Chapter 7
Discussion and Conclusions
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Chapter introduction

In this last chapter, a concluding discussion about the diversity of the Harappan Civilization, based on the various discussions of Harappan seals in this dissertation, will be given. This study leads to an important conclusion - Namely that the Ghaggar Basin was a crucial region of this Civilization and had a specific feature as part of the diversity of the Harappan Civilization.

1. Regional variation or diversity of the Harappan seals

The Harappan seals can be divided into two types based on their design, namely Type A seal and Type B seal. Specific features of both types are as follows;

**Type A seal**: the Harappan seal is characterized by a left-facing animal motif, arrangement Pattern I and type I boss,

**Type B seal**: the Harappan seal is characterized by a right-facing animal motif, arrangement Pattern II or III and type II boss mainly.

As far as distribution pattern is concerned, although some Type B seals are reported from other regions such as Sindh (e.g. Mohenjodaro), Punjab (e.g. Harappa) and Gujarat (e.g. Dholavira), etc., it is clear from the analysis in Chapter 5 that Type B seals are concentrated mainly in the Ghaggar Basin. On the other hand, Type A seals are preferential in other regions, excluding the Ghaggar Basin.

As the analyses through SEM and 3D images in Chapter 6 describe, the sections of the animal’s body have a different shape in each seal type, namely Type A seals have a concave section, while on the other hand, Type B seals have a squarish section (some seals have a concave-squarish section). In connection with this point, it can be
mentioned that both section types of the animal’s body in both seal types are a result of the different manufacture techniques and tools.

It can be seen from specific distribution patterns and different manufacture techniques of both seal types, that Type B seals which are reported from Sindh, Punjab and Gujarat, etc. ranged from the Ghaggar basin to those regions, on the other hand, Type A seals which are reported from the Ghaggar basin are reported from Sindh (Mohenjodaro) and Punjab (Harappa).

The results of this study lead to an important conclusion- that the Harappan seals having a right-facing animal, namely Type B seals, are very likely to show the regional variation or diversity of Harappan seals.

2. Diversity of Harappan Civilization

In this dissertation, the Harappan seals in a full sense to understand a part of diversity of the Harappan Civilization, especially in the Ghaggar Basin, are discussed.

Type B seals, which are concentrated in the Ghaggar Basin, reflect the regional variation or diversity of the material culture of the Harappan Civilization, as well as regional differences in the ceramic assemblages of the Harappan sites like Farmana in the Ghaggar Basin (such as continuity of the Sothi-Siswal ceramic tradition even in the Harappan phase along with the Harappan pottery) (Figure 7.1).

In the centre of the Harappan Civilization, namely the Sindh region, the classical Harappan material culture is mainly found. Examples of the ceramic assemblage likewise comprise mainly of Harappan pottery. This situation of the material culture is different from that of the Ghaggar Basin. In connection with this study, the difference in the Harappan seals is recognized as one of the representative artifacts of the Harappan culture.

According to the special functions and significance of the Harappan seals, it can be pointed out that the Harappan seal is the most important indicator of socio-
Figure 7.1: Conceptual image about the diversity of Harappan Civilization
economical aspect of the Harappan Civilization. For this reason, as a main concluding remark of the present study, it is emphasized that this regional variation or diversity of the Harappan seals reflects a part of diversity of Harappan Civilization, especially in the Ghaggar Basin.

As is indicated by the conclusion in this study, it is most likely that the structure of the Harappan Civilization involves social/cultural diversity.

The next subject to be discussed from an archaeological perspective is the meaning of diversity of Harappan Civilization. To understand the meaning of diversity of Harappan Civilization, we have to take a synthetic archaeological study on the material culture in this Civilization.

**Concluding remarks**

Because of this research, the following aspects have been understood:

1) Various aspects of the seals in the Pre-/Early Harappan period (Chapter 3),
2) Size categorization of the Harappan seals (Chapter 4),
3) Design of the Harappan seals (Chapter 5),
4) Manufacture techniques of the seals in the Pre-/Early Harappan period and Harappan seals (Chapter 6),
5) Regional variation or diversity of the Harappan seals (Chapters 5 and 6),
6) Diversity of the Harappan Civilization in the Ghaggar Basin with special reference to the Harappan seals (Chapter 7).

**Future directions**

There are four future directions of research from the present study, which are listed as follows:

1) To take a synthetic study of the Harappan seals, that is based on an actual observation of all seals, to reappraise the results of this study,
2) To discuss the typological changes of the Harappan seals, based on the seals found in the relevant archaeological context, from new and future excavations,

3) To accumulate the SEM and 3D data of the Harappan seals for understanding the manufacture techniques of them in a full sense,

4) To undertake a study of the Harappan seals, based on an experimental archaeological study, to understand and reconstruct the manufacture techniques of them in a full sense,

5) To undertake a geological provenance study to understand the provenance of steatite for making Type A seals and Type B seals respectively,

6) To undertake a synthetic study of the material culture of the Harappan Civilization to understand the meaning of ‘socio/cultural diversity’ of this Civilization.