CHAPTER V

Indo–Iranian relationship in Sassanid Era

(336 to 646 A.D.)

5.1 Introduction

5.2 Political Relationship

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5.4 Cultural Relationship
5.1 Introduction

Sassanid Empire (226-646 A.D.)¹

The Sassanian Empire or Sassanid Empire is the name used for the fourth Iranian dynasty, and the second Persian Empire (226 – 646 A.D.). The Sassanian dynasty was founded by Ardashir I after defeating the last Parthian (Arsacid) king, Artabanus IV and ended when the last Sassanid Shahanshah (King of Kings), Yazdegerd III (632–651 A.D.), lost a 14-year struggle to drive out the early Islamic Caliphate, the first of the Islamic empires. The empire's territory encompassed all of today's Iran, Iraq, Armenia, Afghanistan, eastern parts of Turkey, and parts of Syria, Pakistan, Caucasian, Central Asia and Arabia. During Khosrau II's rule in 590–628 Egypt, Jordan, Palestine, Lebanon were also briefly annexed to the Empire. The Sassanian called their empire Erānshahr “Dominion of the Iranians (Aryans).”

The Sassanian era, encompassing the length of the Late Antiquity period, is considered to be one of the most important and influential historical periods in Iran. In many ways the Sassanian period witnessed the highest achievement of Persian civilization, and constituted the last great Iranian Empire before the Muslim conquest and adoption of Islam. Persia influenced Roman civilization considerably during the Sassanian' times², and the Romans reserved for the Sassanian Persians alone the status of equals, as evident in the of example of the letters written by the Roman Emperor to the Persian Shahanshah, which were addressed to "my brother." Their cultural influence extended far beyond the empire's territorial borders, reaching as far as Western Europe, Africa, China and India and played a prominent role in the formation of both European and Asiatic medieval art.³

This influence carried forward to the early Islamic world. The dynasty's unique and aristocratic culture transformed the Islamic conquest of Iran into a Persian Renaissance. Much of what later became known as Islamic culture, architecture, writing and other skills, were taken mainly from the Sassanian Persians into the broader Muslim world.⁴
First Golden Era (309–379 A.D.)

Following Hormizd II's death, Arabs from the south started to ravage and plunder the southern cities of the empire, even attacking the province of Fars, the birthplace of the Sassanian kings. Meanwhile, Persian nobles killed Hormizd II's eldest son, blinded the second, and imprisoned the third (who later escaped to Roman territory). The throne was reserved for the unborn child of one of Hormizd II's wives. It is said that Shapur II (309–379 A.D.) may have been the only king in history to be crowned in utero: the crown was placed upon his mother's belly. This child, named Shapur, was therefore born king. During his youth the empire was controlled by his mother and the nobles. Upon Shapur II's coming of age, he assumed power and quickly proved to be an active and effective ruler.

Shapur II first led his small but disciplined army south against the Arabs, whom he defeated, securing the southern areas of the empire. He then started his first campaign against Romans in the west, experiencing early success. After the Siege of Singara, however, his conquests were halted by nomadic raids along the eastern borders of the empire. These raids threatened Transoxiana, a strategically critical area for control of the Silk Road. In addition, Shapur II's military forces were not sufficient to hold the territory he had taken in the west. He therefore signed a peace treaty with Constantius II (353–
in which both sides agreed not to attack each other's territory for a limited period of time.

(pic. 37) Taghe- Kasra in Ctesiphon, capital of Sassanid. (From "http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sassanian").

(pic. 38) A rock relief at Naqsh-e Rostam. Behind Shapur, his hands clasped by the king's, stands the Emperor Valerian; kneeling before the king on one knee is Philip the Arab, and beneath the feet of the king's horse lies the body of Gordian III. (From "http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sassanian")
Shapur II pursued a harsh religious policy. Under his reign the collection of the Avesta, the sacred texts of Zoroastrianism, was completed, heresy and apostasy were punished, and Christians were persecuted. The latter was a reaction against the Christianization of the Roman Empire by Constantine the Great (324–337 A.D.). Shapur II, like Shapur I, was amicable towards Jews, who lived in relative freedom and gained many advantages in his period.

**Second Golden Era (498–622 A.D.)**

The second golden era began after the second reign of Kavadh I. With the support of the Hephtalites, Kavadh I launched a campaign against the Romans. In 502, he took Theodosiopolis (Erzurum) in Armenia. In 503 he took Amida (Diarbekr) on the Tigris. In 505, an invasion of Armenia by the western Huns from the Caucasus led to an armistice, during which the Romans paid subsidies to the Persians for the maintenance of the fortifications on the Caucasus. In year 525, he suppressed revolts in Lazica and recaptured Georgia. In 530, he sent an army under Firouz the Mirranes to attack the important Roman frontier city of Daras.

After Kavadh I, his son Khosrau I, also known as Anushirvan ("with the immortal soul"; ruled 531–579), ascended to the throne. He is the most celebrated of the Sassanian rulers. Khosrau I is most famous for his reforms in the aging governing body of Sassanian. In his reforms he introduced a rational system of taxation, based upon a survey of landed possessions, which his father had begun and tried in every way to increase the welfare and the revenues of his empire. Previous great feudal lords fielded their own military equipment, followers and retainers. Khosrau I developed a new force of dehkans or "knights" paid and equipped by the central government and the bureaucracy, tying the army and bureaucracy more closely to the central government than to local lords.

Although the Emperor Justinian I (527–565) had paid him a bribe of 440,000 pieces of gold to keep the peace, in 540 Khosrau I broke the "eternal peace" of 532 and invaded Syria, where he temporarily captured and plundered the city of Antioch. During Khosrau's en route return, he collected money from the different Byzantine cities.
After Khosrau I, Hormizd IV (579–590) took the throne. Hormizd IV was also a vigorous ruler who continued the success and prosperity established by his predecessors. During the reign of Khosrau II (590–628), the revolt of General Bahram Chobin (rival King Bahram VI) briefly threw the empire into crisis, but the crisis was short lived, and Khosrau II soon reestablished firm control over the empire. Taking advantage of a civil war in the Byzantine Empire, Khosrau II launched a full-scale invasion. The Sassanian dream of restoring the Achaemenid boundaries was close to completion when Jerusalem and Damascus fell; Egypt fell soon after. In 626 Constantinople also was under siege by Slavic and Avar forces supported by the Persians. This remarkable peak of expansion was paralleled by a blossoming of Persian art, music, and architecture. By 622, the Byzantine Empire was on the verge of collapse and the borders of the Achaemenid Empire came close to being restored on all fronts.

Decline and fall (622–651 A.D.)

Although hugely successful at first glance, Khosrau II's campaign had in fact overextended the Persian army and overtaxed the people. The Byzantine emperor Heraclius (610–641) retaliated with a tactical move, sorting from his besieged capital and sailing up the Black Sea to attack Persia from the rear. Heraclius, with the occasional assistance of the Khazars and other Turkic troops, won several devastating victories against a Sassanian state substantially weakened by 15 years of war. Heraclius' campaign culminated in the Battle of Nineveh, where the Byzantines (without the Khazars, who had left Heraclius) defeated a Persian army, commanded by Rhahzadh. Heraclius then marched through Mesopotamia and Western Persia sacking Takht-e Soleyman and the Palace of Dastugerd, where he received the news of the assassination of Khosrau II.

Chaos and civil war followed after assassination of Khosrau II. Over a period of fourteen years and twelve successive kings, including two daughters of Khosrau II and Spahbod Shahrbaz, the Sassanian Empire weakened considerably. The power of the central authority passed into the hands of the generals. It would take several years for a strong king to emerge from a series of coups, and the Sassanian never had time to be fully recovered.\(^7\)

(pic. 40) A coin of Shapur and Hunting scene showing king Khosrau I.

(Source: "http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sassanian")
In the spring of 632, a grandson of Khosrau I, Yazdegerd III who had lived in the hiding, ascended the throne. In that same year, the first Arab squadrons made their raids into Persian territory. Years of warfare had exhausted both the Byzantines and the Persians. The Sassanian were further weakened by economic decline, heavy taxation, religious unrest, rigid social stratification, the increasing power of the provincial landholders, and a rapid turnover of rulers. These factors facilitated the Arab invasion.

![Coins of Queen Purandokht](image)

The Sassanian never mounted a truly effective resistance to the pressure applied by the initial Arab armies. Yazdegerd was a boy at the mercy of his advisers and incapable of uniting a vast country crumbling into small feudal kingdoms, despite the fact that Byzantine, under similar pressure from the newly expansive Arabs, no longer threatened. The first encounter between Sassanian and Muslim Arabs was in the Battle of the Bridge in 634 which resulted in a Sassanian victory, however the Arab threat did not stop there and reappeared shortly from the disciplined armies of Khalid ibn Walid, once one of Muhammad's chosen companion-in-arms and leader of the Arab army. Under the Caliph ʿUmar ibn al-Khattāb, a Muslim army defeated a larger Persian force lead by general Rostam Farrokhzad at the plains of al-Qādisiyah in 637 and besieged Ctesiphon. Ctesiphon fell after a prolonged siege. Yazdgerd fled eastward from Ctesiphon, leaving behind him most of the Empire's vast treasury. The Arabs captured Ctesiphon shortly afterward, leaving the Sassanian government strapped for funds and acquiring a powerful
financial resource for their own use. Had the empire not been exhausted, and divided, without an effective government, at the time of the Arab invasions, the Asawara (Azatan) knightly caste could in all probability have defeated them, if summoned at once, and massed as a single army. But they were never summoned in time, events unfolded too quickly, in a relative vacuum of power in the Empire. The result was the Islamic conquest. A number of Sassanian governors attempted to combine their forces to throw back the invaders, but the effort was crippled by the lack of a strong central authority, and the governors were defeated at the Battle of Nihawānd; the empire, with its military command structure non-existent, its non-noble troop levies decimated, its financial resources effectively destroyed, and the Asawaran (Azatan) knightly caste destroyed piecemeal, the Sassanian empire was now utterly helpless in the face of the invaders.

Upon hearing the defeat in Nihawānd, Yazdgerd along with most of Persian nobilities fled further inland to the northern province of Khorasan. He was assassinated by a miller in Merv in late 651 while the rest of the nobles settled in central Asia where they contributed greatly in spreading Persian culture and language in those regions and the establishment of the first native Iranian dynasty, the Samanid dynasty, which sought to revive and resuscitate Sassanian traditions and culture after the invasion of Islam.

The abrupt fall of Sassanian Empire was completed in a period of five years, and most of its territory was absorbed into the Islamic caliphate; however many Iranian cities resisted and fought against the invaders several times. Cities such as Rayy, Isfahan and Hamadan were exterminated thrice by Islamic caliphates in order to suppress revolts and to terrify Iranian people. The local population either willingly accepted Islam, thus escaping from various restrictions imposed on non-Muslims, including the requirement to pay a special poll tax (jizya), or were forced to convert by the invading armies. Invaders destroyed the Academy of Gundishapur and its library, burning piles of books. Most Sassanian records and literary works were destroyed. A few that escaped this fate were later translated into Arabic and later to Modern Persian. During the Islamic invasion many Iranian cities were destroyed or deserted, palaces and bridges were ruined and
many magnificent imperial Persian gardens were burned to the ground. Says Persian poet, Ferdowsi of their downfall, in commending the Sassanian.\(^8\)

### 5.2 Political Relationship

After the Sassanian had secured Iran and its neighboring regions under Ardashir I, the second emperor, Shapur I (240–270), extended his authority eastwards into what is today Pakistan and northwestern India. The previously autonomous Kushans were obliged to accept his suzerainty. Although the Kushan empire declined at the end of the 3rd century, to be replaced by the northern Indian Gupta Empire in the 4th century, it is clear that Sassanian influence remained relevant in India's northwest throughout this period.

Persia and northwestern of India were engaged in cultural as well as political intercourse during this period, as certain Sassanian practices spread into the Kushan territories. In particular, the Kushan’s were influenced by the Sassanian conception of kingship, which spread through the trade of Sassanian silverware and textiles depicting emperors hunting or dispensing justice.

![Taq-e Bostan, Sassanian, Iran](image-url)  
* (pic. 42) Taq-e Bostan, Sassanian, Iran (Authoure's Albume)
This cultural interchange did not, however, spread Sassanian religious practices or attitudes to the Kushans. While the Sassanian always adhered to a stated policy of religious proselytization, and sporadically engaged in persecution or forced conversion of minority religions, the Kushans preferred to adopt a policy of religious tolerance.

Lower-level cultural interchanges also took place between India and Persia during this period. For example, Persians imported chess from India and changed the game's name from chaturanga to chaturang. In exchange, Persians introduced Backgammon to India.

During Khosrau I's reign many books were brought from India and translated into Pahlavi, the language of the Sassanian Empire. Some of these later found their way into the literature of the Islamic world. A notable example of this was the translation of the Indian *Panchatantra* by one of Khosrau's ministers, Burzoe; this translation, known as the *Kelileh va Demneh*, later made its way into Arabia and Europe. The details of Burzoe's legendary journey to India and his daring acquirement of *Panchatantra* is written in full details in Ferdowsi's *Shahnameh*.9

Because of neighborhood and natural paths, there have always been political, economic and cultural relations between Indian and Persian people from very ancient times. The peak of this relation was in Sassanian era in which more trades and close relations were found. Political relation and exchange of political delegations have been observed between Sassanian and Indian kings from the kingdom of Anoshiravan and Khusro Parviz or perhaps earlier, that is to say from Bahram IV.

The disguised travel of Bahram IV (Gor Bahram) as an ambassador, the daughter of the Gonoj’s king falling in love with Bahram and their marriage, Bahram’s athletic and victorious stories in India, as well as his return to Persia with Gonoj’s daughter,10 the story of Gonoj king traveling to Persia and paying taxes and revenues to Iranian king, and bringing Indian minstrels and Lolians were explicitly narrated in *Shahnameh* Ferdosi.
Moreover, other historians such as Balami, Masodi, and Sealebi narrated the same stories briefly and differently. Undoubtedly, this story, as it was narrated, was a myth; however every myth is a manifestation of the reality. This myth is an indication of relation between Indian king and Bahram IV.

During the kingdom of Shapur II (310-379 A.D.), the son of Hormizd II, the kingdom dynasty of Gupta 320-569 A.D. had been already established in northern India. Their empire embraced whole of Bihar and also part of U. P. and Bangal. The founder of the dynasty was Chandragupta I (320-335 A.D.). His son Samudra-Gupta, nearly captured all northern areas of India and a large area of Deccan and defeated no less than twelve rulers. The greatest king of this dynasty was Chandragupta II (376-415 A.D.).

His kingdom was contemporary with Ardashir II (379-383 A.D.), Shapur III (383-388 A.D.), Bahram IV (381-389), and Yazdgerd I (399-420 A.D.). His monarchy had security, welfare, and glory. He sent many delegations to large countries of the world. He designed a law (constitution) for India. After the death of Bahram Gor, his son Yazdger II (438-457 A.D.) became the king. His contemporary king in India was Scanda Gupta (455-467 A.D.). In the middle of the fifth century Haftaly Hunas from Turk tribes which were living on the west, invaded Punjab. Chandragupta stood against their invasion. However, shortly after his death, Gupta dynasty was overthrown. Hormizd III (457-459 A.D.) and Firooz (459-484 A.D.) were contemporary with Scanda Gupta in India.

**Ardashir I (224-241 A.D.)**

The political relation of Ardashir I with India can be illustrated from a tale in Shahname of Ferdowsi. This story was based on Ardashir Babakan’s Karnamak, one of the Pahlavi’s books. Ferdosi stated that Ardashir Babakan, the founder of Sassanian dynasty, was born in India that is to say he was an Indian by nature. His name was Sassan. The story followed that Dara (Achaemenids third Darius) was cheated by his officers and finally was killed by Alexander during his invasion to Persia. Then, Sassan escaped to India and stayed there. His successors after four generations were called
Sassan. The last Sassan, that is to say, the fifth Sassan was a shepherder and emigrated from India to Fars. He served the king Babak. When the king became aware of his background he married his daughter to him. The result of this marriage was the birth of Ardashir the founder of Sassanian dynasty.  

Although it seems a legend, it represents a long relation between the two nations. It is true that after the decline of Achaemenids, and Alexander’s invasion to Iran, a lot of people along with Persian princes and princesses fled to India. It is worth mentioning that after the decline of Arsacides dynasty a lot of people fled to India too. It seems true that India became the second home of Iranians. During the history whenever the life of Persian people was endangered they fled to India and this is true in contemporary history.

The Sassanian territory included an important part of India from Punjab to Delhi, and near the Malo and Sakastan and Balochestan, Kabul, and a large area of Koshan up to Bishavar. Gotez said that in the third century Sassanian territory expanded and developed to the heart of India and embraced Malo in the central India which was the centre of power of Gupta.  

Some sources stated that after Ardashir’s invasion to India, the Indian king bestowed a lot of jewelry, gold, and elephants as taxes. In this way the Indian king persuaded Iranian king to leave India. What the historians wrote about Ardashir’s invasion to India is completely true. It is clear that Ardashir, the founder of Sassanian dynasty, attacked the western part of India and attached some parts of India to his territory. The same was true in Achaemenids dynasty. After capturing Khorasan, Toran, Makran, Ardashir went to India and captured Punjab. This idea was approved by discovering some copper coins of Ardashir’s dynasty in Punjab. On one side of the coins the picture of fire temple was imprinted. These coins were very similar to Ardashir Sassanian coins in Punjab. In this era the governors of Balochestan and Indus Katyavar which were named as Shatrab, called Ardashir the king.

Shapur I (241-272 A.D.)

After Ardashir, Shapur I became the king. He also paid attention to the East. It was in his time that Manes appeared and revealed his invitation. Manes was under the influence of Christianity, Buddhism, and Mazdaki. He was disappointed in Persia and immigrated to India and found some followers. It seems that Shapur I conquered some parts of India. In Shapur first’s rock inscription in Nagesh-E-Rostam (Zartosht Kaebe) the name of countries and places under the control of Sassanian Empire are quoted in Pahlavi handwriting. The Pishavar was declared as the western territory of the empire.

Girshman wrote that the victorious army of Shapur I seized the winter capital city of Kushana kings, i.e. Pishavar; overran the Indus valley, and pushing north, crossed the Hindukus; conquered Baktria; passed over the Oxus; and entered Samarqand and Tashkent. In this way the Kushana dynasty which had been established by the great
Kanishka was overthrown. Some princess who accepted the superiority of Iranian ruled over in a very small region.

The triumph relief of Shapur I (241-272), the most famous Sasanian rock relief, very close to the tomb of Darius I the Great. It shows how he has defeated two Roman emperors. (A more elaborate version of this relief is at Bishapur.) In 244, the Romans invaded Mesopotamia and besieged the important city Ctesiphon, but the war lasted long, and the Roman emperor Gordian III was replaced by Philippus Arabs, who concluded a peace treaty with Shapur. (From "http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sassanian)

Bahram II (276-293 A.D.)

After Sassanian king seized Sistan, Katyavar governors recognized and accepted his kingdom. At that time Persia had influence and superiority over western and south on parts as well as Katyavar, Gujarat, and Malo. Although these states went under the power of Chandra Gupta II (390-400), some parts of Indus, the west part, was under the control of Persia. From the Paikuli rock inscription written in Pahlavi near the current Iran-Iraq boarder, Professor Ernest Herzfeld inferred that at the time of the Narses coronation (293-
353), after the ruling of Bahram II, Shatrobs of Saka Kataveyar were presented there. Thus this is an indication of Bahram dominance over those areas. Kalidas, the great Indian play writer and poet, in one of his plays pointed out that the Parsik government that is to say Persia stretched up to the south of Indus which was the limit of Gupta kingdom. 23

Kristin Sen asserts that Bahram II signed a contract in 283 after the battle with Romans. According to the contract, Armenia and Mesopotamia went under the control of the Romans. The reason behind this was the dangerous riot in the east of the country. The coins famous as Sakas and Sassanian coins were coined in eastern part of Persia (Khorasan). These coins were direct indications of this fact that in Bahram II this large area was under the rule of one of the princes. His name was Koshanshah.

Before ruling the Persian territory, Bahram I and II was the great king of Kushan. While Bahram was a king, his brother Hormizd was the governor of Khorasan. During the war between Persia and Roman, Hormizd revolted against his brother. Sakas, Kushanas, and Gil supported him and he tried to establish an independent government in the east. This is why Bahram II put an end to war hastily with Romans and directed all his force toward the east. He suppressed the rebel, consequently he seized the Sakestan. The prince, who was called Vahram and became Bahram III later, got the nickname of Sakanshah, the king of Sakas. 24

Some pictures of Bahram II at Nagsh-i-Rustam inscription in Persipolis are found. These pictures are under the sculptures (Ardashir I coronation). One picture shows a party in which the princes and Haram Sakanshah attended. It may be after the victory in the east of the Empire. Similarly Bahram II has inscription and sculptures on the Shapur Mountain in Fars province which have recorded his success over the enemies. Ravelinson and Dylafoa supposed that these pictures showed his victory over Sakas. 25
Narses (293-303 A.D.)

There has been no document about short period of Narses to show their interest toward the East. However, Professor Ernest Herzfeld inferred from Paikuli inscription that in coronation of Narses Shotorbahi, Sakas, and Kataviar were presented. This clearly shows that they were under his dominance and definitely the pictures were after Bahram II victory as it was explained above. Narses spent their short period of his government battling with the Romans. Finally in the year of 298 a peace contract was signed between Persia and Roman, which lasted 40 years.

Shapur II (310-379 A.D.)

Shapur II, the son of Hormizd II, ascended to the throne after interior struggles. He governed for more than seventy years. At his time Gupta rulers were ruling in India. The beginning of his government was spent for settling interior struggles. The Arabs rebelled and they wrested Bahrain. Therefore, Shapur I suppressed the Arabs by using the Navy force. He launched a fleet. He treated the Arabs cruelly and drilled their shoulders. He became famous as Zolaktaf “the owner of the shoulders”.

After settling the Arabs mutiny, like the previous king, Shapur paid attention to the west that is to say Rome. Constantinople was contemporary with Shapur II. He announced the Christianity as the formal religious of Roman (based on Milan order 323). This accelerated the enmity between Persia and Roman. In Persia and Roman war in 350 A.D. Persian used elephants to siege Roman castles and became successful. During the war with Romans Shapur became aware of unpleasant news about the east and wild Hunas attacks. He quickly moved to the east and defeated the Hunas after many years. On the next war with Romans, Gromebat, the king of Hunas accompanied Shapur. 26

Some scholars believe that because of the force of nomads and Hunas and other tribes the Persian lands in India were temporally freed. However there is no authentic information about the accuracy of this news. Probably Shapur stood against the Hunas and diverted their attention from Persia towards India. 27
During Shapur’s ruling period, a king from Kushan who was well known as Kydar was ruling and his capital was Pishavar in west part of India. Kydar occupied Kashmir and Punjab, and then he declared his independence. He ignored the ruling power of Persian kings. He coined his total face which was unique to the Persian kings. Shapur II became extremely angry and attacked Punjab. Kydar was defeated and confessed to realize the power of Persian kings. He accompanied Shapur in a war with Roman. However upon his return to India he went under the protection of Samudra Gupta, the powerful north Indian king. He refuted Persian obedience.

**Shapur III (383-388 A.D.)**

Shapur III revenged from Kydar and defeated him. He forced him to accept the superiority of Persian and he had to coin his profile instead of all his face. After the government of Shapur II, some weak rulers such as Ardashir II, Shapur III, and Bahram IV governed for a short period. Besides, no important incident was recorded in this period. An this time Chandra Gupta, from Gupta dynasty was ruling in India (320-569 A.D.). He had strong relations with Persia as well as the Romans. Furthermore he had sent delegation to their thrones.

**Bahram V (422-432 A.D.)**

There is no information about Persia and India relations during twenty years of Yazdgerd government. On the contrary, there are many historical and legend stories about their vast relation in Bahram V. Balami, the historian of the beginning of Islamic, era wrote, “Bahram told his minister (Vazir) that he would like to travel to India, Indus regions and see everything in his territory. He said that he would like to travel alone to India and visit there…. then he took his weapon and a horse and went to India. He arrived in India and the patrol of the boarder (Marzban) did not know him. However they were supervised by his horse riding. Because the Indians were not able to ride horses and war with swords…….”

The disguised travel of Vahram IV (Gor Vahram) as an ambassador, the daughter of the Kanauj king (The city of Hanauj was raised to the position of an imperial capital
by Harsha-Vardhana.)\textsuperscript{32} Falling in love with Vahram and their marriage, Vahram’s athletic and victorious stories in India, as well as his return to Persia with Kanauj (Qannauj in Shaname of Ferdousi) daughter, the story of Kanauj king traveling to Persia and paying taxes to Iranian king, and bringing Indian minstrels and Lolians were explicitly narrated in Shahnameh Ferdosi. In addition to this other historians such as Balami, Masodi, Salebi explained the same story with some differences.\textsuperscript{33}

Vahram [Bahram] V returned to Persia with an Indian wife whose dowry was Daibul port in Indus delta and regions near Indus. Since the Daibul port was situated on the Indus, the best interpretation is that from Makran to Daibul port belonged to Persia.\textsuperscript{34} It is worth mentioning that Daibul was the first city which Muslim occupied in 711. It is believed that the Daibul is situated in Banpur 5 kilometers from Karachi. The reason behind this is the discovery of a big market. The market belonged to pre-Islamic period.\textsuperscript{35}

According to Shahname of Ferdousi (11\textsuperscript{th} century AD), the 5\textsuperscript{th} century A.D. Sassanian king Behram Gur requested Indian king Shangol to select 12,000 gypsies - expert Indian musicians – and introduced them into Persia from India. These gypsies are believed to be the ancestors of the Persian gypsies. They propagated Indian music and dancing in Persia and travelled to all parts of the world from there. There are remarkable similarities in the language of European gypsies (Romani) and Indo-Aryan languages. It is also believed that Behram Gur visited India in 5\textsuperscript{th} century AD. Persian poet Hakim Nizami Ganjavi has alluded to the Indian wife of king Behram in his famous work Haft Paikar (seven figures) indicating instances of inter-marriage.\textsuperscript{36}

Tabary, one of the well known historians of Islamic periods asserted that “…. therefore because of his sincere service the king married his daughter to him, moreover the king gave him Diabul, Makran, and Indus region. The king wrote it down and called to some witnesses. He told to divide these states to Persia and give their taxes to Bahram. In this way Bahram returned cheerfully.” \textsuperscript{37} The story of bringing minstrels and Iolians form India to Persia is reported in many sources. For example it is cited in Shahname Ferdowsi, however, the original source was Khodi Namak in Sassanian era. Hasan Pirnia
believed that one the greatest services of Bahram V was Hayatelle punishment. He added that after defeating Hayatelle Bahram went to India. The king of India gave him Makran and Indus region as a reward for suppression of Hayatelle which was a threat for India. Bahram V brought 12000 minstrels and singers from India to Persia.\textsuperscript{38}

The authenticity of this story is not clear. It only shows strong relations between Persia and India. It seems clear that common enemy of Persia and India in east was Hayatelle. This is why both countries tried to develop their political relations in Bahram V period. Then the stories were emerged and narrated differently.

**Hayatelle or White Hunas**

During the government of Bahram V new nomads attacked northern east states of eastern Persia. These nomads were called Hayatelle, and European historians called them Hephtalites or White Hunas. Finally, Bahram V defeated them. People who were called Youhechi pressed Sakas living between Oxus and Jaxartes in 162 B.C. They forced Sakas to move towards west. In 130 B.C. they seized the west from the Sakas; therefore, Sakas immigrated to west and south countries. Some clans from Youhechis which were called Koyshan suppressed other clans in the next phase. They established a government called Kushuan. In order to put stress on Persian, Romans had relation with Kushans. At the beginning of the fifth century some people crossed Oxus and invaded the Kushan. These people had affinity with Youhechi. China called these people Yaza, while Roman called them Hephtalites and Persian historians called them Hayatelle. They are called white Hunas too. They were strong people. Their emergence in this side of Oxus created a lot of panic in the east. Bahram V invaded them abruptly and pushed them back up to Oxus. They did not dare to come to Persia in Bahram V’s time. The crown of Hayatelle’s king became decoration of famous fire-temple of Azar Gashnasb in the city of Shiz in Azarbajian.\textsuperscript{39}

**Yazdgerd II (439-459 A.D.)**

He ascended to the throne after his father. The majority of his problem was war with Hayatelle. He tried to repel their attacks in north east states of Persia. Then because
of Armenia he was in war with Roman. There is no other document to show political relation between Persia and India in his time.

**Peroz or Firuz (459-484 A.D.)**

He was killed during a war with Hayatelle in east of Persia. For a short time Persia had to give taxes to Hayatelle. They had a great role in helping him to govern Persia in Ghobad I’s time.

**Khusro I (Khusro Anoshiravan) (531-579 A.D.)**

In the governing period of Khusro I relations between Persia and India developed greatly. Both countries sent political delegation and people traveled more. Persian and Indian scientists and scholars strengthened their relations. Some eastern historians believed that Khusro I ran military expedition to India.

The story of travelling Indian ambassador to Khusro I’s throne and bringing the chess was written in Pahlavi literature under the article of Matykan Chotran. Ferdowsi wrote about this too. It is quoted from Masoudi that many ambassadors came from China, India, Kabul and Sarandib to Khusro I’s palace. Masoudi enumerated Indians presents to Khusro I’s throne.

Under Noshirwan, Jundishpur was developed as a leading center of Persian medicine, in which Indian Ayurvedic system was syncretized with the Greek system propagated there by the Nestorian Christians. Burzuya, the physician to Noshirwan, was sent to India to bring back works on medicine and searched for elixir of life. Burzuya on his return brought stories of Panchatantra with him. The Jundishpur School of medicine continued its active existence and after the Arab conquest of Persia, exerted a great deal of influence on the development of Arabian medicine.

Panchtantra, the collection of Indian fables – instructions about conduct of one’s affairs, was translated from Sanskrit to Pehalvi by Burzoy-e-Tabib who called it *Kalila va Demna*. From Persia it travelled to the west. Abdullah ibn Muquaffa translated
this Pehalvi text into Arabic. There exist several versions of the text in Persian written by Rudki (10th century AD), Nasrullah bin Mohd bin Abdul Hamid Munshi (15th century AD) and a version by Abdul Fazal (16th century AD). The later Arabian Nights owes several of its stories and themes to India.  

In the 6th century, sandalwood, magenta, shells, corals, pearls, gold and silver were traded. Several Indian translators are believed to have been present in the Sassanian royal courts. Bam, in south-east Iran, was a major commercial and trading town on the famous Spice Road, a major tributary of the Silk Road that connected trade routes from India through Iran to Central Asia and China.  

Kristine Sen points out that Khusro I invaded India, then and the Indian king obeyed him and withdrew area near Oman Sea which was given to Persia in the time of Bahram Gor.V. Khusro I allied with Emperor of China. Then they together defeated Hephtalites, consequently, Oxus from north, Bakhtar and Takharestan in the east of Bakhtar, and Zabolestan and Rakhj became part of Persia. Moreover, the properties of Persia in India, which were temporarily under the rule of Hunas, were released and became parts of Persia. Then Indus and Punjab became part of Persia. It is written in Moroj al Zahab that the Indian king wrote: “from the great king of India and the owner of golden palace with rubies and pearls gates to his brother the king of Persia the owner of crown and flag, Khusro I….thousand kilos of Indian incenses were sent to you. They are melted in fire like wax. Seal like a wax imprinted and the line became apparent….one bowl of carbuncles …. Or thirty kilos of Camphors … a servant who was seven feet long….” These lines are good indication of bilateral relation between Persia and India.  

**Kussro II (Parviz) (590-627 A.D.)**  
Khusro II was contemporary with Pulakešin II (Pulakeshin) the king of Deccan and southern India. They sent delegations and presents to each other. Will Durant asserts that, “Pulakešin II 608-642 was so glorious that he could easily defeat Harsha-Vardhana. Moreover he could draw the attention of Viang Chovang, a Chinese Buddhist tourist and entertain the Khusro I’s outstanding ambassador. It was in Pulakešin II era that the most
excellent painting on the wall of Ajanta caves in Aurangabad was completed. The
presents of Indian king for Khusro II were: an elephant, a sword, a white eagle and
woven with gold clothes. 47

Hamzeh Isfahani believes that Khusro II attacked Sarandib; 48 however, since the
Sarandib’s king accepted the superiority of Persia and returned Indus and Oman regions
back to Persia, Khusro II returned without any serious war. According to Tabari, King of
Persia received an embassy from the Chalukya king in the thirty-sixth year of his reign,
i.e. in A.D. 625-26. 49

In Khusro II era an Indian ambassador with the most expensive presents from
Premise king came to Khusro II’s palace. 50 Doubtlessly, this Premise was Pulakšin II the
king of Calukya dynasty. He was known as Paramisa or Paramisvara, too. He governed
till 642. Tabari pointed out that this ambassador carried a secret letter to Shiroye which
predicted that he would be the king of Persia after two years. The content of this letter is
found in Balami history. The author of “Iran name” asserts that the main reason for
developing Persia and India relation in Khusro II’s period is that Hersha (Harsa) and
Redne (Harsha and Ardhana) was the name of north Indian king of Pulakesin. He
attacked the south; however, was not successful, and as a result was defeated. Harsha was
a powerful king, therefore Pulakešin needed some support to stop his attacks. Pulakešin
reinforced the relationship with Persia to protect the country against any attack from the
north. 51 In the cave number one in Ajanta in Aurangabad, the portraits of some Persian
authorities are found. They sat on the table with Sassanian clothes; they were served a
drink by servants holding jars of wine. It seems that these portraits belong to Khusro I’s
delegate to the palace of Pulakešin. 52 Reno a French historian in his book under the title
of Geography Abolfada and also in other book “Indian memory” believes that Ceylon
was conquered by Persian fleet. 53

It was in the time of Khusro II that Persia became Asia’s gate way. The digging in
Syraf in Persian Gulf reveals that Persia had advanced navy commerce system. This
commerce was stretched to Indonesia. 54 In 615 Khusro II kingdom reached its highest
peak. In eastern border the attack of a king from Haftalyan dynasty was defended by one of the commanders of Khusro II. His name was Sombat Bagratuni. That king who was a follower of Turk empire was killed and part of north western part of India had to obey Persian superiority. Porgar or DorGaz pointed out to the sculptures of Ajanta cave. He believes that the pictures show how Pulakešin II entertained Persian delegations. He adds that this delegation went to India by ship because the land was under the control of Harsha government which was in war with Pulakešin. He concludes that Persian and Indian sea route for different purposes were activated.

According to the opinions of historians and scientists, Persian and Indian relations in the time of Khusro I and II from Sassanian dynasty had the strongest relations in the areas of political, economic, and cultural spheres. The discovered coins approved this belief too. Because of the power and authority of Khusro I and II and relative stability inside and outside of Persia two powerful governments in north and south of India that is to say Harsha from Verden dynasty and Pulakesin from Paloki dynasty always wanted to increase their relations with Persia. These two governments competed with each other to draw Persian support.

It is clear that after Khusro II, (Parviz) Persia witnessed anarchy. There is no information about Persia and India relations until the emergence of Islam and immigration of Persian to India. Hence there is a gap between their relations.

Yazdgerd III (622-651A.D.)

During the period of Yazdgerd III, he encountered war not only with Romans but also with new powerful enemy i.e. Arabs. Muslim Arabs overthrew the powerful dynasty of Sassanian. It is observed in the seventh and eighth century and in the works of the following historians.

It is believed that even after the abolishing of the Sassanian dynasty the impact of Persian government was observed in west parts of India. Abolfazel Alami in his book “Aieen Akbary” illustrated a legend. He stated that after the death of Yazdger III his
daughter, Mahbano, and some of her relative fled to India. Then she married with a prince of Udaipour. Sisodia was a powerful tribe in India. The mother of these children was Persian. The interesting point is that Shivaji, great ruler of the seventeenth century related himself to this family in order to be elected for the kingdom.

**Sassanian and Kushanian**

In 162 B.C. some people from Youhechi pressed Sakas living between Oxus and Jaxartes. They forced them to go to west. Later on in 130 B.C. they seized the west from them and the Sakas had to move toward west and south. A tribe from Youhechi, Kushan, suppressed another tribe the next time and established a government. This new government was called Kushan. In order to impress Persia the Romans started relations with this new government. The government of Kushanian was established in Arsacides era, however the most clashes were with Sassanian. Finally great Kushana was overthrown by Sassanian.

After Alexander and his successors, and along with the independence of Persian Sateraps and the emergence of Arsacides, Sakas, and Kushanian between the territories of Persia and India, the east part of Persia assimilated to Indian so that these lands were famous as Indike-leuke. Sakas and Kushana clans that had ruled these regions from the beginning of first century lived there. These people were under the influence of both Persia and India. The coins of this era, historical and arts works, and legends clearly show the impact of this influence.

The first governors of Kushana such as Kajole Kadphises and Vima-Kadphises imitated Seleucia kings and called themselves Basilus Basileus soter megasd. Sometimes they coined with Indian language. On the coin they imprinted Maharaja, Rajadiraja, Sarva, Loke, isvara Mahisvara tratara. From the coins found in Punjab and near Taksila, it is understood that Kanyshka called himself Kaisar and sometimes Shahanshah. The names of gods and goddesses such as the sun, the moon, Azar, Nahid, Heraclius, Shiva and Buddha are imprinted in Roman language. They ruled over a large area, from Bihar in east to Khorasan in west and Khotan in north and Konkan in south. Alberuni points out
that Kanyshka ruler over Afghanistan and major parts of central Asia.\textsuperscript{61} The existence of Party clans in east regions of Persia facilitated the immigration of Sakas and Kushans from central Asia to eastern parts. Their rehabilitation in the regions between Persia and India was significant for not only political history but also for social and cultural relations. The information from Roman, Arsacid\textsuperscript{es}, Sakas, and Kushan’s kings in this era represents that west India and east Persia had no political stability and always faced fluctuations and changes. However cultural environment was active and fruitful. Doubtless the immigrants had great effects on establishing this environment and developing it.

The role of Koushana rulers in establishing relation and transferring cultural elements between Persia and India can not be ignored. In Kushan territory in the time of Kanishka the cultural works of Persia, Indian, Romans, Chinese are found side by side. Sometimes these works were mixed with each other; for example, Mathura near recent Delhi to central Asia and Transoxiannaa. Since Kanishka was Buddhist, he sent some Buddhist missioners to different cities of central Asia and east of Persia, Vihar convent and other places for propaganda. Buddhism established.\textsuperscript{62} Teachings of Buddhism were gradually widespread through out the region. Kushanian persuaded economic growth and development of Gandahara arts.\textsuperscript{63}

With the emergence of Sasanian dynasty in the half of the third century, the political view of this regime was completely changed. The Arsacides dynasty was abolished in Persia. At the beginning of Sassanian dynasty a new movement with the aim of creating national and political unity emerged. Persian territory was stretched to the Indus and Hindukush mountains. Persian princes which governed those areas were called Sakastan, Torestan and Indian king.\textsuperscript{64} At the beginning of the fourth century the Gupta’s powerful empire in India appeared. With the development of their territory during the periods of Chandragupta and Samudra Gupta, Sakai and Kushana government in Punjab and Gujarat were abolished. Consequently, Kushany had a very small land in Kabul valley and Balkh area. In 282 Bahram II seized the Balkh and appointed his son, Bahram III, as the governor of Balkh. He was called Koshunshah. From that time Persian
governors were called Koushanshah. However at Shapur era Persian east lands were under the control of Sassanian. Then Great Kushanian was overthrown.  

Grishman believes that the victorious army of Shapur I seized the winter capital city of Kushana kings, i.e. Pishavar; overran the Indus valley, and pushing north, crossed the Hindu Kush; conquered west Baktria; passed over the Oxus; and entered Samarkand and Tashkent. In this way the Kushana dynasty which had been established by the great Kanishka was overthrown. Some princes, who accepted the superiority of Persia, ruled over in a very small region.

**The Impact of Kushanian Extinction**

As it is understood from discovered coins of Kushanian, the economic development and country’s improvement were based on commerce between east and west. This business was performed by the sea and land. There were two main ways, one from the path near Caspian Sea and the other by Oman Sea. In this situation the development of Sassanian was a threat to them because they endangered their commerce, and transformation of goods. They tried not to lose the floor and it was natural to strive for international business. However what they intended did not meet the reality. The great evolution by Sassanian changed the history of central Asia. Therefore their rate and proportion in international commerce was changed.

Professor Ahmad Hassan Dany believes that the results of abolishing Kushanian by Sassanian were first of all, destroying commercial benefits and second, the attacks of northern Hunas. Sassanian had a lot of wars in the west with Romans and in the east with Kushanian and Sakas. The weakness of Kushanian I in the east paved the way for northern attacks. In this way the power of Sassanian suffered a lot and the Gupta government vanished completely. As the result, there were no powerful governments to stop the attacks of northern plunderers. Professor Ahmad Hasan Dany adds that because of the victory of Sassanian, the commercial affairs which were under the control of Kushanian were destroyed completely. The main roads were ruined. The attacks of tribes put into danger the transportation of goods in Silk Road. The development of Sassanian
in Indus and Gujarat led to the disappearing of domestic governors. In this way Gupta penetrated to the area and finally they seized the west part of Indus River.

Sea commerce was severely damaged too. And after nearly two centuries it decreased a lot. However it was revived by Arabs in the seventh century.\textsuperscript{70}

It seems that the above mentioned opinions of Professor Ahmad Hassan Dany are true. However his ideas regarding commercial navigation and land transportation are not completely true because the position of Sassanian in Kushanian was reinforced. Moreover, Sassanian princes got the title of Kushanshah and those regions were under the direct control of Sassanian. An English proverb asserts that trade follows the flag. Therefore when political influence is apparently found in one region cultural and economic influences follow. According to historians’ and researches’ ideas about Sassanian political and commercial power in east of Persian Gulf, it can be safely claimed that the abolishing of Kushnian did not endanger land or sea commerce rather with omitting Kushanian as intermediator the benefits of Sassanian increased. Sassanian directly controlled the business of that area and the benefits were divided between Sassanian and Guptas.

**Kushanshah**

The Indo-Sassanians, Kushano-Sassanians or Kushanshas are a branch of the Sassanians who established their rule in the northwestern Indian subcontinent during the third and fourth centuries A.D., and possibly later in the 6th century A.D.

The Sassanians, shortly after their victory over the Parthians, extended their dominion into Bactria around 230 A.D. during the reign of Ardashir I, and then into Kushan territory (what is today Pakistan and northwestern India) during the reign of his son Shapur I (240-270 A.D.). The declining Kushans thus lost the western part of their territory to them, and Bactria and Gandhara came under the rule of Sassanian nobles named Kushanshahs ("Kings of the Kushans").\textsuperscript{71}
The Sassanian supremacy over the Kushana principalities in Balkh and the neighboring region is attested by the coins of the Sassanian governors. During the reign of Shapur I (241-72) his younger brother Peroz was the governor with the title Kushan- shah (king of Kushanas). Vahram II, who had been the Kushan- shah during his father’s reign, ascended the throne in A.D. 276 while his brother Hormazd became the Kushan- shah. In A.D. 283 Hormazd rebelled against his brother and was supported by both the Sakas and the Kushanas. Prof. Herzfeld asserts that Vahram II made extensive conquests in the east and that under him the Sassanid Empire not only included Khorasan (including Balkh), Sakastan, Turan and Makran, but also the countries of the Middle and Lower Sindhu region and Kachchha, Kathiawar and Malwa.

Kartir, a high-priest that served as advisor to at least three of the early kings, instigated the persecution of non-Zoroastrians, that is, Christians, Buddhists, Jews, Hindus and - in particular - the Manichaeans, who were primarily in and from the eastern territories. The persecution ceased during the reign of Narseh (293–302 A.D.).

Around 325 A.D., Shapur II was directly in charge of the southern part of the territory, while in the north the Kushanshahs maintained their rule until the rise of the Kidarites. The decline of the Kushans and their replacement by the Sassanians led to the rise to power of an indigenous Indian dynasty, the Guptas, in the fourth century. In 410 A.D., Bactria and then Gandhara were invaded by the Hephthalites (who became known as the Indo-Hephthalites), thus temporarily replacing the Indo-Sassanians. The Hephthalites ruled until they were defeated around 565 A.D. by a coalition of Sasanians and Western Turks, who were able to reassert some Indo-Sassanian authority in the Northwestern parts of the subcontinent.  

Main Indo-Sassanian rulers or Kushan-shah

Ardashir I, Sassanian king and "Kushan-shah" (230 – 250 A.D.)
Peroz I, "Kushanshah" (250 - 265)
Hormazd I, "Kushanshah" (265 - 295)
Hormazd II, "Kushanshah" (295 - 300)
Peroz II, "Kushanshah" (300 - 325)
Shapur II Sassanian king and "Sakanshah" (325)
Varhran I, Varhran II, Varhran III "Kushanshahs" (325 - 350)
Peroz III "Kushanshah" (350 - 360; in Gandhara)  

Religious influences:  

The prophet Mani (210-276 A.D.), founder of Manichaeism, followed the Sassanians's expansion to the east, which exposed him to the thriving Buddhist culture of Gandhara. He is said to have visited Bamiyan, where several religious paintings are attributed to him, and is believed to have lived there and taught for some time. He is also related to have sailed to the Indus valley area of India in 240 or 241 A.D., and to have converted a Buddhist King, the Turan Shah of India.

On that occasion, various Buddhist influences seem to have permeated Manichaeism: "Buddhist influences were significant in the formation of Mani's religious thought. The transmigration of souls became a Manichaean belief, and the quadripartite
structure of the Manichaean community, divided between male and female monks (the 'elect') and lay follower (the 'hearers') who supported them, appears to be based on that of the Buddhist sangha”.

Artistic influences

The Indo-Sassanians traded goods such as silverware and textiles depicting the Sassanid emperors engaged in hunting or administering justice. The example of Sassanian art was influential on Kushan art, and this influence remained active for several centuries in the northwest Indian subcontinent.

Coinage

The Indo-Sassanians created an extensive coinage with legend in Brahmi, Pahlavi or Bactrian, sometimes inspired from Kushan coinage, and sometimes more clearly Sassanian. The obverse of the coin usually depicts the ruler with elaborate headdress and on the reverse either the Zoroastrian fire altar or Shiva and his bull Nandi.

5.3 Economic relationship

Persian industry under the Sassanids developed from domestic to urban forms. Guilds were numerous, and some towns had a revolutionary proletariat. Silk weaving was introduced from China; Sassanid silks were sought after everywhere, and served as models for the textile art in Byzantium, China, and Japan. Chinese merchants came to thriving Iranian ports such as Serif to sell raw silk and buy rugs, jewels, rouge; Armenians, Syrians, and Jews connected Persia, Byzantium, and Rome in slow exchange. Good roads and bridges, well patrolled, enabled state post and merchant caravans to link Ctesiphon with all provinces; and harbors were built in the Persian Gulf to quicken trade with India. Sassanid merchants ranged far and wide and gradually ousted Romans from lucrative Indian ocean trade routes. The recent Archeological discovery has shown an interesting fact that Sassanids used special labels (commercial labels) on goods as a way of promoting their brands and distinguish between different qualities.

Khosrau I further extended the already vast trade network. The Sassanid state now tended toward monopolistic control of trade, with luxury goods assuming a far greater role in the trade than heretofore, and the great activity in building of ports, caravanserais, bridges, and the like was linked to trade and urbanization. The Persians dominated
international trade, both in the Indian Ocean and in Central Asia and South Russia in the time of Khosrau, although competition with the Byzantines was at times intense. Sasanian settlements in Oman and Yemen testify to the importance of trade with India, but the silk trade with China was mainly in the hands of Sassanid vassals and the Iranian people, the Sogdians.  

The main exports of Sassanids were silk, woolen and golden textile, carpet and rug, skin, leather and Pearl from Persian Gulf. Also there were goods in transit from China (paper, silk) and India (spices) whom Sassanid customs imposed taxes on them and were re-exported from Empire to Europe.

It was also a time of increased metallurgical production, so Iran earned a reputation as the "armory of Asia". Most of the Sassanids mining centers were at the fringes of the Empire, in Armenia, the Caucasus and above all Transoxania. The extraordinary mineral wealth of Pamir Mountains on the eastern horizon of the Sassanid Empire led to a legend among the Tajiks, an Iranian people living there, which is still told today. It said when God was creating the world; he tripped over Pamirs, dropping his jar of minerals which spread across the region.

India had already a significant role in commerce network. From the Jataka stories which represent the social conditions of Buddhism period and before that time that is to say about the fifth century before Christ it is understood that commercial relations between India and Egypt from one side, and east and southeastern from another side were extensive. There was a place in Mamfic city of Egypt where Indian businessmen lived. India had a significant role in international trade from China and Java in east of Asia to Venice in the south of Europe. The main Indian merchandises which were exported to the north were silk, fine clothes, different kinds of weapons, knives, swords, rugs, odor spices, ivory, and ivory products. For instance according to Shahnameh, Persians used Indian weapons for their war with Romans. India has two gates towards Asia on land. Both of them were nearly situated on northwestern mountainous regions. One of them was toward Kabul and the other Gandhar. The latter was frequently used. India was
situated on two international commerce roads. One was Silk Road which connected east of China to Rome and other was spicy road which passed through India towards Mediterranean countries. Both roads passed through Persia, and were the best way for permanent commerce between Persia and India. Ancient history recited many times the Persian and Indian beneficial commercial relations. During Sassanian kingdom commercial relations were developed greatly between two countries.

At that time the Silk Road flourished too. Persia stood between India and Europe. When the land ways became unsafe, the attention was paid to minor roads and sea from India to Persian Gulf. There is a direct relationship between political and commercial situation of each government. Therefore since Sassanian Empire enjoyed a great power and stability, it could easily develop its commercial relations with neighbors. Based on some documents, the commercial relation between Persia and India was developed greatly. Their ships transported the merchandises between two countries. Persia imported valuable goods from India and exported them to the west. In fact Persia not only exported its merchandise to the west, but also acted as an agent to buy Indian products and send them to the west.

Justinian the emperor of east Roman empire who was contemporary with Anoshiravan wanted to change this situation. He wanted to negotiate directly with Indian traders and businessmen. This was one of their issues. Because of strong navigation system or their friendship with Persian, Indian traders liked to trade only with Persian. Justinian allied with Abyssinian to trade directly with India. However because of the strength of Persian navigation was not able to do anything. And Persian took advantage of exporting Indian merchandises. One of these roads was Silk Road in which Persia exported Chinese silk to west. Based on Cosmas Indiko Plostes, who was a geographer and Indian tourist, Persian ships came to Ceylon ports and they exported the Indian merchandises to the Romans.
The Silk Road in Sassanian Era

The famous Silk Road with the length of approximately 8000 kilometers connected China to the central and west Asia and Roman. It started from Changan the capital of Han Empire. It passed mountainous state of Gan -Jo and ended to Torfan. According to the historian, this road was divided at Vemangoan state to two paths, one towards the north and the other toward the south. The south road extended from Lapnoor along with the south mountains and stretched to Oxus (Amu Darya) and Yarkand and passed from Pamir and Kushanian and ended in Persia. On contrast the northern route started from Torfan and along the northern mountains extended to the seashore. Then it passes Kashgar and Pamir and crossed Farganeh and Sagdian regions. This northern road after crossing Marve again divided to two parts. One moved towards Samarqand and the other towards Balkh. The western part of this road moved from Marve to Mashhad and Nishabur. Then it extended along the Albourz Mountains and passed trough Rey, Hamadan, Selokyehand Ctesphon. After crossing Tigris and Euphrates it arrived to Antakieh and Mediterranean ports which were the centre for exchanging goods with Roman Empire.

Houdsen divides these roads into four categories:

1. from Genso to Pamir,
2. From Pamyer to Marve which was under the control of Kushanian up to the half of the third century, then it was controlled by Sasanian.
3. From Marve to Solukiy (present Iraq) which was under control of Sassanian and Arsacides till the emergence of Islam.
4. From Selokye to the territories of Roman Empire.  

The Silk Road had a crucial role in transferring cultural opinions and thoughts. Especially the current path of transfer was from west to east. That is to say opposite of the direction of Silk Road. The religions of Buddhist, Zoroastrian, Manichaesim, Christianity, Nestorian, along with other cultural elements moved from Persia to China. Needless to say the path was the Silk Road.
The discovery of Sassanian coins in China approved the commerce between Persia and China in Sassanian era via the Silk Road. The coins discovered in the eastern part of the Silk Road in Turkistan of China are related to Shapur II, Ardashir II, Shapur III, Hourmoz IV and Khusro Parviz. With the development of Persian navigation after the six century, Persian traders sailed Indian Ocean and arrived to the Kanton port in China. The discovery of Sassanian coins in this port clearly approves this fact that west to east commercial route was basically under the control of Sassanian traders both in land and sea. Sassanian had the strongest power in Persian Gulf.

I - Canh, one of the Chinese residents, travelled by Persian ship of Pose in 671. He wrote “that at the beginning of autumn I arrived in Kavantom city, and then I managed the date of my trip with the Capitan of Persian ship (Pose) to the south. Finally from Kovangjo (Kovanto) I boarded the ship.” In addition to the Silk Road, Sasanians had connection with China via the sea. This connection crossed India too. Then later on at the end of Sassanian era there was a direct sea route between Persia and India. Whenever the land path was in danger of tribal attacks such as Hftolyan (white Hunas), they used the sea path.

Kristen Sen wrote “land business was done in old roads. The main roads started from Ctesphon which was capital.....one reached to Hamada and the others to the south, crossed Khozestan and Fars and arrived to Persian Gulf. The other road directed to Ray....and ended to Caspian Sea or from Khorasan and Kabul valley to India. There was a road from Turkistan and Sufieh Tarym to China.”

**Persian Gulf of Sassanian Era**

During the Sassanian kingdom till the seventh century, Persia and India had commercial relations. Therefore Indian merchandises were transported from northern and central roads as well as Persian Gulf to west Asia and Roman Empire. After the tribal attacks on northern roads the Persian Gulf became the main way for transportation of goods. It is worth mentioning that before starting the main topic i.e. commercial topics in Persian Gulf a description of Persian territory in and outside of Persian Gulf is given.
According to Sumery and Akdy manuscript, commercial travels in Persian Gulf have been detected from the first century before Christ. These manuscripts show that from this road the people of Mesopotamia imported copper, wood, Ivory, precious stones and even onions. Ashorian in the first half of the first century before the Christ used the same road for their commercial affairs.\textsuperscript{91}

Achaemenids used the strategic location of Hormouz strait. They lanched their fleet to explore ways to connect Persia to India and Egypt. The subterranean wells in the time of Darush 482-521 were introduced to Oman and southern shore of Persian Gulf. They are known as Falaj al Aflaj.\textsuperscript{92} Iranian on Parthian era had an eye catching development in navigation, moreover, they had beneficial ports on both south and north shores of Persian Gulf. A lot of navigation instruments have been left from that era. They explored sea routes and prepared navy maps. They prepared different maps (Rahnamej in Arabic) and sent their fleet to the western parts. Today a lot of navy terminologies of that time have been used in Persian language for instance Arabs use the words Rahnamaj and Sukan for navy map and helm respectively. And the Persian word “bar” which means port can be found in words such as Zangbar or Malabar etc. Europeans still use Persian navy for sea travelling. The residence of Persians on the southern shores of Persian Gulf increased on Partisan era. Furthermore, it was reinforced during the Sassanian period.\textsuperscript{93} It was at the time of Ardashir Babakan 224-241 that some Arabs immigrated to the shores of Persian Gulf. However Shahpur II defeated the immigrated Arabs and stopped their immigration towards southern shores of Persian Gulf.

Dr. Wiel Kynsen, an expert in Oman, uses ancient documents such as Yagobi history, Tabary History, and many unpublished documents. He describes eloquently how Persian governors ruled over Oman and Masnadon shores in Sasanian period. Persians ruled directly the interior parts of Mazon (Oman) and some shores of Persian Gulf.\textsuperscript{94}

In order to strengthen Persian historical sovereignty in Persian Gulf shores, Khusro Parviz revolutionized the ruling organization and established a new system under the control of two statuses of army and landowners. These two classes were called
Asvaran and Marzbanan in that region. Some documents show that in Sassanian period commercial activities in Persian Gulf were greater that in any other eras. The reason for that boosting business was the Sassanian rulers. Ardashir, the founder of this dynasty, established some ports in Persian Gulf and also near the rivers ended to Persian Gulf. One of these ports was named Rav Ardashir in Fars State. The other was named Armozd Ardashir and was situated in Ahvaz. Paza Ardashir was built on the shore of Saudi Arabia, in front of Bahrain Island. Vanishtabar Ardashir (Able, the present Basreh) was built by Ardashir. Kharaks forat in Khuzestan, Bahman Ardashir in Seleucid and Be Ardashir are attributed to this king too.

More reliable and authentic documents about commerce on Indian Ocean from Persian Gulf go back to two centuries before the emergence of Islam. Balkhi, a historian of the Islamic period wrote “Khusro II sent a troop to India by ship from Persian Gulf.” Masoody in this regard stated that Indian king in Indus and all countries of south and north in that region wrote a peace contract with Sassanian king. Development of political and commercial power in developing Christian churches is reflected too. On the last century before Islam, one Nestorian religious centre was established in Ceylon Island. Moreover in all Indian Ocean shores, even some far areas such as Malaysia and Malabar and Kalanyan near Mumbai and other parts in west such as Eskotary near Istanbul, Christian churches were established. Cosmas the contemporary Greek writer states that Persian ships traffic in Ceylon Island was usual.

Able port near present Basre port was one of the important commercial Indian centres with the west world. Tabary called that port Farajol-Hind (Indian gate) since it was very important. The famous Indian merchandise were Aloes-wood, sandal, Musk, Camphor, Ginger Chillies, Fogel, Nenuphar, Gardamom, Darchin, Halilaj, Blazer, sugar, cocoanuto, mango, cotton, Canvas, cotton textiles, Saj wood, Corundum, diamond, pearls. These goods are known as their original Indian names all over the worlds.

Amminus marcellinus from Greek came with the Roman troops of Julianus roman emperor came to Persian 363 asserted that in the autumn of that year a big market in the
city of Batne near the shore of Euphrates was established. In that market a lot of Chinese and Indian merchandise were found.

Hamze Isfahani in the fifth century said that such a big market was established in Hayerh each year.\textsuperscript{101} French scholar, Reinaud, asserted that little by little Persian strengthened their navigation power, Persian ships frequently traveled on all eastern seas. At the beginning, they competed with Roman or Ethiopian ships; however they captured the seas thoroughly. The influence of Persian over the sea was one of the reasons that endangered the power of Roman regarding eastern seas.\textsuperscript{102} White Huz, English researchers from Persian studies of English association, worked in ruined areas of Syraf port in Persian Gulf. He wrote a comprehensive article about Sassanian sea commerce. He quoted the witness of those era Prokypos the byzanse historian and writer of five and six centuries and also Casmes Nestorian persit who wrote something in 522. White Huz adds that the documents all show that a developed commercial business was in Persian Gulf areas. Commercial relation of west and east was done from Persian Gulf. Furthermore, the strongest fleet belonged to Persia. He believes that the navigation route between Syrof and Kenton was rooted in Sassanian era. Although the date of Chinese manuscripts dates back to the era after Sassanian, it clearly shows the commercial relation between Persia and Chinese. Words such as Po-Sa-Po-Su mean Parse. The documents of 4th to 8th centuries indicate Persian commercial colonies at Kenton. He adds that at the forth century Ardashir controlled commercial business of Persian Gulf, and after 330 years Khusro did the same.\textsuperscript{103}

The first record of ocean navigation of Persian is in Paladyves in the fourth century. Later on in Nestorian calendar the trade between India, Ceylon and Persia in the kingdom of Yazdgerd I is mentioned.\textsuperscript{104} In the histories of Chinese dynasty from the end of four century till the beginning of the eight century, all products of India, China, Ceylon, Saudi Arabia and east shores of Africa were called Posty goods. It means Persian. The main land of these imported goods is called Set.\textsuperscript{105}
The Porsi (Persian-Iran) referred to merchandises which were carried by Persian to Chinese. The Chinese history listed these goods as: Coral, Ambergris, Carnelian, pearls, glass both opaque and transparent, Crystal, diamonds, steel, Cinnabar, mercury, Frankincense, turmeric, golden textiles, black chillies, long chilly, date, nightshade, Mazut, and nutmeg roots.

All the above mentioned goods in addition to gold, silver, lead, sandalwood, different textiles, sugar came from India or southeastern countries. Therefore it can be concluded that Posty products may be goods that were carried by Persian to China. It seems that the commercial growth was due to the interference of the government. Because their intention were, first of all, to control the Persian Gulf, second, close competition with Romans, and then developing beneficial trade between Persia and India, Ceylon and the west. As mentioned before this policy was successful and all shores of Persian Gulf were under the control of one power.

Persian traders in the six century governed the Indian market, and Sassanian government supported them even in Aden sand Ceylon. But the focus of attention of and the power of Sassanian were on eastern seas. And as mentioned before, in 528 the delegation of Raj Pulakesin II Maharaje of Deccan went to the Sassanian throne.

To put it in a nutshell, the commercial relation of India and Persia was expanded well. It is believed that the sea route got the importance and the superiority of sea control belonged to Persia. The superiority in which Persian commercial ships and its allies ‘ship, that is to say Arabs and India, were freely launched their ships and merchandise on the seas. ,

The last point about Sassanian commerce is the reply to the question that some sources put forward. The question is whether Sassanian avoided the sea and navigation for religious reasons. They believed that the sea is holy then they did not launch any ship on it. On the contrary some believed that the sea belonged to the evil.
In Madygan Hezar Dastan in the forth century Azar Pas Sepand while advising his son Zarathushtra wrote the good points on Zoroaster months and asserted that the tenth day of each month which is called Oun (Aban) is good for sea travel, irrigation and digging a well, cleaning the well, planting trees and corns.

Moreover based on the Ardashir Babakan book in Sassanian era, when Ardashir Babakan came to Persian Gulf and sea the ocean in front of himself he praised the God and called that place Ardashir Takht and ordered to open fire near the shore and keep it burning.109

Prokopious said that when Anoushravan in 540 arrived in Solukiye in Mediterranean shore he washed himself with sea water and sacrificed for the sun and other preliminary tasks were done. Then he referred to the gods so many times.110

Therefore based on these reasons and all historical documents, the sea was not evil creature and Zoroastrian religion which was the religion of Sassanian was not against the sea and navigation. Sassanians developed the most powerful navigation on Persian Gulf. Once they controlled all west and east commerce. Even after Sassanian and Islamic epoch, commercial relations between Persia and India continued. Syraf port in Persian Gulf was the most important port in Persian Gulf for trading the Chinese and Indian merchandises.

Estakhry, one of the historians in the beginning of Islamic period asserted that merchandises such as different spices, wood, precious stones, and ivory were deported to this port. Then these goods were sent not only inside Persia, but also to other countries.111 Masoody the historian of the tenth century wrote that Indian (Daryar) Mansore limits and Moltan to Khorasan and Indus is continuous and caravans traveled between India, Indus, Khorasan, and Zabolistan.
5.4 Cultural Relationship

To get the idea about the cultural relationship between Persian and India, it is necessary to study the following:

1. Autistics relations
2. Religious relations
3. Scientific and literary relations
4. Immigrations of Persian to India after the extinction of Sassanian dynasty

Autistics relations (bilateral effects of Indian and Sassanian arts on each other)

The Sassanid kings were enlightened patrons of letters and philosophy. Khosrau I had the works of Plato and Aristotle translated into Pahlavi taught at Gundishapur, and even read them himself. During his reign many historical annals were compiled, of which the sole survivor is the Karnamak-i Artaxshir-i Papakan (Deeds of Ardashir), a mixture of history and romance that served as the basis of the Iranian national epic, the Shahnama. When Justinian I closed the schools of Athens, seven of their professors fled to Persia and found refuge at Khosrau's court. In time they grew homesick, and in his treaty of 533 with Justinian, the Sassanid king stipulated that the Greek sages should be allowed to return and be free from persecution. Under Khosrau I the college of Gundishapur, which had been founded in the 4th century, became "the greatest intellectual centre of the time," drawing students and teachers from every quarter of the world. Nestorian Christians were received there, and brought Syriac translations of Greek works in medicine and philosophy. Neoplatonists, too, came to Gundishapur, where they planted the seeds of Sufi mysticism; the medical lore of India, Persia, Syria, and Greece mingled there to produce a flourishing school of therapy.112

Artistically, the Sassanid period witnessed some of the highest achievements of Persian civilization. Much of what later became known as Muslim culture, including architecture and writing, was originally drawn from Persian culture. At its peak the Sassanid Empire stretched from Syria to northwest India, but its influence was felt far beyond these political boundaries. Sassanid motifs found their way into the art of Central Asia and China, the Byzantine Empire, and even Merovingian France. Islamic art
however, was the true heir to Sassanid art, whose concepts it was to assimilate while, at the same time instilling fresh life and renewed vigour into it\textsuperscript{113}.

\textbf{(Pic.48)} 7th century plate depicts Sassanid era musicians. Ancient Iranians attached great importance to music and poetry, as they still do today..( From"http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sassanian).

According to Will Durant: "Sasanian art exported its forms and motifs eastward into India, Turkistan, and China, westward into Syria, Asia Minor, Constantinople, the Balkans, Egypt, and Spain. Probably its influence helped to change the emphasis in Greek art from classic representation to Byzantine ornament, and in Latin Christian art from wooden ceilings to brick or stone vaults and domes and buttressed walls." \textsuperscript{114}
Sassanid carvings at Taq-e Bostan and Naqsh-e Rustam were colored; so were many features of the palaces; but only traces of such painting remain. The literature, however, makes it clear that the art of painting flourished in Sassanian times; the prophet Mani is reported to have founded a school of painting; Firdousi speaks of Persian magnates adorning their mansions with pictures of Iranian heroes; and the poet al-Buhturi describes the murals in the palace at Ctesiphon. When a Sassanian king died, the best painter of the time was called upon to make a portrait of him for a collection kept in the royal treasury. Painting, sculpture, pottery, and other forms of decoration shared their designs with Sasanian textile art. Silks, embroideries, brocades, damasks, tapestries, chair covers, canopies, tents, and rugs were woven with servile patience and masterly skill, and were dyed in warm tints of yellow, blue, and green.

![Sassanian Silver Vessels](pic. 49)  
![Sassanian Silver Plate](pic. 50)  

Every Persian but the peasant and the priest aspired to dress above his class; presents often took the form of sumptuous garments; and great colorful carpets had been an appendage of wealth in the East since Assyrian days. The two dozen Sassanian textiles that escaped the teeth of time are the most highly valued fabrics in existence. Even in their own day, Sassanian textiles were admired and imitated from Egypt to the Far East;
and during the Crusades these pagan products were favored for clothing the relics of
Christian saints. When Heraclius captured the palace of Khosru Parvez at Dastagird,
delicate embroideries and an immense rug were among his most precious spoils. Famous
was the "Winter Carpet", also known as "Khosro's spring" (Spring Season Carpet قلی
بهرستان) of Khosru Anushirvan, designed to make him forget winter in its spring and
summer scenes: flowers and fruits made of in woven rubies and diamonds grew, in this
carpet, beside walks of silver and brooks of pearls traced on a ground of gold. Harun al-
Rashid prided himself on a spacious Sassanian rug thickly studded with jewelry. Persians
wrote love poems about their rugs.115

(p. 51) A bowl with Khosrau I's image at the center. (pic. 52) Dish Shapur II Hunting Lions 4th century

Studies on Sassanid remains show that over 100 types of crowns being worn by
Sassanid kings. The various Sassanid crowns demonstrate the cultural, economic, social,
and historical situation in each period. The crowns also show the character traits of each
king in this era. Different symbols and signs on the crowns, the moon, stars, eagle, and
palm, each illustrate the wearer's religious faith and beliefs. The Sassand Dynasty, like
the Achaemenid, originated in the province of Persis (Fars). The Sassanids saw
themselves as successors of the Achaemenids, after the Hellenistic and Parthian interlude,
and believed that it was their destiny to restore the greatness of Persia.

In reviving the glories of the Achaemenid past, the Sassanids were no mere
imitators. The art of this period reveals an astonishing virility, in certain respects
anticipating key features of Islamic art. Sassanid art combined elements of traditional
Persian art with Hellenistic elements and influences. The conquest of Persia by Alexander the Great had inaugurated the spread of Hellenistic art into Western Asia.

Though the East accepted the outward form of this art, it never really assimilated its spirit. Already in the Parthian period, Hellenistic art was being interpreted freely by the peoples of the Near East. Throughout the Sassanid period there was reaction against it. Sassanid art revived forms and traditions native to Persia, and in the Islamic period, these reached the shores of the Mediterranean. According to Fergusson: “With the accession of the [Sassanids], Persia regained much of that power and stability to which she had been so long a stranger… The improvement in the fine arts at home indicates returning prosperity, and a degree of security unknown since the fall of the Achaemenidae.” 116

Surviving palaces illustrate the splendor in which the Sassanid monarchs lived. Examples include palaces at Firouzabad and Bishapur in Fars and the capital city of Ctesiphon in Khvarvaran province, Iraq. In addition to local traditions, Parthian architecture influenced Sassanid architectural characteristics. All are characterized by the
barrel-vaulted iwans introduced in the Parthian period. During the Sassanid period, these reached massive proportions, particularly at Ctesiphon. There, the arch of the great vaulted hall, attributed to the reign of Shapur I (241–272), has a span of more than 80 feet and reaches a height of 118 feet. This magnificent structure fascinated architects in the centuries that followed and has been considered one of the most important examples of Persian architecture. Many of the palaces contain an inner audience hall consisting, as at Firuzabad, of a chamber surmounted by a dome. The Persians solved the problem of constructing a circular dome on a square building by employing squinches, or arches built across each corner of the square, thereby converting it into an octagon on which it is simple to place the dome. The dome chamber in the palace of Firouzabad is the earliest surviving example of the use of the squinch, suggesting that this architectural technique was probably invented in Persia.

The unique characteristic of Sassanid architecture was its distinctive use of space. The Sassanid architect conceived his building in terms of masses and surfaces; hence the use of massive walls of brick decorated with molded or carved stucco. Stucco wall decorations appear at Bishapur, but better examples are preserved from Chal Tarkhan near Rayy (late Sassanid or early Islamic in date), and from Ctesiphon and Kish in Mesopotamia. The panels show animal figures set in roundels, human busts, and geometric and floral motifs.\textsuperscript{117}

At Bishapur some of the floors were decorated with mosaics showing scenes of merrymaking as at a banquet. The Roman influence here is clear, and the mosaics may have been laid by Roman prisoners. Buildings were decorated with wall paintings. Particularly fine examples have been found at Kuh-i Khwaja in Sistan.

After paying attention to the east borders, Sassanian was successful in extending political and cultural influences over the Honokosk areas. To illustrate the point Bamian complex is the best place. It is situated in Afghanistan; unfortunately, at the time of Taliban these precious Buddhism works received severe damages.
Bamian Persian and Buddhism School

The foundation of Sassanian dynasty by Ardashir I 226-41 had immediate influences on the arts of neighborhood especially Bamian. Bamian as well as Balkh were seized in the third century by Sassanian and became part of their territory. Sassanian dynasty relived national traditions over there. In the field of arts, these traditional customs were a return to the rules and symmetrical contracts. This led to the stability of Sassanian. The rules were prepared and designed from outsides. Persian ancient traditions, new serious Sassanian rules as well as impression from other pares like Syria which was under the influence of Roman penetrated to Bamian. Then they were mixed with portrait designing of Indian Buddhism and elements from Gandhar style.

The integration of all these elements led to the emergence of a unique style which Hakin called it “Persian-Buddhism” school because of its clear Sassanian specification. The fertilized valley of Bamian was a main station along the Balkh-Taksila road. The caravans passing through Hindukush rested there. The valley was famous for its great temples. They flourished between second to eighth centuries. Today nothing is left from the temples which were located under the huge cliffs in front of south part of the valley. Their domes were ruined; however Buddhist monks used the facility. They sculpted different statues of Buddha. They made a series of temples outside of the cliffs and on the other side of the valley. The temples consist of a big hall, a house of worship, and some rooms for the monks. Vagodar and Hakin during 1923 to 1933 explored some of them and J. Carel also joined them in 1930. Recently Giuseppe Tucci started exploring some of the other caves in a place, a little far from the previous caves. Investigating different Bamian temples and convents showed the characteristics of Persian-Buddhist style of architecture and embossed works and decorations. The findings in a temple near Kakrak valley followed the same style. Persian-Sassanian elements were added to the traditional framework of Buddhist and Roman art. These elements were superior to the local styles. Later on the influence of Indian Gupta style made the style more moderate. And even it was greater than Persian influence and this led to further changes in the next works. The caves next to 120 feet statue of Buddha are situated in the east of the valley (their art is detectable from literary works). These caves are older than the caves near 170
feet statue of Buddha. They may have been built in the second century. While the last works (Goldis 175 feet Buda statue) belonged to the later activities in this region and it could be traced back to six or seven century.\textsuperscript{119}

Monks in Bamian used Persian octagonal architecture in their plans. Bamian art was basically religious and it was at the service of Hynayana- a branch of Buddhism. Monotonous repetition of Buddha statues reminds the endless production of Buddha in Hada and Taksila temples. Investigating these giant statues, one can infer the formation and changes of Persian-Buddhism style and regardless of the mixture of cross divert (blend) elements find the main lines of evolution and changes.

Sassanian arts in the first place had impact on the details of decoration and then on sculptures, clothes and even painting styles. The marks and finding near colossal of 120 feet Buddha statues represent Persian Kasies from which wrinkled clothes with wider bottom. These Kasies or ribbons in Persia represented the magnificent. They are found on
crowns, formal clothes, and even sometimes on the rocks of goddesses and kings. Moreover they were used in architectural decoration. They are similar to Sassanian gold blocker and are found on stone relief (Relief from Naqsh-i Rustam, Shapur, and Taq-i Bustan in Fars and Kermanshah respectively).

The cooperation and continuous relation between Persian and Iranian elements at Bamian was the result of trading between Persia and India. Moreover it reflected this fact that the artists of two art schools were working side by side. An illustration of this cooperation was Bodhisattva group 1\(^{120}\). In this work with special effects Indian garments had a branch with three flowers, the same as Sassanian flowers. Besides a ribbon like, a Koust Shapur I and Bahram II is found in Rajab and Bishapur. A scarf around the sculpture shows the detailed characteristics of Persian-Indian art in Bamian. The art of Bamian which was basically based on Roman-Buddhist traditions developed by Sassanian and later on became perfect.\(^{121}\) Therefore Persian and Indian arts expanded in the east. Nimtajhaisep are fluctuating Kosti in Japan, tree of life decoration, abundant of blessing vases and decorations all belong to Sassanian era.
Sassanian Art Style at the Cave of Ajanta:

With the spread of Persian-Buddhist art, elements of garments and style from Sassanian developed in central Asia. Some of these details were manifested in Indian works for example at Ajanta caves. However their existence was not as the result of Persian art style. Rather it was because of Persian tourists influences. The sculpture of a wine distributor on the ceiling of Vihara in Ajanta shows the natural garments of Persian and even represents Persian topics (cup and bottle). The heads of the sculptures were covered with particular felt hat and delicately try to show the authenticity of the portrait in a funny way. Furthermore, short sleeve men shirts and women long dresses and boots with fluctuated Kosti, created outstanding lines which were not usual in old Indian style. This Fresko in Ajanta and the other together are an indication of relation between Persia and India. Khusro sent some delegations to the Chalukya king of Deccan. Of course, evidences to prove this fact are abundant. It was the result of this relation that Ajanta in the painting of Bamian and largely at Fondukistan (hazel-nut) had great impact. 122

Hakin in 1937 discovered a series of paintings and sculptures in one small Fondukistan temple between Begram and Bamian. It is worth mentioning that sometime some new styles emerged out of continuous relation between formal Persian art and very religious Indian arts. It is true for Bamian case in which the blend of these two styles led to a hybrid style. This new style influenced art products of different parts of Sarandy that is to say where Persian and Indian expressions and positions penetrated in it with the help of Bamian art. 123

Buddhist Art in West Persia:

The majority of new art designs found in Sassanian arts such as dragon like peacock, rooster, and spiral flowers are basically Indian. The recent discovery of Gupta coins shows some religious designs; for example, receiving the diadem from Ahura Mazda by the king is mainly Indian. 124 This fact for both cultures, which had peaceful relations, was very useful. If these relations were expanded to Roman- Greek world, it would connect the people of those areas not only with Persian but also with farther area
like China.\textsuperscript{125} The statement of Grishman clearly shows the peak and climax of cultural relations between Sassanian and India which had a great impact on both civilizations.

![A Persian Prince and Princess in Ajanta cave](image)

(pic. 59) A Persian Prince and Princess in Ajanta cave, on a wall on the right hand side, as we enter, is a scene showing the Persian Embassy (Khousrou II Parviz). This is supposed to be a picture of a real happening in the court of Pulakesin II. As Pulakesin II ruled in the 7th century, the painting confirms the date of cave no.1 as of the 7th century A.D.

(Source: Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, p. LXXVIII.)
With regard to great influence of Buddhism in east of Persia, Buddhist religion dominated over Zoroastrian, therefore Buddhism art affected Sassanian art in east of Persia. Both arts impressed each other and this led to the perfection of Persian-Buddhist styles.

(pic. 60) Ajanta caves. (Source: Ajanta book, p.34.)

(pic. 61,62, 63 ) Fresco from the Ajanta caves. ( From Ajanta book, p.36 ).
In constructing the temples in east of Persia and other parts definitely the Buddhist style was followed. For instance Nobahar Balkh temple which was mentioned before was basically a Buddhist temple and at the end of Sassanian period it was changed to fire-temple without any damages or changes to the building. This flexibility was as the result of Buddhist art influence on the region. The comparison of Buddhist influence on west and east of Persia is represented through different types of painting. On the east the human portraits were more popular while on the west the attention was given to abstract figures and decorative pattern on cloth or wall. This is the main difference between west and east Persian arts. The Buddhist customs were born out of art maturity, however its development especially in east of Persia was with the influence of Persian-Roman styles. It is because of Persian interest to change Buddhist’s abstract and without pictures custom to enriched portraits which represent Buddha, Bodhisattva, giants and so on. Among the influences of Persian art on Buddhist tradition, the portrait of Budam Mytoria is the most famous one (Bodhisattva). It has the specification of Jesus or Soshiant of Zarathushtra. The influence of Persian on Buddhist tradition has a close connection with the impact of Persia on Gandhara Art and the last stage of Buddhist art. Gandhara Buddhist sculpture was influenced by Persian elements.
Mosaics and Metalwork Arts:

Weapon making was current in India and it was one of the important exported goods to Persia and the west. The Indian swords were so famous that in ancient Arab language “Mahind” means sword. In Sassanian era the art of metalwork and iron relief flourished and became popular. It moved outside of Persian Empire. Silver had common usage, but gold and admiralty-metal were used too. Most of the objects from these metals are kept in the Russian museum. The richest collection is at Armytaj in Leningrad. On silver plates different topics and various contents such as hunting stags, feast, dance, the coronation ceremony, religious scenes or pictures of animals or abstract images are found. On the coins, found during the seventh to twelfth centuries and the clothes of Indian Rajas, are the same as Sassanian and Arsacides clothes. These coins are duplicated exactly from Persian coins and there are no differences on their sizes, weights, designs, and standards. In Mosaics art Indian affected Persian art, too. This is why Mosaics artists used human body in their works. However the beauty of naked body is only found on Silver bowls. These sculptures of naked women with special impressions and with soft and powerful limbs along with other erotic features are an imitation of Gupta sculpture art.

The effects of Indian music on Sassanian era:

The Sassanian period (226-646 A.D.), in particular, has left us ample evidence pointing to the existence of a lively musical life in Persia. At the time of Bahram V (Bahram Gor) (422-439) who was famous for pleasure, some of Indian singers or Loli (Loly or Koly-Koli) were brought to Persia. They were distributed in different parts of the country. The number of singers in Persia was limited and this made their prices high; therefore, only few rich people could afford singer. This is the reason for importing singers from India. Consequently, Bahram requested some singers from India.

Ofi in his book entitled Javame-al- hekayat wrote, “it is said that one day the king went for hunting. The king saw some people on a deck of ship. They were drinking wine silently. The king asked them why they did not bring any singer. They replied, ‘Oh king, this is the time of singers. They go from one place to another and have a lot of
customers. Today we asked a singer for hundred Darham but unfortunately we were not able to find any. 'After listening to them, the king returned and ordered to write a letter to the king of India, Shangel, and ask him to send some singers. The Indian king sent thousands of singers to Persia. They came to Persia and it is believed that the recent singers are a generation from them."

Bahram V was deeply interested in music; therefore he tried to develop this art all over the country. Because of his understanding of Indian singers and musicians, he asked for them to come to Persia and teach this art. In this way he upgraded Persian music. The number of immigrated singers is not clearly understood. Some estimated them between ten thousand to twelve thousands. Even some historian reckoned the number as four thousand.  

Ferdowsi eloquently described the immigration of Indian singers to Persia on the king’s request. Saedi Nafisy believes that these people were some clans in Indus and Baluchestan areas. These nomadic people lived in tents and they were distributed to Asia and Europe. They came from India to Persia in Sassanian period and settled near the shores of Persian Gulf. Their main job was to entertain people. Persians called them ‘Loly’ and this term is the same as ‘Koly’ which means the beggars or ally singer.

With regard to the impact of Indian music Masoody asserts that, “they have different musical instruments which may have diverse effects on people, from laughter to cry. Sometimes the servants are given the wine to dance and men became excited.” Since the Persian kings were interested in music, it developed easily in Persia and mixed with Indian, Greek music. Jawaharlal Nehru wrote, “Indian music, except in China and Far east, had outstanding effect. Hence the music is another line of relation between Persia and India.”

Gardizi put stress on the development of India in the fields of medicine, mathematics, geometry, astrology; moreover they had wonderful talent about playing and making musical instruments. He added that, “they made marital musical instruments such as, drums, and bugles. Whoever hears the sound will faint and he will be frightened from
those sounds. On the other hand, they sang a song in which one becomes delighted on hearing them. These people which belonged to the east of India are called Kamrout.”

In Khusro Anoushiran period which was the time of literal and scientific development and cultural relation with India, Indian musical instruments were made. It is said that among the objects that Borzoye, a physician, brought to Persia from India was musical instrument called “Vina.”

In the theses of Khusro and his servant it is stated that one of the Sassanian musical instruments was “Van”. At present this is one of the Indian musical instruments. With regards to the importance given to music and based on historical stories, it is believed that the Indian minstrels and lolians settled in a city called Hindyjan or Hindygan. The time of the influence of Indian music on Persia goes back to the period before Sassanian dynasty. However based on the present documents and the invitation of Indian minstrels and singers by Bahram Gor, it seems that the most influence and impact was in this era that is to say the period of Bahram Gor V.

**Religious Relations**

The religion of the Sassanid state was Zoroastrianism, but Sassanid Zoroastrianism had clear distinctions from the practices laid out in the Avesta, the holy books of Zoroastrianism. Sassanid Zoroastrian clergy modified the religion in a way to serve themselves, causing substantial religious uneasiness. Sassanid religious policies contributed to the flourishing of numerous religious reform movements, the most important of these being the Mani and Mazdak religions.

Extreme and pronounced dualism constituted the most noticeable feature of Zoroastrianism. Ormazd and Ahriman, the principles of Good and Evil, were expressly declared to be "twins" who had "in the beginning come together to create Life and Death, and to settle how the world was to be." There was no priority of existence of the one over the other, and no decided superiority. The two, being coeval, had contended since the
The two principles were represented as persons. Ormazd was "the creator of life, the earthly and the spiritual," he who "made the celestial bodies, earth, water, and trees." He was "good," "holy," "pure," "true," "the Holy God," "the Holiest," "the Essence of Truth," "the father of all truth," "the being best of all," "the master of purity." He was supremely "happy," being possessed of every blessing, "health, wealth, virtue, wisdom, immortality." From him came every good gift enjoyed by man; on the pious and the righteous he bestowed, not only earthly advantages, but precious spiritual gifts, truth, devotion, "the good mind," and everlasting happiness; and, as he rewarded the good, so he also punished the bad, though this was an aspect in which he was but seldom represented.\textsuperscript{142}
Zoroastrian worship was intimately connected with fire-temples and fire-altars. A fire-temple was maintained in every important city throughout the empire; and in these a sacred flame, believed to have been lighted from heaven, was kept perpetually alight by the priests, and was spoken of as "inextinguishable". Fire-altars probably also existed independently of temples; throughout Sassanian history a freestanding fire-altar was given a prominent place on coinage as the main impress on the reverse. It was represented with the flame rising from it, and sometimes with a head in the flame; its stem was ornamented with garlands or fillets; and on either side, as protectors or as worshippers, were represented two figures, sometimes watching the flame, sometimes turned from it, guarding it apparently from external enemies.

Alongside Zoroastrianism other religions, primarily Judaism, Christianity and Buddhism existed in Sassanian society, and were largely free to practice and preach their beliefs. A very large Jewish community flourished under Sassanian rule, with thriving centres at Isfahan, Babylon and Khorasan, and with its own semiautonomous Exilarchate leadership based in Mesopotamia. This community would, in fact, continue to flourish until the advent of Zionism.\textsuperscript{143} Jewish communities suffered only occasional persecution.

They enjoyed a relative freedom of religion, and were granted privileges denied to other religious minorities.\textsuperscript{144} Shapur I (Shabur Malka in Aramaic) was a particular friend to the Jews. His friendship with Shmuel produced many advantages for the Jewish community.\textsuperscript{145} He even offered the Jews in the Sassanian empire a fine white Nisaean horse, just in case that the Messiah, who was thought to ride a donkey or a mule, would come.\textsuperscript{146} Shapur II, whose mother was Jewish, had a similar friendship with a Babylonian rabbi named Raba. Raba's friendship with Shapur II enabled him to secure a relaxation of the oppressive laws enacted against the Jews in the Persian Empire. Moreover, in the eastern portion of the empire, various Buddhist places of worship, notably in Bamiyan were active as Buddhism gradually became more popular in that region.
Christians in Iran at this time belonged mainly to the Nestorian and Jacobite branches of Christianity, also known as respectively the Assyrian Church of the East and the Syriac Orthodox Church. Although these churches were originally maintaining ties with the Christian churches in the Roman Empire, they were indeed quite different from the churches in the Roman Empire. One of the most important reasons for this, is that the Church language of the Nestorian and Jacobite churches was the Aramaic language, which is also the language spoken by the Jews in Judea and Galilee at the time of Jesus. This language was not used by the vast majority of the Christians in the Roman Empire, who mainly spoke Latin, Koine Greek, or Coptic.

Another factor that the churches within the Persian Empire did not maintain such close ties with their counterparts in the Roman Empire, was also the continuous rivalry between these two great empires. And quite often, Christians in Persia were (often falsely) accused of sympathizing with the Romans, especially when the Roman emperor Theodosius I declared Christianity the state religion of the Roman Empire.

But it was not until the Council of Ephesus in 431 that the vast majority of Christians in Persia broke their ties with the churches in the Roman Empire. At this council, Nestorius, a theologian of Syrian/Assyrian origin and the patriarch of Constantinople, taught a different view of the Christology that was rejected and regarded as heretical by the majority of Greek, Roman and Coptic Christians. One of the differences in Nestorius' teachings, was that he refused to call Mary, the mother of Jesus Christ "Theotokos" or Mother of God. The Assyrian Church, however, disagreed with the other churches, and refused to condemn Nestorius' teachings.

Nestorius eventually lost the debate, and was deposed as patriarch. He was forced to flee with a number of his followers to the Sassanian Persian Empire where he was allowed to settle in Persian territories. He and his followers were welcomed into the Assyrian Church in Mesopotamia. Several Persian emperors also used this opportunity to strengthen Nestorius' position within the Assyrian Church (which made up the vast majority of the Christians in the Persian Empire) by eliminating the most important pro-
catholic clergymen in Persia and making sure that their places were taken by Nestorians. This was to assure that the only loyalty these Christians would have, would be to the Persian Empire.

Most of the Christians in the Sassanian empire lived on the western edge of the empire, predominately in Mesopotamia, but there were also important communities on the island Tylos (present day Bahrain), the southern coast of the Persian Gulf, the area of the Arabian kingdom of Lakhm and the Persian part of Armenia. Some of these areas were the earliest to be Christianized; the kingdom of Armenia became the first independent Christian state in the world in 301 while a number of Assyrian territories had almost become fully Christianized even earlier during the 3rd century, they never became independent nations.\footnote{\textsuperscript{147}}

Most Christians in the Persian Empire belonged to a number of predominately Christian ethnic groups. Some of these groups were the Assyrians, the Arabs of southern Mesopotamia, the Armenians, as well as some smaller ethnic groups such as the

Monophysite Syriacs. The latter group was taken to Persia as prisoners of war from the many conflicts with the Roman Empire. Conversion did take place among ethnic Persians and other ethnicities residing in the empire. Among them were certain small Caucasian and Kurdish tribes which had converted to Christianity.

Sassanian had a significant influence on Roman civilization. The character of the Roman army was affected by the methods of Persian warfare. In a modified form, the Roman Imperial autocracy imitated the royal ceremonial of the court of Sassanids at Ctesiphon, and the Roman ceremonies had in turn an influence on the ceremonial traditions of the courts of modern Europe. The origin of the formalities of European diplomacy is attributed to the diplomatic relations between the Persian governments and Roman Empire.

The principles of the European knighthood (heavily armored cavalry) of the middle Ages can be traced to the Sassanid Asawaran (Azatan) knightly caste, with which it also shares a number of similarities. Persia played a significant role on developing Christianity especially Nestorian in the Sassanian period. Nestorian became the formal religion on the fifth century and it was supported by Sassanian kings. The reason for this support was competition between Persia and Rome. Nestorian priests used this opportunity and made use of this support to promote and develop this religion. They were successful in gathering a lot of followers. They directed their attention towards India. Nestorian traders controlled the foreign trade of Persia especially at the east part. India was on the east; therefore, it was the best place to preach their religion. Buddhists penetrated to Persia from the west and from the sea routes reached Mesopotamia. The same is true for Nestorian in the fourth and fifth centuries. They were successful to gain some followers and built some churches. Some works and rock inscriptions have remained from that time. The first propagation for Nestorian in India was in 300 A.D. At that time David, a priest of Able port; (Basreh) went to India for developing Nestorian.

Abas Shoshtary asserts that at Sassanian period Persian Christian traders traveled to far away places. Wherever they arrived, they talked about their religion, too. This is
why in remote areas in the south of India, Ceylon, and China there are some Christian whose ancestors accepted Christianity on Sassanian period. Cosmas Eskandary wrote, “at the beginning of the six century in Malabar and even Sarandib island there were some Christian Persian colonies. They made some churches and their priests were appointed from Persia.” Majumdar believes that based on the statements of Cosmas, the churches at Ceylon and west south islands in India belonged to Persia.

Some copper slates and stone crosses with Pahlavi writing were found from southern parts of India. They clearly show that Indian Christian societies had relations with Persian churches till the eighth and ninth centuries. And they used Persian language. The relief is: A stone relief at Kosan church near Madras. Two stone relief at Valipali church in Travonker. A stone relief at Kanamatam church in Seryka four miles away from Konayam. A stone relief at Catholic Church in Motasyra fifteen miles away from Kotayam. A stone relief at Seryani church in Alam Gade in the north of Travonkor.

There are twelve words on each relief. The translation of these words according to Professor Sharp is: “Oh the Lord of Jesus, Afras’ son Chahar Bakhtfour Syrian cut it, forgive”. Professor Sharp believes that Afras and his father Charbakht who had Persian names were Persian. But they believed in Syriac Churches. Syriac Churches belonged to Persian. A lot of priests lived in the majority of southern cities in Khuzestan and Fars. The reports of church councils had at least eight names in Persian Gulf. The main priests lived in Rivaardashir. The main priest not only had the responsibility over Persian churches, but also on Indian and other Churches.

In Seert book which was written in the eleventh century, it is stated that Yazdgerd I the Sassanian King 399-421 A.D. sent Nestorian Catalicous (Ahia) to Fars before 415 to report about pirate in India and Ceylon. This mission is an indication of the power and influence of Nestorian priests among Persian traders which were Nestorian Christians. Persian Christians took the advantage of superiority of Sassanian government over commercial route both in land and on the sea. And this is the reason of emergence of Christian societies in India, central Asia, and China. Based on Borbil sources, Jamshid
Movadi pointed out that the first Christians who traveled to India were Persian from Manichee branch. They constructed a church near Madras with relief from their mother tongue that is to say Pahlavi. Moreover Borbil believes that they established a city in the south of India. The name of the city was Mani Gram which means many cities.\textsuperscript{157}

This fact that Borbil called Christians which moved from India to Persia belonged to Manichee branch was not surprising because they differed from Roman Christians. Furthermore, since they were brought up in Persia, they mixed Persian opinions with their religion. On the other hand, Indian had presupposition from Manes and Manichaeism influences in India. This type of Christianity is called Manichaeism Christianity. Clearly the name of Manichaeism in this branch showed that they belonged to Persia. It is worth mentioning that the Manichaeism was a combination of Buddhism, Zoroastrian, and Christianity; therefore, it is natural that some of the Manichaeism beliefs overlap with Christianity. One of the writers stated that Nestorian preachers who cited their prayers in Persian were influential people in India. They established churches in islands of India and also in Indian Ocean. They simultaneously developed Persian language too. One of the Roman tourists in the fifth century described the temples in Sarnydibeb (Ceylon) and shores of Malabar.\textsuperscript{158}

\textbf{The Sun Worshipping in India}

Adityas were Indians’ gods and goddesses with permanent hidden power in the sky that dominated the universe. The children of Adite Hputran, the great god Devi, entitled as the mother of goddesses. They are based on Rig-Veda, consisted of “Mithra, Varveneh, Aryaman, Bahaga, Daksa, and Amsa. Mithra’s features as one of the Aityas is taking care of Payman (promise). It comes between darkness and light in twilight. Mithra along with the sun, the moon and Usah, the morning goddess, were the goddesses of light. This is the way Indians compare it with the sun. Mithra as the first god is the guard of daily evening prayers. Its rays not only create light but also cause the growth of the plants. For Indians Mithra united five tribes, it is the goddess of legislation and is the manifestation of law. Rig-Veda said about Mithra “all five races seek help from
Mithra because it is the powerful helper and protectors of all gods” (the third Mandala, song 60). Based on the reasons of Meillet, the source of coming into existence of Mithra was social one, that is to say it emerged because of social influences and then it became holy.

Mithra in Rig-Veda:

Mithra in Rig-Veda is the relation between human and gods. He creates justice among them. Mithra in Rig-Veda has a role of a prophet, and is one of the god governors. “This Mithra was born with praise, holy with kingdom, it is a king and a merciful king and we enjoyed from his mercy. Yes we remain in his gentle kindness.” (Selected songs of Rig-Veda, the third Mandala song 60).

According to Dumezil, the gods of ancient Indian were divided based on social rules to three groups of governors, fighters and farmers. Each one of these gods has a unique responsibility. The most important tasks belonged to the gods of power and governor which according to Indian had two aspects: one referred to legal and moral view and the other was based on magic and belonged to Varaneh. Based on Indian beliefs, the government is a common kingdom which affected the gods too. This is a case for Rig-Veda. Mithra and Varvaneh were both a king and governor. It meant that they were the kings of the world equally. “Full foundation, abundance of ruling kings Varna and Mithra was combined god among the other gods.”

“Only one God rules over on each Sabebbat and any creatures, and on whatever moves or jumps and all these colorful creations.” The oldest inscription about Mithra in India is the Rig-Veda the ancient Indian religious book. In this book more than two hundred times the name of Mithra is repeated. The first written documents about Mithra are the rock inscription in Bagazkoy 150 kilometers far from east of Ankara. These wall reliefs which were discovered by Hugo Winckler, German archaeologist, in 1907 belonged to two clans of Hatys or Hitis and Mitanys. These two clans at the beginning of second anniversary moved to Minor Asia via Transoxiana. They wrote a swearing agreement on 1380 years before Christ not to invade each other’s territory.
What is important in this contract is issuing and mentioning the name of Mithra for the first time in a list of five: Mithra, Varvaneh (Varuna), Indareh (Indra), and two other gods known as Nastyeh regarded as the superior gods. These two clans in their swearing agreement seek help from Mithra and Varane (Varuna) and called them as witnesses on their contract.  

**Development of Persian Sun Worshipping in India:**

The entrance of Persian sun worshipping to India dated back to the first and second centuries before Christ that is to say at Arsacides period, however at the time of Sassanian it developed more. Apollonius of Tyana the Greek philosopher who traveled to India at the beginning of the first century visited sun temple of Takshyla (Taksila) and described it. From some Indian manuscripts such as Bahvisays and Samba Purana and the writing of famous astrologist Varaha Mihira in the sixth century and other documents it is understood that Persian sun worshipping was practiced north and northern west regions. And the fire worship in all temples around the country performed their religious act. The Bahvisya Pouranah explicitly talks about fire-worshippers of sun worshipping and it is said that, “Samba the son of Krishna insulted one of the religious leaders; consequently he contracted the leprosy disease. Then a physician ordered him to seek help from the god of sun then he was cured. Therefore, he ordered to establish a temple near Candrahaga near the Moltan city to worship the sun.” Huen Tsang, the Chinese tourist of seventh century A.D., wrote about sun temple especially at Moltan. Besides Albirony, Masoudy, Estakhry and Edrisy visited those temples and explained them. According to Indian researches during sixth to twelfth centuries this religion was combined with local traditions and widespread all over the northern part of India. The followers made some temples for performing religious actions. There is a distinction between this sun worshipping in the fifth and sixth century of Sassanian period and sun worshipping between Vedas and Brahamans in India. The name of this god is Mihira in India and it is obvious that it is the word “Meher” in Persia. It can be concluded that the relation between sun and the leprosy is another indication of this fact that it is Persian.
The Impact of Indian Buddhism on Persia in Sassanian Era:

Buddhist religion as the modification of Vedic beliefs tried to eradicate superstitious which was mixed with Berahman religion. Besides, Buddha wanted to omit Caste. Siddhartha was born in India and his father, a king, was Shuddhodhana, and his mother Mayavati. He was born in 563 B.C. and well known as Buddha. According to tradition, Siddhārtha was born more than 200 years before the reign of the Maurya king Aśoka (273–232 B.C.). At the age of 29, Siddhartha left his palace in order to meet his subjects. Despite his father's efforts to remove the sick, aged and suffering from the public view, Siddhartha was said to have seen an old man. Disturbed by this, when told that all people would eventually grow old by his charioteer Channa, the prince went on further trips where he encountered, variously, a diseased man, a decaying corpse, and an ascetic. Deeply depressed by these sights, he sought to overcome old age, illness, and death by living the life of an ascetic. Siddhartha escaped his palace, accompanied by Channa aboard his horse Kanthaka, leaving behind this royal life to become a monk. It is said that, "the horse's hooves were muffled by the gods." He understood that world is valueless. He quitt his wife and child and went to a desert. One day in Gaya region near Benares under the Indian Pipal tree, now known as the Bodhi tree in Bodh Gaya, he found the true reality and the lights of knowledge descended in his heart. Hence from that day he became Buddha. After directing people and persuading them to Buddhism, he died at the age of eighty in 483 B.C. Buddha put stress on justice, moderation in his talks. Ananda, his student burnt his dead body and dig his ashes in ten parts of India.

Buddhism was originally Indian; however, later on it developed out of India. Today most of Buddhist followers are from China, Japan, and Korea and the number of Buddhist followers in India is not so great. At the same time the influencing of India by Persian culture and transferring Christianity and sun worshipping to India, some beliefs transferred from India to Persia and other countries of the world. One of them is the significant and developed influence of Buddhist religion. Buddhism became the formal religion of India at the time of Ashoka the great king of Mourya. Ashoka tried a lot to
develop Buddhism. He sent delegations to east and west to invite other people to Buddhism. Based on the request of Ashoka, Antiochus, the Seleucid king 261-246 B.C. permitted the Buddhist to make tomb for animals in Persia. At the time of Ashoka, Buddhism went outside of India from west of India to Kashmir and Gandhar and Kabul. And it finally reached the shores of Oxus. Alexander Polyhester the Greek historian in his book written at 80-85 B.C. mentioned the Buddhism.\textsuperscript{174}

The significant effect of Buddhism was on east of Persia. This effect was very influential on arts. And many Arsacides and Sassanian artistic works combined with Buddhism arts. Coins related to Ashoka dated 165-180 B.C. were found on east of Persia and present Afghanistan. On one side has impressed the portrait of the Ashoka, and on other side the portrait of Buddha.\textsuperscript{175} Bamian in Afghanistan was the centre of Buddhist religion from the first to seventh century. Many approved that a lot of temples were built on Bamian and today the places are left behind. The development of Buddhism at the time of Kushanian especially at the time of Kanishka, the king of Kushana 120-123 A.D., increased greatly. Therefore before the Sassanian dynasty, Buddhism influenced the east boarders of Persia.

Although the formal religion of Sassanian was Zoroastrian, Buddhism increased in east of Persia and its followers were greater than Zoroastrian. Sassanian wanted to expand their territory; therefore Shapur abolished Kushan Emperor and ruled over their regions. Since Buddhism was developed in these regions, Sassanian unwillingly faced this religion inside their territories. This religion crept into the central part of Persia. The influence of this religion was so high that Piroz, a brother of Shapur who was the governor in the east of Persia, was under the influence of this religion. On one side of the discovered coins in Khorasan and northern areas in the third century, Piroz introduced himself as Piroz Kushan king, the follower of Mazda. On other side of the coin was a portrait of a god of divinity. On this side it was written that Buddha was a god.\textsuperscript{176}

Regardless of the religious prejudice of Sassanians after the period of Bahram II and Narsy period, the followers of Indian religions were better treated. Indian Buddhists
had some temples and centres and were free in performing religious affairs. Religious policy of the next Sassanian kings was related with their foreign policy. Severity of Sassanian kings on Christens, Manichee, and later on Mazdakian, was related to the competition with Roman emperors. No related documents are found to show the severity of Persian Sassanian kings on Buddhism or Indian people in east part of Persia.\textsuperscript{177} The reason may be this fact that Persian king received no threat from Indian government from east of the country. Kushanian was abolished completely and Gupta emperor never thought about attacking Persia. Moreover they had good and friendly relations with Persia. Therefore, they did not consider Buddhist followers immigrating to Persia as spies. However, they had a suspicious attitude towards Roman delegates and Roman Christian preachers. Of course it is worth mentioning that some Sassanian kings followed restricted rules for all religions even Buddhism on certain occasions. The wall relief of Kertier explained his activities and he was proud of teasing foreign religious followers even the Buddhists. However it was a rare occasion, because the priests were regarded highly before Sassanian kings. They were Kertier which meant the highest holy rank.

Yar Shater wrote, “The influences which came from India on Persian Sassanian were basically of Buddhism. Buddhist tradition emerged in east of Persia before Sassanian dynasty. Then fanatical and prejudiced Sassanians attacked the Buddhist traditions and teased its followers. However they survived on the east of Persia and their existence came to the end with the development of Islam on the east of Persia.\textsuperscript{178}

It is worth mentioning that even after the vanishing of Sassanian dynasty and emergence of Islam and its dominance on the region, some of the customs and traditions of Buddhists affected Islamic Sufi. These Buddhist traditions in Islam such as wearing a wadded robe, citation, and so on were developed and interestingly they existed after thousands years. Similarly the Buddhist tradition (particularly Mahayana Branch) was influenced by Persian beliefs in the eastern and even western parts of Persia. The belief about Maitrya resembled the name of Mitrha which was the ‘world saver ’at the end of the world among Persian. Some details of Eschatology and signs of appearing the Buddha, the ‘world saver’ at the end of the world had some similarities with Buddhism
and Persian beliefs. Moreover, in imagination related to the paradise and the hell, and the existence of Mara which is the source of evil deeds, and in his and his friends’ attempts that are the incarnation of greed, anger, and lust are all used to destroy Buddhism. In other case Amitabha and Amitayus share some similarity between Buddhist beliefs and Persian thoughts. According to historical and geographical relations the influence of the older tradition on the new one was obvious.  

Buddhists had some centres even in western part of Persia at Sassanian period. According to Zonob the Syriac writer some people of India were settled on the top side of Euphrates valley in the west of Van Lake. They constructed some temples. The holy Gery Gory fought with them at the beginning of the fourth century (304 A.D.); he abolished them completely and destroyed their temples.  

There is no doubt that Indian thoughts were common in the west of Persia. However the influence of Buddhism on the east of Persia was so great that large amount of archaeological and historical works belongs to this traditions. Large amount of Buddhist works were written on Sagady, Tokhary, and Khotani. The exploring of inscriptions not only helps to understand different ideas and branches of this tradition, but also sheds some light on dark issues related to the cultural history of China and India in central Asia.

The cities on the east of Persia which were greatly under the influence of Buddhism were Samargand, Balkh, Soghdia, and Harat. Heyang Tesang, Buddhist tourist, reported about the Buddhism areas of east of Persia and pointed out to hundred thousands temples and hundred priests.

Based on findings of Fousher, the French explorer, in Afghanistan in Bamian-Balkh, some structures are found that clearly represent the existence of Buddhism in these areas. New findings show that in Balkh famous the temple which was supposed to be a fire temple, is a Buddhist temple and ‘Nobahar’ is originally a Sanskrit word which means new temple. The findings of industry in Balkh are another indication of the influence of Buddhist in this area. This industry is called Roman-Buddhist- Sassanian
industry. It was the combination of central Asian, Greek, Buddhism and Sassanian traditions.\footnote{184}

One of the famous Persian clans was Baramakeh. At the Islamic Period they became ministers of Abassian dynasty (Vazir in Abassian era). Baramakeh basically was in charge of Nobahar temple heritages. And some believe that Barmak I derived from Sanskrit word Parmaka which means boss and supervisor.\footnote{185} The existence of Barmakian as the survivors of Nobahar temple supervisor in Balkh is a sign of development of Buddhism in Persia in Sassanian era. According to the writings of Richard Feray there were some Buddhist followers in Merveh and Harat.\footnote{186}

Mashkoor talks about some temples in Bagram. Bagram is located in west south of Kabul. It is sixty miles far from Kabul. In Fousher and Haken discoveries it was understood. In Temples such as Shalokia near Begram- Rahivala temple- in Fandogestan (Siahgard Gorband) some coins were found. They belonged to Khusro Parviz period. The impact of Sassanian art on Fondukistan in stonecutting is obvious.\footnote{187}

Islamic historians have pointed out that in the east of Persia i.e. great Khurasan and Afghanistan Buddhism was practiced. Abul Fazel Bihaghy frequently talked about a place called Shabahar in Gazneh. It may be a king idol-temple. Yaghobi in Al Baldan in the description of Khurasan talked about Buddhist idols in those areas.\footnote{188}

**Manni religion and its relations with India:**

Manni was a noble Persian. It is believed that his mother, Maryam, belonged to Arsacides king family. Fatak his father is supposed to belong to this family, too. Fatak or Pok was from Hamadan. Then he immigrated to the Babul and settled in a village at the centre of Mishan area. He lived with Moghtasele clan which was a branch of Genostyk clan. They inhabited in an area between Euphrates and Tigris. Manni was born in Babul 215 or 216A.D. He was brought up according to the Moghtaseleh teaching. He quit his religion after his familiarities with Zoroastrian, Christianity, and Gonostic religion specifically Moslekben dysan and Margion.\footnote{189}
According to Abneh Al Nadym in Al Fehrest the first lecture of Manni was in the day of Shahpor I’s accession. His accession was in 242 A.D. Manes religion was a combination of Zoroastrian, Christianity, and Buddhism. He called himself Farglyt which Jesus had talked about it. He asserted that in any time the prophets introduced the reality of God to people. Sometime it happened in India by Buddha, and in Persia by Zoroastrian and in the west by Jesus. I, Manes, am the prophet of God in Babul.

He believed in trinity (Father- first human and mother of life). This idea was borrowed from Christian trinity (Father- son- holy spirit). Metempsychosis idea was taken from Indian especially Buddhist Indian tradition. Other teachings such as avoidance in killing animals, abandonment of the world, Tajarod (non marriage) undergo mortification were under the influence of Buddhist teaching. Ethical consideration, moral, systematic organization, statue classification and ranks of his followers all were under the influence of Buddhism. Studying Xvastvanif Manes Confession letter clearly reminds Buddha and the moral and beliefs of his religion. Many stories of Buddha Jataka and Jatakas writing are seen in Manes book. The best source is the famous book of Bloher and bodasef which contains Buddha’s moral teaching. Manes considered himself as a follower of Buddha and considered Buddha as a prophet like Jesus or Zoroastrian.

Manes first invited his father and his relative, and then he traveled by ship to Toran and Makran in India. That is to say by ship he went to Indus and Balochestan. He was successful to draw the attention of Toran king, the king and many others became his followers. At the time of Shapour I’s accession he returned to Persia.. He was successful in inviting Piroze the brother of Shapour I and then Shapour I to his religion. Shapour invited him to his palace. Then he became the king’s attendant. In addition to preaching, he practiced the profession of physician too. He sent some delegations to Egypt, Rome and southeast of Sassanian territories. And gained a lot of success.

After the death of Shapour I he was treated badly. He was sent to the jail at the time of Bahram II (276-293). Finally after 26 days he died in 277 at the age of 61. After
his death a lot of Manoes followers went to central Asia. After the victory of Islam their freedom decreased temporarily and they returned to Persia. However at the time of Abasian dynasty a lot of them were killed and they transferred their capital from Baghdad to Samargand. After that time no authentic information was found.\textsuperscript{195}

Manichaeism in the seventh century developed in India and China. They could perform their religious ceremony freely in China. In the middle of the sixth century at the time of Oighorah dynasty in Turkistan the Chinese Manichaeism became the formal religion. And it continued till the ninth century. In the thirteenth century and along with the attacks of Mongols the final blow hit Manichaeism.\textsuperscript{196} Manes had a lot of works. They were in east Arami and local language of Manes. 1. Alive Bible 2. The treasure of life 3. Articles 4. Secrets, giants, 6. Letters. 7. Prayers, 8. Shaporgan, 9. Ardahang. Manes portraits which. in Persian is pronounced as Artang and Arjhang which were full of Manes’ portraits which stated Manichaeism concepts to people.10. Kafalaya, which was about Manes lectures and speeches. A lot of Manes, works are found in Torfan from Turkistan of China. Manes I Kafalaya at page 15 in lines 24-26 talks about himself and says that at the end of Ardashir kingdom he started teaching, and went to India. He taught them the hope of life and selected some people from there. From his talks it is understood that Manes found some followers in India and returned to Persia at the time of Shapur I. Probably the influence of Buddhism started before his trip to India. Babul and Mesopotamia was the centre of thoughts and opinions and he became familiar with Buddhism there. And decided to travel to India. Manes, like Buddha, divides his followers into two classes: listener and selected. The selected had no right to get married, eat meat or tell a lie.\textsuperscript{197}

**Literary and scientific relations of Persia and India in Sassanian era:**

Sassanian Empire played the role of intermediary between east and west. The traders imported and exported the merchandises of the east and the west and in this way gained a lot of benefits. The same role is true for scientific, literary and arts affairs. Sassanian made use of Indian and Roman and other civilizations and their scientific and literary works.
The translation of Indian books became a vehicle for transferring Indian knowledge to the west. Later on Arabs used these translated Indian books to Pahlavi and became familiar with the culture and science of the Indians and finally, it spread all over the world. Many works are left behind from ancient Indian civilization which started centuries ago and lasted till the eighth century. All of them from science, moral and fine arts, and industry are the best human works. In literature Sanskrit consists of many high thoughts and beautiful poems of which India is proud. For example, Bahagvad Gita is a story which came along with Mahabharata, a book of epic poems. Bahagvad Gita consists of some parts which reflect the highest elegant and deep meanings and interpretations. Another philosophical book under the title of Patanjali and some others belong to Gupta and post-Gupta period such as Ritu Samhara, Megha-Duta which means cloud’s messenger and Nejad Rago book and Shakutala stories by Kalidasa and Harsh Charita by Bana who wrote the conquests of the kings. In the field of mathematics the digits were invented by Indians; moreover, differential system was invented by Bhaskar Acharya in 1140. Arya Bhata, a well known Indian astrologist and mathematician born in 476, was teaching basic mathematics and Algebra. To put it in nutshell in any field of study during ancient centuries the intelligence of India had a lot of manifestation and good results.

Will Durant asserted that the famous and big city of Taxilla was an academic as well as army city, it was situated on strategic place on the main roads to west Asia. It had a big university with the same name. Based on the historians, that university was one of the most famous universities in Gupta Empire. That city was the centre for students because they had access to all sciences. Its physician school was famous too. The works from Taxilla ruins approved these beliefs.

It is important to keep in mind that in any era and period, the Indian people had relations with their neighbors. And the contacts between India and other countries resulted in the creation of magnificent works. The manifestations of Chinese civilization from the east along with Persia and Roman-Greek civilization from the west were
encountered in India with each other. Chandragupta II at the end of fourth century sent a lot of delegations to Rome, Persia, China, and Turkistan; upon their return they brought a lot of scientific, practical, industrial sources to India. Sometimes these relations were stopped by wars or interior problems. Berahman teaching had forbidden traveling and contacting foreign people because it was against trade union or class principals, consequently there was nothing for persuading scientists, or artists’ mind; therefore this vital factor was blocked. This fact was true for Persia too. Persia took the most advantages from the west and east civilizations at the time of Sassanian particularly at the times of Khusro I and II during which Persia had wide communication with foreign words. From the point of view of Sassanian India had special historical value for them. India was described as a mysterious land full of secrets. The Sassanian kings gave special attention to translating Indian books. The Indian scientific and art books were translated from Sanskrit to Pahlavi. Later on these books were translated to Arabic, Roman and other languages and distributed all over the world. Probably after the attacks of Alexander a lot of scientists, Achaemenids princes, and clergymen escaped to India. They preserved some religious books such as Avesta and tried to learn Indian science and literature.

The Influence of Indian Medicine in Persian at Sassanian Period

For many centuries India was regarded as the land of adventure and strange things. A lot of people went there to find the extract of life or, water of life. The attractiveness of Indian lands faced a lot of invasions during the history. One of the extraordinary things was the medicine and using of medical plants. It was highly progressed in ancient times. Taxilla University had medicine courses and had world wide fame. Shapour Zolaktaf (310-379) requested the well known Indian physicians. He gave them a place in his palace. It is known that the physician visited the patient and taught medicine, too. Hence Indian medicine distributed in Khuzestan. Some Indian physicians worked side by side with their Persian and Roman colleagues at Jondi Shapur hospital. Sometimes they took church of the management of the hospital. At the beginning of Islamic epoch when there was no trace of Sassanian kings, the manager of Jondishapur hospital was Dehshak, an Indian physician.
George Zidan wrote “Haron Al Rashid, the Caliph of Abassi dynasty after the overthrow of Sassanian, asked Dahshak to accept the management of Baghdad hospital, but he refused and introduced Masoye. Another Indian physician at Jondi Shapur University at the beginning of Islamic era was Kanka.\textsuperscript{202} When Ardashir Papakan the founder of Sassanian dynasty and other kings wanted to gather religious books of Zarhashtra, they paid special attention to India.

Abne Nadim in Al Fehrest wrote: “When Ardashir –Ebe- Babak took the reins of government, he sent some delegations to China, India, and Roman to copy the books and solved the differences between the resources. After Ardashir, his son Shapur followed his father’s policy and brought the books to Persia. Any way at the time of Ardashir and Shapur a lot of books of Avesta were gathered from many countries especially India.”\textsuperscript{203} Furthermore other books related to civilizations were gathered, too. Since Persia and India had peaceful relations with each other, it seems that the process of correspondence was done easily. In one of the religious books of Zoroastrians under the title of Dienkard it is written that Shapur I ordered to translate many Roman and Indian books in the fields of medicine, mathematics, and astrology.\textsuperscript{204}

Soalebi asserted that Shapur became sick at the end of his kingdom. The holy men suggested him to ask an expert physician from India to cure him because Roman physicians were not reliable. Because they might create a problem on account of their past incidences. The king ordered to write a letter to India. Indian king sent a skilful physician. His treatment was successful and the king became healthy based on the suggestions of Indian physician. The king settled in the city of Shush and lived there during the rest of his life. More physicians were trained in Shush than Ahvaz and Fars because of the presence of that India physician. He learnt a lot from Roman prisoners of war. Then handed his knowledge to others.\textsuperscript{205} It is written in sources that Khosrou I (Anoshirvan- Noshirvan) sent Boz, a Christian physician, to Indian to gather medical plants. He wrote a book about his findings.\textsuperscript{206} In addition to Indian medicinal science, the knowledge of medical plants was developed in Persian. The medical plants' names such
as Bish and Bladoor are written in the description of Halilak in Pahlavi books. They are borrowed from Sanskrit. Other medical plants which are basically from India are as follow: Balieh, soda-plant, Vamelieh, bhang, tamarind, nutmeg, stramonium, datura, Darchin, ginger, sandal, chillies, Gartagol, camphor, coconut, nenuphar, and indigo-plant. 207 Many contemporary historians such as Safa, Momtahen believed that a group of Indian physicians were teaching medicine at JondiShapur University. Some Indian books in the field of medicine were translated to Pahlavi. They were translated to Arabic later on. In a trip to India at the time of Anoshiravan, Bourzoye, the physician, brought Klileh and Demene (PanchTantarrah) book; however his intention was greater than bringing that book. He wanted to translate scientific books in different fields of study. In his trip some other scholars accompanied him. It is strongly believed that he brought some physicians to Persia. 208 According to historical legends it is assumed that the intention of Burzouye was to find the extract of life. That is to say to find drugs which make the life longer. This story shows this fact that the medical science was developed in India in such a way that it created this thought that you can live permanently if you use or eat these drugs. This idea was widespread in Persia and the world. Even Alexander came to India to find the water of life.

In short, Persia at the Sassanian Period made use of Indian and Roman medical science. They used Indian medical plants and blended them with Persian medical plants. This led to the design of new medical science in which Gafyty considered it superior to the Roman medicine. Written documents regarding Embryology were brought to Persia by Burzoye. 209

**Translation of Indian Literary and Scientific Books:**

Sassanian believed that they inherited Achaemenian (Akamenesh) civilizations. From the beginning they strived to use all the sciences by sending scientists to neighboring countries or inviting foreign scholars to Persia. They tried to develop science and literature of Persia. The movement of translating scientific and literary books started in Sassanian period especially at the time of Khusro I Anoshiravan. Sassanian king gave
special attention to make use of the world science in any way. For instance, Shapur learnt a lot about the dam and bridge constructions by Roman prisoner of wars. Or at the time of Khusro I Anoshiravan the culture was flourished because of the translation of Indian literary and scientific books to Persia. A lot of books were translated from Sanskrit to Pahlaviin from many literary and scientific fields. These books were Tarka in logic, Vyakrana in grammar, Kala-Kosa in calendar, Hora in astrology. These books then were translated to Arabic. The Arabic translation was used by Europeans. Once more Persia played the role of a connector to join the west to east.

Grishman believes that the translation of Indian, Roman, and Greek works were done in the time of Shapur I. It facilitated in Khusro I’s time which was the real Persian movement. Some Indian books about astrology, medicine and mathematics were translated from Sanskrit to Persian at Sassanian era. It seems that astrological Zigs or Zij were learnt from India.

Some of the translated books from Sanskrit to Pahlavi are as follows:

1. Syed Hante book:
   It is a book about astrology which was translated from Sanskrit to Pahlavi. Then it was translated from Pahlavi to Arabic and the name changed to Indian document.

2. Alshanag-Canaki-sro or sosreta (Sushruta):
   Muslims received some famous medical Indian books such as Alshanag-Canaki-sro or sosreta and others from Persian translations or Persian translator.

3. Syrk (Charak):
   Abne Nadym wrote “Syrk book at the time of Sassanian was translated from India to Pahlavi and at the time of Islam it was translated to Arabic by Abdoulah abene Ali.

   Indian wisdom: this book which was about Indian wisdom was translated by Bourzoye. It was translated from Arabic to Greek in 1070A.D. The book was the result of
Burozoye’s travel to India and a combination of Indian sciences which he brought to Persia.

4. Kelile and Demene or Panchantara:

The fact about traveling of Bourzoye to India and bringing Kelile and Demene and translating it is famous. Many sources approved it. The real name of the book is Panchatantara or five stories.

These are tales which are narrated by animals. Ebne Nadim wrote “there are different ideas about Kelile and Demene based on the preface of the book, it was compiled by Indian. Some believed that Ashkanian king complied them but Indians referred to it as theirs. Some believed Bozrjmeher gathered some of it. But God Knows.”

Dr. Tara Chand believes that these stories are unique to India. He adds that of course some believed that animals in the story such as jackals, lions, elephants, and peacocks are often found in India. They are abundant in Indian forests. And it is a Indian metempsychosis. That is to say Indians consider animals as human beings and the advices and recommendations of the stories go to Gats which make the central core of it.”

After translating Panchantara (Kelile and Demene) from Sanskrit to Pahlavi, it was translated to Arabic by Ebn Mogafah in Islamic period. Finally it was translated to modern Persian by Nasrolah Monshi. It is published with different editions in recent years. There is no doubt that this book was translated by Burzoye from Sanskrit to Pahlavi at Sassanian period. However, it seems that the original book, with regard to Tara Chand belonged to the different tribes when Persians and Indians lived together. Persian liked this book and its stories and it was taught at Iranian school.

5. 1001 night stories:

The story of 1001 nights is considered as Indian; however some consider it both Persian and Indian. The theme of the story is that a king slept with a girl every night and then killed her the next morning. In this regard Masody believes that, “when the king
selected a girl and slept with her for a night he killed her the next morning. Then once he chose Shahrzad, a very clever princess. Every night she narrated unfinished stories for the king.” Some believed that these legends are superstitious. Some made this story to approach the king. Telling these stories to people is to attract their attention. and these are the same as the tales which were translated from Persian, Indian, or Roman. Abne Nadim relates this story in Persian and some believe that its roots are Indian. They assert that this style of narrating a story within a story is unique in India.

A lot of books such as Mahabharata and Panchtantra have started the same way. A series stories is narrated inside the framework of the story, and at the end the main story finishes. Based on Shelgel, all cheerful stories are basically Indian because they are similar to stories in Sanskrit. Of course Shelgel believes that 1001 night stories have three Arabic, Persian, and Indian principals. The framework and the content of the book is rooted in Sanskrit.


This story, Balaram and Boddhisatava, is Indian. It was brought to Persia at the sixth and seventh centuries. It was translated from Sanskrit to Pahlavi, Seryany, Arabic, Persian, Greek, and Latin. Some believed that it was translated in Ashkanian (Parthian) and some believed that it was translated in Sassanian era.

7. The legend of stupid cow.

This is a tale about a stupid cow and how the cow grazes at the pasture without knowing his fate. She makes herself fat for the feast. This story was famous in the beginning of Islamic period in Persia. This story with a bit difference is narrated in Jatka sotries of Buddha. Jataka is the oldest collection of Indian stories. It was collected by a group of Buddhist wise men at the third century before Christ. The numbers of stories are more than 500. The original is destroyed and some part of it is reserved in holy book of the Buddhist, Sustapitaka. This book was written at the third Buddhist congress in Ashoka’s time.
**Chess and Backgammon board:**

The story of bringing chess from India to Persia and sending Backgammon board from Persia to India was narrated in Shahname of Ferdowsi and other sources. The king of India sent a message to Persian king. He said that I sent you a gift and want you to explore its secret. If you would be able to disclose its secret I will send you taxes otherwise you would have to send taxes to me. The Persian king asked his wise prime minister to disclose it. He did it and found the secret and sent it to the Indian king along with the Backgammon board and asked Indian king to find the secret behind the backgammon board. The Indian king was not able to do it and he had to send taxes to the Persian throne. However this is only a tale but rooted in reality. It shows that the cultural relations of two countries were very high. It is certain that the chess was brought to Persia at that time. In Sanskrit sources the first mention of the chess is in 625. The Sanskrit name of the chess is Shetornega which reflected two armies in India. This word came to Persia in the sixth century and changed to Shatrang.\(^{223}\)

Sehabaly wrote, “Bozorg Meher invented backgammon board versus the chess, and sent it to the king of India. The Indian wise men could not disclose its secret. They sent a letter to Anoshiravan to explain the play. The king replied that the twelve lines represented the number of months and the white and black pieces are day and nights and dice represents the fate and destiny of people."\(^{224}\)

The bringing of the chess to Persia is approved in a Pahlevi book entitled Matykan Shatrang in Sassanian. Hertzlef believes that the chess was played before Anoshiraven.\(^{225}\) In short, these two plays were the result of Persian and Indian creativity at Sassanian Period. Probably a pamphlet or a book from Sanskrit which is related to the chess was translated from Sanskrit to Pahlavi.

**The immigration of Zoroastrians to India:**

Subsequent to the fall of the Persian Sassanid Empire, after which Zoroastrianism was supplanted by Islam, Zoroastrians became an increasingly persecuted minority and
many fled to other regions in the hope of preserving their religious tradition. Among them were several groups who eventually migrated to the western shores of the Indian subcontinent, where they finally settled.

According to the Qissa-i Sanjan "Story of Sanjan", the only existing account of the early years of Zoroastrian refugees in India and composed at least six centuries after the tentative date of arrival, the immigrants originated from (greater) Khorasan and were granted asylum by the local ruler Jadi Rana on the condition that they adopt the local language (Gujarati); that their women adopt local dress (the Sari); and that they henceforth cease to bear arms. The refugees accepted the conditions and founded the settlement of Sanjan, which is said to have been named after the city of their origin (Sanjan, near Merv, in present-day Turkmenistan). In addition to the Khorasanis or Kohistanis (mountain folk, as the Sanjan group was initially called), other groups also migrated to India, at least one of which is known to have come overland from Sari (in present-day Mazandaran, Iran). This latter group would subsequently found the Indian city of Navsari.  

Although the Sanjan group are believed to have been the first permanent settlers, the precise date of their arrival is a matter of conjecture. All estimates are based on the Qissa, which is vague or contradictory with respect to some elapsed periods. Consequently, three possible dates - 936 A.D., 765 A.D. and 716 A.D. - have been proposed as the year of landing, and the disagreement has been the cause of "many an intense battle [...] amongst Parsis".  

Even so, the Sanjan Zoroastrians were certainly not the first Zoroastrians on the subcontinent. Western Gujarat, Sindh and Balochistan had been the eastern-most territories of the Sassanid (226-651 A.D.) empire, and consequently maintained military outposts there. Moreover, for the Iranians, the harbors of Gujarat lay on the maritime routes that complemented the overland Silk road and there were extensive trade relations between the two regions.
The *Qissa* has little to say about the events that followed the establishment of Sanjan, and restricts itself to a brief note on the establishment of the "Fire of Warharan" (Middle Persian: *Atash Bahram*), which is probably the first fire temple on the Indian subcontinent (it was finally moved to Udvada in the 18th century, where it is today known as the *Iranshah*.

Tara Chand pointed out those centuries before the immigration of Zoroastrian after the extinction of Sassanian, the holy persons in Zoroastrian traveled to India. They had some followers at Taxilla and Moltan. They came to India at the time of Ashoka Empire and distributed sun and fire worshipping.\(^{228}\)

One of the researches, Inostranstrer, talked regarding the immigration of Zoroastrian from Persia to India. He did some researches which were based on the speeches of Blazary, Hamzeh Isfahani and Sanjan story. The time of immigration seems to be the middle of the eighth century. Probably from Oman shores especially from Hormoz Tange and Minab they emigrated from Persia to India. And were settled in a place called Diu in India.\(^ {229}\) The story of immigration was written by a monk in a book under the title of the story of Sanjan. His name was Bahmanpur, Kygobadpour, Horz dyar from Sanjan in 969 Yazdgerdi and (1008 A.H. and 1600 A.D.) it is written in this book that a group of Zoroastrians consisting of men, women, and children were traveling with three ships from Persian Gulf to India. They landed in Gujarat at the eighth century. When the governor or Raja of that place, Jadi Rana, saw their clothes and weapons he was terrified. He asked about their religion and when he became assured that they had no threat for his kingdom, he let them to live there. He gave them a useless jungle, and desert. The Persian made it habitable place. They nominated that place as Sanjan resembling a Persian name. Yaghot in the book "Majamol Al-baladan" mentioned that Chahar Sanjan was located in great Khorasan. Then they asked permission for establishing a temple and named that temple “Iranshah” for remembrance of Persian.\(^{230}\)

Another description from an old manual inscription is kept at Mehji-Rana family. It was kept at the library of Mehji-Rana in the city of Novosari. It stated that we arrived
in Nag mandal in the 11 of Farvardin in 511 Yazdgerdi or (1142 A.B.) because the weather in this city represented as the Sari in north of Persia. We changed the name from Nag-mandal to Novosari.\textsuperscript{231}

**The reasons for choosing India for immigration:**

Indian resources stated that after landing some Aryan tribes to India other groups such as Persian, Greek, Partisan Toranian, Saks, Hunas, Turks, Arabs, Christians, Jewish, and Zoroastrian traveled to India and influenced the Indian culture. They assimilated themselves with Indian society.\textsuperscript{232} According to Dodwell India is like an ocean and its absorption power is endless.\textsuperscript{233} Persian Zoroastrian found India the best alternative after the fall of Sassanian dynasty. They moved toward a civilization which was very similar to theirs. They had a lot of similarities in language, traditions, customs, and religion. Moreover they became acquainted with India through Pahlavi literature, traders and religious delegations.\textsuperscript{234} The attractive points of Indian settlement became clear for them. Therefore if we want to scrutinize this issue we can enumerate the following items:

- There are a lot of similarities between Iran and India in respect of languages, religions, customs and traditions which were thoroughly explained in Chapters 1-5. These similarities persuaded the immigration to India.

- These two countries had commercial relations and business activities which were discussed in the third and fourth chapters. The familiarity with India especially the businessmen had a basic role in immigration to India.

- The availability of some accommodation in comparison to the west is another factor. Parkash stated that Punjab alluvial plain was full of edible plants. Man could provide his food with fewer struggles. Centuries ago tribal attacks were for abundance of facilities in India.\textsuperscript{235}

- Kambozya, one of the Persian writers, stated that Indian spiritual and financial wealth were so great that attracted different groups of people to India through the history.
It means that in addition to natural resources, the development of philosophy, science, literature, and mathematics in India as well as the availability of democratic organizations from ancient time, advanced civilization, true borne diverse industry, drew the attention of different people with different interests towards India. Even some adventurers were sailing from long places to come to India and gain some endless wealth.  

**Spiritual and Mental Elements**

India is a comprehensive museum of the world's historical religions. Because of its vast land and geographical locations, India has been the place for philosophical and opinion clashes. Therefore it includes the followers of all religions. National ideology of Indian society and mental approaches and Indian tolerance against foreign mental elements were based on Ahimsa. This provided a good background for immigration. Furthermore the advancement in sciences and development of scientific centre attracted the scholars from different areas particularly Middle East and Persia. Astrology, medicine, mathematics were among the disciplines which increasingly developed in India. Hospital operation, the inventions of Zero and decimal systems were the results of ancient Indian scientific findings.

Taxilla University existed before the emergence of the Buddha. Ujjain University was famous for astrology and Ajanta for the arts.  

It can be inferred that along with economical, commercial, financial reasons, there were some mental facilities such as universities which were a reasons for immigration. People from different nationalities such as Saks, Persian, Chinese, Greek, Turks and from other Indian places inhabited in those universities especially at Taxilla in the north of India. This city was the place for the clashes of civilizations. Hence this factor persuaded Persian Muslims to immigrate to India in the later periods. Even some Persian Christ went from Basreh to India. The Pahlavi inscription on the cross near the city of Madras is the best monument from Persian Christian. Some of these people are recognizable from their face. Persian Nestorian Christian emigrated from Khark Island when they were under pressure. Sayd Nafisy believes that the ruined structure of Nestorian church at Khark Island was one of the most important centres of Nestorian era. It was a centre for sending people to India. In
the shores of Malabar and in their churches there is an inscription. Malabar Nestorian from Khark Island immigrated to India via Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean. They found India a safe place to be away from religious and political pressures.  

Persians settled in different cities such as Surat, Navosari, Bruch, Ankleasar, Sanjan, Bulsar etc. in the sixteenth century and ten of Yazdgerdi. They were active in agriculture, carpentry, and ships making, since they were distributed in different parts of Gujarat.

From the 13th century to the late 16th century the Zoroastrian priests of Gujarat sent (in all) twenty-two requests for religious guidance to their co-religionists in Iran, presumably because they considered the Iranian Zoroastrians "better informed on religious matters than themselves, and must have preserved the old-time tradition more faithfully than they themselves did".  

At the time of Akbar, the Mongolian king of India, Persia was famous in commerce and trade. They had contacts with the west at the port of Surat. The palace of Akbar king was the association of religions. Mehrji Rana, the monk, was invited to the throne of Akbar king. At the time of Mongolian especially at the time of Akbar and Homayon was glorious time in the history of India. Persian Zoroastrian who lived in India published some books and developed Persian and Pahlavi language.

When Mumbai became a colony of British in the seventeen century, Persia was drastically developed in commerce. Therefore Mumbai became the centre of Indian Zoroastrian and the world. The relation between Persian and Europe led to the translation of Avesta and Pahlavi to European language. Finally the Zoroastrian was introduced to the world.  

Persian Zoroastrian Association was founded in Iran in 1916 and after two years in Mumbai. From Gajar diaries, the diary of Masyer Talebi was about Persian Zoroastrian in India. Here it is stated that Persians had a comfortable life in India.
another diary it is written that Zoroastrian clan which is called Persian Mumbai were very clean, smart people…..Persian people in Mumbai were regarded as honorable, reliable, and well to do persons. They do not perform low class activities. And if a beggar came from foreign country, they would help him. 242 Inostranev wrote: “Although the Persian Indian is a colony of specific religion and business with limited number, they preserved cultural and nomadic characteristics.” 243

Mahatma Gandhi noted in a much-(mis)quoted statement, "I am proud of my country, India, for having produced the splendid Zoroastrian stock, in numbers beneath contempt, but in charity and philanthropy perhaps unequalled and certainly unsurpassed." 244

Famous Parsis include the legendary industrialist J. R. D. Tata, symphony conductor Zubin Mehta and rock icon Freddie Mercury, British businessman and Karan Bilimoria, nuclear scientist Homi J. Bhabha and the similarly-named cultural studies theorist Homi K. Bhabha. The first field marshall of India Sam Manekshaw, screenwriter and author Sooni Taraporevala; and authors Rohinton Mistry, Firdaus Kanga and Bapsi Sidhwa are all Parsis. The efforts of Parsis significantly altered the face of the city of Bombay and several landmarks, such as Nariman Point, are named after one. Parsis prominent in the Indian independence movement include Pherozeshah Mehta, Dadabhai Naoroji and Bhikaiji Cama. Illustrious Parsi families include the Tata family, the Godrej family and the Wadia family.

Jawaharlal Nehru announced the number of Persian Zoroastrian one hundred thousands in 1956. One of the Zoroastrian researchers reckoned their number 92,690 in 1891 and 1, 28,000 in 1951 and 2, 13,620 in 1977. 245

Indian census data (2001) records 69,601 Parsis in India, with a concentration in and around the city of Mumbai (previously known as Bombay). There are approximately 5,000 Parsis elsewhere on the subcontinent, with an estimated 2500 Parsis in the city of Karachi and approximately 50 Parsi families in Sri Lanka. The number of Parsis
worldwide is estimated to be fewer than 100,000.\textsuperscript{246} As of 2001, Parsis constitute 0.0069\% of the total population of India.

The Parsis have a high literacy rate: as of 2001, the literacy rate amongst the Parsis is 97.9\%, the highest for any Indian community. The national average is 64.8\%. 96.1\% of Parsis reside in urban areas. The national average is 27.8\%.\textsuperscript{247}

According to the National Commission for Minorities, there are a "variety of causes that are responsible for this steady decline in the population of the community", the most significant of which were childlessness and migration. Demographic trends project that by the year 2020 the Parsis will number only 23,000 or 0.0002\% of the total population of India.\textsuperscript{248}
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