

## **A Study of Confiscated Ceramics from Balochistan: The Collection of Islamabad Museum**

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### **Abstract**

*Ancient ceramics with attractive features of art have always fascinated the world and created a demand with a higher level of attraction for the artifacts. This has led the treasure hunters actively involved in looting the sites all around Balochistan. In the recent years, this phenomenon has increased at an alarming rate which endangered is harming to the archeology of Balochistan. Many consignments have been confiscated in the decade that include the artefacts from Balochistan. One of such consignments was confiscated in 2005 which includes the pottery of Naal and Kulli, a Bronze Age phase, from Balochistan. This research paper focuses on these artifacts have certainly lost their context, but they are still important as they give numerous clues about the ancient inhabitants of Balochistan. In order to understand these hidden clues, the authors have analyzed the artifacts through observations and comparisons. While doing so, we have been able to trace their tentative position in chronological profile of Balochistan. Apart from the descriptive study of pottery, the paper also deals shortly with treasure hunting and illicit trafficking of archaeological materials of Balochistan.*

**Keywords:** Balochistan, Archaeology, Naal and Kulli Cultures, Ceramics, Confiscated Materials

### **1. Introduction**

Archaeological significance of Balochistan province of Pakistan, is marked by this discovery of sites revealing the origin and development leading to maturity as Indus valley Civilization. The credit for discovering its antiquity goes to contributed scholars, who achieved this in over a century survey, excavation or both combined, in different part of Balochistan. Their efforts have resulted in the discovery of about seven hundred ancient sites of different periods which now portrays a presentable picture of the area. As we are dealing with the confiscated materials of Naal and Kulli, they have also found these wares too (Mockler 1877, Stein 1929, 1931, Hargreaves 1929, Ross 1946, Fairservis 1956, 1959, 1971, de Cardi 1959 1965, 1983, Field 1959, Dales 1962, 1966, 1974, 1979, Dales and Lippo 1992, Raikes 1968, Casal 1966, Mughal 1972, 1974, Besenval and Sanlaville 1990,

Besenal 1992, 2005, Jarrige et al. 1995, Jarrige et al. 2013, Franke 1997, Franke-Vogt 1999, 2008 2016). In 2005, a consignment of illegal archeological materials was confiscated from Islamabad Airport in Islamabad, Pakistan by the Custom Authority authorities of Pakistan. This consignment interestingly possessed about 18 pottery pieces which can be claimed from Bronze Age Balochistan i.e., Naal and Kulli wares which were probably dug out from a few sites. They were handed over to Department of Archaeology and Museums (hereafter: DOaM). Now, these objects are in Islamabad Museum, some placed for exhibition also connivingly, this has not been the first time noted treasure hunting and illegal trafficking. Their activities have long destroyed hundreds of sites and the contexts of the artefacts. There is no doubt that hundreds of objects are in different countries in private collections or displayed. It is because the international laws are not well defined or in devolved countries favor. This has led to encouragement of antique mafia in Pakistan in their activities who have most probably succeeded in deporting several consignments out of the country and some have been confiscated too. Although written legislation exists about controlling them, yet not fully implemented (Antiquity Act 1975, KPK Act 2016.)

Naal and Kulli pottery types are different with their own identities. Naal (Jarrige et al. 2011: 13-4) and Kulli (McIntosh 2008: 163) wares have mainly been documented in southern Balochistan (Naal: c. 3100-2700 BCE) (Cortesi 2015: 165) (Kulli: c. 2600-1900 BCE) (Jarrige et al. 2011).

## **2. An Account on Treasure Hunting and illegal trafficking of artefacts in Balochistan**

There is no District where the mounds/sites have not been vandalized for treasures. The literature is full of such references; in other words, there is almost no research book or article on ancient Balochistan which does not mention treasure hunting. To mention a few, Mockler (1877), Hargreaves (1929), Stein (1929; 1931), Fairservis (1956; 1959; 1971), Raikes (1968), Besenal and Sanlaville (1990), Franke (1999; 2014; Franke et al. 2000), etc. mention in one way or the other about treasure hunting activities all over Balochistan. One of the major reasons are that the even major sites are not guarded let alone the other ones in Balochistan (Bukhari and Elahi 2015: 1). However, the sites near the main city of Balochistan are under the observation which has recently been actively working on the heritage.

However, in addition, the inhabitants of Balochistan regard the ancient sites as treasures. According to Matheson (1967: 148) during her survey in northeastern Balochistan, “any prehistoric site yielding signs of human occupation were looked upon as a potential treasure trove”. Same is the case in Panjgur, Washuk, and Khuzdar Districts of Balochistan. While surveying Panjgur and Washuk districts, the co-author was always first thought of a treasure hunter. Sometimes even told the real purpose but they did not believe since they have not seen or heard anything like it in these regions. The treasure hunters now-a-days always used modern equipment to search treasure. They have myths too. Sometimes they accompany *Mullas* (a religious figure) who is thought to control the ghosts who the treasure has been entrusted to. The dealers who are powerful cannot be controlled, they think, different consignments have been confiscated in the two decades with the artefacts of Balochistan (Bukhari and Elahi 2015: 1). There are many internet sites which are bidding the artifacts of Balochistan openly in the market (i.e. [www.ebay.com](http://www.ebay.com); [www.picclick.com](http://www.picclick.com); etc.). In most of the developed countries, open bidding of ancient artifacts is a common phenomenon too. According to Franke (2015: 8), Balochistan has many artifacts beneath the ground but sadly most of them have already been lost.

### *Naal Ceramics*

They are either very fine, fine, or medium to coarse fabric. They are either wheel-thrown or coil made. The common shapes are necked globular jars, carinated beakers, globular pots, biconical pots, etc. (Cortesi 2015:). They are decorated with geometric, zoomorphic and plant patterns. These are arranged in different registers or panels (Uesugi 2017: 141-42), and in different combinations (Cortesi 2015: 169). There is basically the repetition of a motif by multiplying its outline, often in concentric fashion. Red, blue, or yellow pigment is often applied to the spaces between out lines. In terms of paintings, there are three types: monochrome, polychrome (Hideaki et al. 2009: 79), and bichrome (Cortesi 2015: 168; see also Possehl 1999: 582).

### *Kulli Ceramics*

The beginnings of Kulli ware are problematic; it has been claimed that the ceramics of Nausharo Period ID are the prototypes of Kulli ware because of their designs and dating back to c.2700-2600 BCE (Uesugi 2017: 192). To add more, the ceramics of Kulli have been classified from the excavations

at Nindowari as Kulli A (from Period II) and Kulli B (from Period III) (Jarrige et al. 2011: 186). The ceramics are made on wheel and turntable. However, only a small number seems to be produced completely from the wheel throughout (Hideaki et al. 2013: 95). The shapes are bowls, cylindrical vessels, flared wall jars, carinated pots, globular jars, plates, dish-on-stand, vases, etc. (Jarrige et al. 2011: 225-61, 264-73). Buff and black ware are common (McCown 1946: 288) and they are fine (Hideaki et al. 2013: 95). It is rich in iconographic representations with other symbols and signs combined. The designs include geometrics (i.e. straight and wavy lines, rows of checkered triangles, festoons, etc.), zoomorphic (i.e. rows of humped bulls, rows of small caprids, and felines are frequently appear with sigmas, combs, and circle motifs) and naturalistic (i.e. plants) (Jarrige et al. 2011: 95, 97-8, 186). It is well fired (Hussain 2019: 237). It has been found in domestic and burial contexts (Uesugi 2017: 231).

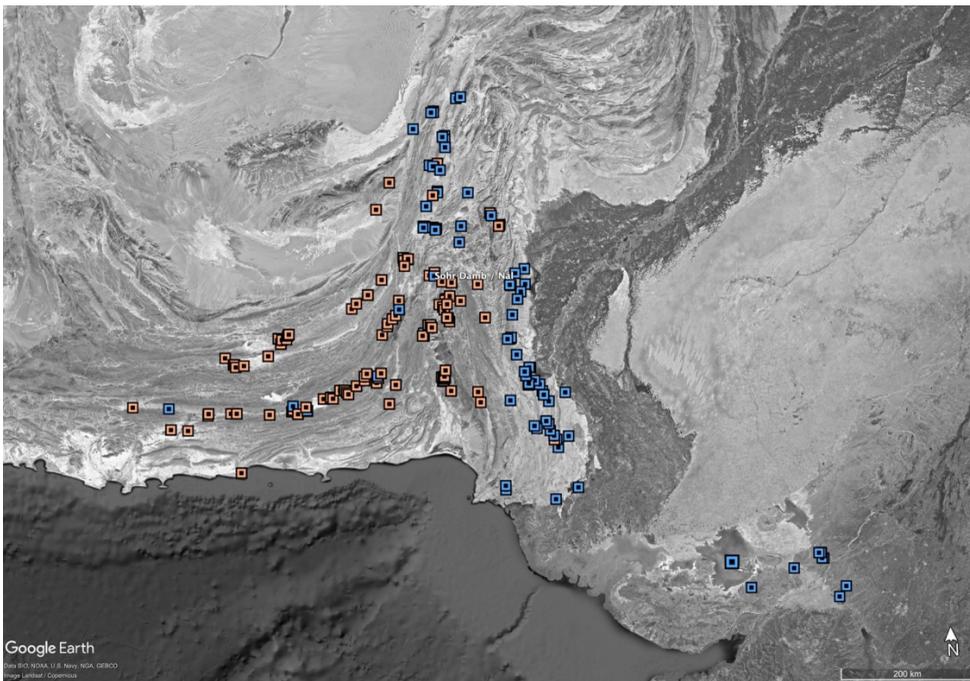


Fig. 1 - Map of Amri-Naal [blue] and Kulli [orange]  
(Locations marked by Randall Law, developed by M. Hakal).

### **3. Description of the Confiscated Collection**

There are eighteen pottery artefacts from the confiscated materials of International Airport Islamabad in 2005. Some of the confiscated ceramics have been displayed in Islamabad Museum and the rest of the ceramics kept in the storage room of DOAM. After their analysis and proper study, it is proved that they belong to Naal and Kulli culture of Balochistan which are described above.

The number of Naal ceramics is twelve under study of different kinds and decorations. The Naal ceramics are either very fine or fine and well fired. They have similar fabric and pottery forms as discussed above. All the ceramics are decorated. They have geometric, animal and plant motifs, sometimes in friezes, similar to those documented in the earlier records. They are arranged in panels. They are monochrome, bichrome and polychrome with use of colors like black, brown, red, blue, yellow and white on the background for the clearer and more effects of the paintings. Furthermore, their making techniques as observed is most likely wheel and turntable made. The shapes also clearly resemble those of Naal wares in the records. They are certainly unmatched in South Asia. Their careful making and finishing with thoroughly drawing the paintings may have taken them some time. It is likely that they had specialists in the field of pottery making and their paintings. They can be called the experts of their time. They have diverse and unique aesthetic sense. The ceramics of this culture are a delight to look. They certainly give the museum collection an extra edge since they stand out from other artifacts (see Catalogue 1-11).

The Kulli type ceramics have uniqueness in its own type. They are five. In terms of fabric, it is more like the Kulli ceramics i.e., mostly buff. They are fine most probably made with wheel and turntable. All of them are painted in black. The painted motifs are wide eyed bulls often tethered in combination with geometric motifs, different plants, sigmas, circles, etc. always organized in panels. All the shapes present here resemble the Kulli shapes. Black color is dominantly used for decorations; however, in one case red is used as a filling color. They are crowded. The craftsmanship is commendable which is likely that of professionals in the field. There is no doubt of their exceptional quality. The execution of paintings may have taken caution and a long time since they are crowded. The bull, which frequently appears on the catalogued Kulli pottery, may be associated with their belief or it may be treated important for some uncertain reasons (see Catalogue 13-17).

### *A General Comparison of the Naal and Kulli Ceramics*

Naal and Kulli cultures have more or less similar distribution areas but at different times i.e. Naal (c.3100-2700 BCE) and Kulli (c.2600-1900 BCE) (Uesugi 2017: 5). There is no rule regarding specific painting motifs and their execution on specific pottery shapes. It looks the ancient people of Naal culture did apply these openly on different shapes with no rules in mind. Both the wares carefully drew the drawings using different colors in panels using monochrome and bichrome; nevertheless, Naal culture has beautiful polychrome too. Naal is more unique and diverse in terms of designs. They draw geometric, naturalistic, and zoomorphic designs in differently and in different combinations. However, Naal culture used more beautiful colors than Kulli culture. They always have different shapes and fabric. The ceramics of these culture are well fired.

#### **4. Discussion: A Comparative Study**

Among the eighteen example, Naal and Kulli pottery is distinguishable. For instance (Fig. 1) shows similar features with intersecting circles in one row. However, this example is monochrome comparable to several other examples (Cortesi 2015: cat. 500; Uesugi 2012: fig. 80). The pottery with similar shapes and designs of Naal Culture have also been reported from various sites (Marshal 1904-5: fig. XXXIII; Hargreaves 1929: pl. XVI, No. 7; Shudai et al. 2010: figs. 3-2, 3-3, 3-4, 3-6; Cortesi 2015: cats. 500-501, 504-505, 5015; Uesugi 2017: figs. 7-164). Moreover, there are three similar examples we noticed in previous studies with two rows of intersecting circles, but in design the rows of circles are organized with a bit of distance in other reported evidence (Uesugi 2017: Figs. 129-131). Such interesting circles are typically found on various shapes of pots, marking its relation to Naal culture, however, often found in one row (Marshal 1904-5: fig. XXXIV; Hargreaves 1929: pl. XVIII, no. 15, pl. XVII, No. 39; Stein 1931: fig. XXXIII, Na. 6; Raikes 1968: fig. 10; Uesugi 2017: figs. 30-31, 33, 132; 2012: fig. 87; Shudai et al. 2010: figs. 5-47, 21-3). The antiquity of this period can be dated to between 3100-2700 BCE.

There are shapes which to some extent resembles (Hargreaves 1929: Plate XVI, No. 6; Franke 2015: Cat. 209) the evidence of Kechi Beg culture (Fig. 2). In this culture we have evidences of almost the same types of

bichrome ceramics, but with slightly different decorations. However, the matching decorations are only panels with checkerboard decorations but not hatched rather filled (Franke 2015: cat. 207, 226). See Cat. 2 for shape comparisons. There are hatched triangles on similar pottery (Franke 2015: cat. 245) and multiple squares in differently arranged on other ceramics of Naal culture (Cortesi 2015: cats. 366, 398-399, 448, 450-451). Moreover, there is no comparative pottery with these decorations.

There is one pottery with the similar shape but different decorations (Franke 2015: cat. 208). There are no exact shapes but there are ones which can to some extent match this shape (Hargreaves 1929: pl. XVI, no. 20; Franke 2015: cat. 208). Rows of horizontal hatched diamonds and standing hatched hourglasses do occur but they are somewhat differently organized (Shudai et al. 2010: fig. 5-33).

Hatched pipal leaves are also prevalent in Naal ware as attested by several scholars (Stein 1931: pl. XXVI, no. Nun. 18, II, Nno. Kar.b.4, Chakrabarti 2014: Ffig. 15b). There are examples on different shapes the hatched pipal leaves are very close to each other in a row (Uesugi 2017: figs. 17-23, 100-106; Cortesi 2015: cat. 543).

This type is recorded in by Cortesi (2015: cat. 354b). This shape is common in Naal culture; however, sometimes they have slightly outward walls (Hargreaves 1929: plate XVI, No. 6; Uesugi 2017: figs. 1, 4-6, 8-10, 14-15, 17-18, 20, 36-41, 43-48, 50, 54, 57-60, 63, 66-68; 2012: figs. 1-40; Shudai et al. 2010: figs. 5-1 to 5-27; Cortesi 2015: cats. 354b-460). Such decorations are recorded on a different shape (Hargreaves 1929: pl. XVIII, No.11; Chakrabarti 2014: fig. 15f). The same shape with the same motifs is recorded recently (Cortesi 2015: cat. 447). This form has been found commonly (Hargreaves 1929: pl. XVI, No. 6). Hargreaves (1929: pl. XVIII, No. 8). The decorations are also found on another form (Franke 2015: cat. 560a).

It is one of the most frequently found shapes in Naal culture; nonetheless, slight differences may occur in them too (Marshall 1904-5: fig. XXXIV; Hargreaves 1929: pl. XVI, No. 5; Shudai et al. 2010: figs. 2-1, 2-2, 2-3, 2-4; Cortesi 2015: cats. 583-608; Uesugi 2017: figs. 165-181). The almost same body decorations exist on a different form of pots (Uesugi 2017: pl. 1, 3-5, 8-10; Chakrabarti 2014: fig. 15a; Uesugi 2017: figs. 81-83; 2012: fig. 79). The single frieze of fish can be seen on different forms of Naal ware (Hargreaves 1929: pl. XX; Raikes 1968: fig. 10; Uesugi 2017: fig. 71-88; Cortesi 2015: cats. 369, 506-510). However, there is one example of the same shape but with two rows of fish on the body and the

upper part with a different decoration (Uesugi 2017: fig. 165). See Cat 8. for shape comparisons. Moreover, single intersecting circles are common in Naal wares (Hargreaves 1929: pl. XVII, no. 39). There is a multiple or double intersecting circles but differently arranged (Chakrabarti 2014: fig. 17d; Uesugi 2017: figs. 129-131). (Cortesi 2015: 252). see Cat. 8 for shape comparisons. Moreover, the co-author in a short scale survey to Khuzdar recently found two sherds with such decorations at Londo site.

There many comparative stands with different Naal decorations (Marshal 1904-5: fig. XXXIV; Franke 2016: fig. 31; 2008: fig. 30; Uesugi 2017: fig. 182). It has geometric designs in triangular shape on the body with black color on buff ware (Franke 2016: 185)

Bull and the scenes have several records in reports (Stein 1931: pl. XXX). However, there are many similar shapes recorded with different Kulli motifs or organization (Uesugi 2017: fig. 194; Shudai et al. 2010: figs. 4-5, 10-14; Franke and Cortesi 2015: cat. 720; Jarrige et al. 2011: fig. 24, Nos. 2-3). Nindowari site pot (Casal 1966: 14-15).

The bull surrounded with other elements has several records (Stein 1931). Similar shapes with bull and other motifs exist but somewhat differently decorated (Uesugi 2017: fig. 197; 2013b: fig. 40; Shudai et al. 2010: fig. 4-3; Possehl 1986)

The tethered bull surrounded by plants and other motifs have been reported many times (Stein 1931: pl. XXX; Uesugi 2017: figs. 185-191, 193, 195-198, 200, 202-204). Uesugi (2017: fig. 187; 2013b: figs. 35, 39-40) has given an almost the copy of the same pot with completely the same decorations but very few different ones. There is another similar pottery with slightly different decorations (Franke and Cortesi 2015: cat. 721).

These scenes and decorations are common in Balochistan archeology (Stein 1931: pl. XXX). There is one ceramic with the same shape with bull and surrounded by the typical Kulli pot scenes; however, they somewhat have different decorations (Shudai et al. 2010: fig. 4-1). It can be compared with pots which have different Kulli designs and some cordoned but the shapes somewhat match (Uesugi 2017: fig. 201; Jarrige et al. 2011: fig. 24. Nos. 7-11).

This shape has been found in a museum in Japan but with different Kulli decorations (Uesugi 2017: figs. 192-193; 2013b: fig. 41). Similar lobbed ware was discovered by Hargreaves at Naal (1929: pl. XIX, no. 3). (Cortesi 2015: 259)

There is a ring pot documented but its context are missing and it is also attached with animal figurines; it is associated with Kulli culture (Uesugi 2013a: 1-8).

## **5. Conclusions**

To conclude, the eighteen confiscated ceramics in complete shape and almost all decorated, which are now either in Islamabad Museum or at DOAM, Islamabad, mostly belong to two well-known cultures of Balochistan—Naal and Kulli—which are dominantly found in southern Balochistan. The ceramic may have been dug out by treasure hunters from one part of Balochistan; however, the exact location cannot be determined. They were on the way to take out of Pakistan; nonetheless, they were caught. Though they have contexts from the sites, yet they are culturally important because they provide a lot of information about technology and aesthetics of the ancient people in Balochistan i.e. making techniques, shapes of ceramics which speak a lot about their use, paintings which provide information about the animals and plants they know. There is no doubt that many of the artifacts have already been excavated from all over Balochistan and exported to different countries of the world. Some of them are even exhibited in the western countries in the museums. Their making techniques (wheel and/or turntable made), paintings (geometrical, floral, and zoomorphic in monochrome, bi-chrome and polychrome), and other treatments mostly resemble with the existing data of Naal and Kulli cultures. They have likely been used for drinking, eating, preserving, decorations and in some cases used for ritual practices too. They, Naal and Kulli wares, probably have been kiln fired; they are well-fired as per the observations. Both the cultures show quality and diversity in the production of these ceramics. However, Naal culture has already been praised for its unique and diverse qualities. However, there is no pottery as beautiful as Naal ware in South Asia.

There are many such confiscated collection which require attention of the research. They may have lost their contexts, but they certainly do have cultural value. Moreover, it is pertinent for the responsible authorities to also work on the security issues particularly at the airports and seaports. The custom officers need to be trained in identifying cultural objects so that no one could take them illegally. They should take strides in controlling the illegal diggings. It can be done involving the locals of the areas if financial difficulties are the hurdles. Public awareness should be spread via multiple

mediums i.e. workshops, seminars, visit of mobile museums, research on the unknown heritage, etc.

### Catalogue of Confiscated Ceramics from Islamabad Airport

1. **Object:** Carinated non-necked pot; **Period:** c.3100-2700 BCE (Naal)  
*Measurements:* 16x16 cm  
**Description:** Wheel or slow turntable using clay coils, stone ware (fine and smooth), perpendicular rim, ring base, and damaged at one side of the rim  
*Decorations:* White slipped, (polychrome—black, blue and red), two friezes of intersecting circles; badly damaged from below the rim.

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2. **Object:** Straight-sided bowl; **Period:** c.3600-3200 BCE (Kechi Beg)  
**Measurements:** 10x15.3 cm  
**Description:** Wheel made, stone ware; fine and smooth, everted rim, ring base, two cracks on the body  
*Decorations:* White slipped, bichrome—black and red, geometric motifs i.e. hatched squares arranged in rectangular panels and vertical and horizontal hatches organized in rectangular.

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3. **Object:** Straight-sided bowl; **Period:** c.3600-3200 BCE (Naal)  
**Measurements:** 10x13.4 cm  
**Description:** Wheel made, stone ware; fine and smooth, perpendicular rim, ring base  
*Decorations:* White slipped, monochrome (black), geometric designs like rows of hatched diamonds in panels and rows of squares in the spaces and other lines

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4. **Object:** Straight-sided bowl; **Period:** c.3600-3200 BCE (Naal);  
**Measurements:** 11.4x16 cm  
**Description:** Wheel made, stone ware—fine and smooth, everted rim and ring base  
*Decorations:* white slipped, monochrome (brown), geometric as hatched triangles and friezes of hatched lozenges arranged systematically in panels and few lines, incised line on the

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5. **Object:** Straight-sided bowl; **Period:** c.3100-2700 BCE (Naal);  
**Measurements:** 9.3x7 cm  
**Description:** Wheel made or slow turntable using clay coil technique, stone ware; fine and smooth, everted rim and ring base  
*Decorations:* White slipped, monochrome (brown), plant and geometric motifs like frieze of attached pipal leaves and zigzag line crossing them

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6. **Object:** Straight-sided bowl; **Period:** c.3100-2700 BCE (Naal);  
**Measurements:** rim 10.2 cm, base 4.4 cm, h. 7.6 cm  
**Description:** Wheel or slow turntable made of clay coils, stone ware; fine and smooth finish, perpendicular rim and ring base  
*Decorations:* White slipped, monochrome (black), geometrics i.e. double zigzags filled with attached stepped motifs

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7. **Object:** Straight-sided bowl; **Period:** c.3100-2700 BCE (Naal);  
**Measurements:** rim 11.5 cm, base 10.8 cm, h. 6.6 cm

- Description:** Wheel or slow turntable made using coils of clay, stone ware; fine but rough because of stuck sand, perpendicular rim, ring base  
*Decorations:* Buff surface, monochrome (black), geometrics as stepped motifs in panels now dim or covered with sand
- 
8. **Object:** Canister; **Period:** c.3100-2700 BCE (Naal)  
**Measurements:** 7x14 cm
- 
- Description:** Wheel or slow turntable with clay coils, stone ware (fine and smooth finish), small mouth and perpendicular rim and flat base  
*Decorations:* White slipped, monochrome (brown), geometric patterns i.e. a row of fish and double zigzag line in panels on the body and stepped patterns on the top
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9. **Object:** Canister; **Period:** c.3100-2700 BCE (Naal)  
**Measurements:** 10x20 cm
- 
- Description:** Wheel or slow turntable with clay coils, stone ware; fine and smooth, short mouth with small perpendicular rim, and flat base  
*Decorations:* White slipped, bichrome (brown and yellow), geometric intersecting circles and stepped bichrome motifs on the top of it.
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10. **Object:** Canister; **Period:** c.3100-2700 BCE (Naal)  
**Measurements:** rim 4.9 cm, base 8.9 cm, h. 5.2
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- Description:** Wheel or slow turntable using coils of clay, stone ware; having fine and smooth finish, small mouth with sharp rim, and flat base  
*Decorations:* White slipped, polychrome (black outline and red and yellow fillings), geometrics like intersecting diamonds and triangles which have further diamonds and other decorations inside and the top has intersecting frieze of circles
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11. **Object:** Jar stand; **Period:** c.3100-2700 BCE (Naal)  
**Measurements:** 20x17 cm
- 
- Description:** Wheel or slow turntable using coils, stone ware; fine and smooth, averted rim and ring base  
*Decorations:* White slipped, polychrome (black outlines, red and yellow fillings), geometric i.e. and an embossed head of a horned animal
- 
12. **Cat. 12. Object:** Straight-sided bowl; **Period:** c.3100-2700 BCE? (Naal?)  
**Measurements:** 7.8x12 cm
- 
- Description:** Wheel made, stone ware; fine and smooth, slightly everted rim and ring base  
*Decorations:* White slipped, monochrome (black), geometric motifs as row of triangles and broad bands
- 
13. **Object:** Pot; **Period:** c.2600-1900 BCE (Kulli)  
**Measurements:** 18x20 cm
- 
- Description:** wheel made, stone ware; fine and smooth, everted rim and flat base  
*Decorations:* Buff ware, monochrome (black) geometric animal, and plant designs arranged in panels i.e. hatched wide eyed and tethered humped bull in Kulli style surrounded by plants and geometric motifs and there are strokes, friezes of hatched triangles and semi-circles arranged in panels.
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- Object:** Pot; **Period:** c.2600-1900 BCE (Kulli)

14. **Measurements:** 14x9cm;  
**Description:** Wheel made, stone ware fine and smooth finish, everted rim supported with a neck and ring base  
*Decorations:* Buff ware, bichrome (black and orange) with geometric, animal and plant motifs in panel in typical Kulli style like hatched humped bull having wide eye is accompanied with plants, sigmas, circles, etc. and there is also a wavy hatched line on the above
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15. **Cat. 15. Object:** Straight-sided bowl; **Period:** c.2600-1900 BCE (Kulli)  
**Measurements:** 15x18cm  
**Description:** Wheel made, stone ware; fine and smooth, everted rim and ring base  
*Decorations:* Buff ware, monochrome (black) geometric, animal and plant decorations in combination in Kulli style i.e. hatched wide eyed and tethered bull with plants, sigmas, dotted circles in panels
- 
16. **Object:** Pot; **Period:** c.2600-1900 BCE (Kulli)  
**Measurements:** 14x9.2 cm  
**Description:** Wheel made, stone ware; fine and smooth finish, everted rim with a neck and ring base  
*Decorations:* A similar pot has been recorded with somewhat similar decorations (Franke and Cortesi 2015: Cat. 730). Buff ware, monochrome (black) designs in typical Kulli style in panels like tethered wide-eyed humped bull accompanying plants and the above panel has hatched zigzag motifs
- 
17. **Object:** lobed bowl; **Period:** c.2600-1900 BCE (Kulli)  
**Measurements:** 8x7.5 cm  
**Description:** Wheel made, buff and fine, inverted lobbed or folded rim, ring base,  
*Decorations:* Buff ware, monochrome (black) animal and geometric decorations organized in a panel of triple lines and in the middle is a wide-eyed bird
- 
18. **Cat. 18. Object:** Ring ritual pot; **Period:** c.2600-1900 (Kulli)  
**Measurements:** rim 4.9 cm, base 8.9 cm, h. 5.2  
**Description:** It is an object with round hollow figure with a small mouth. There are no decorations applied on it. It may have been used for ritual purposes.



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 11



Fig. 12



Fig. 13



Fig. 14



Fig. 15



Fig. 16



Fig. 17



Fig. 18

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