it is of IVh and Ila (ii) sub-type. The oxidized discs are of Ia sub-type. Out of the three oxidized discs, one is confusing as its edges are rubbed, so it could possibly be a worked sherd.

C2b – From this square, six discs were found, all of which are oxidized. Out of the six, three are of Ia sub-type, and the other two have designs. One is of XIV
sub-type and other is of IIb and IIb (ii) sub-types. One also has a design but due
to the flaked off clay, it is not visible. Three discs which are of Ia sub-type, has
one which is black on one face and red on the other. It has a depressed mark on
one face.

C2c – From this square, five terracotta discs were recovered, in which four are
oxidized and one is reduced. The reduced disc is of Ia sub-type. It is depressed
on one face. The oxidized discs have some design and are plain also. Out of the
four discs two are of Ia sub-type. One is elevated in the centre and the other
one is of IV (i) sub-type. These types of discs are shown on Plate II.

D1a – From this square, twelve discs were found, out of which ten are
oxidized and two are reduced. Both reduced discs are broken, out of which one
is of Ia sub-type and the other is of Ib sub-type. Out of the ten oxidized discs,
five are broken and five are intact. Out these ten, typologically, six are of Ia
sub-type three are IIb and IIb (ii) sub-types and one is of IIb and IIb (i) sub-
types. These types of discs are shown on Plate V.

D1b – From this trench, only one disc was found which is intact and oxidized.
It is of IIb and IIb (ii) sub-types.

D2b – From this trench, five discs are found out of which one is reduced and
four are oxidized. The reduced disc is of Ia sub-type. Out of the four oxidized
discs, one is again of Ia sub-type, and is elevated in the centre. The rest of the
three have designs; two are of IIb and IIb (ii) sub-types and one is of Ib (i) sub-
type.

Most of the discs of Indor Khera differ from each other in terms of
shape and size. The discs have lengths ranging from 11.34 to 71.00 mm,
breadths ranging from 18.03 mm to 69.00 mm, widths ranging from 06.00 to
24.03 mm and weights ranging from 4.00 to 345.0 g.
PLATE I: Terracotta Discs of Period II of Indor Khera
(Photo: Courtesy Jaya Menon)
PLATE II: Terracotta Discs of Period II of Indor Khera
(Photo: Courtesy Jaya Menon)
PLATE III: Clay Discs of Period II of Indor Khera
(Photo: Courtesy Jaya Menon)
PLATE IV: Clay Discs of Period II of Indor Khera
(Photo: Courtesy Jaya Menon)
PLATE V: Terracotta Discs of Period II of Indor Khera
(Photo: Courtesy Jaya Menon)
PLATE VI: Terracotta Discs of Period II of Indor Khera
(Photo: Courtesy Jaya Menon)
PLATE VII: Terracotta Discs of Period II of Indor Khera
(Photo: Courtesy Jaya Menon)
After documenting the discs of Indor Khera and constructing a typology for them, we can now compare these discs with those from other sites in the upper Ganga plains like Sonkh and Hastinapura. This comparison will be on the basis of design and decoration.

From Sonkh, fourteen discs were recovered which have thirteen designs, belonging to the early first millennium A.D. Among these fourteen discs, two have no design. According to Hartel (1993: 210-211), each disc has a separate design like, disc with oblique incised notches, cake shaped disc with irregularly incised notches, disc with thin notches along the edges, disc with wide notches along the edges, disc with irregular notches around the circumferences, disc with flatly incised crescents along the edges, disc with deeply impressed semicircles along the edges, plain discs, disc with a circle of punched holes on both sides, disc with crudely incised tree on one face with the other face having a simple cross, disc with crudely incised floral motifs, and disc with incised floral motifs consisting of zigzag-lines and dots.

From Hastinapura, two discs were found belonging to the early first millennium A.D. According to Lal (1954-55: 88), these discs have two separate designs like "disc with row of pin holes around the edges, disc bearing a figure of tortoise on one side".

From Indor Khera, thirty five designed discs were found as mentioned above. From Sonkh fourteen discs had twelve designs on the surface and also along the edge side. But I found that only three discs had a unique design; otherwise the rest of them have crude designs. These crude designs seems to indicate that all of these made by children. According to Hartel (1993: 201) discs were used as "gaming counters". These words were also used by Lal (1954–55: 87) and also by Gaur (1983: 207). These twelve designs are very similar to the discs of Indor Khera and also Hastinapura. From Sonkh we found a disc which is unique to that site. Hartel (1993: 210) described it and gave it
No. 23. Some designs of Indor Khera discs are very similar to the Sonkh discs, like those with a design of incised lines, incised lines with cross design, incised lines with grid design, disc with ‘V’ type design, disc with ‘U’ shape design and disc with sharply impressed shallow crescents on edges. Hastinapura has two designs, out of which one with incised lines on the edges, is similar to those from Sonkh and Indor Khera. The other disc has a figure of tortoise on one side which is a design found only at Hastinapura.

➢ **Toy-carts**

Several toy-carts were found from Indor Khera but only two belonged to the early first millennium A.D. They are made of terracotta and are hand-made, especially by the pinching and pressing methods. If we were to understand the use of the toy-cart, then probably these were miniature carts made for children as play things.

From Indor Khera, toy-carts vary considerably in terms of shape and size. If we look at the toy carts of Sonkh (Hartel 1993: 204, Pl. 4) and Hastinapur (Lal 1954-55: Pl. XLVIII), no uniformity can be seen in this artifact category; they could be rectangular or square in shape. Toy-carts from all the three sites also vary in size. However, the only similarity is that every toy cart was perforated for the axle in the middle of its length.

From Indor Khera Period II, there are two toy-carts, and these have been found from squares A1c and D1a.

A1c - From this square a single a toy cart was found. It is oxidized and broken in half. In the centre, it is depressed and surrounded by a terracotta wall which has a perforation for the axle. But it is not clear the whether it is or front portion of the cart. (See the extreme right specimen in the middle row of Plate VIII).
PLATE VIII: Terracotta Toy-carts of Period II of Indor Khera
(Photo: Courtesy Jaya Menon)
Dla – Only one toy-cart was found which is oxidized but ill fired. It is broken so its shape cannot be confirmed whether it is rectangular or square. It has a perforation for the axle and also a perforation which is at one end of the cart. In the centre it is depressed and surrounded by clay raised up to make the walls. These walls are not even in shape. It is very similar in shape to the toy cart found from Sonkh (Hartel 1993: 204 Pl. 4, 9). For this specimen, see the toy-cart at the bottom in Plate VIII.

Reels

Reels are made of terracotta and are entirely hand made. These are elongated with rounded faces joined by a central pinched and constricted portion. Reels were made by hand and especially by the pinching, pressing and rolling methods. The designs on their faces were perhaps incised with the help of sharp tools. Because they are handmade, the two faces are similar to each other in terms of shape, but may differ slightly in size. The design too sometimes differs on both faces (see appendices 3 and 4). First of all regarding the raw material, clay was used for making these. Tempering materials were probably added to the clay to make it stronger. These inclusions could be ash, donkey dung, raw cotton and so forth. In the region of Kashmir, potters used raw cotton to strengthen the clay. In different regions people used different kinds of ingredients like donkey dung, ash, and chaff for tempering purposes. If we study the Sonkh and Hastinapura reports, we find that no details are given regarding clay composition. But the Indor Khera artefacts clearly and visibly show that chaff was used to strengthen the clay. This is clear from the impressions of chaff remains on the surface of several potsherds and terracotta artefacts, as in the case of reels too.
At Indor Khera, thirty reels were recovered which have fifteen types of design. On the basis of design, I have defined a typology for the reels (see Table 2) recovered at Indor Khera. The typology is as below:

**Table 2: Typology of Terracotta Reels found from Indor Khera**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Types</th>
<th>Decoration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ia</td>
<td>No design</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ib</td>
<td>No design but on one face it is conical in shape.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ic</td>
<td>No design. Both faces concave and edges are conical.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Id</td>
<td>No design. Only centre is perforated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ie</td>
<td>Centre perforation with incised lines.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>IIa</td>
<td>Design of circle starting from the same point with centre perforation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>IIb</td>
<td>Design of circle starting from the same point and has circle design but one face is bigger than the other.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>IIc</td>
<td>Both faces have circles starting from the same point and the handle portion has a <em>Swastika</em> design.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
<td>Design of concentric circles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>IIIb</td>
<td>On one face flower like design; other face has design of concentric circles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Flower like design in the circle on both faces.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>Flower design within an incised circle on both faces.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>VIa</td>
<td>Circle filled with dots on one face.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>VIb</td>
<td>Flower which is made by dots on one face.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>VIc</td>
<td>Design with dots on one face.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Below is the documentation regarding reels of different types found from different trenches:
A1d + A2c - In this trench, one reel was found, which is oxidized and broken. It is of Ia sub-type. This Reel is shown on Plate IX.

B1a - From this square also only one reel was found. It is reduced and partly broken and cylindrical in shape. Designs on both faces are of IV sub-type. This Reel is shown on the Plate XI.

B1b - From this square one reel was found. It is oxidized and broken on the edge. It is cylindrical in shape. The reel is of IIIb sub-type with both faces having a different design. This Reel is shown on Plate XII.

B1c - From this square, three reels were found out of which two are of clay and one is oxidized. One clay reel is of VIa sub-type, the other clay specimen is broken and is of Ia sub-type. The oxidized reel is straight in shape and the design on one face is of IIa sub-type. The other face is broken so we have no idea about the design. These Reels are shown on Plate X.

B1d - From this square, six reels were found. All are of terracotta out of which four are reduced and two are oxidized. Among the four reduced reels three are broken. One is intact and two reduced reels are of Ia sub-type; one broken reel has a design but it is not clear because it is broken. The two oxidized reels are intact and of Ia sub-type.

C1a - From this square, one reel was found which is oxidized and broken. It is of Ib subtype. The broken portion shows incomplete oxidation.

C1b - From this square, one terracotta and one clay reel were found. One is reduced and the other is of clay. The clay reel is of Ia sub-type and the other reel is of Ic sub-type. These Reels are shown on Plate IX.

C1c - From this square, one reel was found which is reduced, broken and slipped. It is of IV sub-type.
C1d - From this trench, two reels were found. One is oxidized and one is reduced. The oxidized reel is of Ia sub-type, as is also the reduced reel. The central portion is broken.

C2b - From this trench, one reel was found which is oxidized. It is intact and is of Ia sub-type.

C2c - From this square, four reels were found out of which three are oxidized and one is reduced. Among the three oxidized reels, two are intact and one is broken. Out of the two intact reels, one is of Ia sub-type and the other is of IIb sub-type. The broken oxidized reel is of VIc sub-type. The reduced reel is broken and is of V sub-type. This Reel is shown on Plate XIII.

D1a - From this trench, three reels were found out of which one is oxidized and two are reduced, all reels being intact. The oxidized reel is of Ia sub-type. Both reduced reels are of the same sub-type.

D1b – From this square, only one reel was found. It is oxidized but ill fired and intact. It is of IIc sub-type.

Most of the fifteen oxidized reels are incompletely oxidized. On many, ill fired patches are also visible. There is a lack of smoothness due to the materials that were added to the clay. Thus, like the discs they are coarse and very rough in appearance.

All the Indor Khera reels are different from each other in shape and size. The clay reels have lengths ranging from 11.84 mm to 20.13 mm, breadths ranging from 15.55 mm to 45.20 mm and widths ranging from 15.73 to 17.24 mm. The reduced reels have lengths ranging from 8.96 mm to 22.31 mm, breadths ranging from 16.14 mm to 40.76 mm and widths ranging from 13.61 mm to 37.39 mm while the oxidized reels have lengths ranging from 10.78 to 39.84, breadths ranging from 14.65 to 35.67 mm and widths ranging from
11.15 mm to 33.26 mm. As far as weights are concerned, clay reels have weights ranging from 20.0 g to 150.0 g., reduced reels have weights ranging from 6.0 g to 55.0 g. and oxidized reels have weights ranging from 4.0 g to 60.0 g.

After studying the Sonkh and Hastinapur reports we observe that there are thirteen types of reels at Sonkh which differ from one another largely on the basis of shape. If we see the decoration, only two designs are recognizable. One is IIa sub-type other is IIb sub-type; otherwise half of the remaining are of Ia sub-type. At Hastinapura, two reels have been found with Indor Khera design IIIa.

The decorative reels from Indor Khera have designs engraved on both the faces of the reel. One reel has a *swastika* motif on the constricted centre part too. Two or three designs are similar to reels from Sonkh and Hastinapur. Otherwise reels with designs found at Indor Khera are different from the other sites.
PLATE IX: Terracotta Reels of Period II of Indor Khera
(Photo: Courtesy Jaya Menon)
PLATE X: Terracotta Reels of Period II of Indor Khera
(Photo: Courtesy Jaya Menon)
PLATE XI: Terracotta Reels of Period II of Indor Khera
(Photo: Courtesy Jaya Menon)
PLATE XII: Terracotta Reels of Period II of Indor Khera
(Photo: Courtesy Jaya Menon)
PLATE XIII: Terracotta Reels of Period II of Indor Khera
(Photo: Courtesy Jaya Menon)
Anvils/Dabbers

According to Saraswati (1966: 76 – 79), the anvil is an important tool for terracotta production, through which shapes can be enlarged or changed. These are largely made of terracotta though stone examples have been found at archaeological sites. To define the shape and give uniformity to the walls of the pottery, the anvil is not used alone. It is used with another tool called the paddle. However, since the paddle is made of wood, this usually does not survive archaeologically.

The anvil can have different shapes, sizes, as well as designs. From Indor Khera, a large number of anvils have been found. According to Menon and Varma (2010: 1999) several were found from what have been identified as potters’ houses. Anvils/dabbers have been found from squares B1a, B1b, B1c, C1c and C1d. The basic documentation of anvils/dabbers has been undertaken by Menon and Varma (2010: 200 – 203) and has been used here:

B1a - From this square have been found ten anvils/dabbers, in which five are intact and four are broken with one being slightly chipped. All dabbers/anvils are oxidized. Two are slipped. Some anvils/dabbers show incomplete oxidation.

B1b - From this square have been found twenty anvils/dabbers. All are oxidized, but ill-fired. Out of the twenty, seven are broken and thirteen are intact. From this square, five designs on the anvils have been found like, incised *swastika* marks, incised design, inscribed set of marks, and *nandipada* design (Menon and Varma 2010: 201 – 203).

C1c - From this square only one anvil was found, which is intact and oxidized. It has no design.
Cld - From this trench, one damaged anvil/dabber was recovered. It is oxidized but ill-fired. The clay shows tiny holes all over the object. The fabric of the anvils suggests that the clay was not well levigated, and perhaps inclusions fell out or air bubbles were left in the clay at the time of making the anvil.

After studying the dabbers we find that among all the trenches, Bla, B1b, C1c and C1d, only B1b has designed anvils/dabbers. Otherwise all the rest were left plain. The designs that are incised and inscribed on anvils may have been marks left by individual potters to identify the tools that they used. It is also possible that some of the symbols may have had a religious significance.

If we compare Indor Khera dabbers with those from other sites like Sonkh and Hastinapura, we find that no dabbers were recovered from the same period of Hastinapura. From Sonkh, eleven dabbers were found which belong to the early first millennium A.D. Among these eleven, only one has a design of incised lines.

All the anvils/dabbers of Indor Khera are oxidized. The dabbers have lengths ranging from 70.1 to 151.3 mm, breadths ranging from 42.3 to 148.3 mm, widths ranging from 35.9 to 120.0 mm and weights ranging from 86.0 to 2755.0 g.

Wheels

The terracotta wheels from Indor Khera are all hand made. The wheels are generally rounded in shape with both faces similar to each other. But from the point of view of the design which is on the faces, these sometimes differ on both the faces. While the designs vary, wheels also have different size and weight ranges. From Indor Khera, terracotta wheels have lengths ranging from 6.49 to 84.0 mm, breadths ranging from 7.20 to 80.0 mm, widths ranging from 5.66 to 25.12 mm and weights ranging from 7.0 to 185.0 g (see appendices 5 and 6).
Regarding the function of the wheels, we can suggest two reasons on studying all the wheels of Indor Khera. First, they were used for moving something, and thus were perhaps used in toy carts and other toys. There is another possibility. Balances used for weighing materials are sometimes checked and given equilibrium by adding a rounded perforated object on the balance. Some of the wheel-like terracotta objects that are found at Indor Khera are rounded in shape, perforated and have no design and thus perhaps were used for this purpose. Similar rounded and perforated terracotta objects could also have been used as loom-weights, fish-net weights and so forth. Thus, many of the rounded perforated terracotta objects may just have had multiple purposes and only those with distinct hubs and spokes demarcated in some way should perhaps be considered as wheels.

Some of the wheels are perforated in the centre and some are hubbed. From the decoration point of view, I have devised a typology for wheels (see Table 3) which is as follows:-

**Table 3: Typology of Terracotta Wheels from Indor Khera**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Decoration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>No design but centre is perforated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>IIa</td>
<td>No design; hubbed on one face.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>IIb</td>
<td>No design; hubbed on both faces.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>Hubbed with radiating spokes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>IVa</td>
<td>Without hubs: triangular design on edge of one face.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>IVb</td>
<td>Without hubs: centre perforated with dot design on edge of one face.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>IVc</td>
<td>Without hubs; centre perforated with incised lines on edge of one face.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A total of seven designs have been recorded from Indor Khera. On the basis of this typology we can easily document the wheels square by square. These are given below:
A1c + A1d - From this square, only one wheel was found which is oxidized and intact. Chaff is visible on the whole wheel. It is of I sub-type. This Wheel is shown on Plate XIV.

A1d + A2c - From this square, only one wheel was found which is oxidized and broken. It is of IIa sub-type. This Wheel is shown on Plate XV.

B1A - From this trench, two wheels were found. Both are broken and oxidized and are of I sub-type. These Wheels are shown on Plate XVI.

B1b - From this trench, seven wheels were found. Two are of clay. Five are oxidized. Among the two clay wheels, one is of IIa sub-type and other is of I sub type. Both are broken. Among the five oxidized wheels one is intact and four are broken. Three wheels are of IIb sub-type and two are of I sub type. Among the three wheels of IIb sub-type, one is also of III sub-type. These Wheels are shown on the Plate XV, XX, XXI.

B1c - From this square, five wheels were found. Among these one is of clay, one is reduced and the rest are oxidized. The clay wheel is of I sub-type, as is also the reduced wheel. Among the three oxidized wheels, one is of I sub-type and two are of IIb sub-type. These Wheels are shown on Plate X and XXIII.

B1d - From this trench, thirteen wheels were found. Among these, one is of clay, three are reduced and the rest are oxidized. The clay wheel is intact and is of IIa sub-type. Out of the two reduced wheels, one is intact and the other two are broken. The intact one is I sub-type and the two broken ones are Ia of sub-type. The rest of the eight are oxidized wheels, out of which, seven are intact and one is broken. Three are of IIb sub-type and five are of I sub-type. These Wheels are shown on Plate XX, XXI and XXIV.

B1a- B1d Baulk - From this square only one wheel was found which is oxidized and intact also. It is of I sub-type.
C1b - From this square, two wheels were found out of which one is oxidized and the other is of clay. The clay one is intact and is of IIb sub-type. The oxidized wheel is broken and is of IIb sub-type.

C1c - From this square, five wheels were found out of which two are reduced and three are oxidized. The reduced wheels are both broken and are of I sub-type. Among the oxidized specimens, one wheel is broken, two are intact. Two are of I type and one is IIb sub-type.

C1d - From this square, four wheels were found in which two are oxidized and two are reduced. All the wheels are broken and are of IIb sub-type.

C2a - From this square, only one wheel which is oxidized and broken was found. It is of IV a sub-type. This Wheel is shown on plate XXII.

C2b - From this square, seven wheels were found, in which four wheels are of clay. Two are reduced and one is oxidized. Among the clay wheels, three are broken and one is intact. Two clay wheels are of I sub-type and two are of IIb sub type. The reduced wheel is of I sub-type. The oxidized wheel is broken and is of I sub-type.

C2c - From this square, four wheels were found, all of which are oxidized. Three are broken and one is intact. All are of I sub-type.

D1a - Seven wheels from this square were found, one is of clay, one is reduced and five are oxidized. The clay wheel is broken and is of IIb sub-type. The reduced wheel is intact and is of I sub-type. All oxidized wheels are broken and are of I sub-type.

D1b - From this square, six wheels in which one is of clay and five are oxidized were found. The clay wheel is broken and is of I sub-type. Among the five oxidized wheels, four are of I sub-type and one is of IVb sub-type. These wheels are shown on the plate XIX and XXII.
D1d - From this square, two wheels were found, in which one is reduced and the other is oxidized. The reduced one is of I sub-type, the oxidized one is broken and is of IVc sub-type. These wheels are shown on the plate XVIII and XIX.

After devising this typology and classifying the wheels from Indor Khera, we can compare these wheels with those from other upper Ganga Valley sites like Sonkh and Hastinapura. The comparison would be on the basis of designs and decorations.

From Sonkh twelve wheels, belonging to the early first millennium A.D., were found. Among the twelve wheels, six are hubbed and the rest have perforated centres. From Sonkh three designs, like radiating incised lines, half circular design and dot design around the hubs, are found. Otherwise, the rest are plain (Hartel 1993: 206). From Hastinapura six wheels were found which are different from each other. Seeing the way the designs were made on the wheels, it seems that moulds may have been used which had designs such as "star shape design, impressed design of a lotus, impressed design" (Lal 1954-55: 88). The rest have hand-made designs like incised lines and one is plain.

In contrast, no molded designs have been found on the wheels from Indor Khera and Sonkh, which are all hand-made.
PLATE XIV: Terracotta Wheels of Period II of Indor Khera
(Photo: Courtesy Jaya Menon)
PLATE XV: Terracotta Wheels of Period II of Indor Khera
(Photo: Courtesy Jaya Menon)
PLATE XVI: Terracotta Wheels of Period II of Indor Khera
(Photo: Courtesy Jaya Menon)
PLATE XVII: Terracotta Wheels of Period II of Indor Khera
(Photo: Courtesy Jaya Menon)
PLATE XVIII: Terracotta Wheels of Period II of Indor Khera
(Photo: Courtesy Jaya Menon)
PLATE XIX: Terracotta Wheels of Period II of Indor Khera
(Photo: Courtesy Jaya Menon)
PLATE XX: Terracotta Wheels of Period II of Indor Khera
(Photo: Courtesy Jaya Menon)
PLATE XXI: Terracotta Wheels of Period II of Indor Khera
(Photo: Courtesy Jaya Menon)
PLATE XXII: Terracotta Wheels of Period II of Indor Khera
(Photo: Courtesy Jaya Menon)
PLATE XXIII: Terracotta Wheels of Period II of Indor Khera
(Photo: Courtesy Jaya Menon)
PLATE XXIV: Terracotta Wheels of Period II of Indor Khera
(Photo: Courtesy Jaya Menon)
Pottery Stamps

From Indor-Khera, pottery stamps of terracotta were also found which indicates that pottery was produced and decorated here. Pottery stamps are used for decorating pottery, a technique of decoration that was practiced largely in the early centuries A.D. These pottery stamps have different designs on different types of surfaces like rounded, square and semi-curved, and are all hand-made (see appendix 7). The typology that I have devised for these stamps (Table 4) is based on shape and decoration:

Table 4: Typology of Terracotta Pottery Stamps from Indor Khera

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Decoration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ia</td>
<td>Conical shape with nandipad design on a circular face.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ib</td>
<td>Star shaped design</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ic</td>
<td>Flower-like design</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Id</td>
<td>Sunflower-like design on one surface.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ie</td>
<td>On one face ‘om’ like design is engraved.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>If</td>
<td>On the triangular face it has a rounded design with curved lines.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Ig</td>
<td>A haphazard design.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Conical shaped object with swastika engraved on a square surface.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
<td>Elongated shape with one face having flower-like design and the other having leaf-like design.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>IIIb</td>
<td>On one face star-shape like flower and other face has two dots and between the two dots, semi-circular lines are engraved.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**B1b** - From this square, five pottery stamps were found, all of which are oxidized but ill-fired. All are different in design. One is of Ia sub-type. The second is of lb sub-type, third is of lg type, fourth is of lc type, fifth is of II sub-type. These are on the fig. ii and iii.

**B1c**- From this square, only one pottery stamp which is oxidized was found. It is of IIIa sub-type. These are on the fig. iii.

**B1b**- From this square, only one pottery stamp which is oxidized was found. It is of IIIb sub-type. These are on the fig. iii.

**C1b**- From this square, only one pottery stamp which is oxidized was found. It is of ld sub-type. These are on the fig. ii.

**C1d** - From this square, two pottery stamps which are oxidized were found. One is of le type and the other one is of If type. From Sonkh and Hastinapura, there is no evidence of pottery stamp from the early first millennium A.D. These are on the fig. iii.
Figure II: Designs of Terracotta Pottery Stamps of Period II of Indor Khera
Figure III: Designs of Terracotta Pottery Stamps of Period II of Indor Khera
Marbles

From Indor Khera, marbles have been found. These are made of terracotta and are hand-made. Among the marbles, some are sun-dried and some are oxidized but ill fired. They are rounded in shape. The probable function of marbles is that these were used for playing. However, on studying the marbles, we find that these vary in size and weight. In weight these range from 2.0 – 14.0 g, their lengths range from 6.49 – 25.33 mm, and breadths from 6.29 – 23.60 mm.

Seeing these size ranges, two or three ideas about the marbles can be made –

- First, the very small ones were probably used for appliqué decoration.
- Bigger marbles were probably used for just as in the present with glass marbles (kancha).
- No marbles were found or at least reported from Sonkh and Hastinapura.

Pendants

One pendant was found from Indor Khera. It is made of terracotta and is hand-made. Pendants are ornaments which are worn by all, male, female and children. From Sonkh (Hartel 1993: Pl.13) pendant No. 5, 6, 7, 8 belong to Period V, or the early first millennium A.D. Among these there is no similarity. There are three types of design, long truncated cone, irregular long cone, standard cone. At Hastinapura, Lal (1954-55: Pl. LXI) one pendant was found which is conical in shape.

From Indor Khera, one pendant was found. This is mentioned below:

B1a – From this square only one pendant was found which is oxidized and intact. It is square in shape. Perforations are on both sides. On one face it has no design, on the other side some haphazard lines are engraved.
If we see both the Sonkh and Hastinapura pendants, there is some similarity between them. But the shape and design of the Indor Khera pendant is quite different from the other two sites.

➢ **Buttons**

Terracotta hand-made buttons are found at Indor Khera. Possibly these were used as flat rounded pieces to make appliquéd designs on artifacts. Two buttons were found belonging to Period II (early first millennium A.D). From Sonkh and Hastinapura no buttons were reported.

➢ **Tops**

Top shaped objects were recovered from Indor Khera, three of which belong to the early first millennium A.D. These are entirely hand-made using the pinching and pressing methods. Tops were probably made mainly for playing purpose. These have been found neither at Sonkh nor Hastinapura.

Among the three tops from Indor Khera two are decorated. One of these is chipped off so the design has disappeared but the other one has a clear indication of design. Top shaped objects were recovered from the following squares:

B1d – From this square, only one top was found, which is oxidized. Because it is chipped the design cannot be seen.

C1a – From this square, only one top was found. It is intact and oxidized. It is well made as the conical portion is smoother.

D1a – From this square only one top was found. It is intact and oxidized. Around the elevated portion it has a dot design.
PLATE XXV: Terracotta Tops of Period II of Indor Khera
(Photo: Courtesy Jaya Menon)
➤ **Shuttle**

Objects which appear to be shuttles have been found from Indor Khera. Shuttles are used in weaving.

C1c – From this square two shuttles were found out of which one is oxidized and the other is reduced. These are hand-made. The reduced one is oval in shape and broken in half. A groove for the thread can be seen along the length of the shuttle. The oxidized shuttle is intact, and rectangular in shape. It has a perforation in the centre and on one side it has straight lines.

➤ **Gamesman**

These are conical shaped terracotta objects and were probably used for playing. From Indor Khera, several gamesmen were found, but only one belongs to the early first millennium A.D. These objects were not found from either Sonkh or Hastinapura.

C1c – From this square, five gamesmen were found out of which two are oxidized and three are reduced. Out of the two oxidized gamesmen, one is intact and the other is broken. Out of the reduced gamesmen, one is intact and the other two are broken.

➤ **Miniature Vessels**

Several miniature vessels were found from Indor Khera, all made of terracotta. These differ in size and shape from each other, but there are a few of particular types. On the basis of shape, the following typology (see Table 5) can be noted:
Table 5: Typology of Terracotta Miniature Vessels from Indor Khera

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Shape</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ia</td>
<td>Rounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ib</td>
<td>Rounded but in <em>matka</em> shape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ic</td>
<td>Rounded with long neck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Id</td>
<td>Rounded of vase type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>IIa</td>
<td>Conical bottle type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>IIb</td>
<td>Conical with uneven base</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>Bowl type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Star-shaped walled vessel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>Cylindrical shape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Elongated vessel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**B1a** - From this square, four miniature vessels were found, out of which one is reduced and three are oxidized. Three are of Ia sub-type and one is of Ib sub-type.

**B1b** - From this square, three vessels were found, out of which one is of clay and the other two are oxidized. One is of Ia sub-type and the other is Iic sub-type, and the third is of Ib sub-type.

**B1b + B1a** - From this square, eight vessels were found. Three are of clay, two are reduced, and three are oxidized. Among the clay vessels, two are of Ia sub-type and one is of Ic sub-type. Two reduced vessels are of Ib sub-type. Out of the oxidized vessels, two are of Ia sub-type and one is of IIa sub-type.

**B1b + B2c** - From this square only one vessel was found. It is oxidized and is of Ia sub-type.
Blc - From this square, six vessels were found, out of which one is reduced and the other five are oxidized. All vessels are of Ia sub-type.

Bl d - From this square seven vessels were found, out of which two are of clay, one is reduced and four are oxidized. Among the clay vessels one is of IIb sub-type and the other is of Ia sub-type. The reduced one is a part of a vessel. Among the oxidized vessels two are of Ia sub-type and one is of III sub-type.

Cl a - From this square, six vessels were found, out of which three are of clay, two are reduced and one is oxidized. Among the clay ones, two are of Ia sub-type one is of IV sub-type and two reduced vessels are of Ia sub-type. The oxidized vessel is of Ia sub-type.

Cl b - From this square, one oxidized vessel was found which is of Ia sub-type. Another specimen is reduced and is of V sub-type.

Clc - From this square sixteen vessels were found, out of these two are clay, and two are reduced. Among the twelve oxidized vessels, ten are of Ia sub-type, one is of IV sub-type and one is of V sub-type. Both clay and reduced vessels are of Ia sub-type.

Cld - From this square, twelve vessels were found. One is of clay, two are reduced, and nine are oxidized. All these vessels are of Ia sub-type except for one oxidized one, which is of VI sub-type.

No miniature vessels were reported for the early first millennium A.D. from either Sonkh or Hastinapura.

➢ Worked sherds

From Indor Khera several worked sherds have been found (see appendices 8 and 9). These were earlier called potsherd discs or hopscotches. These are made of broken potsherds which were sometimes ground or cut into
Conical objects

These are made of terracotta and were deliberately hand made, by the pinching and pressing methods. These objects are conical in shape and were possibly used as playthings. From Indor Khera, conical objects were found. These are given below:

**C1b + C1c** – From this square, only one conical object was found, which is oxidized and ill-fired. It is also broken on the top portion.

**C1c** – From this square, three conical objects were found. All are oxidized and ill-fired. These are broken and conical in shape.

**C2c** – From this square, only one conical object was found. It is reduced and conical in shape.

**D1b** – From, this square only one object was found, which is oxidized. It is intact and the top portion is flattened.

**D2c** – From this square, only one conical object was found. It is intact and tiny in size.

From Sonkh and Hastinapura conical objects were not reported.

Unidentified objects

These are made of terracotta and differ in shape and size. Among them, some are oxidized but ill-fired, while some are of clay, and some are reduced. These unidentified objects have different shapes like conical, cylindrical, conical with rounded body, zigzag, rounded and oval, perforated object, objects where one face is concave and other is convex, rectangular, bioconical, triangular, conical object with perforations and lid type object rounded with perforations were found (see appendices 10 and 11). The function of these
objects could not be decided accurately because their shapes are uneven. But some objects like those with conical shape, cylindrical object and rounded object were possibly used for playing with. These objects are found from the squares B1a, B1c, B1c – B1d (Baulk) B1d, B2c, B4b, C1c, C1c + C1b, C2b, C2c, A1c, A1d, A1c + A1d, A1d + A2c, A1c + A1d + A2c. Certain other objects like the lid type were used in daily life and thus can possibly be identified.

Thus, one can say by studying these terracotta artifacts, including discs, reels, wheels, marbles, conical objects, pendants, gamesman, pottery stamps, miniature vessels, worked sherds and numerous unidentified objects, that they were used in daily life. Artifacts that reflect pottery and terracotta production, such as anvils/dabbers, pottery stamps and worked sherds have been found in large numbers from Indor Khera, particularly from the area of the northwest that was excavated. Numerous clay specimens among these artifact categories also indicate production. The quantity of artifacts excavated also appears to indicate that these artifacts were probably being mainly produced but not necessarily consumed here.