

The Anthropological Study of Relationship between Iran and Sindh (Pakistan)

Based on the Most Frequent Themes of Makli Graveyard

Mohammad Mehdi Tavassoli*

Sina Tavassoli**

Maryam Tavassoli***

1. Introduction

People of Iran and Sindh have had a close connection and affinity since long ago, and in their continual existence, they have always had good relations.¹ The remains from two famous civilizations of Mohenjo-Daro and Shahr-i sokhta and other ancient sites such as Amri, Nal, and Kuli in Pakistan, and Tepe Sialk, Tepe Yahya and Tepe Hessar in Iran show much authentic evidence.² Further more, one of the most important branches of Silk Road travels from China to Sindh and continues to the South East Iran, to the coast of Makran and the Persian Gulf, connecting all these regions to Anatolia (Turkey), which is another evidence on the relationship between Iran and Sindh.³ During the time of the Achaemenid Empire (550 BC), this relationship was very strong. For instance, the 16th Satrapi of Iran which was approved by Avesta (the Holy Book

* Sistan & Baluchestan University, IRAN.

** Isfahan University of Technology, IRAN.

*** Iran University of Science and Technology, IRAN.

1 S. Chattopadhyaya, *The Achaemenids and Iran* (New Delhi, 1914).

2 Bridget Allchin, "The discovery of Paleolithic sites in plains of Sindh and their geographical implications," *The Geographical Journal* 142, no.3 (1976):471-89; F.R. Allchin, "On the legacy of the Indus civilization," in *Harappan Civilization: A contemporary perspective* ed. Gregory L. Possehl, (Warminster: 1982), 325-333). Bridget Allchin, "The legacy of the Indus Civilization," *At the Seminar on the Harappan Civilization*. Srinagar (1982).

3 Mohammad Mehdi Tavassoli, "Iran, Subcontinent and China", *The Journal of Subcontinent and West Asia Studies* 2, no.2 (2010):7-20.

of Zoroastrian), was named Hapte Hindu region (Western North of Pakistan) and the remains of a site named Achaemenid Hill are still present in the ancient city of Taxila (located in the west part of Islamabad).⁴ The findings of the excavation of this hill kept in the Taxila museum, and all such pieces of evidence are reminiscent of the long relationship and friendship between the peoples of Persia and the ancient Sindh.⁵

Undoubtedly, more research, is needed to understand and explain the complete history of this relationship. This paper focuses on the most frequent themes used in graves of the ancient and historical city of Makli to understand the roots of commonality among the peoples of the two lands. The paper particularly closes in on the Lotus motif, which has been used frequently as a theme in Makli graveyard through the viewpoint of the archeological anthropology (Fig. 23.1.). Lotus motif is compared to the similar kind of carvings in Persepolis in the Achaemenid period (Fig. 23.2.) and the motifs used in the Iran during the Sasanid era (Fig. 23.3.), particularly the motifs used on earthenware of Kalpurgan region in South Eastern Iran. (Fig. 23.4.).

The research method applied in this paper is composed of archival research in libraries as well as field research on site. The research methodology in this paper is based on secondary materials, primary observations and experiences of the author in the Central and South-Eastern of Iran and ancient sites located in Sindh State, particularly at Makli in Tatte and Chukandi in Karachi, and also authors' large comparative study regarding usage of Lotus; the most frequent motif in artistic work of Iran, Sindh and Indian sub-continent (Figs. 23.5. and 23.6.). To grasp the commonalities, we have made use of criticism and analysis of library sources and direct observation, and conducted fieldwork in ancient sites not only in Iran but also in Pakistan.

⁴ Ahmad Hassan Dani, *Taxila*. (New York: UNESCO, 1980); Albert. T. Olmstead, *The History of The Persian Empire*. (New York: University of Chicago Press, 1948); Sayed Sajjadi and Sayed Mansour, "Excavations at Shahr-i- sokhta first Preliminary Report on The Excavations of the Graveyard 1997-2000", *IRAN, Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies*, 7, (2003): 21-73; Muhammad Rafiq Mughal, "Cultural links between Pakistan and Iran during the Prehistoric period," *Iran Pakistan a Common Culture*. (Islamabad: IPIPS, 1974) 33-54.

⁵ C.C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, "Trade Mechanisms in Indus-Mesopotamian Interrelation," in *Ancient Cities of the Indus*. Ed. G.L.Possehl. (New Delhi: Indus Publishers, 1979); C.C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, and Maurizio Tosi, "Shahr-i Sokhta and Tepe Yahya: Tracks towards the Earliest History of the Iranian Plateau", *East & West* 23, (1973): 21-57.



Figure 23.1. Makli graveyard with full of lotus motifs



Figure 23.2. Persepolis, staircase with lotus designs



Figure 23.3. A Sasanian fire-box with lotus flower designs



Figure 23.4. Kalpurgan earthenware, Iran



Figure 23.5. Chukandi graveyard, Karachi



Figure 23.6. Mohenjo-Daro, Sindh

The research traces the mythological and historical roots of this motif in the artistic work of Iran and Sindh, and also explores the reasons for wider expansion of its usage in the regional civilization of Iran and Sindh, which emphasizes the vast cultural and deep artistic interactions between Iran and Sindh. The remainder of the chapter is organized as follows: The next part dwells on the historical relationship between Iran and Sindh. The third part focuses on the geographical connections and trade routes that connect the two regions. The fifth and sixth part discusses the symbol of lotus and presents evidence of its usage throughout archeological sites and art works in Iran and Sindh. The final part concludes the discussion.

2. Historical Relationship between Iran and Sindh

Ancient Iran was the bridge between the West and the East, and as a result it has witnessed huge immigration flows of the time. The territory of Persia in the first millennium was so large that it covered an area extending from the Nile up to and beyond the Sindh.⁶ The archeological evidence found in excavations of ancient sites of Iran, show the traces of huge civilizations in this vast region that came into existence and collapsed over ages, which distinguishes this region.⁷ The research includes important findings that indicate Iran's significant role in the emergence of the global civilization as well as in connecting the West and the East since the medieval era.⁸

Two great civilizations of Iran and Sindh have contributed to a large extent to the development of global culture because of their religions, which have deeply influenced large part of Asia, in particular the lives of people of Central and Eastern South Asia.⁹ People in these vast geographical areas have always been in cultural and commercial interaction. Two great routes of Silk and Spice from the East to the West and from the North to the South have passed and penetrated these two civilizations.¹⁰ These civilizations grew

⁶ Ahmad Nabi Khan, *Iran and Pakistan*. (Karachi: University of Karachi, 1971).

⁷ Mohammad Mehdi Tavassoli, *Cultural Relationships in Asia from Archaeological Point of View*, (Islamabad: Manza Press, 1999).

⁸ Khan, *Iran and Pakistan*, 1971.

⁹ Damodar Dharmananda Kosambi, *The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India in Historical Outline*, (Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1970); Mughal, "Cultural links between Pakistan and Iran during the Prehistoric period", 1974.

¹⁰ Romila Thapar, *A History of India*. (London: Penguin Publications, 1990).

together based on support from and interaction with one another. For instance, Sindh was advanced and flourished in terms of civil life, which could not have progressed unless with connection to the culture of Bronze Age, whose findings have been found at ancient Iranian sites such as Bampoor, Sialk, Tepe Yahya, and Tepe Hessar.¹¹

Moreover, the people of Iran's plateau, Baluchestan, and Sindh established a firm commercial interaction.¹² Since Iranian plateau is located between the Western and the Eastern civilizations; that is between Mesopotamia and Sindh, it has always been the center of trade and cultural interaction.¹³ The cultural relationship between Iran and Pakistan has been maintained by the roads between the pre-historic civilizations of this region just as the cultural commonalities passed over from one civilization to the other. This paper tries to find a plausible answer to direction of the transfer of one such cultural element, the motif of Lotus flower (Sacred Lotus), to understand whether its origin was Iran or Sindh.

3. Geography and Trade Routes Between Iran and Sindh

Pakistan is located in the East part of Indus Valley whose great ancient legacy has eternally been interwoven with the history and geography of the subcontinent.¹⁴ Yet, there is not much research which aims to find the impact and the effect of the great cultures of Iran and Sindh in today's geographical region of Iran and its Eastern neighbors.

Pakistan is located next to the Iran's southeastern border. Pakistani-Iranian border consists of two specific geographical regions: first, the mountainous region of Baluchestan, and secondly, great alluvial plain of Sindh river. From a geographical point of view, Baluchestan is continuation of the eastern part of Iranian plateau. The eastern border of Iran is covered with Sulayman's Mountains in Pakistan and the famous valleys of Zhob and Loralay, which are

¹¹ Virendra Nath Misra, "Climate a Factor in The Rise and Fall of The Indus Civilization", *The Archaeological Survey of India*, 12, no. 77 (1984): 35-52.

¹² Tavassoli, *Cultural Relationships in Asia from Archaeological Point of View*, 1999.

¹³ Ernest J.H. Mackay, "Further Links between Ancient Sindh, Summer and elsewhere", in *Ancient Cities of the Indus*, ed. Gregory L. Fussell (New Delhi, 1979); John Marshall, *Mohenjo-Daro and The Indus Civilization*. (London: Arthur Probsthain, 1931).

¹⁴ Allchin, *The Rise of Civilization in India and Pakistan*; Khurshid Kamal Aziz, *The Making of Pakistan: A study in nationalism*. (London: Chatto and Winds, 1967).

situated in the western side of this mountain range. They are links to Quetta valley in the middle of Baluchestan. The lifestyle of people in Pakistan's Baluchestan are quite similar to the people of Iran's Sistan and Baluchestan province and the central plateau of Iran.¹⁵

The central mountain range of Makran starts from South Baluchestan and stretches in parallel to the southern sideways/coast of Iran and Pakistan. Baluchestan region has a dry and warm climate and its vegetation is similar to the desert areas. This area is part of the river basin of Hirmand, which runs in the region of Sistan and supplies water to the vast plain. Nevertheless, the region itself does not have any major river. Many streams of water vanish in lagoon lakes of the region. Annual rain is less than 20 cm, thus agriculture in Baluchestan of Pakistan is feasible only around valleys and the origin of streams.¹⁶ The archeological findings from this land, especially from Baluchestan of Iran and its dry areas as well as remnants of inhabitants in the desert areas indicate better life conditions in the past. The eastern part, on the other hand, with the Sindh river and its lush branches like Mehran has been the origin of the civilization of Indus Valley and embodies rich cultural sites such as Tattah, Makli, Debal, etc.¹⁷

In contrast to the mountainous region of Baluchestan, the great alluvial plain of Sindh is much more fertile and except for coastal areas, benefits from Sindh river as well as Mehran's freshwater, and seasonal rivers which provide for fertile agricultural lands suitable for cultivation of rice and cereals. One of the two most important sites of Indus Valley civilization, Mohenjo-Daro, is located in this region.¹⁸ This land was famous and familiar to Iranian people who had close interactions in both ancient and Islamic periods with this region in both ancient and Islamic periods.¹⁹

One of the most important roads in the two great civilizations of Iran and Sindh is known as the Silk Road, which begins in China

¹⁵ Allchin, "The discovery of Paleolithic sites."

¹⁶ Francis Robinson, (ed.). *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of India*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

¹⁷ Allchin, "The discovery of Paleolithic sites," Tavassoli, *Cultural Relationships in Asia*.

¹⁸ Omi Mauchanda, *A Study of Harappan Pottery*. (New Delhi, 1972).

¹⁹ George F. Dales, "New Investigation at Mohenjo-Daro", *Archaeology* 18, no. 2 (1965): 145-150.

and comes through Iran and finally connects to Europe. One of the most important routes of the Silk Road is the southern path. This path starts from the southeastern coasts of Iran and ports of India and Pakistan and continues towards Sina desert, Palestine coasts, and the Mediterranean and Egypt through the coast of Saudi Arabia and the Red Sea.²⁰ Another branch of this path connects Ray to Qum, Kashan, Isfahan, Fars, Khozistan, and another branch that connects Ray to Yazd, Kerman, and Abbas port. Another important branch has also connected Ray to the Eastern road of Semnan, Damghan, Neyshaboor, and Afghanistan, and finally joins the Silk Road. Another road was connecting Afghanistan and Sindh Valley through Sistan and Baluchestan to the Oman Sea, the Persian Gulf, Khozistan, and Southern Mesopotamia. This path was the route of Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro civilizations near the Sindh River, Mundigak in Afghanistan, and Shahr-i sokhtah in Iran. Moreover, this path was connecting Bampoor to Chahbahar and through the Oman Sea to Khozistan and Southern Mesopotamia.²¹ There was another way that could connect Susiana (the capital city of Achimenean) to the south part of Iran and then to Baluchestan of Pakistan region, and it could join the Middle East to beyond the Sindh.²²

The significance of these paths was especially laid between the fourth millennium until the end of the second millennium B.C., because the most important roadways (or trade roads) of ancient global civilizations were located in Sindh Valley, Khozistan Plain (Elam civilization), Southern Mesopotamia (Summer civilization) and Central Mesopotamia (Babylonian civilization).

4. Lotus: the Oldest Symbol in Culture and Civilization of Iran and Sindh

All civilizations with their wonderful symbols display the glorious and vivid lives of the people who lived in that particular time. Since the emergence of civilization, famous and important elements have been selected for cultural symbols. However, a symbolic element

²⁰ Kiomrth Amiri, *Persian Language in the World: China*. (Tehran: Center for Persian Development Publications, 1999).

²¹ Tavassoli, *Cultural Relationships in Asia*.

²² Mackay, "Further Links between Ancient Sindh, Summer and elsewhere", Marshall, *Mohenjo-Daro and The Indus Civilization*.

brings a joyful image of that era. A symbol, inevitably, must suggest and explain more than what it expresses.²³

A long time ago, the Indian subcontinent was inspired by its natural environment and soil. All their cultural symbols consisted of leaves of trees, fruits, flowers, birds, reptiles, etc. All their auspicious occasions have also been celebrated with such symbolic elements. The gurus have also been in touch with symbolic rituals and mythological elements.²⁴ No doubt, the ancient legacy of the Indo-Pak subcontinent has been full of inspiration, invention, and attractive symbols.²⁵

According to the people of this land, every symbol is realistic, like a tiny grain that has the capacity to turn into a fruitful tree. A symbol opens a vast vision of knowledge towards people and compels every individual to honor life for a better civilization. Being inattentive to any symbol causes the collapse of social ethics and deviation from the right path.²⁶

One of the most important symbols of the East cultural legacy is Lotus. Most of the spiritual books of the subcontinent have brimful of rituals and benediction related to this celestial flower as it is sacred for all religions. There is a belief that when a man frees himself from mundane desires and sends his sincere prayers, he becomes pure from all sins as Lotus becomes clean through the water. A historian writes in *Taj-ul-Tavarikh*, "God has created four elements; water, soil, wind, and fire. He created Lotus from water, and then He emerged a man from within the Lotus named Brahma; a guide, and made him the inventor and existence of life and cause of the world."²⁷

For Indians, Brahman is omnipotent and they present the holy Buddha, who is seated on Lotus. The sun-like Lotus rises from the eternal world. The God Vishnu is depicted while he carries a blue Lotus in his left hand. The Goddess Lakshmi, who is the Goddess of

²³ Jhaver P. Shreenivas, *Spiritual Heritage and Cultural Symbols of India*, (Mumbai: Jaico Publishing House, 1999).

²⁴ Tara Bapat, *Rituals and Festivals of India*. (Bombay: Popular Prakashan PVT. LTD, 1991). Arthur L. Basham, (ed.). *Cultural History of India*. (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995).

²⁵ Veronica Ions, *Indian Mythology*, (London: Bounty Books, 2004).

²⁶ Bapat, *Rituals and Festivals of India*.

²⁷ Muhammad M. Shirazi, *Taj Al-Tavarikh*, (Bombai, 1889).

wealth and fortune, is standing on the running Lotus in water. It is believed that they both came into existence from the eternal world.

Lotus or blue daffodil is grown in water, but there is no single driblet on its leaves! However, it is not related to anything around and can stand alone in relation to its periphery. This symbol is rooted in Aryan culture, and most probably after the migration of Aryans into Iran and the Indo-Pak subcontinent, this belief has been preserved in the cultural memories of people in both lands. In the culture of ancient Iran, Lotus had a remarkable special place as it was called the Eastern lily.

In many Eastern civilizations, too, this flower has been understood as a common symbol. It is also understood as a symbol of salvation, spiritual growth, integration, and the birth cycle. Its multiple petals circles indicate the various cycle of the world and continuous steps of existence. In people's belief, its eight petals show eight directions in which it emerged after Creation from the profound waters. In Iranian mythology, this flower is a symbol of the Goddess; Nahid, which has a special place within ancient Iran's rituals.

This symbol is embossed as Nahid (Anahita) on the pictures of Takht-e-Jamshid Palace (or Persepolis) and its inscriptions related to the Achaemenid period. In Zoroastrian, the symbol is Ahura-Mazda. In "Bar-e Aam" hall in Takht-e-Jamshid, this flower is seen in the hand of Darius The Great. Later, this symbol has been found in Buddhism art and designed and manifested as Buddha's couch. This emboss has shifted to the Far East through Buddhism, and since then it appeared along with pictures of Buddha and Bodhisattvas throughout the art of South-Eastern Asia. The poets used metaphorical prayers about lotus in front of God and Goddess. In the holy Vedas, blue daffodil (Lotus) is praised. In Shastra Yuga instructions, the center of man's power is located at the end of the brain, and with Yuga exercise, it moves towards up and passes by the lilac shape of the brain and reaches to the top of the brain or Shastra. According to Mahayana Buddhism, the origin of the soul is the Lotus flower. In Islamic architecture, this flower has not been taken into consideration, but in the Indo-Pak subcontinent and Islamic period, the Lotus flower is particularly used in Taj-Mahal, in Agra, Makli graveyard, in Thatteh, and Chukandi in Karachi. Besides, in the culture of Iran and the subcontinent, the lotus flower

and its picture is a symbol of virtue, wisdom, eternal purity, the sun and its golden rays, life and man's thought power.

5. Lotus: the Most Frequent Motif in Makli Graves in Comparison with Iran's Sites

The Lotus motif has been used frequently as a theme in Makli graveyard through the viewpoint of the archeological anthropology (Fig 23.1.). Lotus motif can also be found on carvings in Persepolis in the Achaemenid period (Fig. 23.2.) and the motifs used in the Iran during the Sasanid era (Fig. 23.3.), particularly the motifs used on earthenware of Kalpurgan region in South Eastern Iran. (Fig. 4).

Visiting the ancient site of Makli and the examination of its architecture of graves and their motifs show that the most frequent picture is related to the shape of flowers and petals which is quite reminiscent of the Lotus flower. Some historians and archeologists have not agreed with this claim, but we believe that the precision in designing pictures, undoubtedly, is a various illustration of Lotus. As it is said earlier, this flower is a symbol of existence; it is a symbol of the sun as well as the eternal purity. At the beginning of the eastern civilization, the people have reverence for praising the sun, and finally, Mithraism dominated Iran and the subcontinent. The circle shape of 24 rays of the sun has been seen in civilizations such as Mohenjo-Daro, Harappa, West Sindh, Shahr-i sokhtah, Bampoor, Takht-e-Jamshid, Sialk, etc.

This shape was depicted on earthenware found in all ancient sites and became a sacred shape in Iran and Eastern civilizations. Makli is one of the sacred sites, in which Lotus has enormously been used on its graves. Lotus's leaves have sometimes been used in the decoration of pillars and facades of palaces, and sometimes it is used on the heads and base of pillars in stone palaces like Persepolis. Sometimes it turned as Buddha's couch and sometimes appeared in Amida's Heaven in Japan.

This question perhaps would be the preoccupation of critics that why architects and designers of Makli's graveyard have used such a picture at large and in fact, where has been the origin of this symbol. The study of Aryan's history and their beliefs and with reference to Avesta (Zoroastrian Book) and also the findings in Persepolis indicate that this flower has been connected to the belief of Aryan's

who had migrated to Persia around 2,100 BC. or so. This belief came into Iran along with Aryans. Later, a large group of Aryans migrated to the subcontinent and spread the same belief.

On the other hand, on the earthen-wares found in Mohenjo-Daro which dates back to the pre-advent of Aryans in the subcontinent, the picture of this flower has been used in the shape of a circle and Swastika. With this description, however, a precise and exact origin for this picture cannot be determined. Only it is believed that this picture had a crucial effect on the great relationship between the people of Iran and Sindh. This picture has later been used in Islamic architecture throughout Iran and Sindh.

The reason why this picture is used a lot in Makli is first due to its sacred shape, and then holiness of Makli Cemetery, which is the burial ground of the mystics, scholars of religion as well as the kings and prominent figures of Sindh.

6. Conclusion

Two great civilizations of Iran and Sindh has added to a huge degree to the advancement of worldwide culture specifically the life of individuals of Central and Eastern South Asia. Individuals in these territories have consistently been in social, cultural and economic interaction. Silk and Spice Roads that connect the East and the West and the North to the South have passed through and infiltrated these two cultures. Both civilizations progressed and thrived in connection to each other. Iran, as the bridge between Mesopotamia and Sindh, has consistently been the focal point of exchange and social collaboration. This paper attempted to locate a conceivable response to the question about the direction of the exchange of one such social component, the theme of Lotus flower(Sacred Lotus), to comprehend whether its starting point was Iran or Sindh.

This question of why architects and designers of Makli's graveyard have used Lotus to such an extent and the origin of the symbol had been a major preoccupation of critics. The study of Aryan history and their beliefs, Avesta as well as the findings in Persepolis indicate that this flower has been connected to the belief of Aryans who had migrated to Persia around 2,100 BC. On the other hand, on the earthen-wares found in Mohenjo-Daro which dates back to the pre-advent of Aryans in the subcontinent, the picture of this flower has been used in the shape of a circle and Swastika. Although a

precise and exact origin for this motif cannot be determined, it is certain that this symbol had a crucial effect on the great relationship between the people of Iran and Sindh, and its importance continued as evidenced by its usage in Islamic architecture throughout Iran and Sindh.

References

- Allchin, Bridget. "The discovery of Paleolithic sites in plains of Sindh and their geographical implications," *The Geographical Journal* 142, no.3 (1976): 471-89.
- Allchin, Bridget. "The legacy of the Indus Civilization," *Seminar on the Harappan Civilization*. Srinagar, 1982.
- Allchin, Bridget, and Raymond Allchin. *The Rise of Civilization in India and Pakistan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Amiri, Kiomrth. *Persian Language in the World: China*. Tehran: Center for Persian Development Publications, 1999.
- Aziz, Khurshid Kamal. *The Making of Pakistan: A study in nationalism*. London: Chatto and Winds, 1967.
- Bapat, Tara. *Rituals and Festivals of India*. Bombay: Popular Prakashan PVT. LTD, 1991.
- Basham, Arthur L. (Ed.). *Cultural History of India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Chattopadhyaya, S. *The Achaemenids and Iran*. New Delhi, 1914.
- Dales, George F. "New Investigation at Mohenjo-Daro", *Archaeology* 18, no. 2 (1965): 145-150.
- Dani, Ahmad Hassan. *Taxila*. New York: UNESCO, 1980.
- Darmsteter, James. *Le Zand-Avesta*. Paris, 1893.
- Ions, Veronica. *Indian Mythology*. London: Bounty Books, 2004.
- Khan, Ahmad Nabi. *Iran and Pakistan*. Karachi: University of Karachi, 1971.
- Kosambi, Damodar Dharmananda. *The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India in Historical Outline*. Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1970.

- Lamberg-Karlowsky, C.C. "Trade Mechanisms in Indus-Mesopotamian Interrelation", in *Ancient Cities of the Indus*. Ed. G.L.Possehl. New Delhi: Indus Publishers, 1979.
- Lamberg-Karlowsky, C.C. and Maurizio Tosi. "Shahr-i Sokhta and Tepe Yahya: Tracks towards the Earliest History of the Iranian Plateau", *East & West* 23, (1973): 21-57.
- Mackay, Ernest J.H. "Further Links between Ancient Sindh, Summer and elsewhere", in *Ancient Cities of the Indus*, edited by Gregory L. Possehl. New Delhi, 1979.
- Marshall, John. *Mohenjo-Daro and The Indus Civilization*. London: Arthur Probsthain, 1931.
- Mauchanda, Omi. *A Study of Harappan Pottery*. New Delhi: 1972.
- Misra, Virendra Nath. "Climate a Factor in The Rise and Fall of The Indus Civilization", *The Archaeological Survey of India* 12, no. 77 (1984): 35-52.
- Mughal, Muhammad Rafigh. "Cultural links between Pakistan and Iran during the Prehistoric period", *Iran Pakistan a Common Culture*. Islamabad: IPIPS, 1974.
- Olmstead, Albert. T. *The History of The Persian Empire*. New York: University of Chicago Press, 1948.
- Robinson, Francis (Ed.). *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of India*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Sayed Sajjadi, Sayed Mansour. "Excavations at Shahr-i- sokhta first Preliminary Report on The Excavations of the Graveyard 1997-2000", *IRAN, Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies*, 12, (2003): 21-73.
- Shreenivas, Jhaver P. *Spiritual Heritage and Cultural Symbols of India*, Mumbai: Jaico Publishing House, 1999.
- Shirazi, Muhammad M. *Taj Al-Tavarikh*, Bombai, 1889.
- Tavassoli, Mohammad Mehdi. *Cultural Relationships in Asia from Archaeological Point of View*. Islamabad: Manza Press, 1999.
- Tavassoli, Mohammad Mehdi. "Iran, Subcontinent and China", *The Journal of Subcontinent and West Asia Studies* 2, no.2 (2010): 7-20.
- Thapar, Romila. *A History of India*. London: Penguin Publications, 1990.

