



Mention of the Birth of the Messenger of God



[967] There related to us Ibn al-Muthannā—Wahb b. Jarīr—his father, who said: I heard Muḥammad b. Ishāq—al-Muṭṭalib b. ‘Abdallāh b. Qays b. Makhramah—his father—his grandfather, who said: The Messenger of God and myself were born in the Year of the Elephant.

He related: ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān asked Qubāth b. Ashyam, a member of the Banū ‘Amr b. Layth, “Who is the greater in build (*akbar*), you or the Messenger of God?” He replied, “The Messenger of God is greater in build than I, although I preceded him in date of birth (*anā aqdam minhu fī al-mīlād*); I saw the elephant’s dung, dark colored and reduced to a powdery form, one year after the beast’s appearance. I also saw Umayyah b. ‘Abd Shams as a very old man being led around by his slave.” His son said, “O Qubāth, you have the best knowledge; what do you say?”

There related to us Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Ishāq—al-Muṭṭalib b. ‘Abdallāh b. Qays b. Makhramah—his father—his grandfather Qays b. Makhramah, who said: The Messenger of God and myself were born in the Year of the Elephant, and we were coevals of each other.

There was narrated to me a narrative going back to Hishām b. Muḥammad, who said: ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the Messenger of God’s father, was born in the twenty-fourth year of Kisrā Anūsharwān’s period of power, and the Messenger of God was born in the forty-second year of his period of power.⁶⁴²

642. That is, ‘Abdallāh would have been born, on this reckoning, in 555 and his son Muḥammad in 573.

I was informed by Yūsuf b. Mu'in—Hajjāj b. Muḥammad—Yūnus b. Abī Ishāq—Sa'id b. Jubayr—Ibn 'Abbās, who said: The Messenger of God was born in the Year of the Elephant.

I was informed by Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir—'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abī Thābit—al-Zubayr b. Mūsā—Abū al-Ḥuwayrith, who said: I heard 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān say to Qubāth b. Ashyam al-Kinānī al-Laythī, O Qubāth, who is the greater in body, you or the Messenger of God?" He replied, "The Messenger of God was greater in body than me, but I am older than him. The Messenger of God was born in the Year of the Elephant, and my mother stood with me by a pile of the elephant's dung, when it was crumbling away to powder, at a time when I was nevertheless able to understand what it was."

There related to us Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Ishāq, who said: The Messenger of God was born in the Year of the Elephant, on Monday, the twelfth of the month of Rabī' I. It is said that he was born in the house known as that of Ibn Yūsuf. It is further said that the Messenger of God gave this house to 'Aqil b. Abī Ṭālib, who retained ownership of it until he died, when his son sold it to Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, brother of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf. Muḥammad rebuilt the house called that of Ibn Yūsuf, and incorporated that new part into the house as a whole. Later, al-Khayzurān separated the new part from the house as a whole and made it into a mosque, which then came into use for public worship.⁶⁴³

There related to us Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Ishāq, who said: Among what people relate is the assertion—but God is the most knowing [about the truth]—that Āminah bt. Wahb, the Messenger of God's mother, used to relate that when she became pregnant, people came to her and said, "You are bearing the lord of this community (*sayyid hādhihi al-ummah*), and when he drops to the ground [from you], exclaim, 'I seek refuge in the One God—from the evil of every envious one,' and then name him Muḥammad." When she was pregnant with him, she dreamed that there came forth from her a light, by which she could discern the for-

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643. Muḥammad had made this house over to 'Alī's half-brother 'Aqil b. Abī Ṭālib when he left Mecca on the Hijrah to Medina; with al-Khayzurān's purchase of it, the house returned to the family of Hāshim. See al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, 422; Nabia Abbott, *Two Queens of Baghdad, Mother and Wife of Hārūn al-Rashīd*, 118-19.

tresses (*quṣūr*) of Buṣrā in the land of Syria.⁶⁴⁴ When she actually gave birth to him, she sent a message to the child's grandfather 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib: "A baby boy has been born for you, so come and see him." He indeed came along and saw the child, and she told him about the dream she had had while pregnant with the child, what had been told her regarding him and what she had been commanded to call the child.⁶⁴⁵

There related to us Muḥammad b. Sinān al-Qazzāz—Ya'qūb b. Muḥammad al-Zuhrī—'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Imrān—'Abdallāh b.

644. Buṣrā or Boṣrā was an ancient town of the Ḥawrān in southern Syria, to the south of the modern Jabal al-Durūz. At the time of Muḥammad's birth it was an important center of Byzantine power and of Eastern Christianity. Muslim legend later made the Arabs' capture of Buṣrā, the first town of the Byzantines to fall into their hands, into a sign of divine favor for Muḥammad's mission. It also had a continued fame as the place to which the youthful Muḥammad is said to have journeyed in the company of his uncle Abū Ṭālib and where he is said to have met the Christian monk Baḥīrā or Buḥayrā, who foretold the boy's coming greatness as a prophet. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 441–42; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 425–26; T. Andrae, *Die Person Muhammeds in Lehre und Glauben seiner Gemeinde*, 38; M. Lings, *Muhammad, His Life based on the Earliest Sources*, 29–30; *IE²*, s.vv. Baḥīrā and Boṣrā (A. Abel).

645. Āminah bt. Wabḥ b. 'Abd al-Manāf was from the Meccan clan of Zuhrah. Her apparently uxori-local marriage with 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was ended by the latter's premature death (see n. 662 below), and she herself died when Muḥammad was only six years old, leaving him to his paternal grandfather's care. See *IE²*, s.v. Āmina (W. M. Watt). Popular belief and lore in early Islam attributed various supernatural details to Aminah's pregnancy and the birth of Muḥammad, including the story of the dream of divine radiance, "the light of prophethood," the averring that she was bearing "the lord of this community," and the remarkable ease of her giving birth to him, clean, with cut umbilical cord and circumcised, after which the infant placed his hands on the ground and gave thanks to heaven. See Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-nabī*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 102, 106 = ed. al-Saqqa' et al., I, 166–67, 175, tr. 69, 72; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, I/1, 60–61, 63–64. On the topic of Muḥammad's being born circumcised and the fact that, according to some traditions, Muḥammad was only one of a series of prophets born circumcised, see Kister, "... And he was born circumcised. ..." Some Notes on Circumcision in Hadīth," 10–30 and esp. 13–16.

Modern scholars have pointed out the resemblance of many of these details to the stories of the birth and early life of other great religious leaders. Thus the *nūr muḥammadī* parallels the old Iranian idea of the divine fortune or glory of kings, *xvarənah*, MP *farrah*, NP *farr* (see n. 232 above), which manifested itself, according to the account in the *Dēnkard*, at the time of Zoroaster's birth, and the light at the births of Krishna and the Buddha, while the announcement of Aminah's forthcoming delivery of a child is like that of Mary glorying in her conception of Jesus in the Magnificat. See I. Goldziher, "Neuplatonische und gnostische Elemente im Hadīt," 328–30; Andrae, *Die Person Muhammeds*, 28–33, 319–21; idem, *Mohammed, sein Leben und Glaube*, 28–29

'Uthmān b. Abī Sulaymān b. Jubayr b. Muṭ'im—his father—Ibn Abī Suwayd al-Thaqafī—'Uthmān b. Abī al-'Āṣ—his mother, who said that she was present at the Messenger of God's mother Āminah bt. Wahb's giving birth, this being during the night, and Āminah said, "What is this thing which I can see from the house, lighting everything up, and I can also see the stars drawing near me to such a point that I can say that they are falling on top of me." [969]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Ishāq, who said: People assert that 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib picked up the child and took it along to Hubal,⁶⁴⁶ in the heart of the Ka'bah, and stood by him, praying to God and giving thanks for what He had vouchsafed him. Then he went forth with the child and handed him over to his mother. He sought out for the child foster mothers,⁶⁴⁷ and asked a woman to foster him, one from the Banū Sa'd b. Bakr called Ḥalimah bt. Abī Dhu'ayb, Abū Dhu'ayb being 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Shijnah b. Jābir b. Rizām b. Nāṣirah b. Quṣiyyah b. Sa'd b. Bakr b. Hawāzin b. Maṣūr b. 'Ikrimah b. Khaṣafah b. Qays b. 'Aylān b. Muḍar. The name of the Messenger of God's foster father was al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Rifā'ah b. Mallān b. Nāṣirah b. Quṣiyyah b. Sa'd b. Bakr b. Hawāzin b. Maṣūr b. 'Ikrimah b. Khaṣafah b. Qays b. 'Aylān b. Muḍar. The names of his foster brother and sisters were 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith, and Unaysah bt. al-Ḥārith and Judhāmah⁶⁴⁸ bt. al-Ḥārith, respectively. The latter was in practice called al-Shaymā',⁶⁴⁹ a name that prevailed over her proper name so that,

646. The cult of the god Hubal was said to have been introduced into Mecca by a man of Khuzā'ah, 'Amr b. Luḥayy. He became an especially popular god in the pantheon of the Ka'bah, before whom divination by means of arrows (cleromancy, the *istiṣām bi-al-azlām* of Qur'an, V, 4/3), so that Wellhausen speculated (*Reste arabischen Heidentums*², 75) whether the worship of Hubal was not identical with, or paved the way for, the worship of Allāh there. This seems, however, unlikely, especially as, at the battle of Uḥud in the course of the warfare between Quraysh of Mecca and the Muslims in Medina, the clash between the Meccans' god Hubal and the Muslims' Allāh is stressed. See Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie centrale à la veille de l'Hégire*, 95–103; *EP*², s.v. Hubal (T. Fahd).

647. *ruḍā'ā'*, literally "children suckling at the breast," sing. *radī'*, hence used here by metonymy for "foster mothers" or for some expression like *dhawāt* or *ulāt/ulāt al-radā'ah*.

648. In parallel sources we have the variants Khidhāmah and Ḥudhāfah for this name.

649. Literally, "the woman marked by a mole (*shāmah*)."

among her people, she was known exclusively by it. [The mother of these foster siblings was] Ḥalimah bt. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith, (foster) mother of the Messenger of God. It is asserted that al-Shaymā' used to carry the Messenger of God in her bosom, as also did her own mother while the boy was in her care.⁶⁵⁰

[970] As for the report from an authority other than Ibn Ishāq, he relates concerning that: There related to me al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Mūsā b. Shaybah—'Umayrah bt. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ka'b b. Mālik—Barrah bt. Abī Tujza'ah, who said: The first person who suckled the Messenger of God for a few days was Thuwaybah, with milk for a son of hers called Masrūh, before Ḥalimah was put forward; she had previously suckled Ḥamzah b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, and after him she suckled Abū Salamah b. 'Abd al-Asad al-Makhzūmī.

There related to us Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Ishāq, also Hannād b. al-Sarī—Yūnus b. Bukayr—Ibn Ishāq, also Hārūn b. Idrīs al-Aṣamm—al-Muḥāribī—Ibn Ishāq, also Sa'id b. Yaḥyā al-Umawī—his paternal uncle Muḥammad b. Sa'id—Muḥammad b. Ishāq—al-Jahm b. Abī al-Jahm, a mawlā of 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far—'Abdallāh b. Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib, who said: Ḥalimah bt. Abī Dhu'ayb al-Sa'diyyah, the Messenger of God's (foster) mother who suckled him, used to relate that she went forth from her land, accompanied by her husband and an infant son of hers whom she was nursing, with a group of women from the Banū Sa'd b. Bakr, seeking for babies whom they could foster. This was, she related, in a year of severe drought, which had left nothing. [She related:] I set out on a greyish-white she-ass of mine, together with an old she-camel which was not, by God, yielding a drop [of milk]. We could not sleep the whole night because of our child's crying from hunger. There was nothing in my breasts to satisfy him, and nothing in our she-camel to provide him with nourishment, but we were hoping for rain and for relief.

650. Ḥalimah's tribe Sa'd b. Bakr were part of the Hawāzin confederation, who lived in Hijāz in the vicinity of Mecca and al-Ṭā'if. When women of Sa'd b. Bakr were captured by Muḥammad on his defeat of Hawāzin at the battle of Ḥunayn in 8/630, he honored Ḥalimah's daughter al-Shaymā' and responded favorably to appeals by the menfolk of the tribe on the basis of their foster relationship. See *EP*², s.vv. Ḥalima bint Abī Dhu'ayb and Sa'd b. Bakr (W. M. Watt).

I set off on that she-ass of mine, but through weakness and emaciation it was jaded, and lagged behind the rest of the group until that became an irritation for them. Finally, we reached Mecca, where we sought for children to foster. The Messenger of God was offered to every one of the women, but each one rejected him when told that he was an orphan, since we hoped for the customary payment from the child's father. We would say, "An orphan! And what are his mother and grandfather likely to do?" Hence for that reason we spurned him. Every woman in the group that had come with me had found a child to foster except myself. When we decided to depart, I said to my husband, "I dislike the idea of returning with my group of women companions without having taken a foster child; by God, I shall go back to that orphan and take him." My husband said, "You are free to do as you wish; perhaps God will send us a blessing on his account." She related: I took him up and brought him back to my traveling baggage. When I placed him in my bosom, my breasts immediately began to flow for him with all the milk he desired. He sucked until he was full up, as did also his (foster) brother. Then they both slept, whereas previously he had not been able to sleep. My husband arose and went to that old she-camel of ours and looked at it, and lo and behold, her udders were full. He milked it, and we both drank of the milk until we were finally refreshed and replete, and we passed a happy night. She related: When it was morning, my husband said to me, "By God, O Ḥalimah, do you realize that you have taken a blessed creature?" I replied, "By God, I hope so." She related: Then we set off. I rode that she-ass of mine and carried him with me, and by God, she went ahead through the party of riders so that none of their other male asses could keep up with it, to the point that my women companions were saying to me, "O Ibnat Abī Dhu'ayb! Wait for us! Isn't this she-ass of yours the one on which you started out?" and they commented, "By God, there is something extraordinary about it!" She related: We then reached our camping grounds in the country of the Banū Sa'd; and I do not know any of God's lands more barren than that.

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[She related:] When we had him with us, my flock used to come back to us in the evening satiated and full of milk. We would milk them and drink the milk, while other people could not draw a drop or find anything in their beasts' udders, until those of our tribes

who had fixed dwelling places (*al-ḥādir min qawminā*) used to tell their shepherds, "Woe to you! Send your flocks to pasture where Ibnat Abī Dhu'ayb's shepherd sends his flock!" But their flocks nevertheless would come back in the evening hungry, not yielding a drop of milk, while my flock would come back satiated and full of milk. We kept on recognizing increased bounty from God through the child, until two years had gone by, when I weaned him. He was growing up into a boy such as none of the other lads were, so that by the time he was two years old, he was a well-formed child beyond the age of suckling. We brought him to his [real] mother, although we were very eager for him to continue staying with us because of the blessing we observed he had brought us. So we talked with his mother and said to her, "O wet nurse (*ẓi'r*),⁶⁵¹ I should like you to leave my little boy with me [for a further period], until he becomes big and sturdy, for I fear his succumbing to the plague in Mecca." She related: We kept on at her until she sent him back with us.⁶⁵²

She related: We brought him back, and by God, a few months after our return with him, he and his (foster) brother were with some lambs of ours, behind our tents, when his (foster) brother came running toward us and told me and his (foster) father, "Two men wearing white robes have come to that Qurashī brother of mine, and have laid him down on the ground and slit open his belly and are at this moment stirring it up." She related: His (foster) father and I ran swiftly out and found him standing there with a livid face. She related: His father and I rushed to his side and said to him, "What's the matter, my dear son?" He replied, "Two men wearing white robes came up to me, laid me down on the

651. As Guillaume observed, Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-nabī*, trans. 71 n. 1, the implication that Āminah was not Muḥammad's biological mother is rather strange.

652. These miraculous events attending Ḥalimah's suckling of the infant Muḥammad, the abundance of milk from the animals in time of dearth, and the revival of the flagging donkey, are part of the traditional *Sīrah* of the Prophet. See Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-nabī*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 103–105 = ed. al-Saqqā et al., I, 171–73, tr. 70–71; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, I/1, 69–70; and cf. Lings, *Muhammad*, 25–26. See for modern discussions of these miraculous details, Andrae, *Die Person Muhammads*, 28ff.; Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammads*, 117–17; Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, 33–36; Annemarie Schimmel, *And Muhammad Is His Messenger. The Veneration of the Prophet in Islamic Piety*, 10.

ground, slit open my belly, and searched within it for something I know not what." She said: We took him back with us to our tent. She related: His (foster) father said to me: "O Ḥalimah, by God, I fear that this child may have been struck by some malady, so take him back to his family before the results of the attack become manifest." She related: So we picked him up and bore him back to his mother. She asked, "What has made you bring him back, O wet nurse, when you were formerly so anxious for his welfare and for his remaining with you?" She related: I said, "God has allowed my (foster) son to grow up so far, and I have fulfilled the duties incumbent upon me. I now fear that something untoward may afflict him, so I have handed him back to you as you desire." Āminah asked me, "What's all this that has happened to you? Tell me the truth!" She related: She would not leave me alone until I had told her the whole story. She asked, "Were you then afraid a demon (*al-shayṭān*) had possessed him?" She related: I replied, "Yes." She exclaimed, "By God, indeed no! No demon has power over him. My dear son has a great future before him; shall I not tell you his story?" She related: I answered, "Yes, please." Āminah said, "When I became pregnant with him, a light went forth from me which illuminated all the fortresses of Buṣrā in the land of Syria for me, and thereafter I bore him, and by God, I never had a pregnancy that was easier and smoother than the one with him. Then when I gave birth to him, he slid out, and placed his hands on the ground and raised his head toward the heavens. Leave him now, and go back with your task honorably fulfilled."

There related to us Naṣr b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Azdī—Muḥammad b. Ya'lā—'Umar b. Ṣubayḥ—Thawr b. Yazid al-Sha'mī—Makḥūl al-Sha'mī—Shaddād b. Aws, who said: Once, while we were sitting with the Messenger of God, there approached a shaykh of the Banū 'Āmir, who was the leading chief and sayyid of his tribe and descendant of a great shaykh, leaning upon a staff, and appeared before the Messenger of God, standing here, and attributed the latter genealogically to his grandfather, saying thus, "O Ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, I have been informed that you claim to be the Messenger of God to the people (*al-nās*) and that [you claim that] God has sent you with the message which He entrusted to Ibrāhīm (Abraham), Mūsā (Moses), 'Īsā (Jesus), and

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[974] other prophets. [I am further informed] that you have pronounced a momentous message (*fawwahta bi-'aẓīm*ⁱⁿ).⁶⁵³ But the prophets and the representatives of God (*al-khulafā'*) have stemmed only from two houses of the Children of Israel, whereas you come from a people who worship these stones and idols. So what connection have you with prophethood? Nevertheless, every utterance has its core of truth, so tell me about the truth of your words and the beginnings of your claim to prophethood." He related: The Prophet was pleasurably impressed by his question, and replied, "O brother of the Banū 'Āmir, this affair you are asking me about has indeed its own story and place (or: occasion) where (or: when) it should be recounted, so sit down!"

The man bent his legs and then knelt down just as a camel does, and the Prophet faced him and began to speak. He said: "O brother of the Banū 'Āmir, the truth of my words and the beginnings of my claim to prophethood lie in the fact that I am what my forefather Abraham prayed for and the good news of my brother Jesus, son of Mary. I was my mother's first born, and she conceived and bore me as the heaviest burden she had ever borne and began to complain of the weight she felt to her fellow wives (or: fellow womenfolk, *ṣawāhibihā*). Then my mother saw in a dream that what she bore in her womb was a light, and she said, "I began to follow the light with my gaze, and the light went before my gaze until it lit up for me the whole eastern and western limits of the earth." Then she gave birth to me, and I grew up. When I grew up, the idols of Quraysh were rendered hateful to me, as was also poetry.⁶⁵⁴ I was offered for suckling among the Banū Layth b. Bakr.⁶⁵⁵

653. This seems to be the sense here of *fawwaha*, although the lexica only give the meaning for this form II verb of "[God] created someone with a wide mouth."

654. In the years at Mecca before his call to prophethood, Muḥammad is said to have recoiled from swearing by Allāt and al-'Uzzā, but this premature rejection of polytheism may be a retrojection of subsequent attitudes. Also, Muḥammad's rejection of poetry was not presumably from lack of interest or for aesthetic reasons but, as is clear from Qur'ān, XXVI, 221-26, cf. LXIX, 40-43, because the themes of poetry were the expression par excellence of the old pagan order, with its violence, its emphasis on revenge, and its proclamation of trust in human effort as a major factor in life, attitudes which the new faith of Islam aimed at countering or transforming.

655. In al-Ṭabarī, I, 969, p. 271 above, Halīmah's tribe is the Banū Sa'd b. Bakr. Layth b. Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt were one of the main branches of Kinānah; see Ibn al-Kalbi-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Table 36, II, 6, 376.

One day, I was away from the rest of my people in the bottom of a wadi, with a group of children of my own age, and we were playing at throwing between us pieces of camels' dung. Suddenly, a group of three men approached us, bearing a gold pitcher filled with snow. They took me out of the group of my friends, and the latter fled until they reached the edge of the wadi. Then they came back to the group of three and said, "What do you intend to do with this lad? He is not one of us but is the son of the lord of Quraysh, and is an orphan, for whom a wet nurse was sought among us; he has no father. What good will killing him bring you, and what will you gain from that? But if you are determined ineluctably on killing him, then choose one of us, whichever you like; let him come to you in his stead, and then kill him; but leave this lad alone, he is an orphan." However, when the children saw the group of three men returning no answer to them, they fled at top speed back to the tribe, telling them what had happened and imploring help against the men.

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One of the three men came up to me and laid me gently on the ground, and then split open my body from the division of my rib cage (*mafraḡ ṣadri*) to the end of the pubic hair, while I was watching all this but not feeling any touch at all. He then took out the viscera from my abdomen and washed them with that snow. He washed them carefully and replaced them. Then the second man stood up and said to his companion, "Stand aside," and he drew him away from me. He then put his hand into my insides and brought forth my heart, with me watching all the time. He split it asunder, extracted a black drop and threw the drop aside. He went on to say: In his hand, at his right side, there was as if he were holding something, and lo and behold, just by me was a seal ring in his hand, emitting light that dazzled anyone looking at it, and by means of which he sealed my heart so that it became filled with light; this was the light of prophethood and wisdom. Then he returned it to its place. I felt the coolness of that seal ring in my heart for a long time afterward. The third man now said to his companion, "Stand aside from me," and he passed his hand over my body from the division of my rib cage to the end of the pubic hair, and that slit was henceforth healed together, by God's permission. He now took my hand and gently made me get up from my resting place, and said to the first man, who had slit open my

body, "Weigh him against ten of his community!" They weighed me against them, and I outweighed them. Next he said, "Weigh him against a hundred of his community!" They weighed me against them, and I outweighed them. Finally he said, "Weigh him against a thousand of his community!" They weighed me against them, and I outweighed them. He then said, "Let him be, even if you were to weigh him against the whole of his community, he would outweigh them all!" He related: They then clasped me to their breasts, and kissed my head and the place between my eyes. They said to me, "O my dear one, you have not been rendered terrified. If only you knew the goodness and benefit that is intended through you, you would rejoice and be refreshed."

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He related: While we were engaged thus, behold, I found the tribe at my side, who had come in their entirety, and there was my mother, who was [really] my wet nurse, in the forefront of the tribe, crying out at the top of her voice and saying, "Alas for a poor, weak one!" He related: They crowded round me and fell upon me, kissing my head and the place between my eyes, and said, "Good for you O poor, weak one!" Then my wet nurse lamented, "Alas for a solitary one!" at which they crowded round and fell upon me and clasped me to their breasts, kissing my head and the place between my eyes, and said, "Good for you, O solitary one, for you are not a solitary one—indeed God, His angels, and all the believers of the people of the earth are with you!" But my wet nurse still lamented, "Alas for an orphan, treated as a weak one among your companions and then killed because of your weakness!" at which they crowded round and fell upon me and clasped me to their breasts, kissing my head and the place between my eyes, and said, "Good for you, O orphan, how noble you are in the sight of God! If you only knew what goodness and blessing is intended through you!" He related: They (i.e., the three miraculous visitors) brought me to the edge of the wadi. When my mother, who was [really] my wet nurse, saw me, she cried out, "O my dear son! Do I really see you still alive?" and she came up to me, fell upon me and clasped me to her breast. And by Him in whose hand is my soul, I was within her bosom, she having clasped me to her, while my hand was still in the hand of one of the three men. I began to turn toward them, imagining that the members of the tribe could see them [also], but they could not in fact see them. One of the

members of the tribe commented, "Some touch of madness or a visitation of the jinn has affected this lad; let us take him along to our soothsayer and medicine man (*kāhin*), so that he may examine him and cure him." I said to him, "O so-and-so, nothing such as you mention has affected me; my mental faculties are intact and my heart is sound; I am not afflicted by any malady."⁶⁵⁶ My father said—he being the husband of my wet nurse—"Do you not perceive that what he says is the speech of a perfectly sound person? I fully expect that no affliction will permanently affect my son." They nevertheless agreed upon taking me along to the soothsayer, and they carried me until they came to him. When they related to him the story of what had happened to me, he told them, "Shut up, until I hear from the child himself, for he knows more about what happened to him than you do." He questioned me, and I told him my story, from beginning to end. When he had heard my words, he sprang up and clasped me to his breast, and then called out in the loudest possible voice, "O Arabs, O Arabs, forward! Kill this lad, and kill me with him, for by Allāt and al-'Uzzā, if you let him be and he reaches the age of puberty, he will most certainly subvert your religion, declare your minds and those of your forefathers to be deluded, oppose your way of life, and bring forward for you a religion of whose like you have never heard." I made for my foster mother, and she snatched me away from his bosom, saying, "You yourself are certainly more deranged and more possessed by the jinn than this son of mine, and if I had only known that you would have made such a pronouncement as this, I would not have brought him along to you. Seek out for yourself someone who will kill you, for I am not going to kill this lad!" Then they bore me along and handed me back to my family. I subsequently lost all fear of what had been done to me, and the traces of that cut from my breast to the end of the pubic hair became just a faint line. This, O brother of the Banū 'Āmir, is the truth of my words and the beginnings of my claim to prophethood.⁶⁵⁷

[977]

656. *qalabah*, literally "a condition or malady for which the afflicted one should be turned over and examined," apparently a disease of camels and horses, according to the lexicographers, it was only used in negative contexts, as here. See Lane, *Lexicon*, 2554b-c.

657. The story of the opening of Muḥammad's breast has been first given by al-

The 'Āmirī exclaimed, "I call to witness God, than whom there is no other god, that your calling is a true one, so give me information about various things I am going to ask you." The Prophet replied, "Ask what you want (*sal 'anka*)" (before this, the Prophet always used to say to a questioner, "Ask whatever you wish and about what seems good to you," *sal 'ammā shi'ta wa-'ammā badā laka*; he only said to the 'Āmirī on that particular day *sal 'anka* because that was a dialectical peculiarity [*lughah*] of the Banū 'Āmir). The Prophet spoke to him concerning what he knew.

[978] The 'Āmirī said, "Tell me, O Ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, about that which increases one's knowledge." The Prophet re-

Tabarī at I, 972-73, pp. 274-75 above, on the basis of four *isnāds* all going through Ibn Ishāq and in a fairly brief form. It is now given in greater detail in a *khbar* going back to Shaddād b. 'Amr b. Thābit (nephew of the poet of Medina Ḥassān b. Thābit, died 58/678; see Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, VII/2, 124). Then thirdly, we have at I, 979, p. 282 below, a briefer version in a *khbar* going back to Khālid b. Ma'dān al-Kalā'ī (known as an ascetic and as a trustworthy authority, *thiqah*, for *ḥadīth* transmission, died 103/721-22; see Ibn Sa'd, op. cit., VII/2, 162). Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-nabī*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 105-06 = ed. al-Saqqā et al., I, 173-76, tr. 71-72, gives, of course, the first version, that through Ibn Ishāq, as does Ibn Sa'd, op. cit., I/1, 70.

Again, this story can be paralleled in the lore and legend of many other human societies. The visitation by angels or spirits, the slitting open of Muḥammad's belly, the removal of the black spot of sin and purification by washing with snow, all suggest ritual cleansing and the communication of extraordinary powers. In the Jāhiliyyah, it was often held that the *jinn* could communicate poetic inspiration to a man by similar means. Goldziher, in his *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, I, 213, cited as a parallel to the history of the opening of Muḥammad's breast what the sister of the poet of al-Ṭā'if, Umayyah b. Abī al-Ṣalt (on whom see n. 603 above) is said to have told the Prophet that a *jinnī* in the form of a vulture opened the breast of the sleeping Umayyah, filled his breast with something unspecified and then closed it up. This gave the prophet Umayyah the inspiration for introducing wise aphorisms (*ḥikmah*) into his poems and also the idea of divine unity (*tawḥīd*).

What connection the story of Muḥammad and his supernatural visitants has with the words of Qur'an, XCIV, 1-2, "Did We not open your breast, And removed from you your burden?" is unclear. The Qur'an commentators take this figuratively rather than literally (i.e., with the verb *sharaha* in a-lam *nashrah* *ṣadraka* taken as meaning "to remove, lift away" rather than "to cut open": see Paret, *Der Koran. Kommentar und Konkordanz*, 515-16; Bell, *A Commentary on the Qur'an*, II, 554), that God opened up thereby Muḥammad's awareness of the spiritual world; but there is always the possibility that the story of the opening of Muḥammad's breast may have evolved to explain the Qur'anic passage in a literal sense. See Andrae, *Die Person Muhammeds*, 32-34; Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, 35-36; H. Birkeland, *The Legend of the Opening of Muhammad's Breast*, passim; Schimmel, *And Muhammad Is His Messenger*, 67-69.

plied, "The process of learning." The 'Āmirī asked, "Tell me what points toward knowledge." The Prophet replied, "Asking questions." The 'Āmirī asked, "Tell me about that which increases in evil." The Prophet replied, "Persistence [in evil ways]." The 'Āmirī asked, "Tell me, is piety of any avail after evil doing?" The Prophet replied, "Yes, repentance (*tawbah*) cleanses from sin, and good deeds sweep away evil deeds. If a servant [of God] mentions his Lord's name when he is enjoying ease of life, God will aid him in times of distress." The 'Āmirī said, "How can that be, O Ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib?" The Prophet replied, "This is because God says, 'No, by my power and exaltedness, I shall not gather together for My servant two causes of security, nor shall I ever gather together for him two causes of fear. If he shows fear toward Me in this present world, he will feel secure from Me (i.e., from my wrath) on the Day when I shall gather together all my servants in the sacred enclosure (*ḥaẓīrat al-quḍs*)."⁶⁵⁸ This feeling of security will remain with him perpetually and I shall not withhold my blessings from him when I do deny blessings [from others]. But if he feels secure from Me (i.e., self-sufficient) in this present world, he will fear Me on the day when I shall gather together all my servants at a specified time on an appointed day, and his fear will remain with him perpetually.'"

The 'Āmirī said, "Tell me, O Ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, to what are you summoning people?" The Prophet replied, "I am summoning people to worship the One God, who has no partners, and that you should throw off allegiance to idols, proclaim your disbelief in Allāt and al-'Uzzā, affirm your belief in the Book or the prophets which have come from God, perform the five acts of worship with all their significant details, fast for a month in each year, and hand over poor tax on your wealth, [for if you do so,] God will purify you by means of it and render your wealth wholesome for you. Also, that you should perform the Pilgrimage to the [Holy] House when you are able to do this, perform the major ablution (*ghusl*) after

658. The Cairo text of al-Ṭabarī, II, 164, has *ḥaẓīrat al-firdaws* "enclosure of Paradise," as in ms. P. of the Leiden text, see n. e. The reference is to the gathering together of the saved after the Last Judgment, as foretold in Qur'ān, XIX, 85/88, and their admittance to Paradise. See *EP*, s.v. *Ḳiyāma* (L. Gardet).

major bodily pollution (*janābah*),⁶⁵⁹ and believe in death and the resurrection after death, and in the Garden and Hell Fire." The 'Āmirī said, "O Ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, if I do all that, what will be my reward?" The Prophet replied, "The Garden of Eden, from below which springs of water flow, in which [those who are saved] will remain forever, that is the reward of those who aim at righteousness."⁶⁶⁰ The 'Āmirī said, "O Ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, is there, as well as all that, any advantage for this present life, for I find ease and pleasantness of daily life attractive?" The Prophet replied, "Yes, indeed, success and a firm place in the land."⁶⁶¹ He related: The 'Āmirī responded to the Prophet's call and turned to God.

There related to us Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq—Thawr b. Yazīd—Khālīd b. Ma'dān al-Kalā'ī, who said: A group of the Messenger of God's followers asked, "O Messenger of God, tell us about yourself!" He replied, "Yes, I will. I am what my forefather Abraham prayed for and the good news of Jesus. My mother saw in a dream when she bore me within her womb that there came forth from her a light which illuminated for her the fortresses of Buṣrā in the land of Syria. I was offered for suckling to the women of the Banū Sa'd b. Bakr. Once when I was with one of my (foster) brothers, behind our tents, tending our lambs, there came to me two men wearing white robe and bearing a golden pitcher filled with snow. They took hold of me, split open my belly and then extracted from it my heart, which they split open, taking out from it a black blood clot. They threw it aside, and then washed my belly and my heart with that snow, until they had cleansed it. Then one of them said to his companion, 'Weigh him with ten of his community,' so he weighed me with them, and I was equal to them in weight. Then he said, 'Weigh him with a hundred of his community,' so he weighed me with them, and I was equal to them in weight. Then he said, 'Weigh him with a

659. That is, the major ablution required after such polluting events as sexual intercourse, contact with menstrual blood, etc. See *EP*², s.v. Ghusl (G. H. Bousquet).

660. Qur'ān, XX, 78/76. For this interpretation of *tazakkā* in a late Meccan-early Medinan context, see Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, 165-66.

661. Again echoing Qur'ānic phraseology, in which *al-tamakkun fī al-arḍ*, "establishing a firm place in the land," is often a reward for the righteous.

thousand of his community,' so he weighed me with them, and I was equal to them in weight. Finally, he said, 'Leave him alone, for even if I were to weigh him with [the whole of] his community, he would be equal to them.'"

Ibn Ishāq says: 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the Messenger of God's father, died at a time when the Messenger of God's mother, Āminah bt. Wahb b. 'Abd Manāf b. Zuhrah, was pregnant with him.

As for Hishām [b. Muḥammad], he says: 'Abdallāh, the Messenger of God's father, died when the Messenger of God was twenty-eight months old.⁶⁶²

[980]

There related to me al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd, who said: Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī stated that the firmly accepted belief, from which none of our companions differ, is that 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib came back from Syria in a caravan of Quraysh's and encamped at Medina, and he remained there until he died. He was buried in the building (*dār*) of al-Nābighah, in the small hut (*al-dār al-ṣughrā*), [which is], when you go into the building, on your left, within the house (*bayt*).⁶⁶³

There related to us Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Ishāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm al-Anṣārī, who said that the Messenger of God's mother Āminah died at al-Abwā' between Mecca and Medina when the Messenger of God

662. Ibn Ishāq preferred the view that 'Abdallāh died before Āminah gave birth to Muḥammad, although one line of transmission adds that he died when Muḥammad was twenty-eight months old. Other authorities mentioned, such as Ibn al-Kalbī cited here, give figures like twenty-eight months or seven months for Muḥammad's age at his father's death. Half-a-century later than Ibn Ishāq, however, the historian al-Wāqidī (on whom see n. 1020 below) had much more circumstantial detail about the time and place of 'Abdallāh's death (cf. below and n. 663). See Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-nabī*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 102 - ed. al-Saqqā et al., I, 167, tr. 69; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/1, 61-62; and the detailed discussion of the varying reports on 'Abdallāh's death in Lecker, "The Death of the Prophet Muḥammad's Father: Did Wāqidī Invent Some of the Evidence?" 9-27.

663. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/1, 61, following reports used by al-Wāqidī, says that 'Abdallāh was taken ill on the way back from Syria, was unable to carry on the journey to Mecca and died at Medina among his maternal kinsmen, the Banū 'Adī b. al-Najjār (his grandfather Hāshim having married Salmā bt. 'Amr from this Medinan clan, see Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-nabī*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 88 - ed. al-Saqqā et al., I, 144-45, tr. 59; Ibn Sa'd, op. cit., I/1, 46).

was six years old, She had brought him to Medina to let him visit his maternal uncles of the Banū 'Adī b. al-Najjār, but she died on the way back to Medina with him.⁶⁶⁴

Al-Ḥārith related to me—Muḥammad b. Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Ibn Jurayj—'Uthmān b. Ṣafwān, who said that Āminah bt. Wahb's grave is in the ravine of Abū Dharr at Mecca.

There related to us Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Ishāq—al-'Abbās b. 'Abdallāh b. Ma'bad b. al-'Abbās—some member of his family, who said that 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib died when the Messenger of God was eight years old. But another authority says that 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib died when the Messenger of God was ten years old.

[981] There related to us Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ṭalḥah b. 'Amr al-Ḥaḍramī—'Atā' b. Abī Rabāḥ—Ibn 'Abbās, who said: The Prophet was in the care of Abū Ṭālib after his grandfather 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, and became the latter's child as if he were part of himself.⁶⁶⁵

The story returns to the completion of the reign of Kisrā Anūsharwān.

664. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-nabī*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 107 = ed. al-Saqqā et al., I, 177, tr. 73, and Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/1, 73-74, confirm that Āminah died at al-Abwā' when Muḥammad was six years old, and state that the Prophet visited and tended her grave and mourned over her when he was en route for al-Ḥudaybiyah in 6/628. Al-Abwā' lay just north of Mecca along the Medina road; it was said to be the goal of Muḥammad's first *ghazwah* or raid against the Banū Ḍamrah and the Banū Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt of Kinānah only twelve months after the Hijrah. See al-Bakrī, *Mu-'jam mā ista'jam*, I, 102; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 79-80; Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 84, 340; Al-Wohaibi, *The Northern Hijaz*, 35-40.

665. *ghumṣ^{an} rumṣ^{an} . . . saqī^{an} dahīn^{an}*, literally, "like the wet and dry dirty matter which collects in the inner corner of the eye . . . and like something smooth and anointed with oil."



[The Remainder of Kistrā Anūsharwān's Reign and the Last Sāsānid Kings]



There related to us 'Alī b. Ḥarb al-Mawṣilī—Abū Ayyūb Ya'lā b. 'Imrān al-Bajalī—Makhzūm b. Hānī' al-Makhzūmī—his father, who was a hundred and fifty years old. He said: When it was the night in which the Messenger of God was born, the Aywān of Kistrā was shaken and fourteen pinnacles of it fell down,⁶⁶⁶ the [sacred] fire of Fārs, which had not previously been extinguished for a thousand years, was extinguished,⁶⁶⁷ the waters of the lake of Sāwah sank into the earth,⁶⁶⁸ and the Chief Mōbadh saw in a dream refractory camels running before noble Arab horses which had crossed the Tigris and had spread through those districts of it.⁶⁶⁹ The next morning, Kistrā was affrighted by what he had seen. He resolutely held himself back in patience, but then he considered that he ought not to conceal it from his ministers and Marzbāns. He put on his crown and seated himself on his throne,

666. That is, the Aywān or Ṭāq-i Kistrā, the great Sāsānid palace in the district of Aspānbār at al-Madā'in, on the east bank of the Tigris, where its ruinous partial shell still exists. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 34; Herrmann, *The Iranian Revival*, 126-28; *EP*², s.v. al-Madā'in (M. Streck-M. J. Morony).

667. Presumably the great fire temple at Ištakhr, i.e., at Persepolis, at whose ruins al-Mas'ūdī marvelled. See his *Murūj*, III, 76-77 - § 1403; *Elr*, s.v. Ātaškada (M. Boyce).

668. Sāwah is a town of northwestern Persia, in the mediaeval Islamic province of Jibāl, not however known to have existed in pre-Islamic times. It was nevertheless made the site of one of these tales of portents announcing the Prophet's birth. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 179-80; Le Strange, *Lands*, 211-12; Schwarz, *Iran*, 339-42; *EP*², s.v. Sāwa (C. E. Bosworth-H. H. Schaeder).

669. These portents are mentioned also by al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, I, 217, II, 228 - §§ 231, 649.

and gathered them around him. When they were all gathered together around him, he told them why he had sent for them and what he had summoned them for. While they were engaged in all this, a letter arrived bringing news of the extinguishing of the [sacred] fire, so that his distress of spirit increased. The Chief Mōbadh said, "I too—may God grant the king righteousness—had a dream that same night," and he recounted to him his dream about the camels. The king said, "What is this thing, O Chief Mōbadh," although he himself was the most knowing about the real meaning of that. The Chief Mōbadh replied, "An event which is issuing from the Arabs."

[982] On hearing that, Kisrā wrote a letter, as follows: "From Kisrā, the king of kings, to al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir. As follows: Send to me a man who is knowledgeable about what I wish to ask him," so al-Nu'mān dispatched to him 'Abd al-Masiḥ b. 'Amr b. Ḥayyān b. Buqaylah al-Ghassānī.⁶⁷⁰ When the letter reached Kisrā, Kisrā asked him, "Do you know what I wish to ask you?" He replied, "Let the king tell me about it, and if I am knowledgeable about it, [well and good], but if not, I can tell him about someone who will know it for him." Kisrā accordingly told him about his dream. 'Abd al-Masiḥ said, "A maternal uncle of mine who lives in the elevated regions of Syria, called Saṭīḥ, will have knowledge about it."⁶⁷¹ Kisrā said, "Go to him, and ask him what I have just asked you, and bring me back his answer." 'Abd al-Masiḥ rode off on his mount until he came to Saṭīḥ, who was, however, on the verge of death. He greeted him and wished him long life, but Saṭīḥ returned no answer. Hence 'Abd al-Masiḥ began to recite:⁶⁷²

670. This member of the Christian 'Ibād of al-Ḥīrah seems to have been a historical person, although his role in these events and the attribution to him of an age of 350 years are clearly embellishments. He is said to have negotiated with Khālid b. al-Walid for the surrender of al-Ḥīrah to the incoming Muslim Arabs. See al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 243; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, I, 217-22 = §§ 231-33; Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*³, XVI, 194-95.

Buqaylah was one of the clans of al-Ḥīrah, of Ghassānid tribal origin, as appears also from al-Ṭabarī, I, 1023, p. 349 below, which had a castle (*qaṣr*) of its own. See al-Ya'qūbī, *Kitāb al-buldān*, 309, tr. G. Wiet, 140-41; Nöldeke, trans. 254 n. 2; Rothstein, *Lahmidien*, 114 n. 2.

671. For Saṭīḥ, see al-Ṭabarī, I, 911ff., pp. 178ff. above.

672. Nöldeke noted, trans. 255 n. 1, that the manuscripts have considerable variation in the readings of various words and in the order of these *rajaz* verses,

Is the proud lord of Yemen deaf, or does he hear? Or has he gone away, and has the course of untimely death made away with him?

O you who are able to give the interpretation of an affair which was too difficult for this man and that, the shaykh of the tribe, from the house of Sanan, has come to you,

Whose mother is from the house of Dhi'b b. Ḥajan, a blue-eyed one, with sharpened fang, whose ears are ringing,⁶⁷³

A shining white one, with an ample cloak and corselet of mail, the envoy of the prince (*qayl*) of the Persians, who journeys onward during the time for sleeping.

A stout, compactly built she-camel travels through the land, which conveys me up a rocky slope at one time and down it the next,

Fearing neither thunderbolts nor the misfortunes of time, until it becomes lean and emaciated in the breast and the part between the thighs (i.e., from traveling continuously).

The fine dust of the deserted encampments' traces swirls round it in the wind, as if it were galloping vigorously from the two slopes of Thakan.⁶⁷⁴

When Saṭīḥ heard the verses, he raised his head and said: 'Abd al-Masiḥ—traveling on a camel—to Saṭīḥ—who is already on the brink of the tomb—the king of the sons of Sāsān has sent you—because of the Aywān's being shaken—and the extinguishing of the fires—and the dream of the Chief Mōbadh—of refractory camels running before noble Arab horses—which had crossed the Tigris and spread through those districts of it—O 'Abd al-Masiḥ,

with interchanging of hemistichs, and that the text and interpretation of the poem is uncertain in parts. Older poets, as here 'Abd al-Masiḥ, use the *mashṭūr* form of the *rajaz* meter in which, in each *bayt*, every *shatṛ* rhymes with the following hemistich and not just with regard to the two hemistichs of the first *bayt*; with a common rhyme for the whole poem, hemistich by hemistich, interchange of hemistichs within *bayts* is easy. See Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, II, 362A-B.

673. Sanan and Dhi'b b. Ḥajan must be tribal groups of Yemen, but do not figure in such works as Ibn al-Kalbī's *Jamharat al-nasab* or al-Hamdānī's *Ṣifat jazīrat al-'Arab*.

674. Thakan is listed by al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā ista'jam*, I, 342, and Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 82, but with no mention of its location and with this verse as the only *shāhid* for it.

when there has been much recounting of stories—and the man with the staff has been sent⁶⁷⁵—and the valley of al-Samāwah⁶⁷⁶ has overflowed (i.e., with invading troops)—and the waters of the lake of Sāwah have sunk into the earth—and the [sacred] fire of Fārs has been extinguished—then Syria is no longer for Saṭīḥ Syria—kings and queens from amongst them (i.e., the last Sāsānids) shall reign—according to the number of pinnacles (i.e., those fallen from the Aywān)—and everything whose coming is decreed will come." Then Saṭīḥ expired on the spot. 'Abd al-Masiḥ now mounted his steed and recited:

Gird yourself for action, for you are keen in resolution,
vigorous! Let not separation and mutability affright you!
If the dominion of the sons of Sāsān escapes from their hands,
well, time is made up of different evolutions and lengthy
periods.

[984] How oft, O how oft did they reach a lofty stage in which lions
which tear their prey were afraid of their mighty onrush!
To them belongs Mihrān, the man of the lofty tower,⁶⁷⁷ and his
brothers, the two Hurmuzs, Sābūr and [the other] Sābūr.
The people are all half brothers and sisters of each other, when
one of them comes to realize that another one has become
lacking in some way, that person is cast aside and treated
with contempt.

But they are also brothers from the same mother, when they see
some item of property, that item is protected and supported
in the owner's absence.

Good and bad fortune are closely linked together like a rope
binding two camels; good fortune is sought after, but bad
fortune is avoided.

When 'Abd al-Masiḥ arrived back to Kisrā, he informed him of
Saṭīḥ's words. Kisrā commented, "Once fourteen of us have re-

675. That is, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, the second caliph, mentioned here as bearing his staff of office [*hirāwah*, the equivalent of the *qaḍīb* or '*aṣā*], with which the stern 'Umar trounced malefactors and which became one of the insignia of the caliphal office. See *EP*², s.v. *Ḳaḍīb* [D. Sourdel].

676. That is, "the elevated land," the desert region between the Euphrates and Syria. See *EP*², s.v. al-Samāwa (C. E. Bosworth).

677. See al-Ṭabarī, I, 885, p. 131 and n. 340 above.

igned, things will happen!" Ten of them, however, reigned for a total of four years only, and the rest of them held power until the reign of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān.⁶⁷⁸

I received reports going back to Hishām b. Muḥammad,⁶⁷⁹ who said: [On one occasion,] Wahrīz dispatched wealth and valuable specialities of Yemen to Kisrā. When these reached the territory of the Banū Tamīm, Ṣa'ṣa'ah b. Nājiyah b. 'Iqāl al-Mujāshī'⁶⁸⁰ summoned the Banū Tamīm to fall upon the caravan, but they refused. When the caravan reached the territory of the Banū Yarbū',⁶⁸¹ Ṣa'ṣa'ah summoned these last to do that, but they were fearful of doing it. He said, O Banū Yarbū', I can foresee that this caravan will pass into the territory of the Banū Bakr b. Wā'il and they will attack it, and they will then use the wealth acquired hereby to make war on you!"⁶⁸² When they heard that, they plundered the caravan. A man of the Banū Salīṭ called al-Naṭīf seized a saddle bag filled with jewels, hence people said, "He has seized the treasure of al-Naṭīf," and this became proverbial. Ṣa'ṣa'ah acquired a palm-leaf basket containing silver ingots. The people of the caravan went to Hawdhah b. 'Alī al-Ḥanafī in al-Yamāmah,⁶⁸³ who pro-

678. The ten ephemeral rulers mentioned here would presumably be those transient rulers, pretenders, and usurpers who filled the four years or so after Heraclius's invasion of Mesopotamia in 627 had left a legacy of chaos and confusion within the Persian ruling classes; see al-Ṭabarī, I, 1045–66, pp. 381–409 below. Of the kings after Anūsharwān, only three persons, Hormizd IV, Khusraw II Abarwēz, and Yazdagird III, could be said to have enjoyed reigns of reasonable duration.

679. Nöldeke, trans. 257 n. 3, noted that the Arabic sources on the conflict of the Persians with the Arabs of Tamīm give considerably varying stories but fall substantially into two versions, the one largely agreeing with the account here, the other, however, quite aberrant; and he stressed the vivacity and generally realistic nature of the Arabic narratives on this topic.

680. Grandfather of the famous Umayyad poet al-Farazdaq, and called *muḥyi al-maw'ūdāt* "he who restores to life those female children meant for killing," because he ransomed—allegedly as many as three or four hundred—girls about to be slaughtered by their destitute parents. See Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*³, XXI, 276–77.

681. An important group of the Tamīm b. Murr, as were the Mujāshī'. The Salīṭ mentioned below were a subgroup of them. See Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Tables 68–71, II, 9, 591; *EP*², s.v. Yarbū', Banū (G. Levi Della Vida).

682. The Bakr and the Tamīm were ancient enemies, as was to be seen at the "Day of Dhū Qār," see al-Ṭabarī, I, 1015ff., pp. 338ff. below.

683. Hawdhah was one of the leading men of the Ḥanafīyah b. Lujaym, a component tribe of the Bakr and occupiers of the rich eastern Arabian province of al-

vided them with clothing, food supplies, and mounts, and personally accompanied them until he reached Kisrā's presence. Hawdhah was a handsome and eloquent man, and Kisrā was favorably impressed by him and accounted to his credit what he had done. He called for a circlet of pearls, and it was placed on [985] Hawdhah's head [as a diadem], and he gave him a brocade coat of honor and many other items of clothing; because of all that, Hawdhah was called "the man with the crown." Kisrā said to Hawdhah, "Do you know whether these fellows, who have done this deed, are from your own tribe?" He answered, "No." Kisrā said, "Is there a peace agreement between you and them?" He replied, "[No,] there is death between us." Kisrā said, "Your requirement is now about to be fulfilled," and he resolved to send a force of cavalry against the Banū Tamīm.

He was informed, however, "Their land is a bad land, made up of deserts and wastes, with tracks that cannot be followed. Their water comes from wells, and one cannot be sure that they will not block them up, with the result that your troops will perish." He was advised to write to his governor in al-Baḥrayn, Āzādh Firūz, son of Jushnas, whom the Arabs called al-Muka'bir ("the Mutilator"), because he used to cut off hands and feet.⁶⁸⁴ He had sworn not to leave, among the Banū Tamīm, a single eye that could flow with tears. Kisrā followed this advice, and sent an envoy to him. He also summoned Hawdhah again, and gave him a further, fresh lot of honors and presents, and told him, "Travel back with this envoy of mine, and secure a satisfactory solution (i.e., secure re-

Yamāmah (see on the Ḥanifah, Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Table 156, II, 25, 297). It was to Hawdhah (who was, as emerges from the poem cited by al-Ṭabarī, I, 987, p. 293 below, penultimate verse, a Christian, like much of the Banū Ḥanifah at this time), together with Thumāmah b. Uḥāl, that Muḥammad sent an envoy with a letter for "the king of al-Yamāmah" inviting him to become a Muslim, and Hawdhah was allegedly at one point in correspondence with Muḥammad offering to become a Muslim if he could have the succession to the Prophet's office after Muḥammad's death; but Hawdhah himself died shortly afterward and before the Prophet, probably in 8/630. See Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-nabī*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 971-2 = ed. al-Saqqā et al., IV, 254, tr. 653, 789; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 86-87; *EP*, s.v. Musaylima (W. Montgomery Watt).

684. After his operations against Tamīm, al-Muka'bir apparently remained in eastern Arabia, since he later led the Persian forces there together with their allies against Abū Bakr's commander al-'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī during the opening years of 'Umar's caliphate, but he eventually submitted and became a Muslim. See al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 85-86.

venge) for both myself and yourself." Hawdhah and the army reached al-Muka'bir just before the time for gleanings. Meanwhile, at that moment the Banū Tamīm had moved to Hajar in order to get provisions and gleanings. Al-Muka'bir's herald proclaimed, "Let those of the Banū Tamīm who are here, come forward, for the king has decreed that provisions and food should be made available for them and divided out among them." They came forward, and he brought them into al-Mushaqqar, which is a fortified place facing another fortress called al-Şafā and separated from it by a river called the Muḥallim.⁶⁸⁵

The builder of al-Mushaqqar was one of Kisrā's cavalry troops called Basak (?), son of Māhbūdh,⁶⁸⁶ whom Kisrā had sent expressly for its construction. When he began work on it, he was told, "These workmen will not remain in this place unless they are provided with womenfolk; but if you do that, the construction work will be completed, and they will remain working on it until they have finished it." So he had brought for them whores from the regions of the Sawād and al-Ahwāz, and had skins of wine for them, from the land of Fārs, conveyed across the sea. The workmen and the women married each other and begat children, and soon comprised the greater part of the population of the town of Hajar. The people spoke Arabic and claimed kinship with the 'Abd al-Qays. When Islam came, they said to the 'Abd al-Qays, "You know well our numerical strength, our formidable equipment and

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685. The port and fortress of al-Mushaqqar was the seat of Persian military power in the region of Hajar or the eastern Arabian shorelands, with the place's foundation variously attributed to the rulers of Kindah, the Persian commander mentioned below, etc. It lay in the territory of the 'Abd al-Qays tribe (on whom see al-Ṭabarī, I, 836, p. 51 and n. 150 above), but its exact site is unknown. See *EP*², s.v. al-Mushaqqar (C. E. Bosworth). At all events, it became a notable center for the extension of Sāsānid political control over the western shores of the Persian Gulf. By the mid-sixth century, the Arab poet of Bakr, Ṭarafah b. 'Abd, could call the Arabs of Bahrayn, with a distinct note of contempt, *'abid Asbadh* (where Asbadh stems from *asb*, "horse," + *ped*, "chief, commander," pace Nöldeke's etymology, trans. 260 n. 1, from *ispabadh*) "slaves of the commander of mounted warriors," i.e., of the Persian mailed cavalymen, while other poets refer to the Persians settled in eastern Arabia as *Asbadhīs*. See Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter*, 78-79.

686. On these two names (the second of which is, however, uncertain), see Nöldeke, trans. 260 n. 3, and Justi, *Namenbuch*, 185 (Māhbōdh), 357-58 (Wasaka, Vasaces). For the father Māhbūdh, Māhbōdh, who played a great role as commander in fighting between the Persians and Byzantines during Hormizd's reign, see Nöldeke, trans. loc. cit. and 438 n. 4, and n. 703 below.

weapons, and our great proficiency, so enroll us formally among your tribe and give us your daughters in marriage." They responded, "No, but remain here as you were as our brothers and clients [*mawālī*]." One man of 'Abd al-Qays said, "O tribesmen of 'Abd al-Qays! Follow my suggestion and enroll them as full members of the tribe, for the likes of those people are very much to be desired." But another member of the tribe said, "Aren't you ashamed of yourself? Are you telling us to take into our midst people who, as you know, have such beginnings and origins?" The first man replied, "If you don't adopt them into the tribe, other Arabs will." The second man answered, "In that case, we shan't worry about them in future!" Thereupon, they (i.e., those people from the mixed population of Hajar) became dispersed among the Arabs. Some remained with the 'Abd al-Qays and were then reckoned as part of them, with no one gainsaying this attribution.

Once al-Muka'bir had got the Banū Tamīm within al-Mushaqqar, he massacred their menfolk and spared only the boys. On that day was killed Qa'nab al-Riyāhī, the knight of the Banū Yarbū'; two men of the Shann, who served the kings [of Persia] with alternate spells of duty, killed him.⁶⁸⁷ The boys were put in boats and conveyed across to Fārs; some of them were castrated as eunuchs. Hubayrah b. Ḥudayr al-'Adawī related: After the conquest of Iṣṭakhr, there came to us a number of these deportees, one of them a eunuch and another a tailor.⁶⁸⁸ A man of the Banū Tamīm called Ubayy b. Wahb attacked the chain holding the gate [of the city], cut through it, and escaped. He then recited:

I remember Hind, although it is not the time for remembrance;
I remember her, even though several months' journey
separates me from her.

687. This encounter was the *Yawm al-Ṣafqah*, described at length in Abū al-Faraj Isfahānī, *Aghānī*³, XVII, 318–22, cf. Sir Charles Lyall, *Translations from Ancient Arabian Poetry, Chiefly Pre-Islamic*, 87–88. Qa'nab al-Riyāhī had been one of the plunderers of the Persian caravan from Yemen (Abū al-Faraj al-Isfahānī, op. cit., XVII, 318). Shann were a clan of 'Abd al-Qays; see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Table 168, II, 28, 526.

688. Nöldeke, trans. 262 n. 1, pointed out that the Muslims did not conquer Iṣṭakhr till the 640s [actually in 23/643; see *EP*, s.v. Iṣṭakhr [M. Streck-M. J. Morony]], hence the events mentioned here happened almost certainly later than the time of Khusraw I Anūsharwān, since he died early in 579.

[She is] from Ḥijāz, from the highlands, and her people dwell where the autumn rains pour down, between Zūr and Minwar.⁶⁸⁹

Ho there, has it come to my people, despite the distance separating us, that I defended my sacred interests (*dhimārī*) on that day of the gateway of al-Mushaqqar?

I struck with my sword the panel of the gateway such a blow, which would have made the most firmly built gateway spring open.

On that day, Hawdhah b. 'Alī interceded with al-Muka'bir for a hundred of the captives from the Banū Tamīm; the latter granted them to Hawdhah on Easter Day, and Hawdhah freed them. Concerning this, al-A'shā recited:

Question Tamīm about him, how it was in the days when they were sold, when they came to him as captives, all of them reduced to submissiveness,

In the midst of al-Mushaqqar, among a host of dust-smeared, dark-colored ones (i.e., the victorious army), unable to secure any beneficial aid after the hurt [they had previously suffered].

He said to the king, "Free a hundred of them," speaking gently, in a low voice, not raising it.

So he released a hundred from the band of captives, and all of them became freed of their bonds.

He put them forward openly, on Easter Day, as an offering, hoping [for a reward] from God for what he had done as a benefit and had wrought.

But they (i.e., the freed Tamīmīs) did not consider as an act of benevolence all that which had just been vouchsafed [for them], even though their spokesman expressed a need for due acknowledgment (or: spoke the truth about it, *qāla qā'iluhā ḥaqq^{an} bihā*) and exerted himself in that.⁶⁹⁰

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689. Nöldeke vocalized *muṣāb* and translated "on the hills of al-Kharīf," but the vocalization *al-maṣāb*, "place where rains pour down," is followed here, with *al-kharīf* in its usual sense of "autumn." Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 216, mentions Manwar as a mountain, but clearly had no idea of its location.

690. al-A'shā Maymūn, *Dīwān*, no. 13, vv. 62-63, 67-69, 71; cf. Lyall, *Translations of Ancient Arabian poetry*, 88-89.

He describes the Banū Tamīm here as ungrateful.

Hishām related: When Wahriz was close to death—this being toward the end of Anūsharwān's reign—he called for his bow and an arrow, and said, "Set me up," so they did this. He shot the arrow and said, "See where my arrow falls to earth, and make my grave there." His arrow fell behind the monastery—that is, the church near Nu'm, a place called till today "the grave of Wahriz."⁶⁹¹ When the news of Wahriz's death reached Kisrā, he sent out to Yemen a knight called W.y.n (?), who proved a pertinacious tyrant.⁶⁹² Hence Hurmuz, the son of Kisrā, dismissed him and appointed as governor in his stead al-Marūzān.⁶⁹³ This last remained in Yemen, and had children born there who grew up to the age of puberty.

At this point Kisrā Anūsharwān died, after a reign of forty-eight years.⁶⁹⁴

691. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 539, could only conjecture that this place was in the vicinity of Raḥbat Mālik b. Ṭawq, the latter place, in fact, in Syria (*ibid.*, III, 34–36). This *dayr Nu'm* must, however, have been in Yemen.

692. Marquart surmised that this was the al-Bīnajān of al-Ṭabarī, I, 958, pp. 251–52 above, but the editor Nöldeke thought it more probable that there were two separate persons, W.y.n and W.y.najān (= al-Bīnajān). See *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DXCIII.

693. Thus corrected in *Addenda et emendanda*, loc. cit., following Marquart, from the text's *al-Marwazān*, in the light of the form of the name in parallel Greek and Armenian sources, previously, Nöldeke in his trans. 264 n. 1, had rendered the name as Marwazān.

694. Khusraw I Anūsharwān's reign was 531–79. His name appears on his coins as HWSRWB. See on his coins Paruck, *Sāsānian Coins*, 65–66, 380–84, 470–79, Plates XX–XXI, Tables XX–XXV; Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, 52, Table XI, Plate 12; Sellwood, Whitting, and Williams, *An Introduction to Sasanian Coins*, 21, 140–44; Malek, "A Survey of Research on Sasanian Coins," 237.

The Arabic sources devote considerable space to this important reign, concurrent as it was with many events within Arabia significant for the birth of Islam. See Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 663–64; al-Ya'qūbi, *Ta'rikh*, I, 186–67; al-Dīnawarī, op. cit., 67–74; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 196–211 = §§ 618–31; idem, *Tanbih*, 101–102, tr. 145–46; Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rikh*, 51–53; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 434–42, 455–57. Of Persian sources, see Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, trans. II, 159–64, 219–32. Of modern studies, see Christensen, *Sassanides*, 363–440; Frye, *The Heritage of Persia*, 228–33; idem, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 153–62, 178; EI², s.v. Anūsharwān (H. Massé), Kisrā and Sāsānids (M. Morony).

Al-Ṭabarī, in company with other early historical writers like al-Ya'qūbi and Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, does not mention Buzurgmihr/Buzurjmihr, famed sage and minister of Anūsharwān so famed in later Islamic lore and legend (al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-tiwāl*, 72, has a single, brief reference, but Ibn Qutaybah in his *Uyūn al-*

[Hurmuz]

Then there assumed the royal power Hurmuz. He was the son of King Anūsharwān, and his mother was the daughter of Khāqān the Elder.⁶⁹⁵

I received reports going back to Hishām b. Muḥammad, who said: This Hurmuz, son of Kisrā, was well educated and full of good intentions of benevolence toward the weak and destitute, but he attacked the power of the nobles, so that they showed themselves hostile and hated him, exactly as he in turn hated them. When he assumed the crown, he gathered round himself the members of the nobility of his kingdom. They enthusiastically called down blessings on his head and offered up thanks for his father. Hurmuz gave them promises of benevolent rule; he was anxious to behave toward his subjects with justice but implacable against the great men of the kingdom, because of their oppressing the lowly folk.⁶⁹⁶

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akhbār has frequent mentions and quotations from his *ḥikmah*). Extensive mention of him only appears in writers of the mid-fourth/tenth century onward, such as al-Mas'ūdī, al-Tha'ālibī and especially Firdawsī, but thereafter he figures as the epitome of good counsel and wisdom in the "Mirrors for Princes" and similar *adab* works. This paragon may have arisen out of the Burzmihr who was a secretary of Anūsharwān's but who was, according to the *Shāh-nāmāh*, executed by that ruler's successor Hormizd IV. Christensen, "La légende du sage Buzurjmīhr," 81-128, although now outdated, traced how the stories round him first appeared in Middle Persian literature and then grew in the Islamic period. De Blois, in his *Burzōy's Voyage to India and the Origin of the Book of Kalilah wa Dimnah*, 48-50, subjects Christensen's ideas to stringent analysis and concludes that Buzurjmīhr remains a very shadowy individual, if he existed at all, nor does he think that there are any grounds for identifying him with Khusraw Anūsharwān's physician Burzōy, sent to India, according to the story, to fetch back a copy of the wonderful book *Kalilah wa-Dimnah*. See also *EP*², s.v. Buzurjmīhr (H. Massé); *EIR*, s.v. Bozorgmehr-e Boktagān (Djalal Khaleghi Motlagh).

695. See al-Ṭabarī, I, 899, p. 160 and n. 404. According to al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 74-75, Hormizd was the only son of Anūsharwān's who was born of a noble mother, all the others being *awlād sūqah*.

696. Hormizd's policy of favoring the masses as a counterweight to the upper classes, who represented a threat to his despotic royal power, is stressed in the Arabic sources. Al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 75-77, puts into his mouth a lengthy accession speech enunciating guidelines for his future policy, including protection of the weaker, vulnerable members of society (*al-ḡu'afā' wa-ahl al-dī'ah*) against the oppression of the upper classes (*al-'ilyah*). This was a reversal of his father's cultivation of the support of the nobility and the Zoroastrian clergy, and the hostility of these latter entrenched interests was to contribute to Hor-

His justice reached such a point that he once went to Māh in order to spend the summer there.⁶⁹⁷ In the course of his journey thither, he gave orders for it to be proclaimed amongst his troops and all the others in his army camp that they were to avoid the cultivated fields and not to cause harm to any of the landholders (*dahāqīn*) there. They were also to keep their mounts under control so that they caused no damage to the fields. He appointed a man who was to familiarize himself with the sort of thing that was going on in the army camp and to punish anyone who transgressed his command.

His own son Kisrā was in the army camp, and one of his riding beasts wandered off and strayed into one of the tilled fields along the way, started grazing, and created damage there. The animal was caught and brought to the man whom Hurmuz had appointed to punish anyone who caused damage to the tillage, or the owner of any beast that caused such damage, and to compel the offender to pay compensation. However, the man was not able to enforce Hurmuz's orders against Kisrā nor against any of those in Kisrā's retinue, hence he brought to Hurmuz's notice the damage he had observed that beast causing. Hurmuz ordered that he should crop that animal's ears and dock its tail, and that he should exact compensation from Kisrā. The man left Hurmuz's presence in order to put the king's orders into effect regarding Kisrā and his riding beast, but Kisrā secretly induced a group of the great men to ask him to go easy in putting the command into effect. They met him and talked to him about this, but he refused to listen. They asked him to delay putting into practice Hurmuz's order to him concerning the beast, until they had a chance to speak with the king and to persuade him to leave the animal alone. He agreed to this. That group of great men went to Hurmuz and told him that the steed that had done the damage was an ill-natured beast and

mizd's downfall, blinding, and death, see al-Ṭabarī, I, 993, p. 303 below. Nevertheless, Hormizd's justice is stressed, a justice greater than that of Anūsharwān, in the opinion of Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, tr. II, 246–47. Also, Christian sources praise him for his tolerance, which included special favor for the Nestorian Catholicos at Seleucia-Ctesiphon, Ishō'yahb I (in office 582–95). See Nöldeke, trans. 268 n. 3; Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse*, 200–203; Christensen, *Sassanides*, 441–43; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 162.

697. See for this place, al-Ṭabarī, I, 865, p. 97 and n. 249 above.

that it had wandered off and entered the tilled field; they asked Hurmuz to withdraw his order that the beast's ears should be cropped and its tail docked because this would be a bad augury for Kisrā. Despite this, Hurmuz refused their request; on his orders, the steed's ears were cropped and its tail docked, and Kisrā was made to pay compensation in the same amount as other people were made to pay. Then Hurmuz moved off from his army camp.⁶⁹⁸

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One day, at the time when the vines were ripening, Hurmuz rode out to Sābāt near al-Madā'in. His route went past orchards and vineyards. One of the men from Hurmuz's cavalry division who was riding with him noted a vineyard and saw in it partly ripened grapes. He picked some clusters and gave them to a squire (*ghulām*) who was accompanying him, telling him, "Take these back to our quarters, cook them with some meat, and make a broth out of it, for this is very wholesome and beneficial at this time." The guardian of that vineyard came up to him, gripped him fast and shouted loudly. The man's anxiety about being punished by Hurmuz for picking those grapes reached such a pitch that he handed over to the guardian of the vineyard a belt ornamented with gold, which he was wearing, in exchange for the half-ripe grapes he had picked from his vines, and thereby indemnified himself against punishment. He considered that the guardian's acceptance of the belt from him, and his letting him go free, was an act of grace the guardian had bestowed on him and a kind act he had accorded him.

It is said that Hurmuz was a successful and victorious commander, who never set his hand to anything that he did not attain. He was, moreover, well educated, skillful, and shrewd, but bad intentioned, a defect he inherited from his maternal relations, the Turks. He removed the nobles [from his court and entourage] and killed 13,600 men from the religious classes and from those of good family and noble birth. His sole aim was to win over the lower classes and to make them favorably disposed towards him. He imprisoned a great number of the great men, and degraded them and stripped them of their offices and ranks. He provide well

698. This story also in al-Dinawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 77-78.

for the mass of troops (*al-jund*), but deprived the cavalrymen (*al-asāwīrah*) of resources. Hence a great number of those in his entourage became evil intentioned toward him, as a consequence of the fact that God wished to change their (i.e., the Persians') rule and transfer their royal power to someone else. Everything has its own particular cause.⁶⁹⁹

[991] The Hērbadhs presented Hurmuz with a petition that embodied their desire to persecute the Christians. The king endorsed the document with the words, "Just as our royal throne cannot stand on its two front legs without the two back ones, our kingdom cannot stand or endure firmly if we cause the Christians and adherents of other faiths, who differ in belief from ourselves, to become hostile to us. So renounce this desire to persecute the Christians and become assiduous in good works, so that the Christians and the adherents of other faiths may see this, praise you for it, and feel themselves drawn toward your religion."⁷⁰⁰

I received reports going back to Hishām b. Muḥammad, who said: The Turks marched out against Hurmuz. Other authorities state that, in the eleventh year of his reign, Shābah, the supreme ruler of the Turks,⁷⁰¹ advanced against him with three hundred

699. Cf. al-Dīnawārī, *al-Akhbār al-tiwāl*, 78, and Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 211-12, the latter source stating that Hormizd killed thirteen thousand from the upper classes (*al-khawāṣṣ*) of Persia and destroyed the bases of the Zoroastrian state church. The *asāwīrah* or mailed, heavy cavalrymen were recruited from the classes of the nobility and gentry (see n. 258 above), while what is here called the *jund* represented the infantry and other less favored elements of the forces.

700. As mentioned in n. 696 above, Nestorian Christian sources give a favorable picture of Hormizd and his policies.

701. Shābah (if this is the correct form of a dubiously written name) was more probably a ruler of the northern Hephthalites, or a vassal ruler in the upper Oxus regions of the Turkish, rather than the Qaghan of the Western Turks. In the 580s, Tardu (Chinese, Ta-t'ou), son of Ishtemi or Istemi (see n. 394 above), was Qaghan of what the Chinese knew as the Western Frontier Region, with Central Asia *stricto sensu* and the fringes of Transoxania controlled by other members of the Turkish ruling house, Taspar (or Taghpar), son of Bumin (r. 572-81), then Nivar (Chinese, She-tu), who was ousted by Apa, son of Muhan (Chinese, Ta-lo-pien), who in 583 founded the state of the Western Turks, until he lost power in 587. See Sinor, "The Establishment and Dissolution of the Türk Empire," 304-306; Sinor and S. G. Klyashtorny, "The Türk Empire," 333-34. None of these names resembles that of Shābah, and these Turkish potentates were in any case too heavily involved in internal warfare and internecine rivalries within Inner Asia to have begun hostilities with an external power like the Sāsānids.

thousand warriors until he reached Bādghīs and Harāt,⁷⁰² that the king of the Byzantines moved into the outer districts of his empire (*al-ḡawāhī*) with eighty thousand warriors heading toward him,⁷⁰³ and that the king of the Khazars moved with a large army toward al-Bāb wa-al-Abwāb (i.e., Darband), wreaking damage and

702. Bādghīs is the region of what is now northwestern Afghanistan lying to the north of Herat, the name being known, in the form Wāitigaēsa, since Avestan times. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 318; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 64–65, 67, 70, 77–78; Le Strange, *Lands*, 412–13; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 47–49; *EI*², s.v. Bādghīs or Bādghhis (W. Barthold and F. R. Allchin); *EIr*, s.v. Bādġīs. I. General and the early period (C. E. Bosworth).

703. The course of Perso-Byzantine relations after the war of 540–45 between Khusraw Anūsharwān and Justinian (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 958–60, p. 252–55 above) until this point is not noted by al-Ṭabarī but was in fact very eventful. There was a prolonged war in Lazica, the westernmost, coastal region of Georgia, the Colchis of Antiquity, from 549 to 561, in which Persia, endeavoring to extend her influence over Armenia and Georgia, had confronted Byzantium, equally concerned to assert a protectorate over these Christian kingdoms (for Sāsānid policy in Persarmenia, that part of eastern Armenia where the Persians claimed control, see *EIr*, s.v. Armenia and Iran. ii. The Pre-Islamic Period. 6. The Sasanian Period. II: Persarmenia [M.L. Chaumont]), and this formed the second of Anūsharwān's wars with the Greeks. The peace treaty of 561, the negotiations for which are described in detail by the Greek historian Menander Protector, giving the text of the Greek version of the treaty in *extenso*, and whose chief Persian representative in them was Īzadh-Gushnasp (later to be a partisan of Bahrām Chūbīn's, see al-Ṭabarī, I, 997, p. 307 below), provided for a fifty years' peace, on analogy with that of 422 between Theodosius II and Bahrām V Gūr, involving Byzantium's paying an annual tribute in return for Persia's renouncing all rights over Lazica and consequent access to the Black Sea. There was also a commercial clause by means of which both powers aimed at controlling—with the imposition of appropriate customs dues—trade conducted by Arab merchants from the Persian Gulf shores and across the Syrian Desert, and a military clause that seems to have aimed at preventing intertribal, or rather, interdynastic hostilities between the respective Arab allies of the Byzantines and Persians, the Jafnids/Ghassānids and the Lakhmids (see Shahīd, "The Arabs in the Peace Treaty of 561," 191–211).

Justinian's expansionist efforts during his long reign were largely concentrated on the west of his empire, and he had been generally content to maintain the status quo in the east. But his nephew and successor Justin II (r. 567–78), having lost much of Italy to the Germanic Lombards who invaded the Po valley in 568, looked to the east for compensatory military glory. Hence the fifty years' peace lasted only ten years. In 572 Justin renounced payment of the tribute and intervened in Armenia to support a revolt of local Christians against the persecutions and attempts to impose Zoroastrianism of the Persian Marzbān Chihr-Gushnasp from the prominent Suren family. By supporting the Armenian rebels, Justin hoped to take advantage of Anūsharwān's preoccupations in the east with the Turkish Khāqān Sinjibū (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 895–96, pp. 152–53 above).

The result was a third war which began with a Persian invasion of Syria, capturing Daras/Dārā and threatening Antioch. The war dragged on for twenty years,

destruction.⁷⁰⁴ [They further state] that two men from the Arabs, one called 'Abbās the Squinter and the other 'Amr the Blue-Eyed One, encamped with a mighty host of Arabs on the banks of the Euphrates and mounted raids against the inhabitants of the Sawād.⁷⁰⁵ His enemies became emboldened against him and

despite an armistice of 575-78 negotiated on the Persian side by the commander Māhbōdh (whose son Basak (?) is named in al-Ṭabarī, I, 985, p. 291 above, as the fortifier of al-Mushaqqar in eastern Arabia) and on the Greek side by Tiberius (who became emperor as Tiberius II Constantine, r. 578-82, but who was already Caesar and acting emperor after Justin lapsed into insanity in December 574). The truce enabled the *Magister Militum per Orientem* Maurice (subsequently emperor, r. 582-602) to build up his forces for a campaign in the east in 578, but this was preempted by a Persian invasion, under the general Māhbōdh, of the Armenian Taurus region, checked by a counterattack of Maurice which carried the Byzantine offensive as far as the region of Adiabene in northern Mesopotamia. Attempts at a further peace between Tiberius and Anūsharwān were aborted by the Persian king's sudden death in spring 579, for his successor Hormizd preferred to break off relations and continue the war, a sticking-point was the Byzantines' continued refusal to extradite the Armenian leaders of the 572 revolt in Persarmenia.

With the resumption of hostilities, Maurice prepared for war, and now in 580 aimed at involving the Jafnid/Ghassānid al-Mundhir b. al-Ḥārith (r. 569-82) in warfare along the Syrian Desert fringes (see Nöldeke, *Die Ghassānischen Fürsten*, 27-28; Shahīd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century*, I/1, 396ff.). After further peace negotiations in 580-81 failed, the Byzantine army under Maurice secured resounding victories in Upper Mesopotamia, including at Constantina/Tall Mawzan, but was still unable to capture the key fortresses of Nišībīn and Daras/Dārā. The war then continued through Hormizd's reign, with the Byzantine armies commanded by Maurice's brother-in-law Philippicus, by Priscus and then by Philippicus again till 589, and with fighting concentrated upon such points as Amida/Amid, Martyropolis/Mayyāfāriqīn, and Daras/Dārā. In 589 Hormizd ordered Bahrām Chūbīn (on whom see n. 706 below), fresh from his victories in the east against the Hephthalites, to invade Siunik' (the region between Lake Sevan and the middle course of the Araxes/Aras river) but Bahrām suffered a decisive defeat at the hands of the Byzantine general Romanus; it was apparently Hormizd's humiliating treatment of the momentarily unsuccessful, but until then highly successful, Bahrām (the Greek historians state that the emperor sent to him women's garments, emblems of weakness and cowardice, while Bahrām responded with a letter addressed to his sovereign merely as "Hormizd, son of Khusraw"), which finally provoked him into rebellion against the king.

See on these events, Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene*, I, 441-68, II, 95-110; idem, *History of the Later Roman Empire from the Death of Theodosius to the Death of Justinian*, I, 113-23; M. J. Higgins, *The Persian War of the Emperor Maurice (582-602). Part I. The Chronology, with a Brief History of the Persian Calendar*, 24-41; Christensen, *Sassanides*, 372-74; Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, II, 503-21; P. Goubert, *Byzance avant l'Islam. I. Byzance et l'Orient sous les successeurs de Justinien. L'Empereur Maurice*, 63-127; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 155-56, 158-60, 162-63; Whitby, "Procopius and the Development of Roman Defences in Upper Mesopotamia," 729-30.

raided his lands. They so encompassed his lands that these last became known as a sieve with many holes. It is further said that enemies had encompassed the land of Persia from all sides like the bowstring over the two curved ends of the bow. Shābah, king of the Turks, sent a message to Hurmuz and the great men of the Persians, announcing his advance with his troops and saying, "Put in good repair the bridges over the rivers and wadis so that I may cross over them to your land, and construct bridges over all those rivers which do not already have them. Also, do likewise regarding all the rivers and wadis that lie along my route from your land to that of the Byzantines, because I have determined on marching against them from your land."

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Hurmuz became very fearful at all these threats coming upon him, and sought counsel regarding them. The decision was reached for him to move against the king of the Turks. So Hurmuz sent against him a man from the people of al-Rayy called Bahrām, son of Bahrām Jushnas, known as Jūbīn, with twelve thousand men whom Bahrām had personally selected—mature and experienced men, not youngsters.⁷⁰⁶ It is stated alternatively that Hur-

Dawāhī, sing. *dāhiyah*, literally, "exposed, outer side," was a term specially used in early Islamic times for the zones of advanced frontier defenses marking the Byzantine-Arab frontier in the Taurus region of southeastern Anatolia.

704. It does seem that the Khazars had become established in the eastern Caucasus region by the later sixth century, see Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, 43-45; but we have no precise historical mention of this invasion.

705. These two contemptuous and pejorative names [blueness = haggardness, lividness, or blue-eyedness, being regarded as a defect, reflected in the linking of the color with the *mujrimīn* or sinners at the Last Judgment in Qur'ān, XX, 102] may well be fictitious ones. Nothing is otherwise known of these two raiders from the desert except that al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 212 = § 633, gives 'Amr the further sobriquet of *al-Afwah*, "the big-mouthed one," and unhelpfully says that the raiders came from the direction of Yemen.

706. Bahrām Chūbīn [literally "wooden," but explicable, according to A. Sh. Shahbazi, see below, from his tall and slender physique, hence with the sense of "lance, javelin shaft"] stemmed from the great family of Mihrān (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 885, p. 131 and n. 340 above) in Rayy and was commander on the eastern frontiers of the Sāsānid realm. His military exploits in the east and his subsequent usurpation of royal power made such an impression on popular consciousness that there arose a popular romance in Pahlavi, the no longer extant *Wahrām Čōbēn-nāmag*. This romance, together with a *Book of Rustam and Isfandiyār*, was translated into Arabic by a secretary of "Hishām" (the Umayyad caliph Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik?), one Jabalah b. Sālim. See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 305, 364, tr. Bayard Dodge, II, 589, 716; Nöldeke, trans. 474-48, Excursus 6; Christensen, *Romanen om Bahrām Tschōbīn, et rekonstruktionsforsøg*. In his own time, Bahrām had been hailed by

muz mustered at that time all those in his capital registered on the *dīwān* rolls (*al-dīwāniyyah*),⁷⁰⁷ amounting to seventy thousand warriors. Bahrām advanced rapidly with the troops who had joined him until he had passed Harāt and Bādghīs. Shābah was unaware of Bahrām's presence until the latter fixed his encampment in his vicinity. Messages went backward and forward between them, and clashes of arms, and Bahrām killed Shābah with an arrow shot at him. It is said that, in the realm of the Persians, supreme skill in archery was attributed to three men: 'r.sh.sh.yāṭ.y.n's shot in the war between Manūshihhr and Afrāsiyāb (text, "Firāsiyāt");⁷⁰⁸ Sūkhṛā's shot in the war against the Turks;⁷⁰⁹ and this shot of Bahrām's. He declared Shābah's encampment to be lawful booty, and established himself in that place. B.r.mūdhah,⁷¹⁰ Shābah's

many as something of a messianic figure who was to save the Sāsānid kingdom from chaos and to restore the glories of his Arsacid forebears, although subsequent writings on the downfall of the Sāsānid kingdom, written in Pahlavi and stemming from the early Islamic period, generally take what might be called a Persian legitimist view and portray Bahrām as a base-born usurper whose actions contributed to the decline and confusion of the state in its last decades. See K. Czeglédy, "Bahrām Cōbīn and the Persian Apocalyptic Literature," 32-43, and on him on general, Nöldeke, trans. 270 n. 3; Christensen, *Sassanides*, 443-45; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 163-65; *EP*, s.v. Bahrām (Cl. Huart and H. Massé); *Elr*, s.v. Bahrām. vii. Bahrām VI Cōbīn (A. Sh. Shahbazi).

707. An anachronistic use of the Islamic administrative term, that used to denote the register of names of the Arab *muqātilah* or warriors and their pay allotments, the system instituted, so the story goes, by the caliph 'Umar I, although the word itself is assumed to stem ultimately from Old Persian *dipi-*, "document, inscription," but probably with even older antecedents. See *Elr*, s.v. Dīwān. i. The term [F. C. de Blois], and also al-Ṭabarī, I, 877, p. 116 above, where *dīwān* is used for the king Firūz's perpatetic exchequer.

708. Thus in Nöldeke's text, but n. e offers a variety of readings from the manuscripts, with Marquart, in *Addenda et emendanda*, p. dxciv, following Darmesteter, offering also *Irishshibāṭīr*. For his translation, 271, Nöldeke chose from among the various readings *Arishsātīn*. The first element of the name is clearly the personal name Arish, the MP form of Avestan *Erəxša-*, of uncertain meaning. In Iranian legendary history, Arish or Kay Arish, the Avestan Kawi Arshan, was the celebrated archer who shot an arrow a prodigious distance to establish the boundary between Iran and Afrāsiyāb's Turan, as mentioned here. The Arsacids traced their descent back to Kay Arish, regarded in the Pahlavi sources as the grandson of Kay Kawād. See Nöldeke, trans. 271 n. 2; Justi, *Namenbuch*, 29-30, 88-89; Mayrhofer, *Die altiranischen Namen*, 38 no. 114; Yarshater, "Iranian National History," 373, 406, 444, 475. Nöldeke was, however, unable to suggest any plausible explanation of the second element *sātīn* [or however it should be read]

709. See I, 877, p. 116 above, for this incident.

710. Again a doubtful rendering of a name that does not look very Turkish in its

son, who was the equal of his father, marched against Bahrām. Bahrām attacked him, put him to flight, and besieged him in a certain fortress of his. Bahrām pressed B.r.mūdhah so hard that he surrendered to him. Bahrām sent him back captive to Hurmuz and plundered immense treasures that were laid up in the fortress. It is said that he transported to Hurmuz wealth, jewels, vessels, weapons, and other plundered items amounting to two hundred fifty-thousand camels' loads. Hurmuz thanked Bahrām for the booty he had gained and which had reached him.

However, Bahrām was afraid of Hurmuz's violence, as were the troops who were with him, so he threw off allegiance to Hurmuz, advanced toward al-Madā'in, showed vexation at Hurmuz's behavior, and proclaimed that Hurmuz's son Abarwīz was more fitted for the royal power than he. Certain of those in Hurmuz's court circle threw in their lot with the rebels. For this reason Abarwīz, fearing Hurmuz, fled to Azerbaijan; a number of the Marzbāns and Iṣbahbadhs joined him there and gave him their allegiance. The great men and the nobles at al-Madā'in, including Bindūyah (text, "Bindī") and Biṣṭām, maternal uncles of Abarwīz, rose up, deposed Hurmuz, blinded him with a red-hot needle but left him alive, shrinking from the crime of actually killing him.⁷¹¹

present form. Al-Dinawarī, *al-Akhbār al-tiwāl*, 81, has the much more Turkish-looking *Y.l.t.kīn* for it, but Nöldeke was very likely correct in suspecting that this was the invention of a later age when names for soldiers, etc., compounded with the ancient Turkish, originally princely, title of *tégin* were becoming familiar within the Islamic world.

711. Bindūyah (a hypocoristic from Winda-*{farnah?}*) "possessing royal glory," see Justi, *Namenbuch*, 368-69, 370-71) and Biṣṭām (see on this name n. 237 above) were members of one of the seven greatest families of Persia, regarded as almost on a level with the families of the Arsacids and Sāsānids, that of Spābadh. Their father Shabūr had been killed by Hormizd in his purge of magnates of the realm whom he regarded with suspicion (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 990, p. 297 above), hence the revenge of the two sons in this rebellion against the king. See Nöldeke, trans. 273 n. 1, 439 *Excursus 3*, *Elr.*, s.v. Beṣṭām o Bendōy (A. Sh. Shahbazi).

The mode of blinding mentioned here (*Ar. samala*, Pers. *mīl kashidan*) was often employed in order to avoid physical desecration or disfiguring of the body of a person invested with the divinely buttressed aura of kingship, etc. Procopius, *The Persian War*, I.vi.17, states that the Persians used either to pour boiling olive oil into the victim's wide-open eyes or else to prick the eyeballs with a heated needle. Al-Ṭabarī, I, 998, p. 310 below, and other sources state further that Hormizd was shortly afterward murdered, either directly on Khusrāw Abarwēz's orders, as the Byzantine chronicler Theophylactus Simocatta alleges, or with his complicity, as

News of this reached Abarwīz, and he set out from Azerbaijan, with his retinue, for the capital, hastening to get there before Bahrām. Having arrived at al-Madā'in, Abarwīz seized the royal power and prepared to defend himself against Bahrām. The two of them met together on the bank of the Nahrawān river,⁷¹² where disputation and confrontation took place between them. Abarwīz sought to convince Bahrām that he would guarantee his security, exalt him in rank, and raise the status of his governorship; but [994] Bahrām would not accept that.⁷¹³

Various battles took place between them, until Abarwīz was compelled to flee to Byzantium, seeking help from its king, after a fierce battle and a night attack launched by both sides. It is said that Bahrām had with him a detachment of especially strong troops, including a group of three of the leading Turkish warriors, unequalled among the rest of the Turks for their equestrian skills (*furūsiyyah*) and their strength, who had undertaken to Bahrām that they would kill Abarwīz. On the morning after the night attack, Abarwīz stood firm and summoned his troops to give battle to Bahrām, but they were reluctant to stir. The group of three Turks attacked him, but Abarwīz went out to engage them and killed them one by one with his own hand. He then abandoned the battlefield, aware that his followers had been reluctant to fight and were wavering in their allegiance. He went to his father at Ctesiphon, entered his presence, told him what was apparent to him regarding his troops' attitude, and sought his advice. Hurmuz advised him to make his way to Mawriq (Maurice), the king of the Byzantines, in order to seek help from him. He placed his women-folk and children in a place secure from Bahrām and set off with a small number of companions, including Bindūyah, Biṣṭām and Kurdī, brother of Bahrām Jūbīn. He reached Antioch, and wrote to

al-Ṭabarī says. See Christensen, *Sassanides*, 444.

712. That is, the canal that ran a two hundred miles' course, parallel to and eastward of the Tigris, from near Takrīt in the north to Mādharāyā in the south. See further on the region of Nahrawān n. 615 above.

713. As Nöldeke, trans. 273 n. 1, and 274 n. 2, observed, the course of all these events, which were to culminate in Khusraw Abarwēz's triumph over Bahrām Chūbīn, is extremely confused in the sources, with Theophylactus having the clearest and fullest narrative here. See Christensen, *Sassanides*, 444-45; *Elr.* s.v. Bahrām. vii. Bahrām VI Čōbīn (A. Sh. Shahbazi).

Mawrīq. The latter received him and gave him in marriage his daughter, called Maryam (Mary), who was very precious to him. The complete extent of Hurmuz, son of Kisrā's reign was, according to certain authorities, eleven years, nine months, and ten days, and according to Hishām b. Muḥammad, twelve years.⁷¹⁴

[Kisrā II Abarwīz]

Then there assumed the royal power Kisrā Abarwīz.⁷¹⁵

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[He was] the son of Hurmuz, the son of Kisrā Anūsharwān, and was one of the outstanding kings of the dynasty in regard to bravery, one of them with the most incisive judgment, and one with the most far-sighted perceptions. According to what has been mentioned, his strength in battle, valor, successfulness, victoriousness, accumulation of wealth and treasuries, the assistance to his cause of fate and of the times, reached a pitch that had never been vouchsafed to any king more exalted than he. Hence he was called Abarwīz, meaning in Arabic "The Victorious One."

714. For more detailed comment on these events, including Bahrām's revolt, Khusraw Abarwēz's appeal to the Byzantine emperor Maurice, and his alleged marriage to a Byzantine princess, see the second, fuller narrative of these events by al-Ṭabarī at I, 995ff., pp. 305ff. below.

In the Arabic and Persian sources, the story of the three-sided struggle between Hormizd, Khusraw Abarwēz, and Bahrām Chūbīn is given in detail by al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 79–84 and Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, tr. II, 266ff., and more cursorily by al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 187–91, and al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 212–15 = §§ 633–35. Of modern studies, see Christensen, *Sassanides*, 444–46; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 164–65, 178; *EIr*, s.v. Bahrām VI Čōbīn (A. Sh. Shahbazi).

Hormizd IV's period of power was 579–90, see Frye, op. cit., 178. His name appears on his coins as AUHRMZDY. See on his coins Paruck, *Sāsānic Coins*, 66, 384–85, 479–83, Plate XX, Tables XXVI–XXVII; Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, 52, Table XI, Plate 12; Sellwood, Whitting, and Williams, *An Introduction to Sasanian Coins*, 21, 145–47; Malek, "A Survey of Research on Sasanian Numismatics," 237.

The Arabic sources on his reign in general include Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 664; al-Ya'qūbī, op. cit., I, 187–91; al-Dīnawarī, op. cit., 74–84; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 195–211 = §§ 617–31; idem, *Tanbīh*, 102, tr. 146; Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rikh*, 53; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 469–72. Of Persian sources, see Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, trans. II, 246–53. Of modern studies, see the ones detailed in the previous paragraph.

715. MP *abarwēz*, NP *parwēz*, "victorious." See Justi, *Namenbuch*, 19; Nöldeke, trans. 275 n. 3. This point is the beginning of the second, fuller narrative of events surrounding the deposition of Hormizd, the revolt of Bahrām Chūbīn and the eventual triumph of Khusraw Abarwēz.

It is mentioned that, when he became apprehensive of what his father Hurmuz intended, on account of the scheming of Bahrām Jūbīn over this, and when it had reached the point that Hurmuz imagined that Abarwīz was planning to seize the royal power for himself, Abarwīz left secretly for Azerbaijan. Subsequently, he proclaimed his cause openly there. When he reached that region, a group of the Iṣbahbadhs and others who were there rallied to him and gave him their allegiance, promising to give him aid, but he made no [positive] steps toward that. It is also said that, when Ādhīn Jushnas,⁷¹⁶ who had been sent to combat Bahrām Jūbīn, was killed, the army accompanying Ādhīn Jushnas scattered and finally made its way to al-Madā'in. Jūbīn pursued them, and Hurmuz's⁷¹⁷ position became very unsure. Ādhīn Jushnas's sister, who had been the youthful companion of Abarwīz, wrote to him, informing him of Hurmuz's weak position as a result of what had happened to Ādhīn Jushnas and telling him that the great men of state had resolved upon deposing Hurmuz. She further told him that, if Jūbīn reached al-Madā'in before he could get there, Jūbīn would occupy it. When the letter reached Abarwīz, he gathered together all the troops he could from Armenia and Azerbaijan, and with them marched on al-Madā'in. The leading figures and nobles rallied to him, full of joy at his arrival. He assumed the royal crown and seated himself on his throne. He said: "It is part of our religion to choose piety [above all other things], and part of our considered opinion to do good works. Our grandfather Kisra, son of Qubādh, was like a parent for you, and our father Hurmuz was a just judge for you, so ensure that you remain obedient and submissive now."

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On the third day, Abarwīz went to his father, prostrated himself before him and said, "May God grant you long life, O king! You

716. This name appears variously in the sources. Nöldeke adopted his reading here, see trans. 276 n. 2, on a basis of the readings of al-Ṭabarī and al-Ya'qūbī alone among the sources. Justi, *Namenbuch*, 5, 354–55, interpreted this putative name as from *ādhīn* "ornament" + *gushnasp* "strong, powerful." But Mr F. C. de Blois has pointed out that Justi's translation is certainly wrong: rather, for *ādhīn* read MP *ēwēn* "manner, custom" [NP *ā'im*], while *gushnasp* means "stallion" and is also the name of a sacred fire. He suggests that a rendering *Ādur-gushnasp would make better sense here.

717. Correcting the name *Bahrām* of the text to *Hurmuz*, as in *Addenda et emendanda*, p. dxciv, and Nöldeke, trans. 276.

know that I am innocent of what your false-hearted subjects (literally, "hypocrites," *munāfiqūn*) did to you. I went into hiding and made for Azerbaijan out of fear that you had the intention to kill me." Hurmuz gave credence to this apology, saying, "O my dear son, I have two requests to make of you, so aid me in implementing these. The first one is that you should take vengeance on my behalf upon those who took part in my deposition and blinding,⁷¹⁸ and that you should show no mercy toward them. The second one is that you should appoint every day three persons of firm judgment to keep me company and that you should instruct them to come into my presence." Abarwīz showed himself humble and submissive toward him, and said, "O king, may God grant you long life! The rebel Bahrām is threatening us from very near and has on his side courage and bravery; we do not at present have the power to stretch forth our hand against those who perpetrated what they did against you, but if God gives me the upper hand over the false-hearted one, then I shall act as your representative and the willing agent of your hand."

Bahrām got news of Kīsrā's approach and of how the people had made Abarwīz king. He hastened toward al-Madā'in with his troops. Abarwīz sent out spies against him. When Bahrām drew near to him, Abarwīz thought that the best course was to negotiate with him peaceably. So he girded on his weapons, and ordered Bindūyah, Biṣṭām, a group of the great men whom he trusted, and a thousand men of his troops to put on their best array and gird on their weapons. Abarwīz set out from his fortress with them against Bahrām, with the people calling down blessings on his head, and surrounded by Bindūyah, Biṣṭām, and all the other leading figures until he halted on the bank of the Nahrawān river. When Bahrām perceived the full extent of Abarwīz's panoply, he set out on a piebald mount (*birdhawn* . . . *ablaq*), which he especially held dear, wearing no mailed coat and accompanied by Īzadh Jushnas⁷¹⁹ and three men who were kinsmen of the king of the Turks. These last had pledged their lives to Bahrām that they

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718. That is, on Bindūyah, Biṣṭām, and their allies, see al-Ṭabarī, I, 993, p. 303 above.

719. That is, *īzad* "God" + *gushnasp* (see n. 716 above); see Justi, *Namenbuch*, 145-46, 354-55.

would hand over to him Abarwīz as a prisoner, and he had given them extensive wealth as payment for this.

When Bahrām saw Kistrā's fine figure, his splendid outfit, his crown going with him, accompanied by the unfurled banner of Kāwah (*dirafsh-i Kābiyān*), their supremely mighty flag,⁷²⁰ and when he saw Bindūyah, Biṣṭām, and the rest of the great men, their fine weapons, their splendor, and their mounts, he became downcast at all this, and commented to his companions, "Do you not see that the son of a whore has put on flesh and grown fat, has made the transition from youth to manhood experience, has acquired an ample beard and a full-grown mustache,⁷²¹ and his body has become stout." While he was uttering these words, having stationed himself on the bank of the Nahrawān river, Kistrā said to one of those standing with him, "Which of these is Bahrām?" One of Bahrām's brothers called Kurdī, who had never wavered in his allegiance to Abarwīz and had remained one of his followers, said, "May God grant you long life, the man on the piebald steed!" Kistrā began his speech with the following words: "O Bahrām, you are one of the supports of our kingdom and a pillar for our subjects; you have exerted yourself nobly in our service. We have seen fit to choose some day auspicious for you⁷²² in order to appoint you to

720. This banner is said to have been originally the apron of the blacksmith Kāwah who, in the Iranian national epic, led a successful revolt against the tyrant Zohāk, although the legend is, according to Christensen, of comparatively late, Sāsānid origin. By that time, it was equated with the royal standard of the Persian kings, and several Arabic authors (e.g., al-Ṭabarī, I, 2174–75; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, IV, 224 = § 1556; al-Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*, 115) purport to describe it. By the time of these authors, however, the banner had long ceased to exist, being captured, according to the historians, at the decisive battle of al-Qādisiyyah between the Persians and Arabs in 15/636 or 16/637. See Nöldeke, trans. 278 n. 1; Christensen, *Les Kayanides*, 43; idem, *Sassanides*, 502–504; *EP*, s.v. Kāwah (Ed.).

721. Following the preferred reading of the Sprenger ms. *shāribihī* (text, n. c), for the text's *shabābihi*.

722. That is, auspicious from the astrological aspect. It is emphasized in later Islamic literature, and, in particular, in the works of the third/ninth-century author al-Jāhīz of Baṣrah and apocryphal works attributed to him, that hemerology, the skill of choosing auspicious days for planned actions, had in considerable measure passed to the Arabs from the Persians, with the official astrologers already significant figures at the Sāsānid court. In the *Kitāb al-tāj* or *Kitāb akhlāq al-mulūk*, attributed (but almost certainly falsely) to al-Jāhīz, it is stated that when Ardashir I Pābagān divided up Persian society into four classes (an item of information that figures extensively in the sources; see Marlow, *Hierarchy and Egalitar-*

the office of Iṣbahbadh of the whole land of Persia." Bahrām, however, replied, "But I have chosen for you a day for crucifying you!" Kistrā was filled with trepidation, even though nothing of it showed in his face. Bahrām said to Abarwīz, "O son of an adulteress, raised in the tents of the Kurds!" and other words like it, and accepted nothing whatever of what Abarwīz had offered him. There was mention of Arish, Bahrām's forefather, and Abarwīz reproached him over Arish's obedience to Abarwīz's own forefather Manūshihir.⁷²³ The two of them separated, each one showing the most violent hostility to the other.

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Bahrām had a sister called Kurdiyāh, one of the most accomplished of women and most endowed of them with qualities, whom he had married.⁷²⁴ She reproached Bahrām for his evil speech addressed to Kistrā and his attempt to bring him under his own obedience, but he would have none of it. A martial engagement between Kistrā and Bahrām took place. It is said that, on the morning after the night battle, Kistrā sallied forth for combat in person. The three Turks saw him and made for him, but Abarwīz killed them with his own hand. He urged on his troops to battle, but perceived that they were flagging. He decided to go to some other monarch and seek military help from him. He went first to his father [Hurmuz], seeking his advice; Hurmuz considered that Abarwīz's best course was to make his way to the king of the Byzantines. He placed his womenfolk in a secure place and set out with a small body of men, including Bindūyah, Biṣṭām, and Bahrām's brother Kurdī. When they left al-Madā'in, the mass of Abarwīz's supporters (*al-qawm*), however, were afraid that Bahrām would restore Hurmuz to the royal power and write to the king of the Byzantines on his behalf that Abarwīz's delegation be

ianism in Islamic Thought, 79–83], physicians, scribes, and astrologers formed the third class. See *Kitāb al-tāj*, tr. 53; Gabrieli, "Etichetta di corte e costumi sasanidi nel Kitāb Ahlāq al-Mulūk di al-Gāhiz," 296–97; *EP*, s.v. Ikhtiyārāt (T. Fahd).

723. On Arish, see n. 708 above, where is mentioned the claims of the Arsacids, Bahrām's alleged forebears, to descent from the Kay Arish of Iranian legendary history.

724. As Nöldeke observed, trans. 279 n. 6, such a marriage would be allowable and even praiseworthy in Zoroastrian law and custom, though repugnant to the Muslim Firdawsī, who suppresses mention of it in the *Shāh-nāmāh*. It would also have been unacceptable to the pre-Islamic Arabs, see Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, 164.

sent back so that they might be put to death. They told this to Abarwīz and sought permission from him to kill Hurmuz; but he made no reply. Hence Bindūyah, Biṣtām, and some of their followers went to Hurmuz, strangled him to death, and then returned to Kisrā. They said, "You can now proceed under the best possible auguries."⁷²⁵

[999] They urged on their mounts and came to the Euphrates, crossed it, and took the way through the desert under the guidance of a man called Khurshēdhān,⁷²⁶ arriving at a certain monastery on the edge of the cultivated land. While they encamped in the courtyard there, a cavalry squadron of Bahrām's, commanded by a man called Bahrām, son of Siyāwush, came upon them by surprise. Once they became aware of this, Bindūyah woke Abarwīz from his slumber and told him, "Use some stratagem [for escaping], for the enemy are on top of you." Kisrā replied, "I have no means of escaping," so Bindūyah told him that he would sacrifice his own life for him, and asked him to hand over his weapons and equipment and to flee with his retainers from the monastery. They did this, and hurried on ahead of the enemy until they were able to conceal themselves in the mountains. When Bahrām, son of Siyāwush, arrived, Bindūyah, girded with Abarwīz's weapons and equipment, showed himself to Bahrām from the top of the monastery, and let Bahrām thereby imagine that he was Abarwīz. He asked Bahrām to grant him a respite until the next morning, when he would peacefully deliver himself into his hands. Hence Bahrām left him alone and only later was his stratagem revealed. Bahrām, son of Siyāwush, took Bindūyah back with him to Jūbīn, who consigned Bindūyah to imprisonment in Bahrām's custody.

It is said that Bahrām [Jūbīn] entered the royal palaces at al-Madā'in and sat down on the royal throne. The prominent leaders and great men of state gathered round him, and Bahrām addressed

725. These words, and those of other sources, no doubt express the degree of Khusraw's complicity in his father's killing: satisfaction with the result without having to stain his own hands with blood. Khusraw's conduct here was certainly Machiavellian; Nöldeke, 281 n. 1, adduces the parallel of the Russian emperor Alexander I, who in 1801 certainly had prior knowledge of the planned murder of his father Paul I.

726. That is, Khurshēdh, Avestan *hvarə-xšaēta*, literally "sun." See Justi, *Namenbuch*, 180; Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, col. 1848.

them, abusing Abarwīz violently and blaming him. Several sessions of argument and disputation took place between him and the prominent leaders, all of whom were averse to him. Nevertheless, Bahrām seated himself on the royal throne and had himself crowned, and the people gave him obedience out of fear.⁷²⁷ It is said that Bahrām, son of Siyāwush, agreed with Bindūyah on assassinating Jūbīn, but the latter got to know about it, and had Bahrām, son of Siyāwush, executed. Bindūyah, however, escaped and managed to reach Azerbaijan.

Abarwīz journeyed onward until he reached Antioch, and from there wrote to Mawriq, the king of the Byzantines, sending to him a delegation of his retainers and asking him for military aid.⁷²⁸

727. Bahrām Chūbīn entered Ctesiphon in summer 590. There was clearly a reluctance among the great men of state in the capital that the ancient house of the Sāsānids should be set aside by Bahrām. The latter, for his part, claimed to be the restorer of the even more ancient house of the Arsacids, who had been displaced by the upstart Ardashīr (I) b. Sāsān, son of a mere shepherd, and he took advantage of apocalyptic beliefs which, so he asserted, foretold himself as the future savior of the land of Iran from such external foes as the Byzantines and the Hephthalites. In Ctesiphon he assumed the complete royal style, being crowned and issuing coins, although according to Theophylactus and al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhhbār al-tiwāl*, 90, he hedged his bets by proclaiming to the nobles that he was only acting as regent for Hormizd's young son Shahriyār until the latter should reach maturity. Despite his efforts, Bahrām was never able to persuade the Persian aristocracy and the Zoroastrian clergy that he held a social position above their own or that he enjoyed the divine favor, and a strong party of them continued to favor the cause of Khusraw Abarwēz as successor to his father. Bahrām had accordingly to turn to other elements for support, including that of the Jews; subsequently, Khusraw's commander Māhbōdh slaughtered many Jews in retaliation. See Neusner, "Jews in Iran," 916.

Bahrām VI Chūbīn reigned in Ctesiphon 590–91. His name appears on his coins as VR̄HR̄N. See on his coins, Paruck, *Sāsānian Coins*, 66–67, 385–86, 483–84, Plate XX, Table XXVII; Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, 52, Table XI, Plate 12; Sellwood, Whitting, and Williams, *An Introduction to Sasanian Coins*, 21, 148–49; Malek, "A Survey of Research on Sasanian Numismatics," 237.

See on his career and reign Nöldeke, trans. 282 n. 2; Christensen, *Sassanides*, 444–45; Czeglédy, "Bahrām Cōbīn and the Persian Apocalyptic Literature," 25–27; *Elr.*, s.v. Bahrām. vii. Bahrām VI Cōbīn (A. Sh. Shahbazi).

728. Both the exact date of Khusraw Abarwēz's appeal to Maurice and the exact route he followed from the Persian capital to the Byzantine lands present certain problems. However, it seems likely that the date was the late spring of 590. Antioch, mentioned here by al-Ṭabarī as the place to which Khusraw fled, was deep in Byzantine territory, and it is much more probable, on the basis of fairly exact itineraries in Theophylactus and the *Anonymus Guidi*, that Khusraw and his entourage traveled from the region of Ctesiphon up the Euphrates valley via Firūz-

Mawrīq agreed to this, and things went so far that he gave Abarwīz his daughter Maryam in marriage and had her conveyed to him.⁷²⁹ Furthermore, he sent to Abarwīz his brother Thiyādhūs (Theodosius)⁷³⁰ with an army of sixty thousand warriors, headed by a man called Sarjīs (Sergius), who was [in practice] in charge of all the army's affairs, and another man whose strength was equal to a thousand men.⁷³¹ He laid down as conditions that Abarwīz should

Shāpūr/al-Anbār, Hīt and 'Ānah to Circesium/Qarqisiyā at the confluence of the Khābūr and Euphrates, the first fortified point within Byzantine territory.

Bahrām had tried to purchase Byzantine neutrality in the struggle by offering to cede Nišibīn and the lands held by the Persians right up to the Tigris. But Maurice must have felt that it was better for Byzantine interests to have a young and inexperienced Khusraw Abarwēz on the throne than the battle-hardened warrior Bahrām, and he may also have hoped to extract concessions for the Christians within the Persian realm if Khusraw were to prevail. At all events, Maurice disregarded the advice of the Senate in Constantinople, which was suspicious of affording any help to the ancestral foe, and a Byzantine army to be commanded by the *Magister Militum* Narses was promised as aid for Khusraw. See Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene*, II, 112; Higgins, *The Persian War of the Emperor Maurice (582-602)*, Part I, 42-54; Goubert, *Byzance avant l'Islam*, I, 131-45.

729. As Nöldeke pointed out, trans. 283 n. 2, the Persian historical tradition and later romantic literature makes this Byzantine princess the mother of Khusraw Abarwēz's son and successor Kawād II Shērōy, whereas the Greek sources do not mention her. Nöldeke did not at the time when he made his translation of al-Ṭabarī know of the Syriac *Anonymus Guidi* (the earlier, greater part of which may, it has recently been suggested, have been written by Elias of Marw: personal communication from Dr. Sebastian Brock). This chronicle does in fact, mention her as one of Khusraw's two Christian wives (see trans. Nöldeke, 10). Another Syriac chronicler like Dionysius of Tell Maḥrē records the marriage with much circumstantial detail, e.g., that she was accompanied to the Persian capital by bishops and clergy and that Khusraw built for her two places of worship (*hayklē*), one dedicated to St. Sergius and the other to Mary, the Mother of Jesus (see trans. Palmer, *The Seventh Century in the West-Syrian Chronicles*, 117). It seems that there was some confusion between the Byzantine princess Maria and the celebrated Shīrīn, Khusraw's beloved, the subject of so many later Persian romances, and Theophylact makes *Sirē* likewise of Byzantine origin. However, Shīrīn is said by the *Anonymus Guidi*, loc. cit., to have been of Aramaean origin from the district around what was later al-Baṣrah. As the mother of Khusraw's son Mardān Shāh and the mother or foster mother of another son, Shahriyār, she showed herself hostile to Shērōy after her husband's death. The historicity of Khusraw's supposed marriage with Maria must remain very dubious. See von Gutschmid, "Bemerkungen zu Tabarī's Sasanidengeschichte," 744; Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse*, 208-209; Garsoiān, "Byzantium and the Sasanians," 579.

730. Nöldeke, trans. 284 n. 1, corrected "brother" to "son," as in al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 92, and later Persian sources.

731. al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 92, speaks of "ten men from among the

treat him with respect and cease requiring the tribute his forefathers had exacted from the kings of the Byzantines. When the Byzantine troops reached Abarwīz, he was filled with joy and allowed them five days' rest after their arrival. Then he reviewed them and appointed officers ('*urafā*') over them. The army included in its numbers Thiyādhūs, Sarjīs, and the champion warrior who was the equal of a thousand men. He went with them until he reached Azerbaijan and encamped on a plain called al-Danaq (?).⁷³² Bindūyah and a man from the Iṣbahbadhs of that region called Mūshīl⁷³³ with forty thousand warriors met up with him there, and people from Fārs, Iṣbahān, and Khurāsān rushed⁷³⁴ to Abarwīz's standard. [1000]

Bahrām got news of Abarwīz's taking up his position on the plain of al-Danaq and set out toward him from al-Madā'in. Several violent clashes took place between them in which the Byzantine champion was killed. It is said that Abarwīz engaged Bahrām's forces, quite separately from the main body of the army, with just fourteen of his soldiers, including Bahrām's brother Kurdī, Bindūyah, Biṣṭām, Sabūr, son of Afriyān, Abādh, son of Farrukhzādh, and Farrukh Hurmuz,⁷³⁵ in a fierce hand-to-hand fight. The Zoroastrians (*al-Majūs*) assert that Abarwīz got trapped in a defile and Bahrām pursued him thither, but when Bahrām was sure that he had Abarwīz in his power, something that could not be comprehended (i.e., some supernatural power) took the latter up to the

Hazārmardān," *hazārmard* "[having the strength of] a thousand men," being a frequent sobriquet of valiant warriors, as Nöldeke, trans. 284 n. 2, points out.

732. Minorsky, "Roman and Byzantine Campaigns in Atropatene," 88–89, discussed the readings for this unidentified name, which include Firdawsi's *Dūk*, and he thought that MP *d.w.k* might lie behind it. He also noted the frequent confusion in Arabic orthography of final *kāf* and *lām* and the existence of a place name *Dūl* to the southeast of Lake Urmiya. For the probable location of the final battle between Bahrām and the combined forces of the Byzantine army and Khusraw, see n. 736 below,

733. Reading thus for the text's *Mūsil*, since Nöldeke, trans. 285 n. 3, identified him as Mushel, the Armenian ruler of Mūsh in eastern Anatolia, from the famous Mamikonian family.

734. Following the reading *wa-inqadda* in *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DXCIV.

735. Following the reconstruction of these names—all fourteen of them being given in Firdawsi's *Shāh-nāmāh*—in *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DXCIV, two of them, Sābūr, son of Afriyān, and Abādh, son of Farrukhzād, being to a considerable extent differently rendered in Nöldeke's original edition and his translation, 286, rendering some of the etymological speculations in his n. 2 invalid.

top of the mountain. It is mentioned that the astrologers agreed that Abarwīz would reign for forty-eight years. Abarwīz went out to engage Bahrām in single combat. He wrested Bahrām's spear from his hand and battered his head with it until the spear broke. Bahrām became downhearted about his cause; he grew fearful, and realized that he had no hope of withstanding Abarwīz. Hence he retreated toward Khurāsān and thence to the Turks.⁷³⁶

Abarwīz, meanwhile, journeyed to al-Madā'in after he had distributed twenty million [dirhams] among the Byzantine troops and had sent them back to Mawrīq. It is said that Abarwīz wrote a letter to the Christians giving them permission to establish their churches (*'imārat biya'ihim*) and allowing anyone who wished, with the exception of the Zoroastrians, to adopt their faith.⁷³⁷ In

736. Bahrām's troops in the vicinity of Nišībīn had at the beginning of 591 gone over to Khusraw's side on hearing of the latter's alliance with the Byzantines, so that Khusraw then controlled Upper Mesopotamia. The combined forces of Narses and Khusraw's general Mābōdh captured Seleucia, Ctesiphon, and Weh Andiyōg Shābūr in summer 591, and Bahrām then faced the combined threat of Narses' army plus a mixed Persian-Armenian-Byzantine force under Bindūyah and the Greek general John Mysticus, moving southward from Armenia into Upper Mesopotamia. In Azerbaijan, on a plain to the east of Lake Urmiya, by a river called by the Byzantine historians Balarath, near the fortified point of Ganzakos (identified by Minorsky with the course of the Mūri Chay to the south of modern Marāghah), the armies met. Although Bahrām's army included a contingent of "Turks" plus a troop of war elephants, it was decisively defeated, with the victors seizing Bahrām's royal tent, harem, children, and jewels. He himself managed to escape with a small force of some four thousand men to Nīshāpūr and thence across the Oxus to the "land of the Turks." See Higgins, *The Persian War of the Emperor Maurice (582-602), Part I*, 51-54; Minorsky, "The Roman and Byzantine Campaigns in Atropatene," 87-91; Goubert, *Byzance avant l'Islam*, I, 147-62; *Elr*, s.v. Bahrām. vii. Bahrām (VI) Čōbīn (A. Sh. Shahbazi).

737. As Nöldeke noted, trans. 288 n. 1, Zoroastrian church law—like the subsequent Islamic one—prescribed death as the penalty for apostasy from that faith. The Greek and Syriac sources record that Khusraw Anūsharwān had executed high-born Persian converts to Christianity and had put to death the Monophysite Catholicos because he had baptised members of the imperial family; in the Perso-Byzantine treaty of 562 (see n. 703 above), this penalty for proselytism had been prescribed as the reflex of freedom of worship for the Christians. On Khusraw Abarwēz's policy toward the Christians, see Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse*, 208-35; Asmussen, "Christians in Iran," 946. Labourt highlights the great influence at Khusraw's court of his treasurer, the Nestorian Yazdīn, descendant of the martyr Pethion (see n. 487 above) and the official responsible for collecting the land tax. Yazdīn was a member of a rich and influential Nestorian family from the vicinity of Dastagird in eastern Iraq (see on this place, n. 756 below); a

this connection he adduced the fact that Anūsharwān had made a peace agreement with (*kāna hādana*) Qayṣar regarding the tribute that he exacted from the Byzantine ruler, and had stipulated that those of his [Zoroastrian] compatriots who were in the Byzantine ruler's lands should be kindly treated and that the monarch should build fire temples for them in his lands. Qayṣar, for his part, had made a similar stipulation in regard to the Christians [in the Persian lands].⁷³⁸

[1001]

Bahrām remained among the Turks, highly honored by the king, until Abarwīz intrigued against him by sending a man called Hurmuz.⁷³⁹ He sent him to the Turks with valuable jewels and other things, and Hurmuz was able to worm his way into the confidence

Yezdinābādh mentioned in Adiabene may reflect their property interests. This family was for long prominent in the financial administration of the Persian realm, and various of its members were generous benefactors of the Nestorian Church. Nevertheless, the see of Seleucia-Ctesiphon remained vacant from the Catholicos Gregory's death in 609 till the end of Khusraw's reign in 628, and Yazdīn was unable to secure authorisation for his replacement (op. cit., 230-31).

738. The peace treaty of autumn 591, which concluded the Byzantine intervention in Persia, involved honors and presents for the Byzantine commanders and for the Armenian allies of Khusraw, with the Prince Smbat Bagratuni being appointed Marzbān of Hyrcania/Gurgān. Khusraw now renounced his claims to some two-thirds of Armenia. Maurice recovered the town of Martyropolis, captured by the Persians in 588, and Daras/Dārā was returned to him, although there was no question of the wide range of territory promised to Maurice by Bahrām being relinquished, and Nišībīn remained firmly in Persian hands. The financial provisions were important, but the twenty million dirhams mentioned by al-Ṭabari here were in practice a lesser sum, since they had to be set against the arrears of tribute due from the Byzantines in previous years. In the sphere of protocol, the Persian emperor now for the first time agreed to address the Byzantine monarch as Basileus in official correspondence instead of just Caesar (although it was to be Heraclius in 629, after his crushing victory over the Sāsānids, who was formally to adopt the title Basileus, previously used informally; see I. Shahīd, "The Iranian Factor in Byzantium during the Reign of Heraclius," 295-96). According to Theophylactus, Maurice agreed to leave behind at Ctesiphon a force of one thousand Byzantine troops as Khusraw's personal guard. See Nöldeke, trans. 287 n. 1; Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene*, II, 112; Goubert, *Byzance avant l'Islam*, I, 163-70; *Elr*, s.v. Byzantine-Iranian Relations. 1. Before the Islamic Conquest [A. Sh. Shahbazi].

739. This man appears in, e.g., al-Dinawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 80, 83, and al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 193-94, with the further component to his name of Jarābzīn (with Jalābzīn also found in the sources, including al-Ṭabari, I, 1030, p. 360-61 and n. 864 below), the Zalabzan of Byzantine Greek historians. See Nöldeke, trans. 289 n. 1.

of Khātūn, the king's wife, and win her over with those jewels and other things, until she engaged agents who secretly brought about Bahrām's death.⁷⁴⁰ It is said that Khāqān grieved over his killing, and sent a message to Kurdiyāh, Bahrām's sister and wife, informing her of the fate that had come upon Bahrām through his respon-

740. The story of Bahrām's murder through feminine wiles is narrated in considerable detail by al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhhbār al-tiwāl*, 98–100, also in al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 193–94, at fair length, laconically in al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 222–23 = §§ 642–43, and Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, trans. II, 302–303. Bahrām's troops are said to have feared for their continued safety among the "Turks" after their commander's death and to have returned to the security of the fastnesses of Daylam in the Elburz mountains, where Sāsānid control was negligible, taking part later in the revolt of Bisṭām.

At-Ṭabarī records nothing of the fates of Khusraw Abarwēz's two great-uncles Bindūyah and Bisṭām (on whom see n. 711 above). Al-Dīnawarī, op. cit., 101–105, and al-Ya'qūbī, op. cit., I, 194–95, deal with them at length and in the same romantic guise as the legends around Bahrām Chūbīn's end, concluding with Bisṭām's revolt and eventual death through the craftiness of Kurdiyāh, Bahrām's sister. Certain Greek and Armenian sources have more prosaic but much briefer references. Theophylactus states that Khusraw took vengeance on all those who had been involved in the deposition and blinding of his father Hormizd, and had Bindūyah thrown into the Tigris; the Armenian historian Sebeos says that Bisṭām fled to "Parthia" and was later treacherously killed by a "Kushan" ruler of the east. The *Anonymus Guidi*, tr. 8–9, also records their deaths. There was thus in Nöldeke's time little hard historical fact on the revolt, but in his trans. 478–87, Excursus 7, he extracted what he could out of the meager evidence. He concluded that Khusraw probably dealt with Bindūyah fairly quickly, but that Bisṭām, who had been appointed Marzbān of Khurāsān, did not rebel until 591 or early 592, and that he maintained himself virtually independent in northern Persia till the end of 595, since coins of his are extant, dated to what are called years 2–6 of his reign. We now know considerably more, above all through the information given by al-Dīnawarī (known to Nöldeke but still in manuscript and apparently not fully accessible to him) and from fresh numismatic evidence. It seems accordingly that Bisṭām held power ca. 590–96 over a considerable stretch of territory in the north, from Media/Jibāl and the Caspian provinces to Khurāsān as far as the Oxus, with the backing of many local magnates and troops from Bahrām Chūbīn's former army. He minted coins at Rayy, under the name PYLWCY WSTHM, i.e., Pērōz Vistahm, with dates extending over seven regnal years. See on his coins Paruck, *Sāsānian Coins*, 67, 386, Plate XX; Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, 53, Table XI, Plate 13; Sellwood, Whitting, and Williams, *An Introduction to Sasanian Coins*, 21, 150–51; Malek, "A Survey of Research on Sasanian Numismatics," 237. The coin sequence, and information in Christian sources, indicate that it was not till 596 that Khusraw Abarwēz managed through intrigue to procure Bisṭām's death and thus end his separatist movement; he also slew some sixty members of the families of Bindūyah and Bisṭām. These killings were to form one of the accusations laid at Khusraw's door when he himself was deposed and executed over thirty years later; see al-Ṭabarī, I, pp. 1046–47, 1051–52, 1053–54, pp. 382–84, 387–88, 390–91 below. See *Elr*, s.v. Bestām o Bendōy [A. Sh. Shahbazi].

sibility and asking if he could marry her to his brother N.ṭrā (?). For this reason (i.e., his responsibility for the killing of Bahrām) he divorced Khātūn. It is said that Kurdiyāh gave Khāqān a soft answer but refused N.ṭrā. She gathered round herself the warriors who had been with her brother, and set off with them from the land of the Turks toward the borders of the kingdom of Persia. N.ṭrā the Turk pursued her with twelve thousand warriors, but she killed him with her own hand. She proceeded onward and wrote to her brother Kurdī, who subsequently secured for her from Abarwīz a grant of safe conduct and security (*amān*). When she reached Abarwīz, he married her. He was highly taken with her, and thanked her for having (previously) reproached Bahrām.⁷⁴¹ Abarwīz showed himself grateful and acted in a kindly way toward Mawrīq.⁷⁴²

After Kīsrā had reigned for fourteen years, the Byzantines deposed Mawrīq and killed him, also exterminating all his heirs, apart from one of his sons who fled to Kīsrā, and they raised to the throne as their king a man named Fūqā (Phocas).⁷⁴³ When Kīsrā heard the news of the Byzantines' breaking their allegiance to Mawrīq and their killing him, he became violently aroused, regarded it with revulsion, and was gripped by anger.⁷⁴⁴ He gave

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741. There does not seem to be any firm historical information that Khusraw did marry Kurdiyā, though it would not be unexpected. The story involving N.ṭrā, a name which does not look possible as a Turkish one, must be pure legend.

742. See n. 738 above.

743. Text, Qūfā. On the revolution in Constantinople that led to the dethronement and murder in 602 of Maurice and his sons and his replacement as emperor by the Thracian centurion Phocas, see Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene*, II, 86–94. In fact, Theodosius, Maurice's eldest son and intended heir over the Balkan, Anatolian, and Near Eastern lands of the empire, seems to have escaped death with the rest of his brothers only for a short while after their execution, although rumors were rife that he had escaped to Persia, as reported here by al-Ṭabarī and by certain Byzantine historians, including Theophylactus. It seems to have been enemies of Phocas who subsequently spread abroad these rumors that Theodosius had survived the bloodbath, made his way to Persia, and then ended his days in the wastes of Colchis (i.e., western Caucasia). But Khusraw Abarwēz might well have given shelter to some Byzantine claimant, whether genuine or not, as is implied by the Armenian historian Sebēos, in order to use him in as a pawn in any future Perso-Byzantine conflict, as surmised by Nöldeke, trans. 290 n. 2.

744. The killing of Maurice was, nevertheless, only a pretext for the beginning of hostilities, since there had been tension with Persia already in the latter years of

asylum to Mawriq's son, who had come to him as a refugee, crowned him, and set him up as king of the Byzantines, then sent him back with a mighty army headed by three of his commanders. The first one was called Rumiyūzān (?).⁷⁴⁵ Kistrā sent him to Syria, which he then subdued and penetrated as far as Palestine.⁷⁴⁶ He came to the city of Jerusalem (*Bayt al-Maqdis*) and took action against its bishop and all the priests in the city and the rest of the Christians over the Cross [of Jesus], which had been placed in a chest of gold and buried, with a vegetable garden planted on top of it. He pressed them hard until they showed him the spot. He then dug it out with his own hand and sent it to Kistrā in the twenty-fourth year of his reign.⁷⁴⁷ The second commander was called Shāhīn and was the Fādhūsban of the West. He proceeded onward until he captured Egypt and Alexandria and the land of Nubia, and sent back to Kistrā the keys of the city of Alexandria in the twenty-

Maurice's reign. See Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene*, II, 198–99; Higgins, *The Persian Wars of Emperor Maurice (582–602)*, passim.

745. Identified by Nöldeke, trans. 290 n. 3, with the Romizān of Michael the Syrian and Barhebraeus and the Rhousmiazan of Theophanes. Nöldeke also thought it possible that Barhebraeus was correct in identifying him with the other Persian commander Shahrbarāz mentioned a few lines further on (see on the meaning of this name, n. 749 below), with Shahrbarāz being another component of Romizān's name (but in that place, we have Shahrbarāz equated with Farru(k)hān). It was Shahrbarāz who was actually the Persian commander who conquered Jerusalem in 614, hence this would fit with what al-Ṭabarī goes on to say of Rumiyūzān's conquests in Syria and Palestine.

746. After appearing in Syria, the Persian army had occupied Damascus in 613 and had appeared in Palestine in spring 614 after defeating the Byzantine forces in the Ḥawrān between al-Dar'āh and Boṣrā (possibly the battle referred to in *Sūrat al-Rūm*, Qur'ān, XXX, 2–3, see al-Ṭabarī, I, 1005, 1007, pp. 324, 327 and n. 761 below). See R. Schick, *The Christian Communities of Palestine from Byzantine to Islamic Rule. A Historical and Archaeological Study*, 20ff.

747. The capture of Jerusalem probably took place in June 614, when the city suffered a three days' sacking at the hands of the Sāsānid troops. The "bishop" was the Patriarch Zacharias, installed at Jerusalem by Phocas's general Bonosus in 609 but now carried off into captivity in Persia; he remained titular Patriarch until his death in exile around the time of the Byzantines' final defeat of the Persian, i.e., ca. 627–28, with Modestus acting as his *locum tenens* in the years of the Persian occupation of Palestine and Syria. The True Cross was certainly carried off by the victors, not to be restored until 629, but the Sponge and the Spear were preserved and taken to Constantinople. See Nöldeke, trans. 291 n. 1; Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene*, II, 214; 39, 46; Schick, *The Christian Communities of Palestine from Byzantine to Islamic Rule*, 33–39, 46.

eighth year of his reign.⁷⁴⁸ The third commander was called Far-ruhān (i.e., Farrukhān), who had the rank of Shahrbarāz. He led an expedition to attack Constantinople, until he halted on the bank of the strait (i.e., the Bosphorus) just near the city, and made his encampment there.⁷⁴⁹ Kisrā ordered him to devastate the land of the Byzantines, as an expression of his anger at the Byzantines' violence against Mawrīq and as an act of vengeance upon them for him. But none of the Byzantines acknowledged Mawrīq's son as their ruler or offered him any obedience. However, they killed Fūqā, the king whom they had raised to the throne as ruler over them, when his evil doing, his impiety toward God, and his reprehensible behavior became apparent to them. They raised to royal power over themselves a man called Hiraql (Heraclius).⁷⁵⁰

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748. MP *shāhēn*, literally "falcon," see Justi, *Namenbuch*, 274–75. Shāhīn's army probably moved from Palestine against Egypt in autumn 616, so that the capture of Alexandria was probably in 617. See A. J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt and the Last Thirty Years of the Roman Dominion*, 70–83.

749. Regarding the form Farruhān for the fairly common Persian name Far-ruhān (an ancient patronymic from Farrukh, literally "fortunate, joyful"; see Justi, *Namenbuch*, 94–95, and Gignoux, *Noms propres sassanides*, 82–83 nos. 352, 354), Nöldeke, trans. 292 n. 2, noted that the Pahlavi script does not distinguish between the letters *h* and *kh*. Shahrwarāz/Shahrbarāz is a name and not a rank (*martabah*), with the meaning of "boar [i.e., valiant warrior] of the land," occurring in Middle Persian onomastic, although the simple name Warāz/Barāz is more common, see al-Ṭabarī, I, 895, 960, pp. 152, 255, and nn. 393, 616 above. That Farrukhān could also have the name Shahrbarāz seemed to Nöldeke improbable, but he was not able to resolve the problem. In reality, it was Shāhīn who transferred his scene of operations to Anatolia, penetrating as far as Chalcedon on the shores of the Bosphorus (modern Kadiköy, near Üsküdar or Scutari), probably in 616, and according to certain tales meeting with the Emperor Heraclius for negotiations, an act for which he paid with his life when he returned to Khusraw's court. See Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene*, II, 216–17. Al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-tiwāl*, 106, states that Shāhīn led an army of twenty-four thousand men to the shores of the "gulf of Constantinople" and encamped there; the confused account of al-Mas'ūdi, *Murūj*, II, 226–27 = § 647, has a romancelike account of Shahrbarāz's exploits from a base at Antioch involving his quarrel with Khusraw and in revenge leading the Byzantine emperor and his army into Persian Mesopotamia.

750. The usurper Phocas's misrule in Constantinople provoked an appeal to the Exarch of the West at Carthage, who had been appointed by Maurice and who had maintained a de facto independence during the eight years of Phocas's reign. The Exarch sent his son Heraclius with a fleet. In autumn 610 Phocas was overthrown and killed, and Heraclius was crowned emperor in his place; Phocas left behind him a reputation in the Byzantine chronicles of tyrannical behavior and ineptitude during a chaotic reign. See Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene*, II, 203–206.

When Hiraql perceived the perilous state the land of the Byzantines was in, with the Persian armies devastating it, their killing of the Byzantine warriors, their carrying off into captivity of the Byzantines' women and children, their plundering of the Byzantines' wealth, and their violation of the inmost parts of their realm, he shed tears before God and made humble petition to Him, imploring Him to rescue him and the people of his kingdom from the Persian armies.⁷⁵¹ He saw in a dream a stout-bodied man, on a lofty throne and accoutred with fine weapons (i.e., the Persian king), set up some distance from his side. Another person came into their presence, threw down that man from his throne, and said to Hiraql, "I have delivered him into your hands." When Hiraql woke up, he told no one about his dream. The next night, Hiraql saw in a dream the man whom he had seen in his previous dream seated on a lofty throne, and the man who had come in upon the two of them now came to him with a long chain in his hand, which he threw round the neck of the man on the throne and held him in his power with it, saying to Hiraql, "Here, I've done it; I have handed Kisrā over to you completely. So march against him now, for victory will be yours, you will be given power over him and you will attain your desire in your campaign." When these dreams came to him successively, he at last recounted them to the great men of the Byzantines and to those of them with

751. The Persian invasion of Anatolia had left the Persian army stationed at Chalcedon on the eastern shore of the Bosphorus, permanently threatening the Byzantine capital. Syria and Palestine were under Persian occupation, and the Christians there suffered massacres and the loss of many religious buildings; the interlude between Heraclius's regaining these provinces and the appearance of the Muslim Arabs in the mid-630s was too brief to enable the Christian communities there to recover their lost position. The Copts and Greeks in Egypt likewise endured massacres and saw the destruction of many churches and monasteries; the Persian forces spread up the Nile valley as far as Syene/Aswan and westward along the Mediterranean coast to the Pentapolis (i.e., the modern Cyrenaica). Phocas's disastrous reign had witnessed the collapse of what remained of the Byzantine *limes* on the Sava and lower Danube, allowing the Avars (who had moved westward from Inner Asia before the expanding power of the first Türk empire there) and Slavs to overrun the Balkans and Greece, with the Avars reaching the suburbs of the capital itself in 617. The situation appeared so desperate that in 618 Heraclius contemplated abandoning Constantinople for Carthage, but was deterred by the Patriarch Sergius. See Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene*, II, 214-18; Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt*, 54-92; Schick, *The Christian Communities of Palestine*, 20-48.

penetrating judgment. They told him that he would be given power over Kisrā, and advised him to lead an expedition against him.

Hiraql prepared for the campaign, and appointed one of his sons as his deputy over the city of Constantinople.⁷⁵² He took a different route from that of Shahrbarāz and proceeded onward until he penetrated deeply into Armenia and encamped at Niṣībīn after the space of a year.⁷⁵³ Shāhīn, the Fādhūsban of the West,

752. On his accession to power, Heraclius had found the empire in desperate straits. He had to quell the revolt in 610-11 at Ancyra of Phocas's brother Comentiolus, which caused a delay to his plans for rebuilding the Byzantine war machine, and he had to force the untrustworthy general of the army in Cappadocia, Priscus, a brother-in-law of Phocas, to relinquish his command and enter a monastery. Heraclius now endeavored to secure his position in the Balkans by making peace with the Khan of the Avars in 620, agreeing to pay him tribute (even if this relief from Avar attacks was only short-lived). He inaugurated extensive reforms and reorganization in both provincial and central administration. Details are sparse, but it seems that, once the Persians had been pushed out of Anatolia in 623 (see n. 753 below), Heraclius began the extensive settlement there of picked troops, *epilekta*, possibly the genesis of the military theme system which was to develop in the later seventh century as a response to Arab attacks along the Taurus mountains frontier. Naval forces were also built up; the Byzantine fleet was used to transport an army in spring 622 to Lazica so that it could campaign successfully in Armenia, and skillful use of sea power prevented any effective link-up of the Persians with their putative allies in the Balkans, the Avars, Slavs, and Bulgars. The emperor's campaign of revenge was to take on something of the character of a holy war; Byzantine religious feeling had been profoundly shocked by the Persians' carrying off from Jerusalem the True Cross, and the church contributed extensively of its gold and silver for the financing of Heraclius's efforts. Moreover, once Heraclius had achieved his victory, former Byzantine territory recovered, Greek captives returned from Persia and the True Cross restored to Jerusalem, he was to assume formally the title (hitherto used in an informal fashion only) of *basileus*, "emperor," with connotations of divine approval of the royal power; Irfan Shahīd has suggested that, in the assumption of this imperial title, Heraclius was influenced by the example of Christian monarchy in Armenia and was also harking back to the Davidic monarchy over Israel. See Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene*, II, 244-45; Shahīd, "The Iranian Factor in Byzantium during the Reign of Heraclius," 295-320.

The son of Heraclius appointed as his deputy in Constantinople was the ten-year-old Constantine, the ephemeral emperor Constantine III in the confused period just after Heraclius's death in February 641. See Bury, 210-26; W. Ensslin, in *The Cambridge Medieval History. IV. The Byzantine Empire. Part II, Government, Church and Civilization*, 36-37; W. E. Kaegi, "New Evidence on the Early Reign of Heraclius," 313-24; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 169.

753. Heraclius's initial campaign, the first of his six campaigns against the Persians, was aimed at Shahrbarāz, who was still encamped at Chalcedon. It start-

[1004] was at Kistrā's court when Hiraql reached Nišībīn, because Kistrā had become angry with him and had dismissed him from that frontier command (*thaghr*). Shāhbarāz, however, was firmly holding the place where he was stationed because of Kistrā's command to him to remain there and not leave it.⁷⁵⁴ Kistrā received the news of Hiraql's descent on Nišībīn with his army, and sent to combat Hiraql one of his commanders called Rāhzādh⁷⁵⁵ with twelve thousand warriors, giving him orders to remain at Nīniwā (Nineveh) in the vicinity of the town of al-Mawṣil (Mosul), on the banks of the Tigris, and to prevent the Byzantines from crossing the river. Kistrā had been residing at Daskarat al-Malik⁷⁵⁶ when the news about Hiraql reached him.

Rāhzādh put Kistrā's command into effect and encamped in the place he had instructed. Hiraql, however, crossed the Tigris at a different spot and marched toward the district where the Persian army lay. Rāhzādh sent out spies against Hiraql; they came back

ed from Cilicia and was largely conducted in Pontus and Cappadocia; in a battle at the opening of 623, at a so far unidentified place, the emperor decisively defeated the Persian commander and thereby relieved the pressure on Constantinople. Further operations were conducted in Cilicia, Armenia, Caucasian Albania, and Azerbaijan during the period 623–26 (for Heraclius's operations in the latter region, see Minorsky, "Roman and Byzantine Campaigns in Atropatene," 91–94), The campaign of 627–28 into Upper Mesopotamia and Persia was actually his sixth one, launched in autumn 627 in the year after Heraclius had repelled a second Avar attack on Constantinople, while Shahrbarāz had again penetrated as far as Chalecedon. See Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire*, II, 227–30, 239–41; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 169–70.

754. Khusraw's attempt to recall Shahrbarāz from Chalcedon in order to reinforce the Persian defenses in Upper Mesopotamia was foiled, so the story goes, by the Greeks' interception of his letter and the substitution for it of another letter telling Shahrbarāz to remain where he was. See Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene*, II, 242.

755. Text, *Rāhzār*. This man is the Razates (vars. Ryzates, Razastēs) and the Rōzbehān and Rōgwehān of the Syriac ones. See Nöldeke, trans. 294 n. 3; Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene*, II, 241 n. 3.

756. This is the Arabic form of the Persian Dastjird (< MP *dastgird* "landed estate, including all buildings, beasts, persons, etc., within it"; see B. Geiger, "Mittelpersische Wörter und Sachen," 123–28), Syriac Dasqartā, which lay to the northeast of Ctesiphon on the route via Khāniqīn and Hulwān to Media/jibāl, the site being marked today by the ruins of Eski Baghdād. Yāqūt distinguishes it from a Dastjird in Khurāsān by calling this one Dastjird al-Kisrawiyyah, "royal Dastjird." See his *Buldān*, II, 454, and II, 455, for Daskarat al-Malik; Nöldeke, trans. 295 n. 1; Le Strange, *Lands*, 62; Christensen, *Sassanides*, 454–55. The ruins of Khusraw's splendid palace there, sacked by the Byzantines when they entered the town, were admired four centuries later by the Arab traveler Abū Dulaf al-Khazrajī, see his *Second Risālah*, ed. and tr. Minorsky, text § 38, trans. 46, comm. 94.

and told him that Hiraql had ninety thousand warriors. Rāhzādh was now convinced that he and the troops at his disposal were inadequate for withstanding such a number of troops. He wrote several times to Kistrā that Hiraql was pressing heavily on him with forces so numerous and so well equipped that he and his troops could not withstand them. To all that, Kistrā kept on replying that, if he was too weak to withstand those Byzantines, he would not be too weak to get his troops to fight to the last and to lavish their blood in his service. When Rāhzādh had secured the same reply successively for his letter to Kistrā, he got his troops ready for action and attacked the Byzantines. The latter killed Rāhzādh and six thousand of his men. The rest were routed and fled precipitately. The news of the Byzantines' killing of Rāhzādh and the victory gained by Hiraql reached Kistrā. This catastrophe crushed his spirits, and he left Daskarat al-Malik for al-Madā'in and fortified himself within it because he was too weak to stand up to Hiraql in battle.⁷⁵⁷ Hiraql advanced until he was near to al-Madā'in. But when ever-fresh reports about him kept reaching Kistrā, and he prepared to fight Hiraql, the latter turned back to the Byzantine lands.⁷⁵⁸

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Kistrā wrote to the three army commanders who had been defeated, instructing them to send him information about every one of their troops who had shown weakness in that battle or who had not stuck fast to their posts. They were to punish these men according to their degrees of guilt. Through this letter, he provoked them into rebelliousness against him and into seeking ways to preserve themselves safe from him. He also wrote to Shahrbarāz, ordering him to come to him as rapidly as possible and to describe for him what the Byzantines had done in his province.⁷⁵⁹

757. As Nöldeke noted, trans. 296 n. 1, Khusraw's flight from Daskarah/Dastgird was a great blow to his authority, and contributed to the loss of confidence in him which was to lead to his deposition and death. It had been his seat of government almost continuously since 604 because of a prediction that he would die at Ctesiphon. See Christensen, *Sassanides*, 454.

758. Not in fact to Anatolia but northeastward into Azerbaijan and its protective mountains, where he took up quarters in the region of Ganzak for the winter of 627-28. See Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire*, II, 241-42; Minorsky, "Roman and Byzantine Campaigns in Atropatene," 91-94.

759. It was this letter that was reportedly intercepted by the Greeks, enabling them to spread disinformation which ensured that Shahrbarāz did not march eastward to shore up the Persian defenses in Iraq; see n. 754 above. The doubts and

It has been said that God's words, "*Alif, lām, mīm*. The Romans have been defeated in the nearer part of the land,⁷⁶⁰ but after their defeat they will be victorious within a few years. The affair belongs to God, before and after, and on that day the believers will rejoice in God's succor; He succors whom He pleases, and He is the Mighty, the Compassionate One. The promise of God! God does not fall short in His promise, but most of the people do not know.", were only revealed regarding the affairs of Abarwīz, king of Persia, and Hiraql, king of the Byzantines, and what happened between them, which I have recounted in these stories.⁷⁶¹

Mention of Those Who Say That

There related to me al-Qāsim b. al-Hasan—al-Husayn—Hajjāj—Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh—'Ikrimah,⁷⁶² who said: The Byzantines and the Persians fought together in the nearer part of the land. He related: The nearer part of the land [refers to] the Day of

suspicions of Khusraw's generals were probably justified, and Shahrbarāz, in particular, must have suspected that the king's ire would be directed at him (cf. the information in the romanticized Arabic report on the authority of 'Ikrimah in al-Ṭabarī, I, 1007–09, pp. 326–30 below). But Khusraw's prestige had fallen so low and his freedom of action in Ctesiphon was so circumscribed that he fell victim to events there at the beginning of 628, while Heraclius was in Azerbaijan. He fell ill, tried to arrange the succession in favor of his son by Shirīn, Mardānshāh, but was forestalled by his other son Kawād or Shērōy, imprisoned and executed at the end of February. For details of these events, see al-Ṭabarī, I, 1043–45, pp. 379–81 below.

760. *Fī adnā al-arḍ* is usually interpreted as the part of northwestern Arabia adjacent to the Byzantine frontier. See further n. 761 below.

761. *Sūrat al-Rūm*, Qur'ān, XXX, 1–5. The text is usually read with the passive verb *ghulibat al-Rūm* and then the active one *sa-yaghlibūna* and is taken to refer to some battle during the Persian invasion of the Levant 613–14 (see n. 746 above). But a less authoritative, single reading has *ghalabat al-Rūm*, ". . . have been victorious," and *sa-yughlabūna*, "[but] . . . they will be defeated," dubiously taken to refer to the initial Byzantine success against the Arab raid on Mu'tah in 8/630 and the eventual triumph of Muslim arms in Palestine and Syria. See Bell, *A Commentary on the Qur'ān*, II, 69; Paret, *Der Koran. Kommentar und Konkordanz*, 388. Detailed studies on the sūrah and its historical background are E. Beck, "Die Sure ar-Rūm [30]," 335–55; M. Götz, "Zum historischen Hintergrund von Sure 30, 1–5," III–20.

762. Abū 'Abdallāh 'Ikrimah (died probably in 105/723–24) was a noted Successor, a *mawlā* or client of Ibn 'Abbās, and an authority for many of his traditions. See Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, V, 212–16; al-Ṭabarī, III, 2483–85; *EP*², s.v. 'Ikrima (J. Schacht).

Adhri'āt, where the two armies met, and the Byzantines were defeated.⁷⁶³ This came to the ears of the Prophet and his companions while they were [still] in Mecca (i.e., before the Hijrah) and caused them distress. The Prophet disliked the Zoroastrian gentiles (*al-ummiyyūn min al-Majūs*) gaining the upper hand over the Byzantine possessors of written scriptures (*ahl al-kitāb min al-Rūm*). The unbelievers in Mecca, however, rejoiced and hurled abuse; they encountered the Prophet's companions and said, "You are possessors of a written scripture, and the Christians are possessors of a written scripture, while we are unbelievers. Now our brethren, the Persians, have been victorious over your brethren, the possessors of written scriptures, and if you attack us, we shall certainly be victorious over you."⁷⁶⁴ At this point, God sent down the revelation "*Alif, lām, mīm*. The Romans have been defeated . . ." to "they are unheeding about the next life."

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763. Adhri'at, in Biblical times the capital of Bashan, the Edrei of Num. xxi. 33, is the more recent al-Darā'ah or Deraa just north of the Syrian-Jordanian frontier at the southern edge of the Ḥawrān. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 130-31; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 383; A.-S. Marmardji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, 3; *EP*, s.v. Adhri'āt [F. Buhl-N. Elisséeff]; and n. 746 above. The Cairo text, II, 184, has "the nearest part of the land was, at that time (*yawma'idhin*, for the Leiden text's *yawm*) Adhri'āt," with this reading taken from al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* on Sūrah XXX.

764. Kister has pointed out that the Persians may have tried in the sixth century to exercise some form of indirect control or influence over Ḥijāz, including over Mecca and Medina. The seventh/thirteenth-century, hence comparatively late, author Ibn Sa'īd mentions that, in the time of Qubādh, son of Fayrūz, Qubādh attempted, through the agency of the Kindī chief al-Ḥārith b. 'Amr (on whom see n. 362 above), to impose the doctrine of Mazdak that he had espoused, and some people in Mecca assented to this summons (*tazandaqa*). Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb actually lists the alleged *zanādiqah* (whoever these may be, however, see below) of Quraysh (*Muḥabbar*, 161). Hence the Meccan pagans might well have retained memories of the connection with Persia, enough to use this as a way of slighting Muḥammad when, at this stage in his mission, he would have had a natural sympathy toward the Christian Byzantines as fellow monotheists. See Kister, "Al-Ḥīra. Some Notes on Its Relations with Arabia," 144-45. On the other hand, earlier Arabic authors, such as Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, in his *Muḥabbar*, loc. cit., and Ibn Qutaybah, in his *Ma'ārif*, 621, state that Quraysh got their *zandaqah* from al-Ḥīrah. De Blois has accordingly suggested that, in early Islamic usage, *zandaqah* normally means "Manichaeism" and that Manichaeism was conveyed to Mecca by Qurashī traders who derived it from converts to Manichaeism from among the Christian population of al-Ḥīrah, i.e., from elements of the 'Ibād; Ibn Sa'īd's story would have arisen from a confusion and conflation of information in the earlier sources. See de Blois, "The 'Sabians' (Ṣābi'ūn) in Pre-Islamic Arabia," 48-50 and n. 38. See also Nöldeke, trans. 298 n. 1.

Abū Bakr al-Şiddīq went forth to the unbelievers (*al-kuffār*) and said, "Have you rejoiced at the victory of your brethren over our brethren? Don't rejoice! May God not give you refreshing solace! By God, the Byzantines will be victorious over the Persians; our Prophet has told us that." Ubayy b. Khalaf al-Jumahī came up to him and said, "You lie, O Abū Fuḍayl!"⁷⁶⁵ Abū Bakr answered him, "You are a bigger liar, O enemy of God!" He added, "I wager you ten of my young she-camels against ten of yours. If within the next three years the Byzantines are victorious over the Persians, I get the stake; and if the Persians are victorious, you get it." Then Abū Bakr went to the Prophet and told him this. The Prophet said, "I didn't express myself thus: 'a few' (*al-bid'*) means a number from three to nine, so raise the stake and extend the period of time with him." Abū Bakr accordingly went out and met Ubayy, and the latter commented, "Perhaps you have come to regret [your wager]?" He replied, "Not at all. Come on, I'll raise the stake with you and extend the period of time: make it a hundred young she-camels over a period up to nine years." Ubayy answered, "I agree."⁷⁶⁶

There related to us al-Qāsim—al-Ḥusayn—Ḥajjāj—Abū Bakr—'Ikrimah, who said: There was in Persia a woman who gave birth only to kings and heroes. Kisrā summoned her and said, "I am planning to send an army against the Byzantines and to appoint one of your sons as its commander. Advise me, which of them should I nominate?" She replied, "The first one is so-and-so, who is craftier than a fox and more wary than a falcon; then there is Farrukhān, who is more incisive than a spear point; and then there is Shahrbarāz, who is more sagacious (*aḥlam*) than such-and-such."⁷⁶⁷ So appoint whichever of them you please." He said, "I appoint the sagacious one," and he appointed Shahrbarāz. He pro-

765. Ubayy was a member of the clan of Jumah, which ranged itself with the Makhẓūm·Abd Shams group within Mecca, largely hostile to Muḥammad, he fought in the army of Quraysh at the battle of Uḥud, and died of wounds received there. See al-Ṭabarī, I, 1407, 1409. "Abū Fuḍayl" was a *kunya* or patronymic of Abū Bakr's, here used as a familiar form of address. The Cairo text, II, 184, has for this *kunya* "Abū Faşil."

766. The same story in al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XX, 13.

767. As suggested in nn. 745, 749 above, the two components of Shahrbarāz Farrukhān's name—if this is indeed one person—have apparently been wrongly separated here and made into two different persons.

ceeded to [the land of] the Byzantines with the Persian army, defeated the Byzantines, slaughtered them, devastated their towns, and cut down their olive trees.

Abū Bakr says:⁷⁶⁸ I related this narrative to 'Aṭā' al-Khurāsānī,⁷⁶⁹ and he asked me, "Have you ever seen the land of Syria?" I said, "No," and he replied, "If you had ever been there you would have seen the towns that were laid waste and the olive trees that were cut down."⁷⁷⁰ Later, I actually went to Syria and saw this." 'Aṭā' al-Khurāsānī related from Yaḥyā b. Ya'mar, who said: Qayṣar sent a man called Q.ṭ.mah (?)⁷⁷¹ with a Byzantine army, and Kisrā sent Shahrbarāz. The two met up with each other at Adhri'āt and Buṣrā, which are the nearest parts of Syria to you (i.e., the Arabs). The Persians encountered the Byzantines and defeated them. The unbelievers of Quraysh in Mecca rejoiced at this; whereas, the Meccans were chagrined. God then sent down the revelation "*Alif, lām, mim*. The Romans have been defeated . . ." to the end of the section. Then he mentioned further another narrative, like 'Ikrimah's but with additional details. Shahrbarāz kept on relentlessly defeating them and laying waste their towns until he reached the Bosphorus (*al-khalīj*). But then, Kisrā died. News of this reached them, and Shahrbarāz and his followers retreated precipitately. Fortune swung round to give the Byzantines power over the Persians at that point, and they pursued and killed them.

He related: 'Ikrimah said in his narrative: When the Persians were victorious over the Byzantines, Farrukhān was once sitting and drinking, and said to his companions, "I had a dream, and it

768. That is, the transmitter Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Abī Sabrah, died 162/778-79. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, XII, 27-28.

769. That is, the Syrian traditionist and Qur'an commentator 'Aṭā' b. Abī Muslim Maysarah al-Khurāsānī, died 135/752-53. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII/2, 102; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, VII, 212-15; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 33-34.

770. That is, he saw, after the lapse of more than a century, the effects of devastation, in 613-14, by the invading Persian army. See Nöldeke, trans. 399 n. 4.

771. This name is obscure. Nöldeke, trans. 300 n. 1, adduced as a possibility the Jafnid/Ghassānid al-Nu'mān b. al-Ḥārith b. Jabalah, to whom Ḥamzah al-Isfahānī, *Ta'rikh*, 103, gives the cognomen (*laqab*) Q.ṭām, but later, in his *Die Ghassānischen Fürsten*, 44, Nöldeke took this as a confusion with the name of the chief of Kindah, Ḥujr b. Umm Qaṭām mentioned in the *Mu'allaqah* of al-Ḥārith b. Ḥillizah, it being in any case difficult to take the name Qaṭām as anything but a female one.

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was as if I saw myself on Kistrā's throne."⁷⁷² This came to Kistrā's ears, and he wrote to Shahrbarāz, "When this letter of mine reaches you, send to me Farrukhān's head." Shahrbarāz wrote back to him, however, "O king, you will never find anyone like Farrukhān who has inflicted so much damage on the enemy or has such a formidable reputation among them; so don't do this!" Kistrā answered him, "Among the men of Persia there is certainly someone who can serve as his replacement, so hasten and send me his head!" Shahrbarāz made further representations to him, which angered Kistrā, and he made no further answer but sent a courier of the postal and intelligence service (*barīd*)⁷⁷³ to the people of Persia announcing, "I hereby remove Shahrbarāz from power over you and appoint Farrukhān over you in his stead." Then he handed over to the courier a small sheet and instructed him, "When Farrukhān assumes royal authority and his brother gives him obedience, then give him this."⁷⁷⁴ When Shahrbarāz read the letter, he said, "I hear and obey!" He got down from his throne. Farrukhān sat down [in his place], and he handed over the paper. Farrukhān then said, "Bring Shahrbarāz before me," and pushed him forward so that his head could be cut off. Shahrbarāz, however, protested, "Don't be in such a hurry, let me write my last testament!" and Farrukhān agreed to this. Shahrbarāz called for a chest and gave him three sheets [of paper from out of it], telling him, "I sent these sheets to Kistrā pleading for you, and now you want to execute me on the pretext of a single letter." At this, Farrukhān gave the royal authority back to his brother.⁷⁷⁵

772. The dream predicts Shahrbarāz Farrukhān's later elevation to his forty days' reign in Ctesiphon, see al-Ṭabarī, I, 1062-63, p. 401-403.

773. See on this institution n. 147 above.

774. As emerges a few lines below, the sheet contains an order for Shahrbarāz's execution. The motif of a letter containing a command to kill the unsuspecting bearer is an ancient one, and in Arabic lore is exemplified by the "letter of al-Mutalammis," given to the pre-Islamic poet al-Mutalammis by the Lakhmid 'Amr b. Hind (see on him n. 414 above) but which he was sharp enough to destroy, whereas his nephew, the poet Ṭarafah, duly delivered his letter and thereby brought about his own death. See *EP*², s.v. al-Mutalammis (Ch. Pellat). Cf. also the parallel use, in different circumstances, of a letter containing orders for an execution, that of Oroetes of Sardis at the behest of King Darius, in Herodotus, III.128.

775. The above story continues the separation of Shahrbarāz-Farrukhān into

Shahrbarāz wrote to Qayṣar, the king of the Byzantines, "I have a request to make to you which couriers cannot carry and no documents can convey. Come and meet me, but with just fifty Byzantine troops, and I will bring just fifty Persian ones." Qayṣar, however, came with five hundred thousand Byzantine troops and began to place spies along the road before him, fearing that Shahrbarāz might be contemplating some act of trickery with him, until his spies returned to him with the information that Shahrbarāz had with him only fifty men. A carpet was spread out for them both, and they met in a brocade tent that had been erected for them. Each of them had a knife by his side. They summoned an interpreter for their negotiations, and Shahrbarāz said, "The ones who laid waste your towns were my brother and my-

two different persons, as set forth in nn. 745, 749, 767 above. The second commander involved in the story is presumably in reality the Shāhīn mentioned by al-Ṭabarī at I, 1003, p. 321 above. For the apparently more historical episode of the letter of dismissal and death which Khusraw despatched to Shahrbarāz's second-in-command at the Persian camp in Chalcedon and which was intercepted by the Byzantines and its contents revealed to Shahrbarāz, see Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene*, II, 244. The story became a romantic tale handed down among the Persians, and is listed as such by Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 364 (read *Shahrbarāz* for *Shahrīzād*), tr. II, 716.

The whole story of Shahrbarāz's defection from Khusraw's cause to the side of the Byzantines has recently been discussed, on a basis of the sources available, by Walter E. Kaegi and Paul M. Cobb. They distinguish the Eastern Christian ones from the early Islamic ones. Very similar, though with some variation of details, are the accounts of Theophanes, Michael the Syrian, and Agapius of Manbij; these would seem to go back to the lost Syriac historian Theophilus of Edessa, and in them, Shahrbarāz's defection is attributed to Khusraw's suspicious nature thereby driving his commander into Heraclius's arms. The account in the *Short History* of Nicephorus, however, simply makes Heraclius's triumph against the Persians the result of his excellent strategy and generalship, with no suggestion of internal stresses and suspicions within the Persian camp. At the side of these Christian accounts are the Islamic ones: the one given on the basis of reports from 'Ikrimah given here by al-Ṭabarī, and the much less-noticed one—because concealed within a history that ostensibly deals only with the conquest of Egypt—going back to the traditionist of the Umayyad period al-Zuhri (see on him n. 789 below) and preserved within the *Futūḥ Miṣr* of Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam (said to have d. 171/787-88). Both Islamic accounts share similarities with the Christian accounts, and could represent a single, original tradition, although al-Zuhri has the interesting additional feature of a plausible reason for Khusraw's anger with Shahrbarāz, i.e., the latter's procrastination, his failure to launch a decisive assault on Constantinople and thus destroy the Byzantine empire. See Kaegi and Cobb, "Heraclius, Shahrbarāz, and al-Ṭabarī," 121-43.

self, with our stratagems and our valor. But now Kisrā has come to envy us and wants me to kill my brother. When I refused to do this, he ordered my brother to kill me. Hence both of us have thrown off allegiance to him, and are ready to fight at your side against him." Qayṣar said, "You have made the right choice."

[1009] Then one of the two made a sign to his companion, [saying,] "The secret lies between two people; if it goes beyond two people, it will become public knowledge." The other said, "Yes, indeed." So they both fell upon the interpreter and killed him with their knives.⁷⁷⁶ God brought about Kisrā's death, and the news of this reached the Messenger of God on the Day of Ḥudaybiyah, causing him and his companions to rejoice.⁷⁷⁷

I received information going back to Hishām b. Muḥammad, who said that in the twentieth year of Kisrā Abarwīz's reign, God sent Muḥammad [as His prophet].⁷⁷⁸ The latter remained thirteen years in Mecca, and he emigrated to Medina in the thirty-third year of Kisrā's reign.

776. According to Nöldeke, trans. 302 n. 1, these negotiations in fact refer to a meeting of Heraclius and Shahrbarāz at the Anatolian town of Arabissos (in Armenia Tertia, what was later Little Armenia, somewhere in the region of the mediaeval town of Elbistan; see Shahīd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century*, I/1, 610-11) in June 629 after Khusraw Abarwēz had been deposed and killed and after Shahrbarāz had led a rebellion at Ctesiphon against his rival for the direction of state affairs under the youthful new king Kawād II Shērōy, had killed the latter after a reign of only eighteen months, and proclaimed himself ruler, though not of Sāsānid or Arsacid royal stock (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 1061-63, p. 400-403 below, and cf. Christensen, *Sassanides*, 497-98; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 170-71; Kaegi and Cobb, "Heraclius, Shahrbarāz, and al-Ṭabarī," loc. cit., noting that an anonymous Syriac chronicle from 724 confirms the Arabic sources regarding the location of the meeting at Arabissos and records the construction of a church by Heraclius and Shahrbarāz, dedicated in the name of Eirēnē, "Peace," at their meeting point). Shahrbarāz's rapid rise to power and ephemeral rule—he was killed by a conspiracy at Ctesiphon led by rival military leaders and great men of state, who subsequently set up as nominal ruler there Khusraw's daughter Būrān (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 1063-64, p. 403-405, below)—was aided by Heraclius's support, who had remained at Ganzak in Azerbaijan during the upheavals within the Persian state (see nn. 758-59).

777. The treaty of Ḥudaybiyah made between Muḥammad and the Meccans was concluded at that place on the edge of the Meccan Ḥaram in Dhū al-Qa'dah 6/March 628, hence in the month after Khusraw's death. See al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XX, 13-14; Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammads*, 286-90; Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 46-52; *EP*², s.v. al-Ḥudaybiya (W. M. Watt).

778. That is, in A.D. 610.

*Mention of the Account Concerning the Events That
Happened When God Wished to Take Away from the
People of Persia Rule over Persia, and the Arabs'
Overrunning it by Means of God's Favoring Them
with His Prophet Muḥammad, Involving the
Prophethood, the Caliphate, the Royal Power, and the
Dominion, in the Days of Kisrā Abarwīz*⁷⁷⁹

This includes what has been related from Wahb b. Munabbih, which is what was related to us by Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Ishāq, who said: This account of Kisrā is what one of my colleagues related to me from Wahb b. Munabbih: That Kisrā constructed a dam on the "Blind Tigris" (*Dijlah al-'Awrā'*)⁷⁸⁰ and expended on it sums of such magnitude that no one knew their extent. Also, the throne room of his palace (*ṭāq majlisihī*) was built [with such splendor] as had never been seen before. He used to suspend his crown and sit on his throne when he was in public audience. He had 360 men who were prognosticators (*ḥuzāt*),⁷⁸¹ these being learned scholars ('*ulamā'*'), including soothsayers, magicians, and astrologers. He related: Among these was a man from the Arabs called al-Sā'ib who used to draw omens from the flight of birds in the manner of the Arabs and who was seldom wrong. Bādhān had sent him to Kisrā from Yemen.⁷⁸² Whenever Kisrā was disturbed by some matter, he would order his

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779. The following is an embellished account of the events leading up to Khusraw's deposition and death, concentrating on the prognostications and portents that pointed to and presaged these events.

780. *al-'awrā'* (fem.) means "the one-eyed." As applied to the Tigris, it is the estuary, extending nearly one hundred miles, of the combined Euphrates and Tigris before it debouches into the Persian Gulf at Ābādān, i.e., the modern Shaṭṭ al-'Arab. The appellation "one-eyed" may stem from the fact either of the island of 'Uways being close to the estuary's mouth or of the existence of the sand bar there. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 26, 43; *EP*², s.v. Shaṭṭ al-'Arab (Amatzia Baram). According to al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 292, Khusraw had attempted, at the end of his reign, to cope with excessive floods in Lower Iraq by repairing or constructing dams with sluices (*musannayāt*) and diversion channels from the river to feed the canals (*buthūq*) (for these terms, see Bosworth, "Some Remarks on the Terminology of Irrigation Practices and Hydraulic Constructions," 81-82), but without success.

781. The *ḥāzī* was essentially the *kāhin* or soothsayer in his rôle as prognosticator, the term being etymologically connected with the Biblical Hebrew *hōzeh* or seer. See Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 112-13.

782. Bādhān was the last Persian governor in Yemen. See al-Ṭabarī, I, 958, p. 252 and n. 609 above.

soothsayers, magicians, and astrologers to be gathered together and would tell them, "Look into this matter and see exactly what it is."

Now when God sent His prophet Muḥammad, Kisrā woke up one morning and found that the arched roof of his royal palace (*ṭāq mulkihi*) had collapsed in the middle without any weight having been put upon it; also, that the [dam on the] "Blind Tigris" had been breached. When he saw all that, he became filled with grief and said, "The arched roof of my royal palace has collapsed in the middle without any weight having been put upon it, and the [dam on the] 'Blind Tigris' has been breached: *Shāh bishikast*," meaning [in Arabic] "the king has been overthrown (literally, 'broken')." Then he summoned his soothsayers, magicians, and astrologers, and summoned al-Sā'ib with them, too. He told them "The arched roof of my royal palace has collapsed in the middle without any weight having been put upon it, and the [dam on the] 'Blind Tigris' has been breached: *Shāh bishikast*. Look into this matter and see exactly what it is."

They left his presence and looked into his affair, but all the quarters of the heavens became covered over for them and the earth became darkened; they exploited to the full the resources of their knowledge, but none of the magicians' magic or the soothsayers' ability to look into the future proved efficacious, nor was the astrologers' knowledge of the stars of any avail. Al-Sā'ib spent the whole of a dark, overcast night on a hillock, where he saw a lightning flash that arose from the direction of Ḥijāz, flew across the heavens, and reached as far as the East. The next morning, he looked at what was beneath his feet, and behold, there was a green meadow. He then made a pronouncement in his role as diviner: "If what I was seeing is true, there will arise from Ḥijāz a dominion (*sulṭān*) which will reach the East and from which the earth will grow green and fertile—much more so than from any previous kingdom."⁷⁸³ When the soothsayers and astrologers spoke together confidentially [about what they had seen] and saw what had happened to themselves, and perceived that only Sā'ib had really seen anything, they said to each other, "You know, by

783. Referring, of course, to the rise of Muḥammad and the birth of the new faith in Mecca.

God, that it can only be something originated from the heavens that has prevented you from utilizing your specialist knowledge; that is because of a prophet who has been already sent [from God], or is just about to be sent, who will take away this present royal power and smash it. But if you announce to Kisrā the impending destruction of his royal power, he will surely kill you, so concoct among yourselves some explanation you can give him that will deflect [his wrath] from you for some length of time." So they went to Kisrā and told him. "We have looked into this matter and have found that your astrological calculators, to whom you entrusted the prognostications for building the roof of your royal palace and likewise for the construction of the dam across the 'Blind Tigris', based their calculations on inauspicious stars. When night and day successively worked on those constructions, the inauspicious stars assumed their most maleficent positions, so that everything based upon those nights and days was destroyed.⁷⁸⁴ We can, however, make a calculation for you regarding when you should begin the work of reconstruction, and this will not be destroyed." Kisrā said, "Make the calculation, then." They did this for him and told him, "Now construct it!" So he did that, and was at work on the Tigris for eight months, expending on it an incalculable amount of money. When it was at last completed, Kisrā asked them, "Shall I sit down on top of the dam's wall?" They replied, "Yes." So he called for carpets and coverings and aromatic herbs to be placed on it. He ordered the marzbāns to be gathered together before him, as were also musicians and players (*la'ābūn*). Then he went forth and sat down on it. But when once he was installed there, the Tigris dashed the construction away from beneath him, and he was only extricated [from it] at his last gasp. When they had got him out, he gathered together his soothsayers, magicians, and astrologers, executed nearly a hundred of them and said, "I let you grow fat and let you come closer to my presence than other people, and I gave you living

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784. Belief in the favorable or unfavorable effects of the movements of the heavenly bodies went back to the Ancient Near Eastern civilizations and to the Greeks' division of the planets into beneficent ones, *agathopoioi*, and maleficent ones, *kakopoioi*, and was transmitted to the ancient Arabs. See Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 483ff., *EP*, s.vv. *Nudjūm*, *aḥkām al-* (T. Fahd), *Sa'd wa-naḥs* (Fahd), *al-Sa'dān* (P. Kunitzsch).

allowances, and then you trifle with me!" They responded, "O king, we were at fault, just as those before us were at fault, but we can make a [new] calculation for you, and you can be sure of it, and you can accordingly begin the task of reconstruction on the most reliably auspicious of days!" Kistrā said, "Take care what you say!" They replied, "We will indeed!" Kistrā further said, "Make the calculation, then." They did this for him and told him, "Now construct it!" He expended on it an incalculable amount of money, over a period of eight months from that point.

Then they told him, "We've completed it," and he said, "Shall I, accordingly, go forth and sit down on it?" They replied, "Yes." He was nevertheless reluctant to sit down on it, hence rode one of his steeds and started proceeding over the dam. But while he was traveling along it, the Tigris dashed the construction away, and he only reached safety at his last gasp. He gathered them together again, and said, "By God, I will pass you along [for execution], to the last man of you, and I will tear out your shoulder joints and will throw you beneath the feet of elephants, unless you tell me faithfully the truth about this matter concerning which you have elaborated such a story for me."

They replied, "We won't lie to you any longer, O king. You commanded us, when [the dam on] the Tigris was breached and the arched roof of your royal palace collapsed without any weight having been put on it, to use our specialist knowledge and look into the reason behind it. We did that, but the earth became darkened and all the quarters of the heavens became covered for us. Our specialist knowledge was of no avail (literally, "came back into our hands"), so that none of the magicians' magic nor the soothsayers' ability to look into the future nor the astrologers' knowledge of the stars proved efficacious. We realized that this matter originated in the heavens and that a prophet had already been sent, or was about to be sent, and because of that, something had prevented us from exercising our specialist knowledge. We were afraid that if we announced to you the destruction of your royal power, you would kill us. Like everybody else, we did not want to die, so we gave you an evasive answer in order to protect ourselves, as you saw." Kistrā said, "Woe upon you! Why didn't you provide me with the explanation of this matter so that I might have used my own judgment regarding what I should do?" They

replied, "Our fear of you prevented us from doing that." Kistrā, therefore, let them go and gave up concerning himself with [the dam on] the Tigris when this last had got the better of him.

There related to us Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Ishāq—al-Faḍl b. 'Īsā al-Raqāshī—al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī,⁷⁸⁵ [who said] that the Messenger of God's Companions said, "O Messenger of God, how could God prevail over Kistrā by means of you?" The Prophet said, "God sent to him an angel, who put his hand out through the wall of the house where he was, shining with light. When Kistrā saw it, he was alarmed. The angel said, "Why are you so fearful, O Kistrā? God has sent a prophet and sent down upon him a book, so follow him, and you will be secure in this present life of yours and in the next one." Kistrā replied, "I'll think about it."⁷⁸⁶

There related to us Ibn Humayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Ishāq—Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr—al-Zuhri—Abū Salamah b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, who said: God sent an angel to Kistrā, when he was in a room of his palace (*aywānihi*) where no one was allowed to come into his presence. Suddenly⁷⁸⁷ there was, round about the time of midday at the time he was wont to take a siesta, a figure standing by his head with a staff in his hand. The figure said, "O Kistrā, are you going to submit yourself to God (*a-tuslimu*)? [If not,] I shall break this staff!" He replied, "*Bihil, bihil*" ("Leave, leave!"),⁷⁸⁸ so the angelic visitant then left him. Kistrā summoned his guards and chamberlains, and became enraged at them, saying, "Who let this person come into my presence?" They replied, "No one has come into your presence, and we haven't seen this person at all." In the following year, the angel came to him at precisely the same hour as before and spoke the same words to him as

785. That is, the great popular preacher and ascetic of al-Baṣrah in Umayyad times, the Successor Abū Sa'īd [al-] Ḥasan b. Abi al-Ḥasan (died 110/728), subsequently regarded as the proto-Ṣūfī. See *EP*, s.v. Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (H. Ritter).

786. The following versions of the story of how Khusraw was warned by an angelic visitant are of the same type as the Biblical story of King Belshazzar of Chaldea, who was warned of the imminent fall of his kingdom by the moving finger writing on the wall of his palace (Daniel, v. 5ff.).

787. Literally, "he was not mindful of it," *lam yar'ihā*, echoing the Qur'ānic phrase *fa-mā ra'awhā*, "they (i.e., the followers of Jesus) did not cherish/look after it," of LVII, 27.

788. Persian *hishtan*, *hilidan* "to leave, depart."

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before, saying, "Are you going to submit yourself to God? [If not,] I shall break this staff!" Kistrā replied three times, "*Bihil, bihil, bihil*," so the angelic visitant departed from him. Kistrā summoned his chamberlains, guards, and doorkeepers, and became enraged with them, saying to them what he had said to them on the first occasion. They replied, "We didn't see anyone coming into your presence." When the third year came round, the angel came to Kistrā at exactly the same hour as he had come to him previously, and spoke the same words to him as before, saying, "Are you going to submit yourself to God? [If not,] I shall break this staff!" Kistrā replied, "*Bihil, bihil*." He related: At that, the angel broke his staff and departed. Only a short time afterward, his royal power disintegrated, and his son and the Persian rose in rebellion and finally killed him.

'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr—al-Zuhrī,⁷⁸⁹ [who said,]: I recounted this story to 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz,⁷⁹⁰ from Abū Salamah b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, and he said: It has been mentioned to me that the angel came into Kistrā's presence with two glass bottles in his hands and then said to him, "Submit yourself [to God]!" and when he did not comply, he smashed one of the bottles against the other and broke them into smithereens. Then he departed. Kistrā's own destruction followed, as is well known.

There related to me Yaḥyā b. Ja'far—'Alī b. 'Āṣim—Khālid al-Ḥadhdhā', who said: I heard 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakrah say:⁷⁹¹ Kistrā, son of Hurmuz, was asleep one night in his palace (*aywān*), the palace of al-Madā'in, and the cavalymen [of the guard] were

789. That is, Muḥammad b. Muslim al-Zuhrī, often referred to as Ibn Shihāb, from the Meccan clan of Zuhrah, one of the founders of the Islamic science of tradition (died 124/742). As a teacher of Ibn Ishāq, he was a great contributor to the *Sīrah* of the Prophet and was much quoted by al-Ṭabarī for the history of the first three Rightly-Guided caliphs. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 136–36; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, IX, 445–51; *ET*, s.v. al-Zuhrī (J. Horowitz).

790. That is, the member of the Umayyad family, governor of Medina and then the caliph 'Umar II (r. 99–101/717–20).

791. 'Abd al-Raḥmān was the eldest son of the Companion Nufay' b. Masrūḥ, called Abū Bakrah, "the man of the pulley," and an Abyssinian *mawlā* of the Prophet. 'Abd al-Raḥmān managed his maternal uncle Ziyād b. Abihī's property in al-Baṣrah for him, but submitted reluctantly to 'Alī after the Battle of the Camel (al-Ṭabarī, I, 3229, II, 22). See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII/1, 138; Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'arif*, 288–89; *ET*, s.v. Abū Bakra (M. T. Houtsma-Ch. Pellat).

posted all around his castle. Suddenly, there appeared a man with a staff who walked up and stood at Kistrā's head and said, "O Kistrā, son of Hurmuz, I am God's messenger to you [with the message] that you should submit yourself [to Him]." He said this three times, while Kistrā lay prostrate, looking at him but returning no answer. Then the angel left him. He related: Kistrā sent for the commander of the guard and said to him, "Did you allow this man to enter my presence?" The commander of the guard replied, "No, I didn't, and no one has come in from our part."

He related: When it was the following year, Kistrā was fearful of that night and sent a message to the commander of the guard, "Post guards all round my castle and don't let anyone enter my presence." He related: The commander of the guard did that. But when it was that precise hour, behold, there was the angel with the staff standing at his head and saying to him, "O Kistrā, son of Hurmuz, I am God's messenger to you [with the message] that you should submit yourself [to Him]; so do this, and it will be best for you!" He related: Kistrā was looking at him without giving any answer. Then the angel left him. He related: Kistrā sent for the commander of the guard [and upbraided him], "Didn't I order you not to let anyone into my presence?" The commander of the guard replied, "O king, by God, no one has come into your presence from our part, search out whence he came into your presence."

He related: When the next year came round, it was as if he was fearful of that night, and he sent a message to the commander of the guard and the guard itself, "Stand guard all around me during this night, and don't allow any woman or man to enter my presence." They did that. When it was that precise hour, behold, there was the angel again standing by his head and saying, "Kistrā, son of Hurmuz, I am God's messenger to you [with the message that] you should submit yourself [to Him], so do this, and it will be best for you!" This he repeated three times, while Kistrā was looking at him but returning no answer. The angel said, "O Kistrā, you have rebuffed me! By God, God will certainly smash you just as I am smashing this staff of mine!" Then he broke it, and went away. Kistrā sent to his guard and said, "Didn't I order you not to let anyone into my presence this night, neither wife (*ahl*) nor child?" They replied, "No one has come into your presence from our

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part." He related: Very soon afterward, his son rose in rebellion against him and killed him.⁷⁹²

[The Encounter at Dhū Qār]

A further episode [in the story of the fall of the Sāsānid empire] is what happened concerning [the tribal group of] Rabī'ah⁷⁹³ and the army Kisrā Abarwīz had dispatched for war against them and their subsequent encounter at Dhū Qār.

[1016] It is related from the Prophet that when the Prophet heard the news of Rabī'ah's rout of Kisrā's army, he exclaimed, "This [has been] the first military encounter (*yawm*) in which the Arabs have secured their just due from the Persians (*intaṣafat al-'Arab min al-'Ajam*), and it was through me that they were given the victory." The battle of Dhū Qār⁷⁹⁴ is also called that of Qurāqir or

792. That is, Kawād (II) Shērōy, placed on the throne by the rebels against his father. See al-Ṭabarī, I, 1045–61, pp. 381–99 below.

793. Both Bakr and Taghlib, on opposite sides at Dhū Qār, were accounted parts of the great tribal group of Rabī'ah. See *EP*, s.v. Rabī'a and Muḍar (H. Kindermann).

794. The battle of Dhū Qār, if this is not too grandiose a word for the encounter, was to assume a position in subsequent Islamic lore greater than its military significance—which was probably just one of several similar clashes along the frontiers with Arabia—would warrant. The saying of the Prophet retailed here, oft-repeated in the sources, sets it up as the first stage in the upsurge of the Arabs against the Persians and their influence in eastern and southern Arabia. It could thus be regarded as a victory for proto-Islam over the Persian infidels, or at least as prefiguring that victory, and in later times a popular romance grew up round it, the *Kitāb Ḥarb Banī Shaybān ma'a Kisrā Anūsharwān*.

The ambiguous rôle in the Dhū Qār events of a Shaybāni leader like Qays b. Mas'ūd b. Qays b. Khālid b. Dhī al-Jaddayn (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 1028, p. 356–57 below) tends to confirm the view put forward by F. McG. Donner in his "The Bakr b. Wā'il Tribes and Politics in Northeastern Arabia on the Eve of Islam," 27–33, that the anti-Sāsānid alignment of Shaybān and other Bakrī tribes at Dhū Qār does not represent a decisive turning point in relations between the Sāsānids and the Arab tribes of northeastern Arabia and the frontier region—whatever the views that grew up in Islamic times, outlined in the previous paragraph—but rather, a temporary fluctuation of allegiances, in which one group might move against the Persians and then return to its Persian allegiance later if circumstances so dictated. Donner notes that most of the powerful clans combating the Persians at Dhū Qār seem to have fought on the Sāsānid side against the Muslim Arabs during the 630s and 640s, and concludes that "The theory that the Bakr tribes were, since Dhū Qār, awaiting the opportunity to rise against the Persians is, then, if not positively erroneous, at least dangerously simplistic" (*ibid.*, 33).

The sources (see below) offer no firm date for the *Yawm Dhī Qār*, but the

that of the bend (*al-ḥinw*), the bend of Dhū Qār or the bend of Qurāqir; that of al-Jubābāt; that of Dhū al-'Ujrum; that of al-Ghadhawān; and that of the depression (*al-baṭḥā'*), the depression of Dhū Qār. All of these are places around Dhū Qār.⁷⁹⁵

There was related to me a narrative going back to Abū 'Ubaydah Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā⁷⁹⁶—Abū al-Mukhtār Firās b. Khindif⁷⁹⁷ and a number of the scholars ('*ulamā'*) of the Arabs, whom he specified by name: The battle of Dhū Qār was the consequence of al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir al-Lakhmī's killing of 'Adī b. Zayd al-'Ibādī. 'Adī was one of Kisrā Abarwiz, son of Hurmuz's, translators (*tarājimah*).⁷⁹⁸ The reason for al-Nu'mān (III) b. al-Mundhir (IV)'s killing of 'Adī b. Zayd was what was mentioned to me in an account going back to Hishām b. Muḥammad—Ishāq b. al-Jaṣṣāṣ,

Muslim traditions which place it just after the opening of the Hijri era (e.g., a few months after the battle of Badr between the pagan Quraysh and the Muslims, hence in the later part of 624, according to Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*³, XXIV, 76) are clearly too late. The range of years for Dhū Qār is probably between 604 and 611, i.e., before the beginning of Muḥammad's public ministry in Mecca but at a time when he could certainly have heard reports of the victory against the Persians and their allies.

Several Arabic sources treat of the last years of Lakhmid domination in al-Hīrah and the desert fringes of eastern Arabia, including al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 246, II, 47; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 360–61; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 227–28, III, 205–209 = §§ 648, 1065–70; idem, *Tanbīh*, 241–43, tr. 318–21; Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*³, XXIV, 53–71; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 293–95; Abū al-Baqā', *al-Manāqib al-mazydiyyah*, I, 373–426. Of modern studies, see Rothstein, *Lahmidien*, 114–23; Donner, loc. cit.; Bosworth, "Iran and the Arabs before Islam," 607–608; *EP*², s.v. Dhū Qār (L. Veccia Vaglieri); *EI*, s.v. Dū Qār (Ella Landau-Tasserion).

⁷⁹⁵ According to Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 293, it lay to the south of what soon afterward became the Arab *miṣr* of al-Kūfah, and cannot have been far from the Euphrates, hence in a region where the nomads' herds could have ready access to water. It seems impossible to pinpoint it more exactly, although there were presumably bituminous springs bubbling to the surface there (*qār*, *qīr* "pitch, tar").

⁷⁹⁶ Abū 'Ubaydah (d. 209 or 210/824–25), philologist and grammarian, was a mawlā of Mesopotamian origin who became the most learned authority of his time on the tribal history and lore of the early Arabs. He also achieved a later reputation, which does not in fact seem to be justified, as a zealous supporter of the claims of the Shu'ūbiyyah, those vaunting the cultural supremacy of the 'Ajām, in effect the Persians, over the Arabs. See *EP*², s.v. Abū 'Ubayda (H.A.R. Gibb); *EI*, s.v. Abū 'Obayda Ma'mar (C. E. Bosworth).

⁷⁹⁷ Following what seems to be the correct emendation, following *Addenda et emendanda*, p. dxciv, for this personal and tribal name (Khindif b. Muḍar: cf. Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Table 1, II, 2, 347, and also n. 430 above).

⁷⁹⁸ See on 'Adī, n. 116 above.

who took it from the book of Ḥammād [al-Rāwiyah],⁷⁹⁹ and my father also mentioned part of the story to me. He said: Zayd b. Ḥammād b. Zayd b. Ayyūb b. Maḥrūf b. 'Āmir b. 'Uṣayyah b. Imri' al-Qays b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm⁸⁰⁰ had three sons: the poet 'Adī, who was a handsome man, both poet and orator (*khaṭīb*), who had read the books of the Arabs and the Persians;⁸⁰¹ 'Ammār, who was also called Ubayy; and 'Amr, who was also called Sumayy. They had a uterine brother called 'Adī b. Ḥanzalah, from the [tribe of] Ṭayyi'. 'Ammār used to stay at Kisrā's court. One of the two of them ardently desired the death of 'Adī b. Zayd; the other was a firm devotee of Christianity. They all belonged to a notable house whose members were close to the Kisrās, eating their food with them and staying at their side, and receiving from them land grants (*qaṭā'i*).

When al-Mundhir (IV) b. al-Mundhir (III) became king,⁸⁰² he entrusted his son al-Nu'mān to 'Adī's care; it was this family who fostered him (and reared him). Now al-Mundhir had another son called al-Aswad, whose mother was Māriyah bt. al-Ḥārith b. Julhum from the [tribe of] Taym al-Ribāb. There fostered⁸⁰³ and

799. Ḥammād b. Maysarah, called Abū Laylā, al-Rāwiyah ("the great transmitter"), d. 155 or 156/772-73, of Persian mawlā stock, was famed as a collector of ancient Arabic poetry but also suspected of forging some of this. See Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 366-38; *EP*², s.v. Ḥammād al-Rāwiyā (J. W. Fück).

800. Nöldeke, trans. 312 n. 5, noted that the appearance of the name Ayyūb in 'Adī's *nasab*, as the poet's great-great-grandfather, indicates the ancientness of Christianity within the family. He further noted that, for Ayyūb to have been born four generations back from 'Adī (who must himself have been born ca. 554, in J. Horowitz's view), he must have been in extreme old age if he is to be identified with the person mentioned (together with the *comes* Angeleios (?), son of Zeid) in the *Martyrium Arethae* as Iōb/Ayyūb, ethnarch of the Christian community in al-Ḥirah, and as being a member of the entourage of the Lakhmid al-Mundhir III b. al-Nu'mān II. The "house of Ayyūb" was clearly important, through its literacy and its practical skills, in the secretarial and diplomatic service of both the Lakhmids and the Sāsānids. See further Horowitz, "'Adī ibn Zeyd, the Poet of Hira," 32-34 [also translates, 40ff., the detailed account of Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī in *Aghānī*³, II, 95ff., much fuller than the account given here by al-Ṭabarī]; Shahīd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century*, I/1, 315-18.

801. Nöldeke trans. 313 n. 1, commented that there could hardly have been any books written in Arabic at this time, but only orally transmitted poetry and possibly tales, and that, when the Christian Arabs of a city like al-Ḥirah did write, they would use Syriac.

802. That is, in ca. 575.

803. This passage in parentheses was supplied by Nöldeke in his text, n. d, from the parallel passage in *Aghānī*³, II, 105.

reared him a family from the people of al-Ḥīrah called the Banū Marīnā, who were considered a part of Lakhm and were of noble status (*ashraf*).⁸⁰⁴ As well as these two, al-Mundhir b. al-Mundhir had ten other sons. Because of their handsome appearance, the entire group of his sons were known as al-Ashāhib ("the Shining Ones"), as al-A'shā says:

The sons of al-Mundhir, the Shining Ones, go forth in the morning in al-Ḥīrah with their swords.⁸⁰⁵

Al-Nu'mān was red haired (or: had a reddish complexion, *aḥmar*), with a mottled skin, and was short of stature.⁸⁰⁶ His mother was called Salmā (or Sulmā) bt. Wā'il b. 'Aṭīyyah al-Ṣā'igh ("the goldsmith"), from the people of Fadak; she was a slave girl of al-Ḥārith b. Ḥiṣn b. Ḍamḍam b. 'Adī b. Janāb's, from [the tribe of] Kalb.⁸⁰⁷ Qābūs b. al-Mundhir the Elder, the paternal uncle of al-Nu'mān and his brothers, had sent 'Adī b. Zayd and his brothers to Kisrā, son of Hurmuz,⁸⁰⁸ these being secretaries and translators of his.

When al-Mundhir b. al-Mundhir died,⁸⁰⁹ leaving behind those thirteen sons of his, Iyās b. Qabiṣah al-Ṭā'ī was given charge of his

804. For this family, see Rothstein, *Lahmididen*, 20, 110. It was of such prominence in the life of the city that the poet Imru' al-Qays speaks of al-Ḥīrah as *diyār Banī Marīnā*. See *Dīwān*, 200, no. 37 v. 3, and cf. Olinder, *The Kings of Kinda*, 67.

The situation thus evolved in al-Ḥīrah of al-Nu'mān being supported for the succession there by 'Adī b. Zayd and al-Aswad by the Banū Marīnā; 'Adī, however, had a distinct advantage through his honored status at the Sāsānid court. See Rothstein, *ibid.*, 109-10.

805. *Dīwān*, 212, no. 63 v. 14.

806. Nöldeke, trans. 314 n. 1, noted that this description is confirmed, in another context, in *Aghānī*³, XXXI, 2.

807. This maternal origin is confirmed in Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rikh*, 95, and Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*³, 13, but al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, III, 202 = § 1061, says that Salmā was of the Kalb.

As Nöldeke, noted, trans. 314 n. 2, Fadak, a settlement in the Wādī al-Qurā of western Ḥijāz, had a significant Jewish element, famed as workers in precious metals. It is thus possible that Salmā came from this population group; the poet 'Amr b. Kulthūm al-Taghlibī satirized al-Nu'mān, that his mother's relatives were smiths and weavers, practicing despised crafts (*Aghānī*³, XI, 58-59, and a satire attributed to al-Nābighah al-Dhubayānī by one of his enemies describes al-Nu'mān as *wārith al-ṣā'igh* "heir of the goldsmith" (*ibid.*, XI, 13; cf. Rothstein, *Lahmididen*, 108-109).

808. Following Nöldeke, trans. 314 n. 3, one should read here "Kisrā, son of Qubādh," i.e., Anūsharwān, and not "Kisrā [Abarwiz], son of Hurmuz."

809. That is, in 580.

governmental responsibilities,⁸¹⁰ but only held this office for a few months while Kistrā was searching for a man he could appoint as ruler over the Arabs. At that juncture, Kistrā, son of Hurmuz,⁸¹¹ summoned 'Adī b. Zayd and said to him, "Who now remains of al-Mundhir's sons?"⁸¹² What sort of persons are they, and is there any good amongst them?" 'Adī replied, "There are still some of them left from the sons of the recently deceased al-Mundhir b. al-Mundhir; those are real men!" Kistrā said, "Send for them!" So he wrote to the various sons, and they came to Kistrā, who assigned them lodging with 'Adī b. Zayd. 'Adī gave preferential treatment in regard to lodging and hospitality to al-Nu'mān's brothers over al-Nu'mān himself, and he would let them see that he expected nothing from al-Nu'mān. He spoke with them individually and privately, and said to each of them, "If the king asks you, 'Can you control the Arabs for me?' then tell him, 'Yes, we can control them all for you, except al-Nu'mān.'" 'Adī said to al-Nu'mān, however, "If the king asks you about your brothers, tell him, 'If I can't cope with them, then I can't cope with anybody else!'"⁸¹³

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810. That is, Hormizd (see n. 811 below) appointed him as temporary governor of al-Hīrah. It was Iyās b. Qabiṣah who was, nearly a quarter of a century later, appointed (this time by Khusraw II Abarwēz) governor or ruler in al-Hīrah after the Lakhmid al-Nu'mān's deposition in 602. At some point, the Persian king awarded Iyās thirty villages along the Euphrates as a grant for life and made him administrator of the district of 'Ayn al-Tamr (see on this place n. 112 above). See *EP² Suppl.*, s.v. Iyās b. Qabiṣah al-Ṭā'ī (Ch. Pellat). Nöldeke, 314 n. 5, opined that the Qabiṣah of *Aghānī*¹, II, 22, i.e., Iyās's father, fitted better chronologically for this appointment by Hormizd, but a period of twenty-two years during which Iyās was occupied with other charges along Persia's frontier with the north Arabian desert does not seem an excessive amount out of a man's official career, and in any case, the same passage in *Aghānī*³, II, 106, has "Iyās b. Qabiṣah" for the interim governor in al-Hīrah before the choice of al-Nu'mān was made.

811. Read here "Hurmuz, son of Kistrā."

812. That is, of the progeny of al-Nu'mān's grandfather al-Mundhir III (r. 504–54).

813. That is, al-Nu'mān is to stress to Hormizd his ability to cope with rivals and with other unruly elements along the desert fringes of the Persian realm. Nöldeke, trans. 315 n. 3, noted further that in the more detailed account of *Aghānī*³, II, 107–108, 'Adī gives al-Nu'mān advice which will project himself to the Persian king as a tough and spartan son of the desert: that he should appear before Hormizd in travel-stained clothes, girt with his sword, and exhibiting a voracious appetite. At the same time, 'Adī craftily instructs the other brothers to wear their most opulent clothes, to eat in an elegant and restrained manner, and generally to present themselves as refined, ineffective characters, useless for the envisaged task of guarding the frontiers.

There was a man from the Banū Marīnā called 'Adī b. Aws b. Marīnā, a headstrong fellow who was also a poet and who used to say repeatedly to al-Aswad [b. al-Mundhir b. al-Mundhir], "You know that I expect some favor from you (or perhaps, "am well disposed toward you, am concerned for your welfare," *anni laka rāḥim*).⁸¹⁴ I beg and implore you not to follow 'Adī b. Zayd's counsel, for by God, he never has your good interests at heart." But al-Aswad paid no attention to his words.

When Kīsrā ordered 'Adī b. Zayd to bring them into his presence, 'Adī began to lead them in one by one, so that Kīsrā might speak with each of them; he found that he was looking at a group of men whose like he had rarely seen. When he asked them, "Are you able to fulfill this office for me, as your family previously filled it?" They replied, "We can control the Arabs for you, except al-Nu'mān."

When al-Nu'mān went into Kīsrā's presence, the latter perceived an ugly and ill-favored person. Nevertheless, when Kīsrā addressed him and asked, "Can you control the Arabs for me?" he answered, "Yes!" Kīsrā asked, "How will you deal with your brethren?" Al-Nu'mān replied [mockingly], "If I can't cope with them, then I can't cope with anyone!" Kīsrā thereupon appointed him ruler, gave him robes of honour and a crown valued at sixty thousand dirhams and set with pearls and gold.⁸¹⁵

Al-Nu'mān went forth, having been just appointed thus. [At this point,] 'Adī b. Aws b. Marīnā said to al-Aswad, "Now you've done it! You have gone against the correct course of action!" Then 'Adī b. Zayd prepared a feast in a church, and sent a message to Ibn Marīnā, "Come along to me, and bring whomever you like, for I need to say something [to you]." Hence Ibn Marīnā went to him with a group of people. They all feasted and drank at a morning meal in the church. 'Adī [b. Zayd] said to 'Adī b. Marīnā, "O 'Adī, "People like you know how best to recognize good conduct and then to avoid blaming [anyone] for it. I realize that you would have preferred your candidate al-Aswad b. al-Mundhir to have been

814. Nöldeke follows the first of these interpretations in his trans., 316.

815. 'Adī's scheming has thus secured the authority in al-Ḥīrah for al-Nu'mān (cf. Rothstein, *Lahmidien*, 111), but at the price of making powerful enemies in the city.

[1019] appointed rather than my candidate al-Nu'mān, but don't blame me for something which you yourself would have done [if you had been able]. I would not like you to hate me for a course of action which you yourself would have followed had you been able. I would further like you to treat me with the same consideration as I show to you, for my share in the royal power is no more extensive than your own share."

'Adī b. Zayd then arose and went to the church and took an oath that he would not satirize 'Adī b. Marīnā in his poetry, would never intend any wicked act against him, and would never keep back from him anything good.⁸¹⁶ But when 'Adī b. Zayd had finished saying this, 'Adī b. Marīnā stood up and swore a similar oath that he would never cease satirizing 'Adī b. Zayd and never cease intending evil against him as long as he lived. Al-Nu'mān now went forth and took up his residence at al-Ḥīrah.

'Adī b. Aws b. Marīnā recited these verses regarding 'Adī b. Zayd:

Ho there, announce to 'Adī from 'Adī, and do not grieve, even though your physical power has become worn out.

You are despoiling our places of worship when you have no need for such gains, merely in order that you may be praised or your gain may be more complete.⁸¹⁷

If you are now successful, you will not be successful in a praiseworthy manner; and if you perish, we shall wish someone else, and not you, to be not far from us [in death].⁸¹⁸

816. The Cairo text, II, 196, has here *khavar*, "any piece of information," for *khayr*, "anything good," the latter being the reading, however, in Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*³, II, 108.

817. Following the emendations in the text, I, 1019 n. a and in *Addenda et emendanda*, p. dxciv for the first hemistich of this verse. The reference here to "despoiling our *hayākil*" seems to refer, as Nöldeke noted, trans. 315 n. 3, to 'Adī's obtaining a loan of eighty thousand dirhams from the bishop of al-Ḥīrah, Jābir b. Sham'ūn, on al-Nu'mān's behalf so that the latter could inflate and strengthen his position in the Persian king's eyes. See *Aghānī*³, II, 115; Rothstein, *Lahmidien*, 111 n. 2.

818. Literally, "may someone else, not you, not be far from us [in death]!" *fa-lā yab'ad siwāka*, a motif familiar in ancient Arabian elegiac poetry, in which the spirit of a dead man, a companion, or kinsman, is enjoined *lā tab'ad*, "do not go far away in death!" See Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, I, 255-56, Eng. tr. C.

You will feel regret like the man of Kusa' when your two eyes see what your hands have wrought.⁸¹⁹

'Adī b. Marīnā likewise said to al-Aswad, "Although you have not been successful, do not be so weak as to forgo seeking vengeance on this man of Ma'add, who has treated you in this fashion.⁸²⁰ I have kept on telling you that the crafty wiles of Ma'add are never at rest, and I enjoined you not to follow his ways; but you acted against my advice." He replied, "What do you want, then?" Ibn Marīnā said, "I want you to hand over to me all the income from your sources of wealth and land," and al-Aswad did that. Ibn Marīnā was [already] very rich and well endowed with estates. No day now ever passed without a present arriving at al-Nu'mān's portal from Ibn Marīnā, so that the latter became the most honored of men in al-Nu'mān's eyes, and he did not decide any matter of state without 'Adī b. Marīnā's instructions. Whenever 'Adī b. Zayd's name was mentioned in Ibn Marīnā's presence, he would heap praises on him and recount his merits, yet he would add, "The make-up of a man of Ma'add is not complete without there being an element of craft and treachery in it."

[1020]

When the persons in al-Nu'mān's court circle perceived the high status of Ibn Marīnā in the king's sight, they attached themselves to him and followed him. He began to tell his most trusted followers, "When you see me mentioning 'Adī b. Zayd with approbation to the king, say, 'Indeed, he is just like you say, but he doesn't leave anybody alone but keeps on saying that the king—he meant al-Nu'mān—is merely his governor and that he secured al-

R. Barber and S. M. Stern, *Muslim Studies*, I, 231–32; idem, "Beiträge zur arabischen Trauerpoesie," 311–12; *EP*, s.v. Marthiya. I. (Ch. Pellat), at VI, 603b.

819. The "regret of the man of Kusa'" was proverbial for someone who committed an irrevocable action and then repented of it. Kusa' is variously described as a clan or subgroup of archers of Qays 'Aylān, Yemen, or Ḥimyar, but no such tribal division is registered by Ibn al-Kalbī in his *Jamharat al-nasab*; clearly, the lexicographers had no real idea of the origin of the saying. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'arab*, X, 186–87; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'arūs*, V, 494–95.

820. 'Adī's genealogy, set forth by al-Ṭabarī at I, 1016, p. 340 above, went back to the Zayd Ma'nā b. Imrī' al-Qays, one of the two main branches of the great North Arab tribe of Tamim (see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Table 59, II, 8, 544; *EP*, s.v. Tamim b. Murr (M. Lecker)), whereas most of the Arabs in al-Ḥīrah, from the ruling Lakhmid family downward, stemmed from tribes accounted Yemeni in *nasab*.

Nu'mān's appointment to the office which he now holds.'" They kept on thus repeatedly until they caused the king to be full of hatred toward 'Adī b. Zayd. Also, they wrote a letter in 'Adī's name to one of his stewards (*qahramān*) and then laid a plot against him to seize the letter, which they then brought to al-Nu'mān. The latter read it, and it filled him with rage. He sent a message to 'Adī b. Zayd in these terms: "I beseech you, why haven't you visited me? I have been longing to see you." 'Adī was at this juncture at Kisrā's court; he asked Kisrā for permission to leave, and the latter gave this. But when 'Adī came to al-Nu'mān, he had hardly set eyes on al-Nu'mān before he was thrown into a prison, where no one came to visit him.⁸²¹ 'Adī b. Zayd set about composing verses while he was in prison. The first of the verses which he composed there was:

Would that I knew something from the great hero (i.e., the king)! Then would a tenderly persuasive enquiry bring you authentic news [of him]!⁸²²

He further recited many other pieces of poetry.⁸²³

821. In the second of Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī's accounts of the estrangement between al-Nu'mān and 'Adī, in *Aghānī*³, II, 115-116, that stemming from al-Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad al-Dabbī, to the reasons for this estrangement set forth in the first account from Ibn al-Kalbī, essentially that given above by al-Ṭabarī, al-Mufaḍḍal adds another cause, also involving 'Adī's enemy Ibn Marīnā. According to this, 'Adī grew angry with al-Nu'mān because he had prepared for al-Nu'mān and his entourage a splendid feast, but en route for this, al-Nu'mān was intercepted by Ibn Marīnā who invited him on the spot to a feast of his own so that, when al-Nu'mān eventually arrived at 'Adī's feast, he was satiated and could not touch any of it. 'Adī was naturally piqued, displayed his anger, reproached al-Nu'mān in verse and broke off relations with him. In retaliation, al-Nu'mān consigned 'Adī to prison.

822. *Dīwān*, 56, no. 7 v. 2, a verse from a long poem, more of which is cited in other sources such as *Aghānī*³, II, 110.

823. When Nöldeke made his translation, he stated, 319 n. 2, that the verses of 'Adī had to be recovered from scattered citations in later sources. A formal *dīwān* of 'Adī's collected poetry is mentioned in several mediaeval Islamic sources, e.g., Ibn al-Nadīm and Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī, as being in existence at that time, with various copies circulating in Baghdad. However, the *Dīwān* of 'Adī has now been published by Muḥammad Jabbar al-Mu'ayyid on the basis of a unique manuscript, preserved at al-Baṣrah, of the work of Jāhili poets and called *Kitāb jamharat shu'arā' al-'Arab min al-Jāhiliyyah*; see al-Mu'ayyid's Introduction, 20-25.

As Nöldeke commented, loc. cit., the poetry of 'Adī, the product of an urban, Christianised environment, is perceptibly easier to understand than the verses of contemporary Bedouin poets, products of the ruder, harsher desert.

Whenever 'Adī composed some poetry, this came to al-Nu'mān's notice and hearing, and he felt regret for having imprisoned him. He began to send messages to 'Adī, making him various promises and arousing his hopes [of being freed], but shrank from releasing him lest 'Adī should then intend some evil against him. 'Adī thereupon uttered the verse:

I lay awake in a thick, dark cloud in which lightning flashes
continually rose up on the gray mountain peaks.⁸²⁴

and also,

That night was long for us and intensely dark.⁸²⁵

[1021]

And also,

Ho there, the nights and the days are long!⁸²⁶

When he became wearied of addressing entreaties to al-Nu'mān, he recited poetry in which he reminded him of death and informed him of those kings before him who had perished, saying,

Has farewell been said to him when he was setting out in the
morning or at even?⁸²⁷

and many other poems.

He related: Al-Nu'mān once set out for al-Baḥrayn, and [in his absence] a man from Ghassān appeared and wrought whatever violence he willed in al-Ḥīrah. It is said that the person who attacked al-Ḥīrah and then put it to flames was Jafnah b. al-Nu'mān al-Jafnī.⁸²⁸ 'Adī recited:

824. *Dīwān*, 37, no. 3 v. 1.

825. *ibid.*, 59, no. 8 v. 1.

826. *ibid.*, 132, no. 60 v. 1.

827. *ibid.*, 84, no. 16 v. 1.

828. This refers to a major, surprise attack on the Lakhmid capital involving an operation mounted across the Syrian Desert by the Jafnid/Ghassānid prince, who plundered al-Ḥīrah and pitched his *praetorium* or military headquarters there for five days, while the Lakhmid ruler was absent, as 'Adī's scornful verse stresses. The Jafnid/Ghassānid prince would be al-Mundhir b. al-Ḥārith or Arethas (r. 569–82). Nöldeke, *Die Ghassānischen Fürsten*, 27–28, placed the attack in 580–81, commenting that it could not in any case have happened after 591 when the emperor Maurice and Khusraw Abarwēz made peace, since the Byzantine ruler would not have allowed his Syrian vassal to breach the agreement thus; see also

A falcon soared high, and then set both sides of it (i.e., the town of al-Ḥīrah) in flames, while you were completely occupied with camels, some of which are sent out to travel by night while others are left to pasture freely.⁸²⁹

When 'Adī's imprisonment became protracted, he wrote the following verses to his brother Ubayy, who was at Kisrā's court,

Convey the news to Ubayy, however far away he is—is what a man has come to know any use to him?—

—That your brother, the dear one of your heart, for whom you were intensely concerned while ever he was safe and sound, Is shackled with iron fetters in the power of a king, whether justly or unjustly.

So let me not find you acting like a woman with a child (*dhāt al-ghulāmi*) if she does not find a suckler of her breast, seeking for such an one.

So take care to remain in your own land, for if you come to us you will sleep a dreamless slumber (i.e., will find death)!⁸³⁰

His brother wrote back to him,

If Fate has betrayed you, then you are no weakling (literally, "weak of outstretched arms"), nor an inactive person, nor a feeble one.

[1022]

trans. 320 n. 3. This seems a reasonable argument, and the attack must in any case have happened well before al-Nu'mān's imprisonment of 'Adī toward the year 600. Rothstein, *Lahmiden*, 104 n. 2, 105, 112, however, placed the attack earlier than Nöldeke. More recently, Irfan Shāhid has dated the attack to 575, at the end of the three years' period when al-Mundhir b. al-Ḥārith had withdrawn from Byzantine service and was keen to retaliate on the Lakhmids for their raids on the Syrian frontiers during that period. The Lakhmid ruler at that time would thus be al-Mundhir IV b. al-Mundhir III rather than the energetic al-Nu'mān III, ruling by ca. 580. The mention of the Jafnid/Ghassānid attacker as being "Jafnah b. al-Nu'mān al-Jafni" in the account transmitted by Abū 'Ubaydah is thus both vague and inaccurate.

829. *Dīwān*, 114, no. 25 v. 1.

830. *ibid.*, 164, no. 111 vv. 1-5. The message of the last two verses is that Ubayy should not assume a task, that of avenging his brother 'Adī, which is no part of his business—at least, not by immediately coming to the Lakhmid court seeking vengeance and instead finding there his own certain death. Nöldeke, trans. 321 n. 1, was uncertain about the rendering of v. 4, but the enlightening emendations in *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DCXIV, and *Glossarium*, p. CCCLIX, make it clear that the proverbial saying given in Lane, *Lexicon*, 2025a, is being alluded to here.

By God's oath, even if a darkly massed,⁸³¹ mighty, crushing
 force, with gleaming swords,
 With a distant roaring sound, advancing across country with an
 overwhelming host bringing death, with robes of battle
 intact and enfolding them,⁸³²
 Had I been in the thick of its throng, I would have hastened to
 you; so know that I would have responded when you asked
 for succor!
 Or if I had been asked for money for you, neither inherited
 wealth nor wealth which had been earned for some specific
 purpose would have been held back.
 Or [if you had been] in a land and I could have come to you
 there, neither its distance away nor any fearsome danger
 would have affrighted me.
 Since you are far away from me, the glory of this age and the
 authority to command are with the enemy.
 If, by God, I am bereft of you, an old companion whose loss
 brings pain, there is no one who can replace you, while ever
 the autumn rains pour forth.
 Indeed, by my life, if I grieve over you, it is as an afflicted, sad
 one.
 Indeed, by my life, if I manage to regain control and find
 consolation, nevertheless there will be few like you in the
 lands through which I range.⁸³³

They assert that, when Ubayy read 'Adī's letter, he went along
 to Kisrā and spoke with him [about the affair]. Kisrā thereupon
 wrote a letter and sent an envoy with it. Al-Nu'mān's deputy in
 the exercise of government (*khalīfah*) wrote to al-Nu'mān that
 Kisrā had sent a letter to him. At that, 'Adī's enemies from the
 Banū Buqaylah of Ghassān⁸³⁴ went along to al-Nu'mān and said,

[1023]

831. That is, because of the dark color of the massed warriors in their mailed coats.

832. Reading thus, with Abū al-Faraj al-İşfahānī, *Aghānī*¹, II, 27, *malfūfu*, as suggested in n. a; but *Aghānī*³, II, 119, chooses the reading of Nöldeke's text, *makfūfu* "with the hems of their robes of battle trimmed short." Both renderings are equally possible in the context.

833. This poem also figures in *Aghānī*³, II, 119–20. As Nöldeke remarked, 321 n. 3, the poem reads more like an elegy composed after 'Adī's death than one addressed to him during it.

834. See n. 670 above.

"Kill him immediately!" but he refused. The envoy arrived, having been first accosted by 'Adī's brother, who gave him money as a bribe and told him to visit 'Adī first. The envoy went to 'Adī, the latter being incarcerated in [the fortress of] Şinnīn.⁸³⁵ 'Adī's brother said, "Go into his presence and see what instructions he gives you." The envoy went into 'Adī's presence and said, "I have brought the order for your release; what have you got [for me]?" 'Adī said, "Something you will like very much," and gave him promises, adding, however, "Don't leave me, but give me the letter so that I may convey it to him (i.e., al-Nu'mān), for by God, if you leave me, then I shall undoubtedly be killed." The envoy replied, "I can't do anything except go to the king and deliver the letter to him personally."

Meanwhile, someone went along to al-Nu'mān to let him know what was happening. This person came to al-Nu'mān and told him, "Kisrā's envoy has been to visit 'Adī, and is going to bring 'Adī with him. If he does that, he will not spare any of us, neither yourself nor anyone else." Al-Nu'mān thereupon sent 'Adī's enemies to him, and they smothered him till he died, and then buried him. The envoy came into al-Nu'mān's presence with the letter. Al-Nu'mān hailed him with the words, "Good fortune and welcome!" and sent him four thousand mithqāls⁸³⁶ (i.e., in silver dirhams) and a slave girl, saying to him, "When you go along to 'Adī next morning, go in to him and bring him back personally." But when the envoy rode out to there next morning and entered the prison, the guards told him, "He has already been dead for several days; we didn't, however, dare to tell the king out of fear of him, since we knew that he did not desire 'Adī's death." The envoy returned to al-Nu'mān and said, "I went into his presence

835. This was a fortress of the district of al-Ḥīrah, mentioned in the account of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ's attack on al-Ḥīrah in 14/635 (al-Ṭabarī, I, 2233). According to Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rikh*, 90, it was built by the Greek architect Sinnimār, the luckless constructor of al-Khawarnaq (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 851-52, pp. 75-78 above). See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 431; Nöldeke, trans. 322 n. 3 (on the most probable Aramaic etymology of the toponym); Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, 117-18 (mentioning what he identified as the ruins of Şinnīn and its castle); Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 152.

836. For this measure for precious metals and monetary unit, based on the weight of the Byzantine gold, *solidus*, see Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, 1-8; *EP*, s.v. Makāyil and Mawāzin (E. Ashtor).

[yesterday] and he was still alive!" Al-Nu'mān told him, "The king sends you to me, and you go to 'Adī before me? You're lying, and you're only seeking bribe money and stirring up mischief!" He threatened him but then gave him increased largesse and marks of favor, and extracted a promise from him that he would merely tell Kisrā that 'Adī had died before he could go to him. So the envoy returned to Kisrā and informed him that 'Adī had died before he could get access to him. Al-Nu'mān was filled with remorse at 'Adī's death, but 'Adī's enemies behaved menacingly toward him, and he was violently afraid of them. [1024]

Al-Nu'mān went out hunting one day and met one of 'Adī's sons called Zayd. When he saw him, he recognized his resemblance to 'Adī and asked him, "Who are you?" The son replied, "I am Zayd b. 'Adī b. Zayd," Al-Nu'mān spoke with him and found him to be a finely formed young man, and he rejoiced at this (or, "in him") greatly. He introduced him into his court circle, gave him gifts, made excuses to him over the matter of his father,⁸³⁷ and fitted him out handsomely with a traveling kit. Then he wrote to Kisrā in these terms: "'Adī was, because of his wise counsel and his intelligence, one of those persons who are the supports of kings; but the inevitable fate came upon him, his life span was fulfilled and his sustenance was cut off; no one was more deeply afflicted by his death than myself. Yet a king does not lose one of his men without God sending along a replacement for him, since God has made the king's royal power and exalted status so mighty. Now one of 'Adī's sons, not inferior to him in qualities, has just reached maturity. Hence I have sent him along to the king; if he sees fit to appoint him in his father's stead, he may do so."

When the young man came to Kisrā, he appointed him to his father's old office and transferred his paternal uncle (i.e., Ubayy) to another post. So it was Zayd who took charge of correspondence dispatched to the land of the Arabs—in particular, [that of] the king. The Arabs gave him a specific, annual payment for filling this office, namely, two chestnut-colored colts, fresh truffles in their season and dried ones, dried and compacted cheese, hides (or, "seasonings," *al-udum*), and other products traded by the Arabs.

837. That is, over his being imprisoned and not, of course, over his killing. See Nöldeke, trans. 324 n. 1.

Zayd b. 'Adī b. Zayd was thus in charge of all this—that is, those functions 'Adī b. Zayd had exercised. When Zayd had attained such a position in Kisrā's eyes, the latter asked him about al-Nu'mān; Zayd praised him profusely.

[1025] Zayd accordingly remained for several years filling the same role his father had filled. Kisrā was highly pleased with him, and Zayd used frequently to go into his presence. The Persian kings possessed the description of a [perfect] woman, written down and kept by them, and they used to send that description out to all those lands (i.e., to obtain for themselves such ideal wives and concubines), except that they never had any dealings with the land of the Arabs regarding this and would never seek it. At one point, the king again took steps for seeking out women, and sent out that written description. Then Zayd went into Kisrā's presence and spoke to him about the course of action the king had embarked upon, and said, "I see that the king has sent out letters concerning women who are to be sought out for him [as partners]. I have read the description. I know the house of al-Mundhir very well. Your servant al-Nu'mān has many daughters and paternal nieces and other members of his family, totaling more than twenty women, who correspond to this description." Kisrā said, "In that case, you should write off concerning them." Zayd replied, "O king, the worst characteristic of the Arabs, and of al-Nu'mān [in particular], is that they regard themselves as superior in nobility, as they conceive themselves, to the Persians. I am afraid that he will conceal these women. But if I personally go to him with this mission, he will not be able to place them in concealment. So send me, together with a man from your own guard who is a skilled Arabic speaker." Hence Kisrā sent with him a sturdy man. Zayd set off with the latter. He began to treat that man in a noble and friendly fashion until he reached al-Ḥīrah. He went into al-Nu'mān's presence and extolled the monarch, then went on to say that "He [Kisrā] requires women [as attendants] for his wives and children, and desires to show you honor, hence has sent this mission to you."⁸³⁸ Al-Nu'mān asked, "What kind of women are

838. Such a tribute of maidens was regarded by Nöldeke, trans. 325 n. 1, as quite credible, especially as Barhebraeus mentions a "Fast of the Maidens" of the Nestorian Christians commemorating the frustration of Khusraw Abarwēz's at-

these [who are required]?" Zayd answered, "This is the description of them."

The description stemmed from al-Mundhir the Elder's⁸³⁹ forwarding as a present for Anūsharwān a slave girl whom he had acquired as plunder when he had raided al-Ḥārith the Elder al-Ghassānī, son of Abū Shamir,⁸⁴⁰ and whose description he had sent in a letter to Anūsharwān:

"[She is] of medium height, with a clear skin color and fine teeth, white, gleaming like the moon, pronounced eyebrows, dark and wide eyed, with a high, aquiline nose, slender eyelashes over fine eyes, smooth cheeks, with a delectable body, plentiful hair, a good-sized skull so that ear-drops hang far apart, with a high neck, a wide bosom, and well-rounded breasts. [She has] stout shoulder and upper arm bones, fine wrists, delicate hands with long and straight fingers; a pulled-in abdomen, neat waist, slender at the girdle, ample hips, a well-rounded rear and strong thighs, a fine posterior and fleshy buttocks, good-sized knees, filled-out calves so that her ornamental anklets fit snugly, but with delicate ankle bones and feet. [She] walks with slow steps, is somnolent and remains inside in the fierce light of day and has a tender skin where this is exposed. [She is] obedient to her lord and master, not flat-nosed or with a tanned skin, humble and submissive although of noble birth and not brought up in penurious circumstances, modest, sedate, mild in character, and steady minded. [She has] noble maternal relatives⁸⁴¹ and she is satisfied with her paternal lineage, without reference to her clan, and with her clan without reference to her tribe. Experience of life has made her of fine conduct and attainments (*adab*). Her ways of thought are those of

[1026]

tempt to carry off all the maidens from al-Ḥīrah, and as al-Birūnī, *al-Āthār al-bāqiyah*, 314, states that the *ṣawm al-'adhārā* marked the relief of the Arabs at being relieved of the tribute of virgins levied by the kings of al-Ḥīrah or else the victory of Dhū Qār, which spared the Arabs from the Persian demand for their maidens.

839. That is, the Lakhmid al-Mundhir III (r. 504–54, interrupted by the Kindi occupation of al-Ḥīrah in the mid-520s).

840. That is, the Jafnid/Ghassānid al-Ḥārith (Arethas) (r. 529–69), son of Abū Shamir Jabalah (d. 528). See Shahīd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century*, I/1, 69.

841. Following the emendation *al-khāl* of *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DXCIV, for the text's *al-ḥāl*.

noble people, but her actions those of the poor and needy. [She is] skillful with her hands, restrained with her tongue, has a gentle voice; she is an adornment to the house, and puts the enemy to shame. If you wish for [sexual contact with] her, she shows eagerness for it; if you prefer to leave her alone, she is content to abstain. She becomes wide eyed [with sexual longing], her cheeks blush red, her lips tremble, and she hastens toward you before you can fall upon her."⁸⁴²

Kisrā accepted this description and ordered it to be set down in permanent form in his chancery registers. [The Persian rulers] kept on handing it down to each other until it finally reached Kisrā, son of Hurmuz.

Zayd read out the description to al-Nu'mān, but the latter found the topic distasteful, and said to Zayd, with the envoy listening at the same time, "Aren't all the wide-eyed ones ('īn) of the Sawād and Persia enough to fulfill your needs?" The envoy said to Zayd, "What are the 'wide-eyed ones'?"⁸⁴³ He replied, "Wild cows (*al-baqar*)."⁸⁴⁴ Zayd said to al-Nu'mān, "Kisrā only desires to show you honor; if he had known that this [demand] was distressing for you, he would not have written to you in these terms." Al-Nu'mān gave them both hospitality for two days and then wrote to Kisrā, "That which the king seeks I do not possess," and he told Zayd, "Make my excuses to the king."

When Zayd went back to Kisrā, he told the envoy who had come with him, "Tell the king everything you heard from al-Nu'mān, for I shall give him the same account as you and not contradict you at all regarding it." When the two of them went into Kisrā's presence, Zayd said, "This is his letter," and he read it out to him. Kisrā retorted, "Where, then is what you [previously] told me

842. This bravura piece of rhetorical prose, with its balanced phrases and rhymes, appears also in Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*³, II, 29–30, with various divergencies of wording. On the theme of descriptions of female beauty in Iranian and Persian literatures, from the Avesta onward, see *EIr* s.v. Erotic Literature (Djalal Khaleghi-Motlagh).

843. *a'yan*, f. *'aynā'*, pl. *'īn*, "wide-eyed, dark-eyed," is a favorite attribute of the wild cow or oryx, and thence, of women, in early Arabic poetry, appearing in the Qur'ān as a description of the hoursis of the Paradise intended for the justified believers, e.g., in XXXVII, 47/49, XLIV, 54, LII, 20, LVI, 20.

844. The account in al-Mas'ūdi, *Murūj*, III, 205–206 = §§ 1065–66, uses the synonym for wild cow, *mahāt*.

about?" Zayd said, "I told you about their (i.e., the Arabs') tenaciousness in keeping their women from others, and that this arises from their miserable way of life; they prefer starvation and nakedness to satiety and fine clothes, and the fiery and tempestuous winds to the ease and pleasantness of this land of yours, to the point that they call it a prison.⁸⁴⁵ Now just ask this envoy who accompanied me about what he (i.e., al-Nu'mān) said, for I have too great a regard for the king's exalted position to be able to repeat what he said and the answer that he gave the king." Kisrā thereupon asked the envoy, "What did he say?" The envoy replied, "He said, O king, 'Hasn't he got enough from the wild cows of the Sawād without seeking after what we ourselves have?'" Signs of anger became apparent in Kisrā's face and he felt violently moved in his heart, but he merely remarked, "Many a wretch has had worse things than this in mind, yet his intentions have come to naught in the end!" These words became generally circulated and reached the ears of al-Nu'mān.

Kisrā then remained silent regarding this topic for several months. Al-Nu'mān, meanwhile, was preparing for whatever might befall and was expecting [the worst], when Kisrā's letter reached him [containing the command]: "Come here, for the king has business with you!" He set off [precipitately] when the king's letter reached him, taking with him his weapons and whatever else he was able [to carry]. He arrived at the two mountains of Ṭayyi',⁸⁴⁶ accompanied by [his wife] Far'ah bt. Sa'd b. Ḥārithah b. Lām, who had borne him both a male and a female child, and also [his wife] Zaynab. bt. Aws b. Ḥārithah [b. Lām]. Al-Nu'mān made for the land of the Ṭayyi', hoping that they would take him in among themselves and protect him, but they refused to do this, saying, "Were it not for the marriage bonds between us, we would

[1028]

845. Contrasting the harshness and misery of the desert existence of the Bedouins with the ease of life in the *ḥaḍar* or settled lands such as al-Ḥīrah and the Persian lands in Mesopotamia.

846. The "two mountains of Ṭayyi'," Aja' and Salmā, were in what is now the Jabal Shammar of northern Najd, to the south and southeast of modern Ḥā'il, and are often mentioned in old poetry. See al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā ista'jam*, I, 109-10, III, 750; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 94-99, III, 238-39; Musil, *Northern Neḡd, a Topographical Itinerary*, New York 1928, 76-77, 88-89; Thilo, *Die Ortsnamen in der alt-arabischen Poesie*, 26, 90.

attack you, for we do not want to be drawn into enmity with Kisrā."⁸⁴⁷ Al-Nu'mān went onward, but no one would receive him except for the Banū Rawāḥah b. Sa'd from the Banū 'Abs, who said, "We will fight at your side, if you wish," because of an act of favor al-Nu'mān had shown to them over the matter of Marwān al-Qaraz. However, he replied, "I don't want to bring about your destruction, for you don't have the strength to prevail over Kisrā."⁸⁴⁸ So he traveled onward until he encamped secretly at Dhū Qār amongst the Banū Shaybān. Here he met Hāni' b. Mas'ūd b. 'Āmir b. 'Amr b. Abī Rabī'ah b. Dhuhl b. Shaybān, who was a mighty chief. At that time, the sheikhly rule in Rabī'ah was among the house of Dhū al-Jaddayn, held by Qays b. Mas'ūd b. Qays b. Khālid b. Dhī al-Jaddayn.⁸⁴⁹ Kisrā had made a grant to

847. The tribe of Ṭayyi', whose ancient pasture grounds were in northern Najd, as the connection of their name with the two mountains there shows (see n. 846 above), were accounted Yemeni in genealogy. Al-Nu'mān's marriage with two Ṭā'ī wives suggests that the tribe had links with the Lakhmids, but these were not strong enough to offset the need to keep up good relations with the Sāsānids, and it was a man of Ṭayyi', Iyās b. Qabīṣah, whom Khusraw appointed after al-Nu'mān's death as the first, and last, non-Lakhmid governor in al-Ḥīrah and the former Lakhmid lands and who commanded the forces of the Persians and their Arab allies at Dhū Qār (see al-Tabarī, I, 1017, p. 341 above). Christianity seems to have acquired some hold among the Ṭayyi' in pre-Islamic times, presumably among those of the tribe who frequented the fringes of Iraq, and Iyās was a Christian. See Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Tables 176, 249-57, II, 57-61, 176; *EP*², s.v. Ṭayyi' (Irfan Shahīd). As Nöldeke noted, trans. 329 n. 2, al-Nu'mān's own adoption of Christianity—the first of his line to do so—was nominal enough for him to remain polygamous and to take at least two wives.

848. The 'Abs were a component of the great North Arab group of Ghaṭafān, part of Qays 'Aylān, with the Banū Rawāḥah coming in the tribal *silsilat al-nasab* five generations after 'Abs himself. Their pasture grounds lay between the Jabal Shammar and northern Hijāz, hence just beyond those of Ṭayyi'. The "matter of Marwān al-Qaraz" involved al-Nu'mān's securing this man's release from al-Nu'mān's uncle and the previous ruler in al-Ḥīrah 'Amr b. al-Mundhir or b. Hind, and the affair is referred to in the poetry of Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā (who was born and reared among the Banū 'Abdallāh of Ghaṭafān), as is the magnanimous reception of the fugitive Lakhmid by the Banū Rawāḥah b. Sa'd. See Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Tables 92, 132-33, 136, II, 20-21, 135-36; *EP*², s.v. Ghaṭafān (J. W. Fück); and on al-Nu'mān's flight and attempts to secure *jiwār* or tribal protection, see Rothstein, *Lahmidien*, 117-18.

849. Dhū al-Jaddayn were one of the leading families of Bakr (see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Table 144, II, 24), from the Hammām b. Murrāh, a dominant branch of the Shaybān. Equally influential with Qays was his son, the poet and warrior Bisṭām. See *EP*², s.v. Bisṭām b. Qays (M. J. Kister).

Qays b. Mas'ūd of al-Ubullah,⁸⁵⁰ hence al-Nu'mān was fearful of entrusting his family and dependents to him because of that fact; whereas, he knew that Hāni' would protect him as he would his own life.

Al-Nu'mān then (i.e., after leaving his family and dependents with Hāni') proceeded toward Kistrā's court. On the stone bridge of Sābāt⁸⁵¹ he met Zayd b. 'Adī, who said to him, "Save yourself, [if you can,] O Little Nu'mān (Nu'aym)!" Al-Nu'mān replied, "You have done this, O Zayd, but by God, if I manage to survive, I shall do with you what I did with your father!" Zayd told him, "Go on, Little Nu'mān, for by God, I have prepared for you at Kistrā's court bonds to hobble your feet which even a high-spirited colt couldn't break!"⁸⁵² When the news of his arrival at court reached Kistrā, the latter sent guards to him who put him in fetters, and he consigned him to Khāniqīn.⁸⁵³ There he remained in gaol until an outbreak

850. Al-Ubullah (< Greek Apologos) lay on the right bank of the Euphrates-Tigris estuary, at the mouth of a canal of the same name, the Nahr al-Ubullah. The town existed in Sāsānid times and possibly earlier, and in the later Sāsānid period, at least, came normally within the dominions of the Lakhmids. With the advent of Islam, al-Ubullah was to some extent eclipsed by the *miṣr* of al-Baṣrah, founded further inland, but it continued to be a port of major significance for trade with the Arabian Sea and Indian Ocean shores all through mediaeval Islamic times until the Mongol invasions. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 76-78; Le Strange, *Lands*, 47-48; Wilson, *The Persian Gulf*, 62-64; Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 161-62; *EP*², s.v. al-Ubullah (J. H. Kramers). According to Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*³, XXIII, 54, Khusraw made the grant to Qays b. Mas'ūd so that the latter would ward off the tribesmen of Bakr b. Wā'il from the Sawād. See Donner, "The Bakr b. Wā'il Tribes and Politics in Northeastern Arabia on the Eve of Islam," 27-28.

851. See for this, n. 327 above.

852. As Nöldeke noted, trans. 331 n. 2, another brother of Zayd's, 'Amr (not 'Ammār) b. 'Adī b. Zayd, acted as adviser on Arab affairs and translator for Khusraw Abarwēz, and fought at Dhū Qār on the Persian side, where he was killed. See *Aghānī*³, XXIV, 61-62, 73-74. The family of 'Adī b. Zayd continued to be of significance in al-Ḥīrah until well into 'Abbāsīd times, when al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 309, tr. 141, describes them in his own time (late third/ninth century) as among the upper social strata there ('*ilyat ahl al-Ḥīrah*) and still firmly attached to their Christian faith.

853. This town lay to the northeast of Ctesiphon and the later Baghdad on the highway through Jibāl to al-Rayy and Khurāsān; at the present day, it comes just within the borders of Iraq. The early Islamic geographers praise a fine, brick-built bridge there, spanning the Ḥulwān river, an affluent of the Diyālā, and this apparently dated back to the town's pre-Islamic existence. The fact that al-Nu'mān was imprisoned there suggests the presence there of a Sāsānid fortress also. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 340-41; Le Strange, *Lands*, 62-63; Schwarz, *Iran*, 687-89; Barthold,

of plague occurred and he died in prison. People think that he died at Sābāṭ on account of a verse by al-A'shā,

It happened thus, and he was not able to save his master (i.e., al-Nu'mān, the master of the noble steed addressed in the preceding verses) from death at Sābāṭ, dying while he was incarcerated.⁸⁵⁴

[1029]

In fact, he died at Khāniqīn, just a short while before the coming of Islam. Soon afterward, God sent His prophet; al-Nu'mān's fate was the cause of the battle of Dhū Qār.⁸⁵⁵

There was related to me a narrative going back to Abū 'Ubaydah Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā—Abū al-Mukhtār Firās b. Khindif and a number of the learned scholars of the Arabs whom Abū 'Ubaydah expressly named, as follows:⁸⁵⁶ When al-Nu'mān killed 'Adī, the latter's brother and son hatched a plot against al-Nu'mān at Kisrā's court, and falsified a letter sent by al-Nu'mān to Kisrā exculpating himself with expressions that roused Kisrā's anger. Hence he ordered al-Nu'mān to be killed. When al-Nu'mān had become fearful of Kisrā, he had deposited his coat of mail, his valuables, and other arms with Hāni' b. Mas'ūd b. 'Āmir al-Khaṣīb b. 'Amr al-Muzdalif b. Abī Rabī'ah b. Dhuhl b. Shaybān b. Tha'labah; this was because al-Nu'mān had given him two of his daughters in marriage. Abū 'Ubaydah added, however, that "Other

Historical Geography, 199, 202; *EP*², s.v. Khāniqīn (P. Schwarz). In his *Iran im Mittelalter*, 688 n. 1, Schwarz details the information of the Arabic sources on al-Nu'mān's mode of death: either from plague or through being trampled by elephants.

854. *Dīwān*, 147, no. 33 v.18. Cf. Nöldeke, trans. 331 n.4.

855. This could be considered as true in an indirect way, in that the end of the Lakhmids does seem to have facilitated increased depredations by Bedouin tribes like the Bakr on the now less strongly defended desert fringes of Iraq. Whether Khusraw had any serious reason for thinking that al-Nu'mān was aiming at a policy more independent of his Persian overlord is impossible now to determine. See Bosworth, "Iran and the Arabs before Islam," 607–608.

Other accounts in the Arabic sources of al-Nu'mān's fall from favor and his consequent fate are given in al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 245–46; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, III, 205–10 = §§ 1065–70; Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rikh*, 94–95 (al-Dīnawarī, on the other hand, takes very little account of the Lakhmids). See also Nöldeke, trans. 332 n. 1.

856. This is now the continuation of the *riwāyah* from Abū 'Ubaydah begun by al-Ṭabarī at I, 1016, p. 339 above.

authorities state that Hāni' b. Mas'ūd was no longer alive at the time of this happening; the person in question was Hāni' b. Qabīṣah b. Hāni' b. Mas'ūd, and I consider this to be correct."⁸⁵⁷

After Kisrā had had al-Nu'mān killed, he appointed Iyās b. Qabīṣah al-Ṭā'ī as governor over al-Ḥīrah and the other former territories of al-Nu'mān.⁸⁵⁸ Abū 'Ubaydah related: When Kisrā had fled from Bahrām [Chūbīn], he passed by Iyās b. Qabīṣah, and the latter gave him a horse and slaughtered a camel for him; in this way, Kisrā showed his gratitude.⁸⁵⁹ Kisrā sent a message to Iyās enquiring where al-Nu'mān's deposited possessions were. Iyās replied that al-Nu'mān had found a safe refuge for them among the Bakr b. Wā'il. So Kisrā ordered Iyās to get possession of what al-Nu'mān had left behind and to forward that to him. Iyās sent a message to Hāni', "Send to me the coats of mail and other items al-Nu'mān entrusted to you" (the lowest estimate of these mailed coats was four hundred, and the highest was eight hundred). But Hāni' refused to hand over what he had engaged to protect.⁸⁶⁰

[1030]

He related: When Hāni' withheld these, Kisrā was filled with anger and gave out that he would extirpate the Bakr b. Wā'il. At that moment, he had at his court al-Nu'mān b. Zur'ah al-Taghlibī,

857. Hāni' b. Qabīṣah b. Mas'ūd al-Shaybānī and Iyās b. Qabīṣah al-Ṭā'ī, or his son Farwah b. Iyās—Iyās being at this point the Persian ruler's viceroy in al-Ḥīrah—are mentioned in al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 243, as yielding up the city in 12/633 to Khālid b. al-Walīd's forces on the basis of a peace treaty, with the provision that the Ḥīran leaders were now to act as spies for the Arabs against the Persians.

858. Iyās, noted above as involved (unless his son Farwah is meant) in the surrender of al-Ḥīrah to the Arabs, was the son of Khusraw's adviser Qabīṣah, the tribe of Ṭayyi' having links with the Sāsānid ruling house (see n. 847 above). He was thus an appropriate person to appoint as governor in al-Ḥīrah. However, at his side Khusraw placed his commander Nakhīrjān (on this name, see n. 377 above), who was later to play an eminent role in the defense of al-Madā'in against the Arabs (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 2419–22, etc., below), as financial controller and tribute collector. Iyās was to govern in al-Ḥīrah from 600 to 611. See Rothstein, *Lahmidien*, 110, 116, 120 and n. 1.

859. As Nöldeke, trans. 333 n. 2, commented, this gratitude was rather belated. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 216–17, has different details on the fugitive Khusraw's desperate search for a mount, including the detail that al-Nu'mān refused to give the king his own celebrated horse al-Yahmūm.

860. This refusal to hand over valuable war material is confirmed by some verses of al-A'shā in Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*³, XXIV, 79.

who was eager for the destruction of the Bakr b. Wā'il.⁸⁶¹ Al-Nu'mān said to Kistrā, "O best of rulers, shall I show you how Bakr might be attacked unawares?" Kistrā replied, "Yes!" Al-Nu'mān said, "Leave them alone, so that they can go to their summer encampments, for if they do take up these summer quarters they will alight at one of their watering places called Dhū Qār just as a moth falls into a fire, and then you can fall upon them exactly as you wish. I myself can take charge of this and get rid of them for you." Al-Nu'mān's phrase "they will alight just like a moth falling into a fire" was translated for Kistrā, and he accordingly left them alone for the time being.

But then when the Bakr b. Wā'il migrated to their summer quarters, they went along and encamped at the bend of Dhū Qār, one night's journey away from Dhū Qār itself. Kistrā sent al-Nu'mān b. Zur'ah to them with the message that they were to choose one of three courses of action (literally, "aims, targets"). Al-Nu'mān encamped at Hāni's and told him, "I am the king's envoy to you. I offer you three courses of action. Either you submit yourselves, and the king will make a decision concerning you however he pleases; or you remove yourselves from the land; or be apprised of the imminence of war."⁸⁶² They took counsel together, and left the decision to Ḥanzalah b. Tha'labah b. Sayyār al-'Ijlī, whose advice they regarded as auspicious.⁸⁶³ Ḥanzalah told them, "I can't see any other course but fighting, for if you place yourself in his hands, you will be killed and your children enslaved. If you flee, you will die of thirst, and the Tamīm will come upon you and put you to death. So apprise the king of imminent war."

The king sent messages to Iyās, to al-Hārmaz al-Tustarī, whose fortress was at al-Quṭṭānah, and to Jalābzīn,⁸⁶⁴ who held the

861. The two tribes of Bakr and Taghlib, although forming the major part of Rabī'ah, were at odds with each other for much of the sixth century. See *EP*², s.v. Bakr b. Wā'il (W. Caskel).

862. Echoing Qur'ān, II, 279, *fa-'dhanū bi-ḥarb'in min Allāh wa-rasūlihi*.

863. The 'Ijl b. Lujaym were a component of Bakr, see *EP*², s.v. 'Ijl (W.M. Watt). The *sayyid* Ḥanzalah b. Tha'labah is described in *Aghānī*³, XXIV, 67, as bald headed, large bellied and with a reddish-brown skin, which Nöldeke, trans. 334 n. 3, regarded as probably an authentic description, since it deviates radically from the usual ideal of the spare desert warrior with long locks of hair.

864. This rendering of the Persian commander's name approaches more closely to the Zalabzan of the Byzantine Greek historians (see n. 739 above) than the

fortress at Bāriq. Kisrā further wrote to [the above-mentioned] Qays b. Mas'ūd b. Qays b. Khālid b. Dhī al-Jadayn, whom Kisrā had appointed over the frontier zone (*al-ṭaff*) of Safawān, with instructions to meet up with Iyās, and when they were all assembled, Iyās was to be their leader.⁸⁶⁵ The Persians brought along troops and elephants on which were mounted cavalrymen. At this time, the Prophet had already begun his mission and the authority of the Persians had become weak. The Prophet said, "Today the Arabs have received satisfaction from the Persians." Note was taken of that day, and behold, it was the day of the battle.

[1031]

When the armies of the Persians and their allies drew near, Qays b. Mas'ūd slipped away by night and went to Hāni'. He told him, "Give your troops al-Nu'mān [b. al-Mundhir]'s weapons in order thereby to increase the troops' strength. If they should perish, they will merely share the fate of those who bore them [originally], and you will have acted with all prudence and resolution; and if they are victorious, they will give them back to you."⁸⁶⁶ Hāni' did that, and divided out the mailed coats and weapons among the strongest and stoutest of his troops. When the [Persian] army drew near to the Bakr, Hāni' shouted to the latter, "O men of the Bakr tribe! You won't be able to withstand Kisrā's troops and their Arab allies, so gallop back to the desert!" The tribesmen rushed headlong to do that, but Ḥanzalah b. Tha'labah b. Sayyār sprang up and said to Hāni', "You admittedly want us to flee to safety, but you are thereby increasing the likelihood of your consigning us to destruction!" Thus he persuaded the tribesmen to go back, and he cut through the leather straps of the litters [on the camels] so that the

Khunābizin of the *Naqā'id Jarīr wa-al-Farazdaq*, II, 640, 643, 644; see *Addenda et emendanda*, p. cxcv.

865. The three places mentioned here were points along the zone of frontier posts and fortresses to the west of the middle and lower Euphrates. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 319–20, III, 225, IV, 374 [al-Quṭqūṭānah as the place of al-Nu'mān's imprisonment, but this is less likely than the fortress at Khāniqīn mentioned by al-Ṭabarī at I, 1028, p. 357 above]; Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 151, 153.

866. As noted by Nöldeke, trans. 336 n. 1, Qays b. Mas'ūd was subsequently imprisoned by Khusraw in Sābāṭ on the grounds that he had not prevented Bedouin incursions across the frontier zone of al-Ṭaff, confirmed by poetry allegedly composed by Qays himself in Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*³, XXIV, 57–59, Abū 'Ubaydah's information here does confirm that Qays may have had a secret understanding with his fellow members of Bakr. However, in al-Ṭabarī, I, 1035, p. 367 below, al-A'shā satirizes Qays for cowardice and flight in battle.

Bakr would not be able to take their womenfolk with them if they were to flee. He therefore acquired the name of "the one who cuts the thongs" (*muqatti' al-wuḍun*), *wuḍun* being the straps securing the saddles and litters, or else "the one who cuts the belly girths" (*muqatti' al-buṭn*), *buṭn* being the straps securing the load-bearing frameworks on draught camels (*al-aqtāb*).⁸⁶⁷ Ḥanẓalah also erected a tent for himself in the depression of Dhū Qār and took an oath that he would not flee unless the tent itself fled. Some of them (i.e., the Bakr) went forward, but the greater part of them went back and spent half a month at a watering place getting water for themselves [and their herds].

[1032] The Persians came upon them and fought with them at the bend [of Dhū Qār]. The Persians suffered from thirst, hence they fled, without making a stand and being hard pressed, back to al-Jubābāt,⁸⁶⁸ with the Bakr and the 'Ijl, the foremost of the Bakr, pursuing them. The 'Ijl were in the forefront and fought in an exemplary fashion on that day. The Persian troops came together [at first] in a compact mass, so that people said, "The 'Ijl are finished!" Then [the rest of] the Bakr rallied to the attack and found the 'Ijl standing fast and fighting back. One of their women recited:

If the uncircumcised ones (*al-ghuzal*) gain the victory, they will ravish us (literally, "place [their penises] inside us");
onwards, may your lives be ransoms for yourselves, O Banū 'Ijl!

She also said, urging on the combattants:

If you put the enemy to flight, we shall embrace [you] and spread out soft rugs [for you].
But if you flee, we shall avoid [you], showing no tender affection!⁸⁶⁹

867. This incident appears also in *Aghānī*³, XXIV, 68–71.

868. Al-Jubābah (thus sing.) is merely noted by Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 98, as a place near Dhū Qār, and a watering place of the Abū Bakr b. Kilāb.

869. These three verses of the 'Ijlī woman figure in the account of Dhū Qār in the *Naqā'id Jarīr wa-al-Farazdaq*, II, 641, while the second and third verses, with a slight variant, are attributed in Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-nabī*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 562 = ed. al-Saqqā et al., III, 72, tr. 374, to Hind bt. 'Utbah when she urged on Quraysh against the Muslims at the battle of Uḥud, in the year 3/625.

They fought with the Persians at al-Jubābāt for a whole day. Then the Persians suffered thirst and made toward the depression of Dhū Qār. The [tribe of] Iyād, who were auxiliary troops against the Bakr with Iyās b. Qabiṣah,⁸⁷⁰ secretly sent a message to the Bakr: "Which is more attractive to you, that we should arise and steal away under cover of night, or stay here and take to flight when you encounter the enemy?" They replied, "Nay, stand fast, and then, when the enemy engage in battle, take to flight with them." He related: Bakr b. Wā'il fell upon the enemy next morning, with their womenfolk (*al-ẓu'un*, literally, "those mounted on camels in litters") standing nearby, inciting the men to fight. Yazīd b. Ḥimār al-Sakūnī, a confederate of the Banū Shaybān, said, "O Banū Shaybān, follow my leadership and let me make an ambush against the enemy." They did that, and made Yazīd b. Ḥimār their leader. Then they concealed themselves in an ambush at a place near Dhū Qār called al-Jubb,⁸⁷¹ and showed themselves stout warriors there. Commanding Iyās b. Qabiṣah's right wing was al-Hāmarz, and over his left wing was al-Jalābzīn; commanding the right wing of Hānī' b. Qabiṣah, the leader of the Bakr, was Yazīd b. Mus'hir al-Shaybānī, and over his left was Ḥanẓalah b. Tha'labah b. Sayyār al-'Ijlī. The people began to urge on their fellows and to compose *rajaz* verses [to encourage them]. Ḥanẓalah b. Tha'labah recited:

[1033]

Your hosts have already become a compact mass, so fight
fiercely! What excuse shall I have, since I am strongly
armed and robust?⁸⁷²

The bow has a thick string, like the foreleg of a young camel or
stronger.

870. The Iyād were a North Arab tribe, whose eponymous forebear was said by the genealogists to be a son of Nizār b. Ma'add and a brother of Rabī'ah and Muḍar. Some Iyād settled at al-Ḥirah and became Christians; others remained nomadic, and at the end of the sixth century and beginning of the seventh century were among the tribes in the service of the Sāsānids as frontier auxiliaries until their defection from the Persian side as narrated below. See Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Tables 174-75, II, 29-30, 359-60; *EP*², s.v. Iyād [J. W. Fück]. For Iyās b. Qabiṣah, see above nn. 810, 858.

871. Literally, "depression, hollow."

872. Following the *mud'*ⁱⁿ of the Leiden and Cairo texts and of the *Naqā'id*. Nöldeke's translation, 338, "da ich . . . sterben muss" would require *mūd'*ⁱⁿ < *awdā*, "he perished."

The celebrated deeds of my people have become clear. Indeed,
there is no escape from death.

Here is 'Umayr, whose tribe⁸⁷³ rushes impetuously forward in
battle,⁸⁷⁴ with none able to repel it,

Until his reddish-colored horse becomes like a dark-brown one
(i.e., with the blood of battle); they have cleared the way, O
Banū Shaybān, and stood firm on their own!⁸⁷⁵

Myself, my father and my grandfather I give as your ransom!

Ḥanzalah further recited,

O my people, rejoice in yourselves at fighting! [This is] the most
suitable of days for putting the Persians to flight!⁸⁷⁶

Yazīd b. al-Mukassir b. Ḥanzalah b. Tha'labah b. Sayyār recited:

The one of you who flees abandons his wives and the alien
under his protection, and flees also from his boon
companion.

I am the son of Sayyār, with his toughness and endurance
(literally, "hanging on to his bit"); indeed, the sandal thongs
have been cut from his own hide.

All men grow in the way of their forefathers, whether nurtured
from defective blood or of pure stock.⁸⁷⁷

Firās related: Then they handed over the command, after
Hānī',⁸⁷⁸ to Ḥanzalah. He went along to his daughter Māriyah,
who was the mother of ten sons, one of these being Jābir b. Ab-
jar,⁸⁷⁹ and cut through the leather straps of her litter so that she

873. The Cairo text, II, 209, has the reading *taḥtahu* for *ḥayyuhu*, followed in the text of the *Naqā'id Jarīr wa-al-Farazdaq*.

874. Following the emendation in *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DXCv, *taqdumatan*.

875. Following, with the text of the *Naqā'id*, the probable emendations to the second hemistich given in *Addenda et emendanda*, loc. cit., with statements (*khallaw* . . . *wa-stabaddū*) rather than imperative verbs and commands.

876. These verses of Ḥanzalah figure in the *Naqā'id*, II, 642.

877. These verses are in the *Naqā'id*, II, 643, with the poet's name as Yazīd al-Mukassir b. Ḥanzalah, i.e., the son, not the grandson, of the previously cited poet.

878. That is, because, as recorded by al-Ṭabarī at I, 1031, p. 361 above, Hānī' had left the field.

879. Nöldeke noted, trans. 339 n. 3, that the Ḥajjār b. Abjar b. Jābir b. Bujayr al-'Ijlī mentioned in the historical sources was probably Jābir's brother. This Ḥajjār

fell to the ground, and he did the same with the straps of the other women so that they all fell to the ground. The daughter of al-Qarīn, the woman of Shaybān, cried out when the women fell to the ground,

Woe to you, O Banū Shaybān, rank upon rank! If you are put to flight, the uncircumcised ones (*al-qulaq*) will ravish us (literally, "will plunge into us")!

[1034]

Seven hundred of the Banū Shaybān cut the arms of the sleeves of their garments from the shoulder pieces so that their arms would be freer for wielding their sword, and then they engaged the enemy fiercely in battle. He related: Al-Hāmarz cried out [in Persian], "Man to man!" (*mard u mard*). Burd b. Ḥārithah al-Yashkurī⁸⁸⁰ exclaimed, "What is he saying?" They told him, "He is issuing a summonse to single combat, man to man." He replied, "By your father! He has spoken justly!" Burd advanced against him and slew him. Surayd b. Abī Kāhil recited:⁸⁸¹

Little Burd (Burayd)⁸⁸² is one of us, [who proved himself in battle] when he went out against your hordes, when you did not want to let him draw near to the Marzbān with the bracelets on his arm.⁸⁸³

was prominent in fighting the Muslims during the *Riddah* wars in al-Bahrayn during Abū Bakr's caliphate, but apparently became a Muslim under 'Umar, especially as Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 161 (but not, e.g., Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghābah*), devotes a notice to him since, after conversion, he could technically be considered as a Companion of the Prophet; cf. also Donner, "The Bakr b. Wā'il Tribes and Politics in Northeastern Arabia on the Eve of Islam," 31-32. His father Abjar seems, however, to have remained Christian until his death toward the end of 'Alī's reign. See al-Ṭabarī, I, 346c, and Hawting, *The History of al-Ṭabarī, an Annotated Translation*, XVII, *The First Civil War*, 217 and n. 858. Nöldeke further noted the antiquity of the name Abjar/Abgar among the Arabs, going back to the kings of Edessa, among whom some ten of that name are known. See Segal, *Edessa, The Blessed City*, index s.vv. Abgar I, etc.

880. The Banū Yashkur were a tribe of Bakr, with much of the tribe living as sedentaries in al-Yamāmah. See Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Tables 141, 162, II, 26, 592.

881. Surayd b. Abī Kāhil Shabīb al-Yashkurī was a poet of the *mukhaḍḍam*. See Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 165-66.

882. The parallel verse in the *Naqā'id*, II, 643, has for this name "Yazīd," but the text shortly afterward mentions Burayd as a variant for Yazīd.

883. Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*³, XXIV, 71, mentions that the Persian cavalymen of al-Hāmarz rode out against the Bakr wearing arm bracelets (*musaw-*

That is, you did not consider him [as an outstanding warrior].

Ḥanzalah b. Tha'labah b. Sayyār called out, "O my people, don't just stand there facing them, or they will overwhelm you with arrows! The left wing of the Bakr, led by Ḥanzalah, attacked the [Persian] army's right wing (whose commander, al-Hāmarz, Burd had just killed), and the right wing of the Bakr, led by Yazid b. Mus'hir, attacked the [Persian] army's left wing (commanded by Jalābzīn). The concealed force under Yazid b. Ḥimār came up behind them from al-Jubb of Dhū Qār, and launched an attack on the enemy's center, where Iyās b. Qabīṣah was. The Iyād turned round and fled, just as they had undertaken to do, and the Persians also fled.

Salīṭ said: The [Arab] captives whom we took, who were on that day in the Persian forces, related to us thus, saying: When the two sides clashed, Bakr took to flight, so we said, "They are making for the watering place." But when they crossed the wadi and emerged from the bed of its stream onto the other side, we said, "This is flight." This happened in the midday heat⁸⁸⁴ of a day in the midst of summer. A detachment of the 'Ijl approached, tightly packed like a bundle of reeds, with no gaps in between; they did not offer impediment to any fugitives (i.e., from the other branches of the Bakr) and they did not mingle with others of the enemy. Then they urged each other on to the attack, advanced in a mass and hurled themselves frontally at the enemy. There was nothing more to be done; they had made the enemy yield, and these last turned and fled. They slew the Persians and those with them from the depression of Dhū Qār as far as al-Rāḥiḍah.⁸⁸⁵ Firās related: I was further informed that they pursued the Persians closely, not looking for plunder or anything else, until they met up with each other at Adam,⁸⁸⁶ a place near Dhū Qār. There were found to be thirty riders from the Banū 'Ijl and sixty from the rest of the Bakr. They killed Jalābzīn, slain by the hand of Ḥanzalah b. Tha'labah. May-

war) and with pearls in each ear. Variants for the last word of this verse, al-Ṭabarī's *al-musawwarā*, are given in both the *Naqā'id* and the *Aghānī*, and from the latter (where two verses are quoted), the correct rhyme emerges as *-ru* and not *-rā*.

884. *Naqā'id*, II, 644, has *ḥadd*, "intensity, acute part of something," for al-Ṭabarī's *ḥarr*.

885. Unidentified.

886. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 162, knows this only as a place associated with the events of Dhū Qār.

mūn b. Qays (i.e., al-A'shā) recited the poem, praising the Banū Shaybān in particular:

I would give as a ransom for the Banū Dhuhl b. Shaybān my she-camel and its rider (i.e., myself) on the day of the encounter, but this would be too little.⁸⁸⁷

They combatted fiercely the vanguard of al-Hāmarz at the bend, the bend of Qurāqir, until he turned and fled.

Qays [b. Mas'ūd] escaped from our group, and I commented, "Perhaps, if he were wearing sandals there, he threw them off" (i.e., in order to escape more easily).

This shows that Qays was in fact present at Dhū Qār.

Bukayr, the deaf one (*al-aṣamm*) of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. 'Ubād,⁸⁸⁸ eulogised the Banū Shaybān thus:

[O serving girl,] if you pour out wine for those who are wont to enjoy it (or, "deserve it"), then pour it out as an act of honor for the sons of Hammām,

And for all of the Abū Rabī'ah and the Muḥallim,⁸⁸⁹ who attained the foremost place on the most noble of battle days.

They attacked the Free Ones (*Banū al-Aḥrār*)⁸⁹⁰ on the day when they encountered them in battle, with Mashrafi swords⁸⁹¹ on the place where the skull rests firmly.

Arabs numbering three thousand and a force of two thousand Persians, from those who wear cloths over their mouths (*banī al-faddām*).⁸⁹²

[1036]

887. Following the reading *wa-qallati* of al-A'shā, *Dīwān*, 179, no. 40 v. 1; *Naqā'id*, II, 644; *Aghānī*³, XXIV, 78; and *Addenda et emendanda*, p. dxcv, I do not see how Nöldeke, trans. 342, got his rendering "[geb' ich . . .] und meinen Renner" from *wa-fullati*.

888. Al-Ḥārith b. 'Ubād b. Ḍubay'ah were a clan of the important Tha'labah branch of Bakr. See Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Table 155, II, 25, 314.

889. Muḥallim b. Dhuhl were a clan of Shaybān. See Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Table 142, II, 421,

890. See for these, n. 604 above.

891. Clearly a superior kind of sword. The lexica give various explanations for the term, including one connecting it with the *mashārif al-Shām*, "the highlands of Syria," possibly the Ḥawrān massif, which would be near the place of origin of the later, famed swords of Damascus. See Lane, *Lexicon*, 1539a.

892. Nöldeke, trans. 343 n. 2, noted the reference here to the *pandām*,

The son of Qays made a charge, and the fame of it for him has traveled as far as the peoples of Iraq and Syria, [That is,] 'Amr, and 'Amr is not decrepit with age or weak minded among them (i.e., his people of Qays), nor inexperienced and a mere youth.⁸⁹³

Since al-A'shā and al-Aṣamm praised the Banū Shaybān specifically, the Lahāzim⁸⁹⁴ grew angry, and Abū Kalbah, one of the Banū Qays,⁸⁹⁵ reproached those two poets strongly for this:

May you be mutilated, O two poets of a people of exalted fame!
May your noses be cut off with a saw!

I mean the deaf one (*al-aṣamm*) and our weak-sighted one (*a'shānā*) who, when they both come together, do not find help for [defective] hearing from seeing.

If it had not been for the riders of the Lahāzim, who are not feeble and defenseless, they would not have been able to spend the summer [any longer] at Dhū Qār.

We came upon them from their left side, just as those going to water [their beasts] become intermingled with those returning from the water (i.e. troops traveling in opposite directions, with the enemy fleeing and ourselves wheeling round and returning to the battle field).⁸⁹⁶

[1037]

paitidāna, of the Zoroastrians (cf. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, cols. 830-31), MP *padām*, NP *padāmah*, worn across the mouth in order to avoid contamination with the breath of sacred objects.

893. These verses also in *Naqā'id*, II, 644-45; *Aghāni*, XXIV, 77-78.

894 The Lahāzim were a grouping of Bakrī tribes, defined in the Umayyad al-Baṣrah of some eighty years later than this time as the Qays b. Tha'labah and their confederates; the 'Anazah; and the Taymallāt b. Tha'labah and their confederates, the 'Ijl. See al-Ṭabarī, II, 448, tr. Hawting, *The History of al-Ṭabarī, an Annotated Translation*, XX, *The Collapse of Sufyānid Authority and the Coming of the Marwānids*, 25-26; cf. Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, II, 27. The term *lahāzim* is said by the lexicographers to be the plural of *lihzimah*, "mastoid bone, hinge of the jawbone with the skull," the idea of hardness being transferred to the solidity of the tribal alliance. See *Glossarium*, p. CDLXXIII; Ulmann, *WbKAS*, II, Letter *lām*, Pt. 2, 1516-19; *EI*¹, s.v. Taimallāt b. Tha'labā (G. Levi Della Vida).

895. Attached by Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 355, to the clan of 'Ukābah b. Qays, part of Murrah of Shaybān. See Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Table 141, II, 566.

896. *Naqā'id*, II, 645, in part quoted, but with additional verses, in *Aghānī*³, XXIV, 77.

Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' said: When Abū Kalbah's words reached al-A'shā, he commented, "He has spoken truly," and recited verses in extenuation of himself, some of which are:

When a deaf person is linked through a connection with a weak-sighted one, they both wander around distractedly, lost and in distress.

For I am not able to see what he can see, while he is never able to hear my reply.⁸⁹⁷

Al-A'shā recited concerning the day of battle,

There came to us from the Free Ones (*Banū al-Aḥrār*) a word that was not conformable.

They wanted to hack down the tree of our nobility, but we were defending ourselves against serious events.⁸⁹⁸

He also recited to Qays b. Mas'ūd,

O Qays b. Mas'ūd b. Qays b. Khālid, you are a man in whose youthful vigor the whole of Wā'il⁸⁹⁹ places its hopes!

Are you combining in a single year both raiding and journeying abroad? Would that the midwives had drowned Qays [at his birth]!⁹⁰⁰

Al-A'shā of the Banū Rabī'ah said,⁹⁰¹

We stood our ground firmly on the morning of Dhū Qār, when [the enemy] tribes were present there in swarms, having come together to give aid.

They had brought on that occasion a dark-colored [army], an intimidatory host, with closely compacted squadrons of riders, a crushing force,

897. al-A'shā, *Dīwān*, 206, no. 57 vv. 1-2; *Naqā'id*, II, 645.

898. *Dīwān*, 204, no. 56, vv. 5-6; *Naqā'id*, II, 645, with *al-ḥakamā* for *al-ḥuṭamā* at the end of the second verse.

899. That is, Wā'il b. Jadīlah b. Asad b. Rabī'ah, from whom sprang the two great tribes of Bakr and Taghlib. See *EP*², s.v. Rabī'a and Muḍar (H. Kindermann).

900. *Dīwān*, 128, no. 26 vv. 1-2; *Naqā'id*, II, 645-46.

901. That is, A'shā Banī Abī Rabī'ah or A'shā Shaybān, 'Abdallāh b. Khārijah, another of the many poets with this sobriquet, numbered at seventeen by the Arabic literary biographers. This al-A'shā was a poet of al-Kūfah and a staunch adherent of the Marwānids, dying ca. 100/718-19. See Nöldeke, trans. 344 n. 6; *EP*², s.v. al-A'shā (ed.).

For a hateful day of battle, until the moment when the shades of its blackness fell away from us, revealing us as warriors with unsheathed swords.

They thereupon turned their backs on us totally,⁹⁰² and we only had to ward off Nu'mān b. Zur'ah.⁹⁰³

And we drove away the threatening rain-cloud (*'āriḍ*) of the free ones as if going to water, just as the sand grouse (*qaṭā*) alight for water at a desert pool with exiguous water.⁹⁰⁴

Mention of Those Vassal Rulers Set over the Desert Frontier of the Arabs at al-Hīrah as Appointees of the Monarchs of Persia, after 'Amr b. Hind

We have already mentioned previously those members of the house of Naṣr b. Rabī'ah who held this power as vassal rulers on behalf of the monarchs of Persia up to the time of 'Amr b. Hind's death, and the durations of their respective periods of office as vassal rulers. after 'Amr b. Hind up to the time when al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir held power.⁹⁰⁵

The person who exercised this office after 'Amr b. Hind was his [full] brother Qābūs b. al-Mundhir,⁹⁰⁶ whose mother was likewise Hind bt. al-Hārith b. 'Amr; he held power for four years, of which eight months fell in the reign of Anūsharwān and three years and four months in the reign of the latter's son Hurmuz.⁹⁰⁷ After

902. *akta'inā*, also translatable "as if they were completely mutilated," as by Nöldeke, trans. 345.

903. That is, the Taghlibī chief and enemy of the Bakr, who at Khusraw's court advised the course of action that led to the *Yawm Dhī Qār*; see al-Ṭabari, I, 1030, pp. 359-60 above. According to Abū al-Faraj al-Isfahānī, *Aghānī*³, XXIV, 72-73, he escaped from the field of Dhū Qār.

904. *Dīwān*, 281 no. 16 vv. 1-5.

905. See al-Ṭabari, I, 833-34, 845-46, 850-54, 858ff., 899-900. 946, 981, 1016-30, pp. 44, 67, 74-82, 87ff., 161-63, 237, 286, 339-59 above.

906. The appearance of this purely Persian name, an Arabized form of Kāwūs (< Avestan Kawi-Usan, see Nöldeke, 345 n. 4; Justi, *Namenbuch*, 334-46; Mayrhofer, *Die altiranischen Namen*, nos. 208, 210, 323), among the Lakhmids, is an indication of the strength of Persian cultural influence within the dynasty. See further on this, Bosworth, "Iran and the Arabs before Islam," 609ff.

907. On this count, Qābūs would have reigned from 578 or 579 to 582 or 583, since Khusraw Anūsharwān died in 579, but we know that he was ruling a decade or so before then, since he was defeated by the Jafnid/Ghassānid al-Mundhir b. al-

Qābūs b. al-Mundhir there came to power al-Suhraḅ,⁹⁰⁸ then after him the father of al-Nu'mān, al-Mundhir b. al-Mundhir, who held power for four years,⁹⁰⁹ then after him, al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir, Abū Qābūs, for twenty-two years, of which seven years and eight months fell in the reign of Hurmuz, son of Anūsharwān, and fourteen years and four months in the reign of Kisrā Abarwīz, son of Hurmuz.⁹¹⁰ Then there held power Iyās b. Qabiṣah al-Ṭā'ī, together with al-Nakhīrajān, for nine years in the reign of Kisrā, son

Hārith on Ascension Day 570. His four years' reign must have been from 569 or 570 to 573 or 574, i.e., entirely within Anūsharwān's reign, as confirmed by Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rikh*, 94. See Nöldeke, trans. 345 n. 1; Rothstein, *Lahmiden*, 72, 102-106. Rothstein, op. cit., 102, pointed out that what we know of Qābūs's military activities does not confirm Ḥamzah's allegation that he was a weak and ineffectual ruler, and he believed that the contemptuous nickname given to Qābūs of Qaynat al-'Urus (read thus for Ḥamzah's *Fitnat al-'Urus*), "slavegirl who looks after the bride's dwelling and wedding outfit," stemmed from some satirical poetry aimed at him.

908. As Nöldeke said, trans. 340 n. 1, this man with so typical a Persian name can hardly have been a Lakhmid (despite what has been said in n. 906 above about Persian cultural influence within the Lakhmid house, the name of Suhraḅ is totally unattested among them) but must have been a Persian official sent out by Anūsharwān during an interregnum between Qābūs's death and the eventual accession of al-Mundhir IV b. al-Mundhir III. According to Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rikh*, 94, this official (whose name is corruptly written here as *F.y.sh.h.r.t*) administered al-Ḥīrah for one year only. See Rothstein, *Lahmiden*, 106-107.

909. Al-Mundhir IV b. al-Mundhir III (also a full brother of 'Amr and Qābūs, since according to Nöldeke, trans. 346 n. 2, a poet cited in the *Ḥamāsah* of Abū Tammām addresses him as ". . . b. Hind") must in fact have reigned rather more than four years, from ca. 574 to 580. Nöldeke mentioned, 346 n. 1, the apparent reluctance of the Christian 'Ibād of al-Ḥīrah to accept the pagan al-Mundhir as ruler, but Rothstein pointed out that all the Lakhmid rulers with the exception of the last one were pagans, and the fact that al-Mundhir was unable immediately to succeed his brother Qābūs must have had other causes. In the process of al-Mundhir's eventual succession to the throne in al-Ḥīrah, 'Adī's father Zayd b. (?) Ḥammād, Anūsharwān's adviser on Arab affairs, may have played a significant rôle. Al-Mundhir had at one point been involved in fighting with the Jafmids/Ghassānids, but we have no exact details of the circumstances of his death. See Rothstein, *Lahmiden*, 107.

910. Al-Nu'mān III, who is also found with the *kunya*h of Abū al-Mundhir and whose mother was the slavegirl Salmā or Sulmā (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 1017, p. 341 above), reigned 580-602 as the last of the Lakhmid kings in al-Ḥīrah. See Nöldeke, trans. 347 n. 1; Rothstein, *Lahmiden*, 107-19, 142-43. Al-Nu'mān figures frequently in the lives of the poets who frequented his court in the final florescence of Arabic culture at al-Ḥīrah; he was the first and last of his line to become a Nestorian Christian, however nominally, doubtless under the influence of his upbringing in the family circle of 'Adī b. Zayd. See *EP*², s.v. al-Nu'mān (III) b. al-Mundhir (Irfan Shahīd).

of Hurmuz.⁹¹¹ According to what Hishām b. Muḥammad has asserted, one year and eight months from the beginning of Iyās b. Qabiṣah's tenure of power, the Prophet was sent [by God] on his mission.⁹¹² His successor Āzādhbih, son of [Ādhur] Māhān (?), son of Mihrbundādh, from Hamadhān, held power for seventeen years, of which fourteen years and eight months fell within the time of Kistrā, son of Hurmuz; eight months in the time of Shīrūyah, son of Kistrā, one year and seven months in the time of Ardashīr, son of Shīrūyah; and one month in the time of Būrān-dukht, daughter of Kistrā.⁹¹³ Al-Mundhir b. al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir then held power. He is the one whom the Arabs called al-Gharūr ("the one who deludes, deceives") and who was killed in al-Baḥrayn at the battle of Juwāthā; he held power for eight months until Khālid b. al-Walīd marched on al-Ḥīrah and was the last survivor of the house of Naṣr b. Rabī'ah. Their power crumbled with the collapse of the royal power in Persia.⁹¹⁴

911. Iyās's nine years' of governorship was from 602–11, and this was in partnership with the Persian commander Nakhīrjān (on whom, see n. 377 above). Rothstein, *Lahmidien*, 119–20, suggested that this arrangement could have been the prelude to the incorporation of the Lakhmid territories into the Persian empire as one of its provinces.

912. This is almost certainly too early; the Prophet's *mab'ath* or mission is more probably to be placed in 610 (the call to prophethood, *nubuwwah*, and his nonpublic ministry), and then with ca. 613 as the date for the *risālah* or beginning of his public ministry in Mecca. See Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, 59.

913. This means a governorship for Āzādhbih of nineteen years if he held the post till the reign of Būrān or Būrān-dukht (r. 630–31). The reading for his father's name is very uncertain. Marquart suggested [Ādhur] Māhān for a completely undotted consonant skeleton, which would correspond with the name in the Byzantine Greek historians of Adormaanēs, but this was regarded by the editor Nöldeke as not very probable; the text could be *Bān.y.ān* or numerous other possibilities. See *Addenda et emendanda*, p. Dxcv.

914. This later Lakhmid never reigned in al-Ḥīrah but was raised up by the rebels of al-Baḥrayn during the Riddah wars as one of their leaders, doubtless from the prestige of his ancient name and lineage. He is called in the Muslim sources *al-Gharūr*, "the treacherous, deceitful one," but is said to have ruefully called himself, when captured by the Muslims, *al-Maghrūr*, "the deceived one." The accounts of his fate vary: that he was killed at the siege of Juwāthā, the fortress of the 'Abd al-Qays in al-Khaṭṭ (i.e., in al-Baḥrayn); that he was subsequently killed fighting for Musaylimah in al-Yamāmah; and (less probably) that he became a Muslim. See al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 84; al-Tabārī, I, 1737, tr. Ismail K. Poonawala, *The History of al-Tabārī, an Annotated Translation*, IX, *The Last Years of the Prophet*, 95, and I, 1959–61, tr. F. M. Donner, *ibid.*, X, *The Conquest of Arabia*, 136–38; Nöldeke, trans. 348 n. 1, with other information on the ultimate fate of the Lakhmid line, including that in al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, III, 209–12 = §§ 1071–72, cf.

According to what Hishām [b. Muḥammad] has asserted, the total of the rulers of the house of Naṣr plus their deputies from the 'Ibād and the Persians, was twenty rulers. He related: The total number of years during which they held power was 522 years and eight months.⁹¹⁵

*The Story Returns to the Mention of al-Marūzān, Who Governed Yemen on Behalf of Hurmuz and His Son Abarwīz, and His Successors*⁹¹⁶

There was related to me a narrative going back to Hishām b. Muḥammad, who said: Hurmuz, son of Kisrā, dismissed W.y.n (?)⁹¹⁷ from Yemen and appointed in his stead al-Marūzān. The latter remained in Yemen long enough to have children born to him there and for these to grow to puberty.⁹¹⁸ But then the people

Pellat's index, VI, 268, on the encounter of al-Nu'mān's daughter Ḥurqah/Ḥarīqah/Hurayqah with Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ after the Arab victory at al-Qādisiyyah.

Al-Shābushtī, *Kitāb al-diyārāt*, 244–46, mentions the Dayr Hind al-Ṣuḡhrā at al-Ḥirah, which Hind, the daughter of al-Nu'mān, is said to have built and to have stayed there herself as a nun (*mutarāhhibah*) until her death; cf. also the editor Gūrgīs 'Awwād's *dhayl*, 388–90, with information from other sources on the convent and on Hind, and Fiey, *L'Assyrie chrétienne*, III, 215–17. According to the *Anonymus Guidi*, tr. 9, the Catholicos Isthō'yabh II was buried there by Hind when he died. According to the later geographer al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā ista'jam*, II, 604–607, Hind and Ḥurqah/Ḥarīqah/Hurayqah were the same person (Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rikh*, 95, makes them two separate persons and mentions a third daughter, '.n.f.q.y.r [?]), and al-Bakrī quotes Abū al-Faraj [al-Iṣfahānī] that the tribes of both Hind and her father al-Nu'mān were visible, side by side, in the Dayr Hind al-Awwal (= al-Ṣuḡhrā) during the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd (i.e., ca. A.D. 800). Fiey, op. cit., III, 216 n. 4, suggested that Ḥurqah, etc., was this princess's pagan name before the adoption of Christianity by her father and herself. Concerning Khālid's march on al-Ḥirah, see Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, 283–92.

915. Nöldeke, trans. 349 n. 1, basing himself on the figures for each reign in the corrected text of Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī's *Ta'rikh*, found this a remarkably accurate computation.

916. From this point onward, there resumes the story from Ibn al-Kalbī on events in Yemen under Persian rule broken off by al-Ṭabarī at I, 988, p. 294 above, and then on the end of Khusraw Abarwēz's reign and the rule of his successors.

917. See al-Ṭabarī, I, 988, p. 294 above.

918. Such children, born of Persian fathers who were soldiers or officials during the half-century or so of Persian dominance in Yemen, and local Arab mothers, came to form the so-called *Abnā'* or "Sons." The virtual collapse of the Sāsānid empire in 628 left these *Abnā'* and other surviving representatives of Persian power in Yemen remote and isolated from their homeland with virtually no hope of human replenishments or material help from Persia. Hence when Muḥammad was extending his power into the more distant parts of the Arabian peninsula, the

of one of the mountains of Yemen called al-Maṣāni'⁹¹⁹ rebelled against him and refused to hand over to him the land tax. Al-Maṣāni' is a long mountain, difficult of access, with another mountain adjacent to it with a plain that is not very wide lying between them; moreover, no one can possibly conceive in his mind the idea of climbing up to it. Al-Marūzān proceeded to al-Maṣāni', and when he arrived there he perceived that there was no way up to the mountain except via a single way of access which a man could defend single handed.

[1040]

When al-Marūzān saw that there was no way for him to reach it, he climbed up the mountain which faced the people of al-Maṣāni''s fortress, and looked for the narrowest gap between it and the mountain he himself was on, with nothing but empty space stretching down below him. He realized that the only way of taking the fortress was from that point. So he ordered his troops to form themselves into two ranks and then all to shout out to him with one great shout. He spurred on his horse, it galloped on with all its force and then he hurled it forward and it jumped across the chasm, and lo and behold, he was on the top of the fortress. When the Ḥimyarites saw him and what he had done, they exclaimed, "This man is a 'y.m'" — 'y.m' meaning in Ḥimyarite "devil."⁹²⁰ Then he herded them together roughly, spoke to them in Persian and ordered them to place each other in shackles. He brought

Abnā' were inclined to come to terms with the Prophet, with their leader, the governor Bādhān or Bādham (see n. 609 above) recorded as submitting and becoming a Muslim in 10/631. See *Elr*, s.v. Abnā' (C. E. Bosworth); *EP² Suppl.* s.v. Bādham, Bādhān (Bosworth).

919. Literally, "the constructions," in this case, fortifications. According to Nöldeke, trans. 350 n. 1, the Paris ms. of this part of al-Ṭabarī's text has a remark identifying al-Maṣāni' with the mountain al-D.l.' and the town of Kawkabān. The plateau and mountain area of al-Maṣāni' and the Jabal Dila' (this last often mentioned by al-Ḥamdānī, *Ṣifat jazīrat al-'Arab*, 223, 231, 234, etc.) are in fact still known as such and lie to the west-northwest of Ṣan'ā', with the ancient town, now a provincial capital, of Kawkabān located there. See *EP²* s.v. Kawkabān. 4 (A. Grohmann).

920. This mysterious word is not so far attested in South Arabian. Nöldeke, trans. 350 n. 2, cited the lexicographers al-Jawharī and Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī that it meant "a variety of serpent" and adduced Hebr. *'ēmāh*, "something terrifying, frightful." He further suggested that there might be a connection of the word with the 'Emīm, the mythical giants of the land of Moab mentioned in Gen. xiv. 5 and Deut. ii. 10-11; but this is pure speculation, based on what is probably chance resemblance of words.

them all down from their fortress, killing one part of them and enslaving others. He wrote to Kisrā, son of Hurmuz, telling him what he had done. The king marveled at his achievement and wrote back: "Appoint as your deputy whomever you will, and come to me!"

He related: Now al-Marūzān had two sons, one of whom, called Khurrakhusrah, was very fond of Arabic and could recite poetry in it,⁹²¹ while the other was a cavalryman who spoke Persian and lived in the fashion of a *dihqān*. Al-Marūzān now appointed his son Khurrakhusrah—Khurrakhusrah being the dearest to him of his sons—as his deputy over Yemen, and traveled onward until, when he was in some region of the Arab lands, he died. He was then placed in a sarcophagus and this was carried along until it was finally brought to Kisrā. The latter ordered that sarcophagus to be placed in his treasury and caused to be inscribed on it "In this sarcophagus lies so-and-so, who did such-and-such," giving the story of what he did at the two mountains.⁹²² News of Khurrakhusrah's adoption of Arab ways (*ta'arrub*), his relating of Arabic poetry, and his entirely Arab education reached Kisrā, so he dismissed him and appointed as governor Bādhān, who was in fact the last of the Persian governors to be sent out to Yemen.⁹²³

[1041]

Kisrā became puffed up with vainglory because of the vast amount of wealth and all kinds of jewels, utensils, equipment, and horses he had accumulated. He had conquered so many of the lands of his enemies. Events all came together to aid him, and he was granted good fortune in his ventures. However, he was filled with conceit and boastfulness, and was horribly avaricious; he grudged and envied people for their wealth and possessions.⁹²⁴ He appointed a certain man from the local people (*'ilj*,⁹²⁵ i.e., one of

921. An example of the assimilation of the Abnā' to their local environment if, as is possible, Khurrakhusrah had an Arab mother.

922. The story of al-Marūzān's successful attack on al-Maṣāni' and his eventual death and burial is given in Ibn Qutaybah, *'Uyūn al-akhbār*, I, 178–79, on the basis of the author's readings in the "books of the Persians."

923. The date of Bādhān's appointment is unknown, but as noted in n. 918 above, he remained in Yemen till his conversion to Islam in 10/631.

924. Nöldeke, trans. 351 n. 1, gives a balanced assessment of Abarwēz's character and achievements, concluding that "In sum, Khusraw II is to be considered much more a weak than a bad man."

925. See for this term, n. 210 above.

the Nabataean population of Iraq) called Farrukhzādh, son of Sumayy,⁹²⁶ from a a village called Khandaq⁹²⁷ in the *ṭassūj* of Bih-Ardashīr (text, Bahurasīr), to take charge of collecting the arrears of taxation (*al-baqāyā*).⁹²⁸ This latter person imposed on the people all sorts of evil afflictions, ill-treated them and tyrannized them, confiscating their wealth unlawfully on the plea of extracting the arrears of land tax. He thereby rendered them disaffected, their means of life became straitened, and Kisrā and his rule became hateful to them.

There was related to me a narrative going back to Hishām b. Muḥammad, who said: This Kisrā Abarwīz had accumulated more wealth than any other monarch. His riders reached as far as Constantinople and Ifrīqiyah.⁹²⁹ He spent the winter in al-Madā'in and the summer in the region between al-Madā'in and Hamadhān.⁹³⁰ It was said that he had twelve thousand women and slave-girls, 999 elephants, and fifty thousand riding beasts comprising finely bred horses, horses of lesser breed, and mules. He was the most avaricious of mankind regarding jewels, vessels, and the like. Another source, not Hishām, has stated that he had in his palace three thousand women with whom he had sexual relations and thousands of slave girls employed as servants, for

926. Nöldeke, trans. 352 n. 1, implied—as seems reasonable in regard to an Aramaic-speaking "Nabataean" of Iraq—that Sumayy was a Semitic name, adducing the name of the Jewish prophet S.m.y who met Zoroaster at Balkh, according to al-Ṭabarī, I, 681, tr. M. Perlmann. *The History of al-Ṭabarī, an Annotated Translation*, IV, *The Ancient Kingdoms*, 76–77.

927. Literally, "trench, ditch," a place that cannot be identified exactly but which, if it was in the vicinity of Bih-Ardashīr or Seleucia, lay to the west of al-Madā'in (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 819, p. 15 and the references in n. 58 above).

928. On this fiscal and administrative term, see n. 253 above.

929. In early Islamic geographical usage, this region (< Latin Africa, perhaps from the Afri, an indigenous people of the region, or the later Punic-Cartaginian ethnic mixture there, see *Et*², s.v. Ifrīqiya (M. Talbi), corresponded to modern Tunisia, but is doubtless used in this context in a looser, wider sense of "North Africa" in general. These far-flung raids of Khusraw's are, in any case, pure legend.

930. That is, in that part of the Zagros chain which now forms southern Kurdistan. As Nöldeke noted, trans 353 n. 1, it was ancient practice for rulers, from Achaemenid times onward, to spend the winter on the Mesopotamian plain but to move up to the drier, less torrid Iranian plateau for the summer. It was actually Hamadhān which, some four or five centuries later, the Seljuq sultans preferred as their usual capital, only visiting Baghdad occasionally and normally leaving a *shihnah*, a military governor, there.

music making and singing, and such. He also had three thousand male servants at his hand, eighty-five hundred riding beasts on which he could travel, 760 elephants, and twelve thousand mules for conveying his baggage.⁹³¹ He gave orders for the building of fire temples and appointed for them twelve thousand hērbadh for chanting the Zoroastrian religious formulae (*li-al-zamzamah*).⁹³²

[1042]

In the eighteenth year of his reign,⁹³³ Kistrā ordered the sums collected as land tax from his territories and its associated taxes (*tawābi'*) and other sources of income, to be counted up. It was reported back to him that the amount of silver coinage (*al-wariq*)⁹³⁴ collected from the land tax and other sources of income in that year was 420 million mithqāls [in weight], which, on the basis of seven mithqāls [in weight equaling ten dirhams], is the amount corresponding to six hundred million dirhams (i.e., silver coins). He ordered all this to be transferred to a treasury he had built at the city of Ctesiphon and had called Bahār ḥ.f.r.d (?) Khusraw, together with other sums of money he possessed, comprising coinage of Fayrūz, son of Yazdajird, and Qubādh, son of Fayrūz, amounting to twelve thousand purses (*badrah*), each purse containing four thousand mithqāls in coinage,⁹³⁵ the whole

931. Substantially the same figures in Ḥamzah al-ʿIṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 53, but with an increased figure of six thousand guards (*ḥaras*).

932. *zamzamah*, "humming, mumbling," was the term applied by the Arabs to the liturgical chanting of the Zoroastrian priests and religious scholars or hērbeds. Nöldeke, trans. 353 n. 3, gave the MP and Syriac terms for this chanting, *wāz* and *reṭnā* respectively, and noted such still-surviving memorials of Khusraw Abarwēz's palace building as the Ṭāq/Aywān-i Kistrā (see n. 666 above). More precisely, so Mr F. C. de Blois points out, *wāz*, and perhaps *zamzamah*, refers to the Zoroastrian practice of speaking in a subdued voice while eating.

On the Zoroastrian clergy in general, see Nöldeke, trans. 450–52, Excursus 3, and on the hērbēd specifically—hērbēd being the oldest religious title attested from the Sāsānid period, as being that of Kerdēr, see n. 122 above—see Chaumont, "Recherches sur le clergé zoroastrien. Le Hērbad," 55–80.

933. This would be the year 607–608.

934. Nöldeke, trans. 354 n. 2, detailed and discussed the information in al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 464, from Ibn al-Muqaffa' on the collecting of sources of revenue in the Persian empire and adduces the continuity of practice as shown, e.g., in the travel narrative of the Huguenot Sir John Chardin in seventeenth-century Ṣafawid Persia.

935. Conventionally, a *badrah* in early Islamic times contained ten thousand dirhams, but on the equivalence of seven mithqāls in weight equaling ten dirhams, these Sāsānid purses contained 5,720 dirhams. See for the mithqāl, n. 836 above, and for *wariq* = "silver coinage," *Et*² s.v. *Wariq* (M.L. Bates)

of this totaling forty-eight million mithqāls, the equivalent according to the proportion seven [to ten] of 68,571,42[8] plus a half and a third of an eighth of a dirham. In addition, there were various kinds of jewels, garments, and the like, whose grand total God alone could enumerate.

[1043] Kisrā treated people with contempt and regarded them with scorn in a manner no righteous and discerning monarch should adopt. His insolent pride and lack of respect for God reached the point that he gave orders to the man in charge of his personal guard at court, called Zādhān Farrūkh,⁹³⁶ that he should kill every person held captive in any of his prisons; these persons were counted up, and their number reached thirty-six thousand. However, Zādhān Farrūkh did not take any steps to kill them but gave instructions for a delay in implementing Kisrā's command regarding them, adducing various reasons, which he enumerated to Kisrā. Kisrā incurred for himself the hatred of the subjects of his kingdom for various reasons. First, his contemptuous treatment of them and his belittling of the great men of state. Second, his giving the barbarian (*al-'ilj*) Farrukhānzādh, son of Sumayy, power over them. Third, his command that all the prisoners should be slain. Fourth, his intention to put to death the troops returning from their defeat at the hands of Hiraql (Heraclius) and the Byzantines. Hence a group of the great men of state went to 'Aqr Bābil,⁹³⁷ where were Shīrūyah (text, "Shīri"), son of Abarwīz, and his brothers, and where the king had appointed tutors to educate them. [He had also appointed] cavalry guards (*asāwirah*) to prevent them leaving that place. They now brought out Shīrūyah and

936. A Persian financial official, Zādhān-farrukh, with the nickname of "the one-eyed one," later figures in the Islamic historians' accounts of the *naql al-dīwān* in Iraq, i.e., the change from Persian to Arabic as the administrative language of the finance department, effected by the caliph 'Abd al-Malik's governor of Iraq and the East, al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf al-Thaqafī. See, e.g., al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 300-301; al-Jahshiyārī, *Kitāb al-wuzarā' wa-al-kuttāb*, 38-39; M. Sprengling, "From Persian to Arabic," 185-90, 194-97. Of course, this Zādhān-farrukh lived some three generations after Khusraw's commander of the guard, and it is unknown whether there was any family connection between the two men. On the name Zādhān-farrukh "the fortunate one," see Justi, *Namenbuch*, 377.

937. The ruins of "the palace" ('*aqr*) of Babel lay just to the north of the later Islamic town of al-Ḥillah and slightly to the east of the Sūrā canal. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 72; Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 150.

entered the town of Bih Ardashīr (text, "Bahurasīr") by night. They released all those in the prisons there, and these freed captives were joined by the fugitive troops whom Kistrā had intended to put to death. They all shouted, "Qubādh (i.e., Shīrūyah) for supreme ruler (*shāhanshāh*)!" The next morning they proceeded to the open space before Kistrā[’s palace]. His palace guards took to their heels, and Kistrā himself fled, in great terror, unaccompanied by anyone, to one of the gardens adjacent to his palace called the Bāgh al-Hinduwān. But he was sought out and then apprehended on the day Ādhar of the month Ādhar,⁹³⁸ and imprisoned in the palace of government (*dār al-mamlakah*). Shīrūyah entered that palace, and the leading figures gathered round him and proclaimed him king. He sent a message to his father bitterly upbraiding him for his conduct.⁹³⁹

[1044]

There was related to me a narrative going back to Hishām b. Muḥammad, who said: Kistrā Abarwīz had eighteen sons, the eldest of whom was Shahriyār, whom Shīrīn had adopted as a son. The astrologers told Kistrā, "One of your sons will himself have a son, at whose hands this throne will come to ruin and this kingdom be destroyed. The distinguishing sign of this son will be a defect in a certain part of his body." For that reason, Kistrā thereupon kept his sons separated from all women, and they remained for a long time with no access to a woman. At last, Shahriyār complained to Shīrīn about this, sending to her a message in which he complained about his lust for women and asked her to provide him with a woman. If he could have no woman, he would kill himself. She sent a message back to him: "I can't manage to get women into your presence, except a woman of no consequence who wouldn't be suitable for you to touch." He replied, "I don't care who she is, as long as she is a woman!" So she sent to him a

938. Nöldeke, trans. 357 n. 3, noted that in Khusraw's rejoinder to Shērōy's charges against him, the previous day, Day [ba Ādhar], is named, and that this date would correspond to 25 February 628. He further noted, *ibid.*, 357 n. 2, cf. 381 n. 3, that Armenian historians, among others, mention that it had been prophesied to Khusraw that he would die in India, and this duly occurred in the "house of the Indians."

939. The Christian Greek, Syriac, and Armenian sources on the palace revolution that overthrew Khusraw and brought Shīrūyah to power are discussed at length in Nöldeke, trans. 357 n. 4, to which can now be added the *Anonymus Guidi*, tr. 29-30.

maiden whom she was wont to employ for being cupped. According to what is asserted, this maiden was the daughter of one of the Persian nobles, but Shīrīn had become angry with her for some reason or another and had consigned her to the ranks of the cuppers.⁹⁴⁰ When Shīrīn introduced the maiden into Shahriyār's presence, he immediately leapt on her, and she became pregnant with Yazdajird. Shīrīn gave orders regarding her, and she was kept carefully confined until she gave birth. The fact of the child's birth was kept secret for five years.

At that point, Shīrīn noticed that Kisrā had acquired a tenderness toward young children, at this time when he was growing old, so she said to him, "O king, would it gladden your heart to see a child of one of your own sons, even though this might entail something untoward?" He replied, "[Yes,] I don't care [what might happen]." She gave commands for Yazdajird to be perfumed and decked out with fine clothes, and she had him brought into Kisrā's presence, saying, "This is Yazdajird, son of Shahriyār!" Kisrā summoned him, clasped him to his breast, kissed him, yearned toward him, and displayed great affection for him; and from then onward he kept Yazdajird close to him. One day, the boy was playing in his presence when he remembered what had been foretold, so he summoned him, had his clothes taken off, inspected him from the front and the back, and perceived clearly the defect (or, "the defect was clearly apparent," *istabāna al-naqṣ*) in one of his hips. He was now filled with anger and distress, and dragged the boy off in order to dash him to the ground. But Shīrīn clung to him and besought Kisrā by God not to kill him, telling Kisrā, "If this is something that is going to befall this state, then there is no possibility of changing it." He replied. "This boy is the agent of ill-fortune about whom I was informed (i.e., by the astrologers), so get rid of him. I don't want ever to see him again!" Shīrīn therefore gave orders for the boy to be sent to Sijistān; but others say that, on the contrary, he was in the Sawād with his guardians at a village called Khumāniyah.⁹⁴¹

[1045]

940. On Shīrīn, see n. 729 above. In Islamic times at least, phlebotomy, the function of the cupper, was regarded as particularly menial and degrading, doubtless from the fact that such bodily services were usually performed by slaves. See *IE² Suppl.*, s.v. Faṣṣād, Ḥadjdjam (M. A. J. Beg).

941. The story of Yazdagird's birth and upbringing is doubtless a popular tale

The Persians rose up against Kistrā and killed him, aided by his son Shīrūyah, son of Maryam, the Byzantine woman (al-Rūmiyyah).⁹⁴² The duration of his (i.e., Kistrā's) power was thirty-eight years.⁹⁴³ After the elapsing of thirty-two years, five months, and fifteen days of his rule, there took place the Prophet's migration from Mecca to Medina.⁹⁴⁴

[Qubādh II Shīrūyah]

After him there succeeded to the royal power Shīrūyah,⁹⁴⁵ whose [regnal] name was Qubādh (II).

He was the son of [Kistrā II] Abarwīz, son of Hurmuz (IV), son of Kistrā (I) Anūsharwān. It has been mentioned that the great men of state from the Persians came into Shīrūyah's presence when he had become king and after he had imprisoned his father, and said to him, "It is not fitting that we should have two kings: either you kill Kistrā, and we will be your faithful and obedient servants, or we shall depose you and give our obedience to him just as we

[1046]

that endeavored to account for the eventual disaster that overtook Yazdagird III, the last of his line to rule in Persia, and the Sāsānid dynasty as a whole.

Khumāniyah must be the Humāniyyah or Humayniyyah on the west bank of the Tigris below al-Madā'in and just below the confluence of that river and the Kūthā canal, a place which later became of some importance in early 'Abbāsīd times. See Nöldeke, "Zur orientalischen Geographie," 94 n. 1; Le Strange, *Lands*, 37.

942. See on the question of Maryam al-Rūmiyyah and the historicity or otherwise of her marriage with Khusraw Abarwēz, al-Ṭabarī, I, 999, p. 312 and n. 729 above.

943. From the beginning of his first reign, Khusraw II Abarwēz ruled for thirty-eight years, 590–628. His name appears on his coins as HWSRW. See on his coins Paruck, *Sāsānian Coins*, 67–68, 386–90, 484–91, Plates XX–XXI, Tables XXVIII–XXX; Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, 53–54, Table XII, Plate 13; Sellwood, Whitting, and Williams, *An Introduction to Sasanian Coins*, 21, 152–58; Malek, "A Survey of Research on Sasanian Numismatics," 237–38.

The Arabic sources on his reign include Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 665; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 190–96; al-Dinawarī, *al-Akhbār al-tiwāl*, 84–107; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 214–32 = §§ 634–53; idem, *Tanbīh*, 39, 102, 155–56, tr. 62–63, 146, 213–16; Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rikh*, 53; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 472–81, 492–94. Of Persian sources, see Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, trans. II, 274–301, 304–309, 325–32. Of modern studies, see Christensen, *Sasanides*, 448–96; Frye, *The Heritage of Persia*, 234–35, 239; idem, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 164–70, 178.

944. This is very accurate, given that the Hijrah took place in Rabī' I of the year 1/September 622.

945. Properly Shērōy < shēr "lion," with a hypocoristic ending of a type familiar in MP and NP and Arabized as -awayh(i). See on this ending Nöldeke, "Persische Studien. I. Persische Koseformen," 388–423. On the name Shērōy/Shīrūyah in general, see Nöldeke, trans. 361 n. 2; Justi, *Namenbuch*, 297.

always did before you secured the royal power." These words struck fear into Shīrūyah's heart and crushed him. He ordered Kistrā to be transported from the palace of government to the house of a man called Mārasfand.⁹⁴⁶ Kistrā was set on a common nag, with his head covered, and conveyed to that house escorted by a detachment of troops. On the way, they brought him past a shoemaker who was sitting in a booth that led out on to the road. When the shoemaker saw the detachment of cavalry troops escorting a single rider with a muffled head, he realized that the covered-up figure was Kistrā and he struck at him with a shoemaker's last. One of the troops escorting Kistrā turned on the shoemaker, unsheathed his sword, cut off the shoemaker's head, and then rejoined his comrades.⁹⁴⁷

When Kistrā was installed in Mārasfand's house, Shīrūyah assembled together all the great men of state and the members of leading families who were at court and addressed them: "We have thought fit, in the first place to send an envoy to our father the king setting forth all his evil actions in his government and drawing his attention to various aspects of these." Then he sent for a man from Ardashīr Khurrah, who was called Asfādh Jushnas and who, because of his position as head of the [royal] secretaries,⁹⁴⁸ was in charge of governing the kingdom. Shīrūyah said to him, "Off you go to our father the king and tell him in our name that we have not been the cause of the unhappy state into which he has fallen, nor is any member of the subject population responsible, but God has condemned you to His divine retribution in return for your evil conduct. [First,] your crime against your father Hurmuz, your violence toward him, depriving him of the royal power, blinding his eyes, killing him in a most horrible fashion, and all the great burden of guilt you have brought upon yourself by injur-

946. Al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 107, has for this name *H.r.s.f.t.h.*

947. Nöldeke, trans. 362 n. 2, noted that, in Firdawsī, the shoemaker often serves as the outspoken representative of the masses, sometimes with comic touches; even so, he is not allowed here to mock and slight the fallen monarch.

948. Correcting the text's *ra'īs al-katībah* (which would mean something like "head of the cavalry of the military host"; *katībah* = "detachment of cavalry") in the light of the parallel passage in al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 107, who has *ra'īs kuttāb al-rasā'il* "head of the secretaries responsible for official correspondence." Cf. also Nöldeke, trans. 362 n. 3.

ing him. [Second,] your bad treatment of us, your sons, by keeping us from all access to and participation in good things, and from everything which would have brought us ease of life, enjoyment, and happiness. [Third,] your bad treatment of those whom you condemned to perpetual imprisonment, to the point that they suffered hardship from extreme deprivation, wretched living conditions and food, and separation from their homelands, wives, and children. [Fourth,] your lack of consideration for the women whom you appropriated for yourself; your failure to show them any love or affection and to send them back to live with those men by whom they already had children and progeny; and your keeping them confined in your palace against their wills.⁹⁴⁹ [Fifth,] what you have inflicted on your subjects generally in levying the land tax and in treating them with harshness and violence. [Sixth,] your amassing a great amount of wealth, which you exacted from the people with great brutality so that you drove them to consider your rule hateful and thereby brought them into affliction and deprivation. [Seventh,] your stationing the troops for long periods along the frontiers with the Byzantines and on other frontiers, thereby separating them from their families.⁹⁵⁰ [Eighth,] your treacherous behavior toward Mawriq (Maurice), the king of the Byzantines and your ingratitude for his praiseworthy actions on your behalf, in that he sought refuge with you, exerted himself laudably for you, protected you from the malevolence of your enemies, and increased the fame of your name by giving to you in marriage the noblest and most precious in his sight of his daughters. Moreover, you regarded your rightful obligations to him lightly and refused to grant his request of you regarding the return of the wooden [True] Cross, to which neither you nor any of your fellow countrymen had any entitlement or need.⁹⁵¹ You know

949. Nöldeke, trans. 364 n. 2, noted that this complaint about the seizure of married women for the ruler's harem has the ring of authenticity.

950. For this complaint, in early Islamic times technically known as *tajmīr*, see n. 151 above.

951. When Shērōy brought the lengthy war with Heraclius to an end, the return of the True Cross to Jerusalem was one of the provisions of the peace treaty. The Byzantine emperor brought it back to the Holy City personally, but the date of his visit is notoriously difficult to ascertain and has been much discussed. The restoration of the Cross was subsequently celebrated on 14 September 629, but the city

this well [now]. If you have explanations or exculpations to adduce to us and to the subjects, then bring them forward; if you don't have any, then show your contrition swiftly to God and return to Him, until we announce our intentions concerning you."⁹⁵²

Asfādh Jushnas committed to his mind this message to Kisrā from Shīrūyah and set off from Shīrūyah's court in order to convey it to him. When he reached the place where Kisrā was imprisoned, he found a man called Jīlinūs (Jālinūs), the commander of the guard who had been entrusted with keeping ward over Kisrā, seated there.⁹⁵³ He held conversation with Jīlinūs for a while, and then Asfādh Jushnas asked him for permission to go into Kisrā in order to deliver a message from Shīrūyah. Jīlinūs went back and drew the curtain that veiled access to Kisrā, went into his presence, and said to him, "May God grant you long life!"⁹⁵⁴ Asfādh Jushnas is at the gate, has recounted that the king Shīrūyah has sent him to you with a message, and now seeks an audience with you. So decide according to your will what you wish to do." Kisrā

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was, according to some authorities, recaptured in a March, probably March 630. See Nöldeke, trans. 365 n. 2, 392 n. 1; Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene*, II, 244–45; N. H. Baynes, "The Restoration of the Cross at Jerusalem," 287–99; Schick, *The Christian Communities of Palestine from Byzantine to Islamic Rule*, 50.

952. Nöldeke, trans. 363 n. 1, regarded this denunciation and Khusraw's rejoinder, with their fullest extant texts given here by al-Ṭabarī, as artistic renderings of an exchange of complaints and justifications composed by someone close to the actual events yet writing after the deaths of Khusraw, Shērōy, and the latter's son Ardashīr during the reign of Khusraw's grandson Yazdagird III, when the Sāsānid house was still reigning in Persia. Al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 196, has only a brief reference to Shērōy's *risālah ghalīzah*, "harsh letter," but al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 107–10, has quite a lengthy version.

953. Jālinūs or Jālinūs (whose name looks Greek rather than Persian, possibly he was a Christian and had adopted a Christian name in addition to an unknown, purely Persian one) is described by al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 107, as *ra'īs al-jund al-mustamītah*, "commander of the troops who seek death," the ruler's personal guard (in Middle Persian, the *gyān-ablespārān*, "those who sacrifice their lives"). He was later to be a leading general of the Persian troops combating the Arab invaders of Iraq and fell at al-Qādisiyyah. See al-Balādhuri, *Futūh*, 258, 260; al-Ṭabarī, I, 2169–72, 2174, etc., tr. Khalid Yahya Blankenship, *The History of al-Ṭabarī, an Annotated Translation*, XI, *The Challenge to the Empires*, 183–86, 188, etc., and I, 2357, tr. Yohanan Friedmann, *ibid.*, XII, *The Battle of al-Qādisiyyah and the Conquest of Syria and Palestine*, 141; Nöldeke, trans. 365 n. 2.

954. As Nöldeke noted, trans. 366 n. 2, the imprisoned Khusraw Abarwēz is treated throughout as a monarch, with the correct etiquette of address observed, so that Jālinūs addresses him with the formula *anōšag buwād!* "may he be immortal!"

smiled and said in a joking manner, "O Jīlinūs, son of Asfādh (*Jīlinūs Asfādhān*), what you say is contrary to what intelligent persons say. For if it is the case that the message you have mentioned is from the king Shīrūyah, then, in the face of his royal power, it is not for us to grant permission to enter. If we do have authority for granting permission to enter or to exclude, then Shīrūyah is not king. But the relevant aphorism here is what is said, 'God wills a thing, and it is; the king commands a thing, and it is put into execution.'⁹⁵⁵ So let Asfādh Jushnas enter and deliver the message he bears."

When Jīlinūs heard this speech, he went out from Kisrā's presence, took Asfādh Jushnas's hand, and said to him, "Arise, and come into Kisrā's presence, in a correct manner." Asfādh Jushnas accordingly stood up, called for one of the attendants accompanying him, and handed him the robe he [ordinarily] wore, pulled out a clean, white cloth from his sleeve and used it to wipe his face.⁹⁵⁶ Then he went into Kisrā's presence. When he came face to face with him, he fell down before him in prostration. Kisrā ordered him to get up. Hence he arose and did obeisance before Kisrā. Kisrā was seated on three Khusrawānī rugs woven with gold, which had been laid on a silken carpet, and he was lolling back on three cushions likewise woven with gold. In his hand he had a yellow, well-rounded quince. When he noticed Asfādh Jushnas, he sat up in a cross-legged position and placed the quince on the place where he had been sitting. Because it was perfectly round and because of the smoothness of the cushion on the seat, plumped out with its stuffing, it rolled down from the topmost of the three cushions on to the upper one of the three rugs, then from the rug to the carpet, finally rolling off the carpet to the ground, where it rolled some distance, becoming covered with dirt. Asfādh Jushnas

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955. Echoing frequent Qur'anic phraseology, e.g., in XXXVI, 82; XL, 70/68.

956. The text has *shushtaqaḥ* for this cloth. The *Glossarium*, p. CCCXI, has *shustaqaḥ* and adduces the commentary to Abū Dulaf al-Khazraji's *Qaṣīdah sāsāniyyah* as given in al-Tha'ālibī's *Yatīmat al-dahr*; but the word here should be read as *suftajahu* "his financial draft." See Bosworth, *The Mediaeval Islamic Underworld, The Banū Sāsān in Arabic Society and Literature*, II, *The Arabic Jargon Texts*, Arabic text 7, comm. v. 34, tr. 193. In any case, it seems that the action here is not that of wiping the face clean but of placing the *panḍamah* over the mouth to prevent pollution of a sacred object, in this case, the king's person. See Nöldeke, trans. 367 n. 1, and n. 892 above.

picked it up and rubbed it with his sleeve, moving forward to present it to Kistrā. But the latter gestured to Asfādh Jushnas to keep it away from him, and told him, "Take it away from me!" So Asfādh Jushnas laid it on the ground at the carpet's edge, fell back, stood in his old place, and did obeisance before Kistrā by putting his hand on his breast. Kistrā lowered his head and then uttered the aphorism appropriate to the incident: "When one encounters adversity, there is no means or device (*hīlah*) for making things go forward again, and when things do go well, there is no means or device which is able to reverse them. These two things happen in turn, but means and devices are lacking in both cases." Then he said to Asfādh Jushnas, "Thus this quince has rolled down and fallen where it did, and become smeared with dirt. It is for us an announcement, as it were, of the message you have been charged with bringing, what you are going to do with it, and its results. For indeed, the quince, which denotes what is good, fell from the heights to the depths; it did not stay on the coverings of our seat but speedily fell to the ground, ending up far away and covered in dirt.⁹⁵⁷ All this happening indicates a bad omen, that the glory of the monarchs has passed into the hands of the common masses, that we have been deprived of royal power, and that it will not remain long in the hands of our successors before it passes to persons who are not of royal stock (*min ahl al-mamlakah*). Now get on with it, and speak about the message you have been charged with delivering and the words with which you have been provided!" Asfādh Jushnas then began to retail the message Shīrūyah had charged him to deliver, not leaving out a single word and getting the sequence of its phrases exactly right.

Kistrā made the following answer to that message: Convey back to Shīrūyah, the short-lived one,⁹⁵⁸ [the message] from me that it

957. It appears from this that the quince was regarded by the Persians as an emblem of good fortune (perhaps not uninfluenced by the closeness in form of *bih*, "good," and *bihī*, "quince" = the Arabic *safarjalāh* used here in al-Ṭabarī's text); cf. *Glossarium*, p. CCXCII. The significance of the quince subsequently became the focus of a minor academic controversy among German orientalists; see the details in Muth, *Die Annalen von aṭ-Ṭabarī im Spiegel der europäischen Bearbeitungen*, 58–59.

958. Prophetic of Shērōy's brief period of power and his early death through epidemic disease or, according to one report, by poisoning, see al-Ṭabarī, I, 1061, p. 399, and n. 984 below.

is not fitting for an intelligent person that he should spread around about anyone [tales of] venial sins and minor misdeeds without having thoroughly convinced himself of their truth and being completely certain in his own mind about them, let alone the gross sins and crimes that you have spread around and published abroad, and that you have imputed to us and laid at our door. Moreover, the person who can best repel with contumely a sinner and condemn the perpetrator of a crime is the one who has kept himself free from all sins and crimes. O man who will be short reigned, O man of little understanding, even if we were guilty of what you have imputed to us, it is unfitting that you should spread it abroad and upbraid us. For if you do not recognize the defects you yourself possess, since you have spread them around concerning us as you have done, you should be fully aware of your own defects. So cut short your blaming us and finding fault with us, since your ill-chosen speech only increases the public awareness of your own ignorance and lack of judgment.

O one devoid of reason, deficient in knowledge! If there is any real basis for your efforts in showing us up publicly as guilty of sins which deserve death for us and you have some real proof for it, then [you should remember that] the judges among your own religious community (i.e., the Zoroastrian one) prevent the son of a man who has merited death from assuming his father's position and keep him from contact with the best people, from sitting with them and from mingling with them, except in a small number of places, much less making him king. Furthermore, we have attained—praise be to God and [thanks for] His beneficence!—through our upright behavior and intentions and in our relationship with God, with the adherents of our religious community and faith, and with the whole group of our sons, a position in which we have in no way fallen short nor deserved any proof of guilt or any reproach. We shall explain the situation regarding the sins you have imputed to us and the crimes you have laid at our door, without any attempt on our part to diminish anything in the arguments we have put forward and the proofs we have adduced, if only so that you might acquire fuller knowledge of your own lack of judgment, absence of reason and the evil nature of your actions.

[First,] regarding what you have mentioned in regard to our father Hurmuz, our rejoinder here is that evil and malevolent per-

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sons had incited him against us, to the point that he grew suspicious of us and was carried away by hatred and rancor against us. We perceived his revulsion from us and his bad opinion of us, and we accordingly became fearful of remaining in his proximity, so removed ourself from his court out of fear from him and made our way to Azerbaijan. By that time, the royal power had become dissolved and split apart, as is well known. As soon as we received news of what had happened to him, we set out from Azerbaijan for his court. But the false-hearted (*munāfiq*) Bahrām [Chūbīn] assailed us with a great army of rebels, whose conduct merited death, threw off his obedience, and drove us out of the kingdom. We sought asylum in the land of the Byzantines, and came back from there with troops and war materials, and made war on him. As a result, he fled before us and ended up in the land of the Turks, with destruction and perdition, as has been generally known among people.

Finally, when we had achieved firm control of the realm and our authority was made firm and, with the help of God, we had dispelled for our subjects all the afflictions and calamities, on the brink of which they had been, we then said [to ourselves], "One of the best courses of action with which we can inaugurate our ruling policy and begin our royal power is to take vengeance for our father, to secure requital for him and to kill all those involved in [shedding] his blood." Then, when we had firmly accomplished all our intentions regarding that and had attained what we were aiming at, we turned our attention to other aspects of the governance of the kingdom. So we put to death everyone who had a share in [shedding] his blood or who had schemed and plotted against him.

[Second,] regarding what you have mentioned concerning our sons, our rebuttal here is that all the sons whom we brought into the world, with the exception of those whom God chose to take back unto Himself, were perfectly sound in the limbs of their bodies. But we appointed for you guards and restrained you from getting mixed up in things that did not concern you, out of a desire to prevent you from doing harm to the land and the subjects. So we established for you ample means for your living expenses, such as for your clothing, for your riding mounts, and for everything you needed, as you well know. In respect to you (i.e., Shirūyah) in particular, the story is that the astrologers had decreed from your

horoscope (*kitāb mawlidika*) that you would bring evil upon us, or that evil would happen through your agency. Nevertheless, we did not order you to be put to death but put a seal on the document indicating your horoscope and handed it over to our consort Shīrīn's keeping. In confirmation of the fact that we placed full credence in that document with the indication [of the horoscope], it happened that Furumīshā, king of India, wrote to us in the thirty-sixth year of our reign, having sent a delegation of his subjects to us.⁹⁵⁹ He wrote about all sorts of things and sent to us and to you, the ensemble of our sons, presents, together with a letter to each one of you. His presents to you—you will recall them!—comprised an elephant, a sword, a white falcon, and a brocade coat woven with gold. When we looked at the presents he had sent you, we found that he had written on his letter to you, in the Indian language, "Keep the contents of this secret." We then gave orders that all the presents or letters he had sent to each of you should be passed on to you all, and we [merely] kept back his letter to you because of its superscription. We sent for an Indian scribe and ordered the letter's seal to be broken and its contents to be read out. There was written there, 'Rejoice, be refreshed in spirit and be happy in mind, for you will be crowned on the day Day ba-Ādhar in the month of Ādhar of the thirty-eighth year of Kisrā's reign⁹⁶⁰ and be hailed as holder of his royal power and ruler of his lands.' We were convinced that you would only attain to royal power through our own destruction and perdition, yet despite being certain about this, we did not make any reduction in the living allowances, subsidies, presents, and such, previously assigned to you, let alone order you to be put to death. We resealed

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959. As correctly conjectured by Nöldeke, trans. 371 n. 1, this name reflects that of a leading king of the early mediaeval northern Deccan, but to be rendered as Pulakesin II (r. ca. 609–42), from the Chālukya dynasty. It would thus have been perfectly possible for Khusraw Abarwēz to have received a delegation from this ruler in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, i.e., 626. See A. L. Basham, *The Wonder That Was India. A Survey of the Culture of the Indian Sub-Continent before the Coming of the Muslims*, 74–75; R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, III, *The Classical Age*, 234–41. An alternative interpretation of this name was suggested, however, by von Gutschmid, "Bemerkungen zu Tabari's Sasanidengeschichte," 746: that it represents the common Indian royal title *Paramēsa* "supreme lord."

960. See al-Ṭabarī, I, 1043, p. 379 and n. 938 above.

Furumishā's letter with our own seal and entrusted it to our consort Shīrīn, who is still alive and sound in mind and body. If you wish to retrieve from her the indications of your horoscope and Furumishā's letter to you and read them both in order to bring home to you your contrition and loss, then do it!

[Third,] in regard to what you have mentioned concerning the condition of those condemned to perpetual imprisonment, we say in justification that the ancient kings, from the time of Jayūmart (Kayūmarth) till the reign of Bishtāsb,⁹⁶¹ used to conduct their royal power by means of justice, and then continuously from the time of Bishtāsb till we ourselves assumed power, they conducted it by means of justice combined with religious piety. Now, since you are so devoid of reason, knowledge, and education, ask the authorities (*ḥamalah*) in religion, the basic supports (literally, "tent pegs," *awtād*) of this religious community, about the position of those who rebel against and disobey the kings, who break their oaths, and those who have merited death for their sins, and they will tell you that they do not deserve to be shown mercy or forgiveness. Know that, despite all this, we have only condemned to perpetual imprisonment in our gaols those who, if an equitable judgment were to be made, have merited being killed or blinded or having a hand or leg or some other limb cut off. How often have those appointed to guard them, or various of our ministers, mentioned the well-deserved fate of those who merit execution and have said, "Kill them speedily, before they find ways and means of killing you!" Yet, because of our wish to spare lives and our dislike of shedding blood, we acted slowly and deliberately with them and left them to God, and we used not to go further in punishing them beyond the imprisonment to which we limited ourselves in inflicting, beyond depriving them of eating meat, drinking wine, and enjoying the fragrance of aromatic herbs. In none of these things that were withheld were we going beyond what is in the precepts of the religious community in regard to keeping those who have merited death from enjoying the pleasures of life and easy circum-

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961. That is, from the time of Gayōmard (thus the MP form), the first man, to that of Gushtāsp (Avestan Wištāspa-, MP Wishtāsp), son of Luhrāsp, in whose reign Zoroaster is supposed to have arisen. See Yarshater, "Iranian Common Beliefs and World View," 352-53; idem, "Iranian National History," 376-77, 466-69.

stances. [On the contrary,] we used to allot for them the food, drink, and other necessities for keeping them in good health, and we used not to keep them from access to their womenfolk and from the possibility of contact for siring children and producing progeny while they were imprisoned. Now the news has reached us that you have decided to set free these evil doers and evil wishers who merit execution and to give orders for demolishing their gaol. If you do release them, you will sin against God your Lord, bring down harm upon yourself, and inflict injury on your own faith and the injunctions and legal prescriptions contained in it, which deny mercy and forgiveness for those who deserve execution. In addition to this, [there is the fact] that the enemies of kings never love kingly power, and those who rebel against kings never furnish them obedience. The wise men have given the warning, "Don't hold back from punishing those who have merited punishment, for such hesitation entails an impairment of justice and harmful effects on the governance of the kingdom." Although it may give you a certain feeling of joy when you set free those evil doers, evil wishers, and rebels who deserve execution, you will certainly experience the [baleful] result of that in your conduct of government and the introduction of the severest harm and calamitousness for the people of your religious community.

[1055]

[Fifth,]⁹⁶² regarding your allegations that we have only acquired, gathered together, and laid up in our treasuries wealth, equipment and utensils, grain, and so forth, from the lands of our kingdom by means of the harshest methods of tax gathering, the most pressing demands on our subjects, and the most violent tyranny, rather than from the lands of the enemy by making war on them and forcible seizure by ourselves of their possessions, our reply is as follows. The best answer to any statement uttered with gross ignorance and stupidity is not to give any answer at all, but we have not wished to leave this aside, since not giving an answer is tantamount to affirming the truth [of the original statement]. Our rejoinder to the accusations laid against us is a vigorous rebuttal of

962. As Nöldeke, trans. 374 n. 1, noted, this fifth section of Khusraw's response covers both Shērōy's fifth and sixth accusations without clearly distinguishing the two. Shērōy's seventh and eighth accusations are not addressed by his father, at least in the words that have come down to us.

them, and our clear exculpation is an exposition of what you have sought from us regarding it.

Know, O ignorant one, that, after God, it is only wealth and troops that can uphold the royal authority of monarchs, this being especially the case with the kingdom of Persia, whose lands are surrounded by enemies with gaping mouths ready to gulp down what the kingdom possesses. The only thing that can keep them from it and fend them off from those lands they avidly desire to seize for themselves, is numerous troops and copious quantities of weapons and war material. Now numerous troops and everything necessary for these can only be acquired by having a great deal of wealth and ample quantities of it; and wealth can only be amassed and gathered together, for any contingency which may arise, by strenuous efforts and dedication in levying this land tax. We are not the first ones to have gathered together wealth; on the contrary, we have merely imitated here our forefathers and our predecessors in past times. They collected wealth just as we have, and amassed great quantities of it, so that it might constitute a firm backing for them in strengthening their armies, in upholding their authority, and in [making possible] other things for which wealth must inevitably be amassed. But then the false-hearted one Bahrām, with a gang of people like himself and with desperadoes who merited being put to death, attacked that wealth and those jewels in our treasuries. They scattered and dispersed them and went off with a great deal of them, and they left behind in our storehouses of wealth and treasuries only a few of our weapons which they were unable to scatter to the winds or remove or else had no desire for them. When, God be praised, we recovered our kingly power and our authority was firmly reestablished, when the subjects submitted to us and gave obedience, and we removed the calamities which had befallen them, we dispatched to the outlying parts of our land Iṣṣabadhs, we appointed below them in those regions Fādḥūsbāns, and we nominated over the frontier zones Marzbāns and courageous, energetic, and tough executive officials. All those whom we appointed we provided with a strong backing of numerous troops, and these officials led vigorous campaigns against the hostile kings and the enemies into the lands facing their own territories. From the thirteenth year of our reign

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onward,⁹⁶³ their raids against the enemies, the slaughter they wrought, and the captives they took, [reached to such an extent] that none of those hostile rulers could dare to raise his head even in the heart of his own kingdom except under a protective cover, with fearfulness, or under a grant of protection from us, let alone to mount a raid into any part of our land or to engage in anything unacceptable to us. Hence during all this period of years, there came into our storehouses of wealth and our treasuries what had been seized as plunder from the lands of our enemies, comprising gold, silver, all sorts of jewels, copper, steel, silk, silk brocades (*istabraḡ*),⁹⁶⁴ brocade coats, horses, weapons, captured women and children and male prisoners, whose enormous extent cannot be concealed and whose value is known to everyone.

When at the end of the thirteenth year of our reign we gave instructions for the engraving of new dies for coins [*naqsh sikak ḡadithah*], so that we might give our orders for beginning the minting of new silver coinage with their aid, there was found at the end of the minting process in our storehouses of wealth, according to what was reported back to us by the persons charged with counting the silver which was left there, apart from the sums of money which we had instructed should be set aside for paying the salaries of our troops, two hundred thousand purses of silver coinage, containing eight hundred million mithḡāls [in weight].⁹⁶⁵

[1057]

When we perceived that we had made our frontiers secure, had repulsed the enemy from them and from our subjects, had put a muzzle on their mouths, which had been gaping open to swallow up what they had acquired, had extended over them (i.e., the subjects) security, and had preserved the inhabitants of the four outlying quarters of our land from calamities and raids, we gave orders

963. That is, the year 602, when the Byzantine emperor Maurice was overthrown and murdered (see n. 743 above), after which Khusraw could claim to be avenging the death of the usurper Phocas.

964. This is itself a loanword in Arabic (and in Syriac), and an early one, since it is used in the Qur'ān of the silk brocade garments of the saved in Paradise (XVIII, 30/31; XLIV, 53; etc.). See Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter*, 8 n. 2, 13; Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, 58–60.

965. Here, as Nöldeke pointed out, trans. 376 n. 2, not meaning a weight in gold.

for the collection of the arrears of taxation remaining from previous years and for the restoration to their original place of all the gold and silver that had been carried off from our storehouses of wealth and all the jewels and copperware that had come from our treasuries.⁹⁶⁶ Hence at the end of the thirtieth year of our reign we gave orders for the engraving of new dies for coins, from which silver coins could be struck, and there was found in our storehouses of wealth, apart from what we had ordered to be set aside for paying the salaries of our troops and apart from the sums of money already counted up for us previously, four hundred thousand purses of silver coinage, containing one billion, six hundred million mithqāls [in weight]. All this in addition to what God added for us to those sums of money from what He presented to us as booty and of His liberality and lavishness upon us, out of the wealth of the rulers of Byzantium which the wind brought us in ships and which we called "plunder of the winds (*fay' al-riyāḥ*)."⁹⁶⁷

From the thirtieth year of our reign to the thirty-eighth, which is the present year, our stores of wealth have not ceased growing in extent and richness, our lands in florescence, our subjects in security and tranquility, and our frontiers and peripheral regions in impregnability and strength of defenses. We have now heard that you intend, because of the abysmally low level of your manly virtues, to scatter abroad and destroy all this wealth, acting on the advice of evil doers who merit being put to death.⁹⁶⁸ We are now telling you, however, that those treasures and wealth were only

966. These activities, as Nöldeke noted, trans. 377 n. 1, could hardly have been carried out without using violence, with resultant great hardship for the populace, and in the case of the recovery of wealth allegedly filched from the central treasury, the innocent would doubtless suffer equally with the guilty.

967. This may conceivably relate distantly to an actual happening. Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 665, says that a fleet of the king of Constantinople bearing treasure was cast up on the Mediterranean shores at Alexandria (the *khazā'in al-riḥ*), and, slightly more circumstantially, al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 227-8 = § 647, says that a fleet of treasure ships of Phocas was thrown up on the Syrian coast at Antioch, where Khusraw's general Shahrbarāz was able to seize the wealth and forward it to his master. Nöldeke, trans. 378 n. 1, cited an authority who suggested that the incident might relate to some treasure that Heraclius despatched to North Africa, before he became involved in the Persian wars, and which was lost at sea.

968. According to Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 665, Shērōy lightened taxes and did not collect the *kharāj*.

gathered together through exposing one's life to danger and after intense exertion and effort in order to repel by means of them the enemies who were surrounding the lands of this kingdom and who were pursuing courses aimed at getting full control of what they had acquired. Enemies like these can only be driven off, in all periods and times, and after receiving help from God, by wealth and troops; troops can only be kept strong by wealth; and wealth is only of use when it is available in large and extensive amounts. So don't contemplate dividing out this wealth and don't rush rashly into doing it, for wealth is a protection for your royal power and your land, and a source of strength for you against your enemies.

[1058]

Asfādh Jushnas then went back to Shīrūyah and related to him what Kistrā had said to him, not leaving out a single word. The great men of state among the Persians came back and told Shīrūyah, "It is not fitting that we should have two kings. Either you give orders for Kistrā to be put to death, and we shall be your servants, furnishing obedience to you, or else we shall depose you and give him obedience [once more]." These words struck fear into Shīrūyah's heart and crushed him. He ordered Kistrā to be executed. Several men who had duties incumbent upon them of vengeance against Kistrā responded to the call to kill him. But every time one of them came to Kistrā, he heaped insults on the man and repelled him strongly. No one would undertake the task of killing Kistrā until finally, a youth named Mihr Hurmuz, son of Mardānshāh, went along to kill him. Mardānshāh was Kistrā's Fādhūsban over the province of Nīmrūz⁹⁶⁹ and one of Kistrā's most obedient and trusty retainers.

Now some two years before his deposition, Kistrā had asked his astrologers and diviners⁹⁷⁰ what his end would be, and they had

969. That is, the region of the south, see al-Ṭabarī, I, 894, p. 149, and n. 385 above. The geography ascribed to Moses Khorenaç'i defines the *K'usti Nemroy* as extending from Lower Iraq and Hajar, from Iṣfahān, Fārs, and Khūzistān, to Kir-mān, Sīstān, Makrān, and Tūrān (both in the later Baluchistan), Zābulistān (in what is now eastern Afghanistan), and Daybul on the coast of Sind. See Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 25-47.

970. *'āfah*, pl. of *'ā'if*, was the diviner who took auguries from the flight or cries of birds, the practice of *'iyāfah*, ornithomancy. Among the early Arabs, this was essentially that practiced by the Greek and Roman augurs. See Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 371, 432-34.

[1059]

told him that his fated death (*maniyyatahu*)⁹⁷¹ would come from the direction of Nīmrūz. He accordingly grew suspicious of Mardānshāh and fearful of his proximity, on account of Mardānshāh's great prestige and because there was no one in that region who could equal him in strength and power. Kistrā had written to him instructing him to travel quickly to him, until by the time Mardānshāh had reached him, he had turned over in his mind how he might seek a pretext to kill him. But he had not found any fault in Mardānshāh. Kistrā accordingly recoiled from killing him because of his knowledge about Mardānshāh's faithful obedience to him, his good counsel to him and his eagerness to please the king. So he resolved to spare his life but to order his right hand to be cut off, and to compensate him for its loss by a grant of a large sum of money, lavishing wealth on him for this. Hence he sought for a pretext that would enable him to have Mardānshāh's right hand cut off.⁹⁷²

Hands and feet and heads used to be cut off in the open space before the royal palace (*rahbat al-mulk*).⁹⁷³ On the day when he had ordered Mardānshāh's hand to be cut off, Kistrā sent along a scout and observer (*'ayn*), who was to come back to him and inform him of what he had heard Mardānshāh and the onlookers who were present saying. When Mardānshāh's right hand was cut off, he took it up with his left hand, kissed it, and placed it in his bosom, and he began to lament over it with his tears streaming down, saying, "Alas for a mild and forbearing [hand], one which used to shoot, and write, and deal blows, and engage in sport, and dispensed largesse!" The man whom Kistrā had sent along as a scout and observer over Mardānshāh went back to Kistrā and told

971. *maniyyah*, pls. *manāyā* and perhaps *manūn*, is literally "the determination, decreeing, of a man's fate," hence a synonym for death and a term much used in early Arabic poetry. See Caskel, *Das Schicksal in der altarabischen Poesie*, 22-42; H. Ringgren, *Studies in Arabian Fatalism*, 14-23; Mohamed Abdesslem, *Le thème de la mort dans la poésie arabe des origines à la fin du III^e/IX^e siècle*, 57, cf. 71.

972. The story of the mutilation of the courtier by the ruler because of the prognostication that the courtier's son would bring about Khusraw's death, is given very briefly in al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 196, with the tale cut short because of a lacuna in the manuscript used by the editor Houtsma.

973. Nöldeke noted, trans. 380 n. 1, the predilection of Persian kings, from Achaemenid up to Qājār times, for public executions and mutilations.

him what he had seen and heard Mardānshāh doing and saying. At this, Kistrā became full of tenderness and sympathy for him, and regretted his impetuosity regarding Mardānshāh. He sent a message to him via one of the great men of state expressing his regret for what he had done to Mardānshāh and telling him that he would fulfill, so far as was in his power, any request to him which Mardānshāh might make and would facilitate this for him. Mardānshāh sent back a message to Kistrā by that same envoy, invoking blessings on the king and saying, "O king, I have always recognized your beneficence to me, and I thank you for it; I have become fully convinced that what you have inflicted on me was done unwillingly. It was merely a stroke of fate that caused this. But I have one request to make of you: give me oaths that you will fulfill it, so that my mind may be set at rest. Also, send to me, on your solemn undertaking to fulfill the oath, a pious man of God, and then I will reveal and communicate [my request] to you." Kistrā's envoy returned to his master with this message, and Kistrā hastened to put into effect Mardānshāh's request, and swore mighty oaths that he would without fail accede to his request so long as this last did not entail anything which would weaken the fabric of his royal power. Kistrā dispatched this message to Mardānshāh via the Chief [Zoroastrian] Priest (literally, "head of the murmurers," *ra'īs al-muzamzimīn*). Mardānshāh sent back a message to Kistrā asking him to order his (Mardānshāh's) execution, in order that the dishonor which [now] attached to him might be thereby effaced.⁹⁷⁴ Kistrā gave the requisite order for Mardānshāh's head to be cut off, unwilling, as he asserted, to break his oath.

[1060]

When Mihr Hurmuz, Mardānshāh's son, came into Kistrā's presence, the latter asked Mihr Hurmuz his name and that of his father and his position in the state. He told him that he was Mihr Hurmuz, son of Mardānshāh, the Fādhūsban of Nīmrūz. Kistrā said, "You are the son of a noble, highly sufficient, and competent man whom we requited for his faithfulness and good counsel to us, and for his sufficiency and competence with us, in an undeserving manner; so set to, and get on with what you have been ordered to do!" So Mihr Hurmuz struck, with an axe that he held

974. That is, the dishonor of continuing to live as a mutilated person, hence unable to fill any office in the state or in the Zoroastrian church.

in his hand, several blows at the sinews of Kistrā's neck running down to his shoulder, but these had no effect on Kistrā. The latter was searched, and it was discovered that a jewel in the form of an amulet⁹⁷⁵ had been tied on his upper arm (or, "he had tied an amulet on his upper arm"). The amulet protected its wearer from the effects of a sword. The amulet was accordingly taken off Kistrā, and then after that Mihr Hurmuz delivered a single blow which killed him.⁹⁷⁶

The news was brought to Shīrūyah, who tore the front part of the neck of his robe and wept copiously; he gave orders for Kistrā's corpse to be borne to the place of sepulture. This was done. All the great men of state and the people of the classes just below them (*afnā' al-nās*)⁹⁷⁷ accompanied his corpse [to the place of burial]. He ordered Mihr Hurmuz executed. Kistrā's tenure of royal power lasted thirty-eight years. He was killed on the day of Māh in the month of Ādhar.⁹⁷⁸ Shīrūyah killed seventeen of his brothers, men of good education, bravery, and the manly virtues,⁹⁷⁹ on the advice of his minister Fayrūz⁹⁸⁰ and at the urging of one of the sons of Yazdīn, who was the official in charge of the [collection of the] land tax (literally, "tithes," *ushūr*) from the entire lands for Kistrā and who was called Shamṭā,⁹⁸¹ that he should put them to death.

[1061]

975. Apparently the reading here is *kharazah* rather than *hīrzah*. See *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DXCVI, and *Glossarium*, pp. CCXVII-CCXVIII.

976. Nöldeke, trans. 382 n. 1, discussed the information of other sources, including Christian ones, on the exact mode of Khusraw's execution, but concluded that there was no firm evidence concerning this mode.

977. Arabic *afnā'*, sing. *finw*, is defined in the lexica as "people from mixed groups." Here the meaning clearly relates to people high in the Persian social hierarchy who alone would accompany the catafalque of a king. Nöldeke, trans. 382, has "die Ausgesehensten der Leute," i.e., the most outstanding, prominent people.

978. Nöldeke, trans. 382 n. 2, gives the equivalent of this date as 29 February 628.

979. The Arabic sources, and also the Christian ones, have various totals for these brothers usually around sixteen to eighteen; Ḥamzah al-Īsfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 54, actually names eighteen of them. See the discussion in Nöldeke, 383 n. 1.

980. Bal'ami's Persian rendering of al-Tabarī's *History*, tr. II, 346, makes Shēr-ōy's chief minister Barmak, son of Firūz, ancestor of the Barmakī family so prominent in the caliphate during early 'Abbāsīd times. Nöldeke, trans. 313 n. 2, thought that this was a later touch inserted by an enemy of the Islamic Barmakīs.

981. The very defective rendering of this name in the text was read thus by the editor Nöldeke, who identified Shamṭā's father Yazdīn from the Christian sources,

Shīrūyah was now afflicted by illness and never enjoyed any of the pleasures of this present world. He died at Daskarat al-Malik. He was an inauspicious figure for the house of Sāsān.⁹⁸² When he killed his brothers, he showed violent grief. It is said that, on the day after he had killed them, his two sisters Būrān and Āzar-mīdukht⁹⁸³ came into his presence and reviled and upbraided him harshly, saying, "Greed for a royal power which is still not yet firmly established has driven you to kill your father and all your brothers, and you have committed acts of dishonor." When he heard those words, he wept bitterly and tore the crown from off his head. All his days he was overwhelmed with cares and afflicted by sickness. It is said that he extirpated every member of his house on whom he could get his hands, and that plague spread during his time until most of the Persians perished.⁹⁸⁴ His tenure of royal power lasted eight months.⁹⁸⁵

principally the Syriac historians and hagiographers and the conciliar acts of the Nestorian Church, as Khusraw's treasurer Yazdīn (see n. 737 above). One Nestorian author, Thomas of Margā, describes Shamṭā as the real driving force behind the conspiracy to dethrone Khusraw. See Nöldeke, trans. 357 n. 4, 383 n. 3. However, according to the *Anonymus Guidi*, tr. 30-31, Shamṭā soon showed himself overly ambitious for power, was accused of conspiring to seize the throne, arrested, his right hand cut off and consigned to prison by Shērōy.

On the name Yazdīn, see Justi, *Namenbuch*, 147-48. Whether this Yazdīn was the same person as the governor of Armenia for Khusraw Abarwēz, the Yazdēn of the Armenian historian Sebēos (see *ibid.*), is unclear.

982. And called by the Persians, according to al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 232 = § 653, the equivalent of Arabic *al-ghashūm*, "the tyrannical one." On the other hand, the *Anonymus Guidi*, tr. 30, states that Shērōy's reign was one of peace and security for the Christians of the realm.

983. That is, Shērōy's eventual, ephemeral successors on the Persian throne, see al-Ṭabarī, I, 1063-64, 1064-65, pp. 403-405, 406-407, below.

984. This plague is mentioned in other sources (e.g., Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 665; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 232 = § 653; and Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 497) as having devastated Iraq, with, according to Ibn Qutaybah and Ibn al-Athīr, the king himself dying from the disease. Less probably, the Byzantine historian Theophanes states that Shērōy was poisoned by his hostile stepmother Shīrīn; see Christensen, *Sassanides*, 497 n. 1.

985. Kawād II Shērōy reigned for six or eight months in 628. His name appears on his coins as PYRWCY KW'T. See on his coins Paruck, *Sāsānian Coins*, 68, 390-92, 492, Plate XXII, Table XXX; Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, 54-55, Table XIII, Plate 14; Selwood, Whitting and Williams, *An Introduction to Sasanian Coins*, 21, 159-60; Malek, "A Survey of Research on Sasanian Numismatics," 238.

The other Arabic sources on his reign include Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 665; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 196; al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-tiwāl*, 110; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*,

[Ardashīr III]

After him there succeeded to the royal power Ardashīr. [He was the son of [Qubādh II] Shīrūyah, son of [Khusraw II] Abarwīz, son of Hurmuz (IV), son of [Khusraw I] Anūsharwān, and was only a small child. It is said that he was only seven years old, since there was no grown-up person of judgment and experience left of the royal house; hence the great men of the Persian state made him king.⁹⁸⁶ A man called Mih Ādhar Jushnas, who held the office of high steward of the table (*ri'āsāt aṣḥāb al-mā'idah*),⁹⁸⁷ was in charge of his upbringing. He carried on the administration of the kingdom in an excellent fashion, and his firm conduct of it reached a point where no one would have been aware of Ardashīr's youthfulness.

Shahrbarāz was at the frontier with Byzantium with troops whom Kisrā had given him and had named "the fortunate ones" (*al-su'adā'*).⁹⁸⁸ Kisrā and Shīrūyah had continuously written to him regarding important matters in which they were involved, and had sought his advice concerning these. But now, since the great men of state of the Persians had not consulted him about raising Ardashīr to the throne, he took that as a pretext for making accusations of criminal behavior and demands on them, and went as far as shedding blood, and made it an occasion for endeavoring to seize the royal power and to rise by means of that from the lowly status of serving people to the heights of royal power. Shahrbarāz treated Ardashīr with contempt because of his youth

[1062]

II, 233-34 = § 653; idem, *Tanbih*, 102, tr. 146; Hamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rikh*, 54; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 494-97. Of Persian sources, see Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, tr. II, 332-47. Of modern studies, see Christensen, *Sassanides*, 493-97; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 170, 178.

986. From this point onward, all the remaining Persian kings and queens, with the exception of the capable, non-Sāsānid Shahrbarāz, who seized power for himself, were set on the throne as puppets of the nobility and great men of state and church.

987. In Persian, *khwān-sālār*, which Nöldeke noted, trans. 386 n. 2, was the term used by Bal'amī in his rendering of al-Ṭabarī's *History*.

988. Shahrbarāz made peace with Heraclius in July 629 at Arabissos in eastern Anatolia (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 1008-1009, pp. 329-30 and n. 776 above), and was thus free to turn his attention to Mesopotamia and take advantage of the unsettled conditions there. Quite possibly he claimed to be the avenger of the murdered Khusraw Abarwēz, since al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, III, says that, when Shahrbarāz entered al-Madā'in, he put to death all those who had conspired to depose and kill Khusraw; cf. also Nöldeke, trans. 387 n. 1.

and acted arrogantly toward the great men of state. He decided to summon together the ruling classes of the people (*al-nās*) for a consultation over the matter of the royal power. He then advanced with his troops.

Meanwhile, Mih Ādhar Jushnas had embarked on fortifying and strengthening the walls and gates of the city of Ctesiphon, and he transferred Ardashīr and the remaining members of the royal house, their womenfolk, the contents of Ardashīr's treasury—that is, money and his treasure chests—and his horses, into the city of Ctesiphon. Shahrbārāz's troops, with whom he now approached, numbered six thousand men from the Persian army on the Byzantine frontiers.⁹⁸⁹ He took up a position near the city of Ctesiphon, besieged its inhabitants and fought with them, setting up ballistas against the city, but did not manage to enter it. When he realized that he was not strong enough to take it by force, he sought it by means of craft. He kept on inciting a man named Nīw Khusraw, who was the commander of Ardashīr's guard, and Nām-dār Jushnas, son of Ādhar Jushnas, the Iṣhabadh of Nīmruz, to treachery, until the two of them opened the gates of the city to Shahrbārāz. Thus he entered it, seized a number of the leading men, and killed them, appropriating their wealth for himself and ravishing their womenfolk. At Shahrbārāz's behest, a group of men killed Ardashīr, son of Shīrūyah, in the second year of his reign, in the month of Bahman, on the night of the day Abān, in the palace of Khusraw Shāh Qubādh. He had held the royal power for one year and six months.⁹⁹⁰

989. As Nöldeke remarked, trans. 387 n. 2, it was indicative of the chaos and weakness into which the Persian state had fallen that such a modest force was able to take over the capital and secure power for Shahrbārāz himself.

990. Nöldeke noted, trans. 388 n. 4, 432–33, that this date in Bahman, the tenth day of the eleventh month, corresponds to 27 April 630, and that Ardashīr's reign had, on the basis of his coins, two years, the first identical with the seven months making up the last year of his father Kawād II Shērōy and the second one of independent rule beginning on 17 June 629. His reign would thus total one year and slightly under six months. Ardashīr's name appears on his coins as 'RTHSTR. See on his coins Paruck, *Sāsānian Coins*, 68–69, 391–92, 491–92, Plate XXII, Table XXXI; Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, 54–55, Table 13, Plate 14; Sellwood, Whitting, and Williams, *An Introduction to Sasanian Coins*, 21, 161–63; Malek, "A Survey of Research on Sasanian Numismatics," 238, *Elr.* s.v. Ardashīr III (A. Sh. Shahbazi).

The other Arabic sources on his reign include Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 665; al-Ya'qūbi, *Ta'rikh*, I, 196; al-Dinawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 110–11 (wrongly named

[*Shahrbarāz*]

[1063]

After him, there succeeded to the royal power Shahrbarāz, that is, Farrukhān, for the month of Isfandār(madh); he was not of the royal house of the kingdom. He proclaimed himself king, but when he sat down on the royal throne, his belly began to gripe, and this affected him so violently that he had no time to get to a latrine, hence he [swiftly] called for a bowl (*ṭast*), had it set down before the throne, and relieved himself in it.⁹⁹¹

A man from the people of Iṣṭakhr called Fus Farrūkh, son of Mā(h) Khurshidhān,⁹⁹² and two of his brothers were roused to great anger at Shahrbarāz's killing of Ardashīr and his seizure of the royal power. They felt an intense revulsion from that, and came together and swore mutually that they would kill him. All three of them belonged to the king's personal guard. It was [at that time] the custom that, when the king rode out, his personal guard stood in two lines, with their mailed coats, helmets, shields, and swords, and with spears in their hands; then, when the king came up level with one of them, each of them laid his shield on the wooden forepart (*qarabūs*, i.e., pommel) of the king's saddle⁹⁹³ and placed his forehead on it, as if he were prostrating himself on

as Shīrād); al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 233 = § 653; idem, *Tanbīh*, 102, tr. 146; Ḥamzah al-Isfahānī, *Ta'rikh*, 54; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 498. Of Persian sources, see Ṭabari-Bal'amī, trans. II, 347-48. Of modern studies, see Christensen, *Sassanides*, 497-98; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 170-71, 178; *Elr*, art. cit.

991. This story is meant to heighten the enormity of Shahrbarāz's temerity and his sacrilege by sitting down on the royal throne when he was not from the royal houses of the Arsacids or the Sāsānids. The ensuing account of the ignominious treatment of his corpse after he had been assassinated likewise highlights this apparent strong sense of legitimacy among the Persian ruling classes. However, as Nöldeke, trans. 388 n. 7, noted, the corollary of this feeling that the direction of the state should never pass into the hands of those outside the ancient ruling dynasties meant that, in an age of epigoni, hopes of an infusion of fresh vigor and military initiative could never be realized, and the Persian realm sank into total collapse, together with the feeble remnants of the Sāsānid royal house.

992. The first component of the name Fus Farrukh must be the MP *pus*, "son," the whole name meaning "fortunate son," see Justi, *Namenbuch*, 256, while Māh-Khwarshēd-ān would presumably be the patronym "son of Māh-Khwarshēd," see *ibid.*, 187.

993. The *qarabūs* was actually made up of two curved pieces of wood, the front one forming the forepart or pommel of the saddle and the rear one forming the troussequin. See Lane, *Lexicon*, 2509b.

the ground. Shahrbarāz rode forth a few days after he had become king. Fus Farrūkh and his two brothers stood close to each other, and when Shahrbarāz drew level with them, Fus Farrūkh struck him with his spear, followed by his two brothers. This took place in the month of Isfandārmadh on the day of Daybadīn.⁹⁹⁴ He fell down dead from his horse. They tied a rope round his leg and dragged him to and fro. A man from among the great men of state called Zādhān Farrūkh, son of Shahr-dārān, a man called Māhyāy (?), who was the instructor of the cavalrymen (*mu'addib al-asāwirah*), and a large number of the great men of state and members of leading families assisted Fus Farrūkh and his brothers in killing Shahrbarāz. They also aided them in killing the various men who had assassinated Ardashīr, son of Shīrūyah, and they killed various members from the class of the great men of state. They then raised to the throne Būrān, daughter of Kistrā. Shahrbarāz had held the royal power for forty days.⁹⁹⁵

[Būrān]

Then there succeeded to the royal power Būrān, daughter of Kistrā (II) Abarwīz, son of Hurmuz (IV), son of Kistrā (I) Anūshar-

[1064]

994. The twenty-third day of the twelfth month, i.e., 9 June 630, according to Nöldeke, trans. 389 n. 2.

995. Nöldeke, trans. 390 n. 1, 432-33, pointed out that we actually have a period of forty-two days from Ardashīr III's death on 27 April 630, but that Shahrbarāz's proclamation of himself as ruler days later, hence making a reign of forty days, with Shahrbarāz killed on 9 June. Shahrbarāz did not apparently have time enough as king to mint his own coins. The other Arabic sources on his reign include al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 196-97; al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 111; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 233 = § 654; idem, *Tanbīh*, 102, tr. 146; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 499. Of Persian sources, see Ṭabari-Bal'ami, tr. II, 348. Of modern studies, see Christensen, *Sassanides*, 497-98; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 170-71, 178.

Some sources add at this point in their list of Sāsānid rulers, between Shahrbarāz and Būrān, Khusraw (III), son of Kawād (II) Shērōy, son of Khusraw (II) Abarwēz (or according to others—and this seems genealogically more likely—son of Khusraw Abarwēz, and not his grandson). See Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'arīf*, 666; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, loc. cit.; idem, *Tanbīh*, loc. cit.; al-Khwārazmī, *Mafātiḥ al-'ulūm*, 104, who attributes to him the nickname of Kūtāh/al-Qaṣīr "the short one." These sources state that he had grown up in "the land of the Turks," had heard of the dissensions within Persia and had decided to try his own luck there; but after a "reign" of only three months, apparently in some part of Khurāsān, he was killed by the governor there. See Nöldeke, trans. 433; Christensen, op. cit. 498; Frye, op. cit., 171.

wān.⁹⁹⁶ It has been mentioned that she proclaimed on the day when she was hailed as queen, "I will pursue righteousness and ordain justice," and she entrusted Shahrbarāz's office to Fus Far-rūkh and invested him with the office of her chief minister. She behaved kindly toward her subjects and spread justice among them. She gave orders for silver coins to be minted, and she repaired masonry bridges (*al-qanāṭir*) and bridges of boats (*al-jusūr*).⁹⁹⁷ She remitted for the people the arrears of land tax (*ba-qāyā*) due, and she wrote to them in general open letters concerning the policies of benevolence toward them that she intended to follow, and she mentioned the topic of the members of the royal house [of the Sāsānids] who had perished. At the same time, she expressed the hope that God would show them, through solicitude for their welfare and firm policies deriving from her elevated position, what would let them realize that lands were not subdued through the strength and energy of men, that military camps were not laid open to plunder through their martial valor, and that victory was not gained through men's stratagems and hatreds extinguished, but all that comes from God, He is exalted and magnified. She further exhorted them to be obedient and urged them to be faithful. Her letters brought together everything that was necessary [i.e., for the subjects' guidance and welfare]. She restored the wood of the [True] Cross to the ruler of Byzantium through the

996. Also named as Būrān-dukht and, according to Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rikh*, 54, a sister of Shērōy and the daughter of Khusraw Abarwēz's Byzantine princess wife, Maryam, daughter of Heraclius. Her descent on both sides would thus make her a very acceptable queen. The *Anonymus Guidi*, tr. 32-33, describes Būrān as not only Shērōy's sister but also his wife, this being quite possible in Nöldeke's view, *ibid.* 32 n. 5. For the name Būrān/Bōrān, see Justi, *Namenbuch*, 70; Gignoux, *Noms propres sassanides en Moyen-Perse épigraphique*, no. 209, cf. no. 208, considered by him as a hypocoristic from * *baurāspa-*, "having bay horses."

Al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-tiwāl*, 111, mentions as ruling before Būrān the child Juwānshīr, son of Khusraw and Kurdiyāh, the sister and wife of Bahrām Chūbīn [see al-Ṭabarī, I, 998, 1001, pp. 309, 316-17 above], whom Abarwēz had married after Bahrām's death; if this piece of information were true, presumably Juwānshīr would have escaped Shērōy's massacre of his brothers, but in any case, must have died after a year. There is no trace of him in Sāsānid coinage.

997. Nöldeke noted, trans. 391 n. 3, that Būrān also built a fire temple at Istīniyā (a village near the later al-Kūfah, according to Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 176, *pace* Nöldeke that it was near Baghdad), according to al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj, IV, 86 = § 1412, cf. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 283.

intermediacy of the Catholicos called Īshū'hab.⁹⁹⁸ Her tenure of royal power lasted one year and four months.⁹⁹⁹

[*Jushnas Dih*]

Then there succeeded to the royal power after her a man called Jushnas Dih,¹⁰⁰⁰ from the remote offspring of Abarwiz's paternal uncle. His tenure of royal power was less than a month.

998. Restoration of the True Cross had been a prominent point in the peace negotiations begun by Heraclius with Shērōy and dragging on into the times of Shahrbarāz or Būrān, but the Cross was actually restored by Shērōy and was back in Jerusalem in late summer 629 or spring 630; see on the problem of exact dating here, n. 951 above. The Catholicos in question was Ishō'yabh II of Gadāla, formerly bishop of Balad in northern Mesopotamia and in office 628–46; hence he was head of the Nestorian Church when the Arabs arrived in Iraq. See Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 341, 343–44. Ishō'yabh and several other Nestorian bishops of the Persian empire went on a mission to Heraclius in northern Syria as part of the peace negotiations. See Nöldeke, trans. 392 n. 1; Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse*, 243–45.

999. In Nöldeke's surmise, trans. 433, there was a short interregnum of intrigues and anarchy in the capital Ctesiphon after Shahrbarāz's assassination on 9 June 630. Būrān's coins, extending over three regnal years, began with the regnal year 1, which would have ended on 16 June 630. Her reign must have extended over a year and four or six months, hence into autumn 631. The *Anonymus Guidi*, tr. 33, and the Nestorian *Chronicle of Se'ert* state that she was strangled, according to the latter source, by the general Firūz. Būrān's name appears on her coins as BWL'N. See on her coins Paruck, *Sāsānian Coins*, 69, 392–93, Plate XXII; Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, 54–55, Table XIII, Plate 15; Sellwood, Whitting, and Williams, *An Introduction to Sasanian Coins*, 21, 166–68; Malek, "A Survey of Research on Sasanian Numismatics," 238; Jenny Rose, "Three Queens, Two Wives, and a Goddess. The Roles and Images of Women in Sasanian Iran," 43–45.

The other Arabic sources for her reign include Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 666; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 197; al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhhbār al-tiwāl*, 111; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 233 = § 654; idem, *Tanbīh*, 102, tr. 147; Ḥamzah al-Isfahānī, *Ta'rikh*, 54; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 499. Of Persian sources, see Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, tr. II, 349–50. Of modern studies, see Christensen, *Sassanides*, 498; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 171, 178; *Elr.* s.v. Bōrān (Marie Louise Chaumont).

1000. The form of this ephemerally named ruler's name is uncertain, especially in regard to the second element after Jushnas/Gushnasp, variably written in those sources that mention him, i.e., Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 666, "one of Kisrā's paternal uncle's progeny"; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 233–34 = § 654, *Firūz j.sh.n.dah*, a descendant of Shābūr, son of Yazdajird [I] the Sinner"; idem, *Tanbīh*, tr. 147, *Firūz j.sh.n.t.dah*; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 499–500 [al-Dīnawarī's section on the Persian rulers ends essentially with Būrān, and merges into his account of the Arab conquests in Iraq and Persia]. The resemblance of the names given by al-Mas'ūdī and Ibn al-Athīr to that of the Fayrūz, son of Mihrān Jushnas who is listed by al-Ṭabarī, I, 1066, p. 408 below, leads one to think that the two persons are really one and the same.

[Āzarmīdukht]

[1065] Then there succeeded to the royal power Āzarmīdukht,¹⁰⁰¹ daughter of Kisrā (II) Abarwīz, son of Hurmuz (IV), son of Kisrā (I) Anūsharwān. It is said that she was one of the most beautiful of the women of the Persians and that she proclaimed, when she assumed the royal power, "Our way of conduct will be that of our father Kisrā, the victorious one,¹⁰⁰² and if anyone rebels against us, we will shed his blood." It is said that the outstanding great man of Persia was at that time Farrukh Hurmuz, Iṣbahbadh of Khurāsān. He sent a message to her asking her to give herself in marriage to him. She wrote back, "Marriage to a queen is not permissible. I realize full well that your intention in what you are proposing is to satisfy your own [sexual] needs and lust with me; so come to me on such-and-such night." Āzarmīdukht ordered the commander of her guard to lie in wait for him on the night they had agreed to meet together and then kill him. The commander of her guard carried out her orders regarding Farrukh Hurmuz; and at her command, the latter's corpse was dragged out by the feet and thrown down in the open space before the palace of government. Next morning, they found Farrukh Hurmuz slain, and she gave orders for his corpse to be taken away and concealed from sight. It was generally recognized that he could only have been killed for some momentous deed. Rustam, son of Farrukh Hurmuz, the man whom Yazdajird (III) was later to send to combat the Arabs,¹⁰⁰³ was acting as his father's deputy in Khurāsān. When he received the news (i.e., of his father's murder), he came with a mighty

1001. This is the Arabic form, virtually identical with that of the Syriac sources, Āzarmīdukht, of the MP name Āzarmīgdukht. Nöldeke, trans. 393 n. 2, saw its etymology as being most probably "modest (*āzarmīg*) noble maiden"; Justi, *Namenbuch*, 54, gave no opinion. However, Gignoux, in his *Noms propres sassanides en Moyen-Perse épigraphique*, no. 167, cf. no. 166, and in *Elr*, s.v. Āzarmīgdukt, renders it as "daughter of the honored, respected one," i.e., of her father Khusraw Abarwēz; both "honored maiden" and "daughter of the honored one" are possible translations.

1002. Arabic *al-manṣūr* = MP *abarwēz*. According to Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rikh*, 55, Āzarmīgdukht was *jalīdah qasīmah*, "vigorous and beautiful," and he records that she built a fire temple at a village called al-Q.r.ṭ.mān (?) in the region of Abkhāz (i.e., in western Transcaucasia).

1003. That is, the Persian general vanquished some five years later at al-Qādisiyyah by the Arabs. See *El²*, s.v. Rustam b. Farrukh Hurmuzd (ed.).

army, encamped at al-Madā'in, blinded Āzarmīdukht, and then killed her. According to other authorities, however, she was poisoned. Her tenure of royal power was six months.¹⁰⁰⁴

[Kisrā III]

There was then brought forward a man from the stock of Ardashīr (I), son of Bābak, who was living in al-Ahwāz, called Kisrā. [He was] the son of Mihr Jushnas. The great men of state raised him to the throne. He assumed the crown and sat down upon the royal throne, but was killed a few days after his accession.¹⁰⁰⁵

[Khurrazādh Khusraw]

It is also said that the one who reigned after Āzarmīdukht was Khurrazādh Khusraw, from the progeny of [Khusraw II] Abarwīz.¹⁰⁰⁶ It is said that he was found in a fortress near Nišībīn called al-Ḥijārah (the "Stone Fortress").¹⁰⁰⁷ When he reached al-Madā'in, he remained there a few days only before [the people there] rebelled and rose against him in opposition.

[1066]

1004. Hence Āzarmīdukht's reign was even shorter than that of her sister Būrān, and would fall at the end of 631 and opening of 632; see Nöldeke, trans. 434. Coins issued by her, one from the mint of Shīrāz, with the effigy of her father Khusraw Abarwēz and with the legend of her own name, have been discovered and identified by M. I. Mochiri. See Selwood, Whitting and Williams, *An Introduction to Sasanian Coins*, 21, 169-70; Malek, "A Survey of Research on Sasanian Numismatics," 238-39.

The other Arabic sources on her reign include Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 666; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 197-98; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 233 - § 654; *idem*, *Tanbīh*, 102-103, tr. 147; Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rikh*, 54-55; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 500. Of Persian sources, see Ṭabari-Bal'amī, tr. II, 350-52. Of modern studies, see Christensen, *Sassanides*, 499; *Elr*, s.v. Āzarmīgduxt (Ph. Gignoux).

1005. The only other Arabic sources clearly mentioning him are al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 198, and Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 500.

1006. There seems to be a confusion here of Khurrazādh and the Farrukhzādh mentioned below as coming after Firūz (II). Al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 198, does not mention Khurrazādh (nor do any other sources) but places Farrukhzādh after Firūz.

1007. A town of what is now southeastern Anatolia, in the medieval Islamic province of Diyār Bakr, situated on the upper course of the Tigris about halfway between Āmid/Diyarbakir and Jazīrat Ibn 'Umar, the mediaeval Islamic Ḥiṣn Kayfā. The second part of the name would appear to reflect Syriac *kīpā*, "rock," hence "rock or stone fortress." See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 265; Le Strange, *Lands*, 113; Canard, *H'amdanides*, 84; *EP*, s.v. Ḥiṣn Kayfā (S. Ory).

[Fayrūz II]

Those authorities who say that Kistrā (III), son of Mihr Jushnas, succeeded to the royal power after Āzarmīdukht [further relate that,] when Kistrā, son of Mihr Jushnas, was killed, the great men of state in Persia sought for someone from the royal house whom they could raise to the throne. They looked for someone who had in his veins an element of [the blood of] the members of that house, even though it was through maternal relationship. They brought forward a man who was resident in Maysān, called Fayrūz, son of Mihrān Jushnas, who was also called Jushnas Dih.¹⁰⁰⁸ He was the son of Şahārbukht,¹⁰⁰⁹ daughter of Yazdāndādih (text, "Yazdāndār"), son of Kistrā (I) Anūsharwān. They raised him to the throne against his own will. He was a man with a large head, and when he was crowned he exclaimed, "How tight this crown is!" The great men of state drew a bad omen from his beginning his reign by speaking of tightness and narrowness, hence killed him after he had reigned for [only] a few days. Some people assert that he was killed the moment he uttered those words.¹⁰¹⁰

[Farrukhzādh Khusraw]

The authorities who say this last go on to say that a man from among the great men of state, called Zādih,¹⁰¹¹ who had the func-

1008. As noted in n. 1000 above, this Fayrūz may well be identical with the Jushnas Dih mentioned in al-Ṭabarī, I, 1064, p. 405 above; at least, there is some confusion in the sources which seem to mention Fayrūz, i.e., al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 198; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 233-34 = § 654 (?); Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 500.

1009. Written thus here and in Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit., but reflecting the common rendering in Arabic of Persian *ch* by *ş*, cf. Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter*, 72, hence probably the name Chahār Bukht, "saved by the four," i.e., the four spirits of water, earth, plants, and beasts, or the four elements, cf. the common Sāsānid name Si Bukht, "saved by the three." See Nöldeke, trans. 396 n. 1; Justi, *Namenbuch*, 151; Gignoux, *Noms propres sassanides*, no. 833. Fayrūz's relationship to the main stem of the Sāsānid royal house was clearly tenuous.

1010. In addition to the exiguous Arabic sources on Fayrūz mentioned in n. 1008 above, see the Persian one of Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, tr. II, 352-53. See also Nöldeke, trans. 396 n. 1. No coins of his seem to be extant.

1011. Thus written in the text, but taken by Nöldeke, trans. 396 and n. 2, as Zādihūyah, which seems likely. Nöldeke also noted that the Marzbān of Sarakhs who made peace with 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir in 31/651-52 when the Arabs arrived in

tion of "Chief of the Servants" (*ra'īs al-khawāl*),¹⁰¹² proceeded to a place in the western section [of the Persian kingdom], near to Nišibīn, called Hiṣn al-Ḥijārah ("the Stone Fortress"). He brought back a son of Kisrā (II)'s who had escaped to that fortress when Shīrūyah killed all the sons of Kisrā, and who was called Farrukhzādh Khusraw, to the city of Ctesiphon. The people gave him obedience for a short time, but then rebelled and rose in opposition against him. Some sources state that they killed him. His period of royal power was six months.¹⁰¹³

[1067]

[Yazdajird III]

Some authorities say that the people of Iṣṭakhr got hold of Yazdajird, son of Shahriyār, son of Kisrā (II), at Iṣṭakhr, whither people had fled with him when Shīrūyah killed his brothers.¹⁰¹⁴

Khurāsān was called Zādhūyah (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 405) and that Zādhūyah is a possible reading for the rather cryptic name Wārī in al-Ṭabarī, I, 893 and n. a. p. 147 above.

1012. Presumably an office at the Sāsānid court, something like a major-domo or steward, what would in Islamic times be called a *qahramān*, cf. the use of the word by al-Ṭabarī, I, 1020, p. 346 above.

1013. On the possible confusion of this Farrukhzādh with Khurrahzādh Khusraw, see n. 1006 above. The other Arabic sources on him include Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 666-67; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'riḫ*, I, 198; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 234 - § 655; idem, *Tanbīh*, 103, tr. 147; Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'riḫ*, 55; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 501. Of Persian sources, see Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, trans. II, 353. He is briefly mentioned by Christensen, *Sassanides*, 499. No coins of his are extant.

Also mentioned as fleetingly holding power between the years 630 and 632, but probably with recognition in certain parts of the realm only, are Hormizd (V), who nevertheless minted some coins as 'WHRMZDY (see concerning him, n. 1016 below), and Khusraw (IV) (assuming that this person is not the same as Farrukhzādh Khusraw), who minted some coins as ḤWSRWB. See Christensen, *Sassanides*, 499, and for their coins, Paruck, *Sāsānian Coins*, 69-70, 393-94, 493-94, Plates XXII-XXIII, Table XXXI; Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, 54-55, Table XIII, Plate 15; Sellwood, Whitting, and Williams, *An Introduction to Sasanian Coins*, 21, 171-74; Malek, "A Survey of Research on Sasanian Numismatics," 239.

1014. The eight-year-old boy Yazdagird (this age being more probable than the fifteen or sixteen years of certain Christian and later Islamic sources, since Yazdagird's coins show him as beardless until the tenth year of his reign and he is described by al-Ṭabarī, I, 1067, p. 410 below, as being twenty-eight years old when he was killed at Marw in 651) was thus raised to power in Fārs and crowned in the temple of Anāhid at Iṣṭakhr by a faction opposed to the one in Ctesiphon that had made Farrukhzādh king there. Hostility toward the new king is reflected in the statement of al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'riḫ*, I, 198, that Yazdagird was regarded as ill-omened

When the great men of state among the people of Iṣṭakhr received the news that the people of al-Madā'in had rebelled against Farrukhzādh, they brought Yazdajird to a fire temple called "Ardashīr's fire temple,"¹⁰¹⁵ crowned him there and hailed him as king. He was, however, only a young boy. Then they brought him to al-Madā'in and killed Farrukhzādh Khusraw by means of treachery after he had reigned for one year. In this fashion, the way was open for Yazdajird to assume the royal power, except that, compared with the power of his forefathers, his power was like a phantom of the imagination and a vision in a dream (*al-khayāl wa-al-ḥulm*).¹⁰¹⁶ The great men of state and the ministers exercised his royal authority because of his youth. The most illustrious and the shrewdest of his ministers was the Chief of the Servants. The power of the Persian kingdom grew weak, and its enemies attacked it boldly from all sides, made incursions into Yazdajird's lands, and devastated parts of them. The Arabs attacked his lands when two years had elapsed of his reign or, it is said alternatively, after four years. His whole life span, until he was killed, was twenty-eight years.¹⁰¹⁷

from the start because his mother had been a mere cupper (*ḥajjāmah*) in Khusraw Abarwēz's service, but was brought out from obscurity from sheer necessity; cf. al-Ṭabarī's information, I, 1044, p. 380 above, on Yazdagird's mother). Nöldeke, trans. 397 n. 3, 434, that Yazdagird's accession must have fallen within the Persian year 16 June 632–16 June 633, since the Zoroastrians begin their era in this year of Yazdagird III's accession.

1015. That is, the fire temple at Jūr/Firūzābād whose building by Ardashīr I is recorded in al-Ṭabarī, I, 817, p. 11 above.

1016. Nöldeke, trans. 397 n. 5, noted that Yazdagird had considerable trouble in establishing his authority throughout all the Persian lands, with important provinces like Azerbaijan, Mesopotamia, and Khurāsān at first reluctant to acknowledge him. Al-Dinawari, *al-Akhbār al-tiwāl*, 119, speaks of his struggles when raised to the throne (but anachronistically, it would appear, with Āzarmīgdukht). It seems that Rustam threw his weight behind the new king in the short period before he became embroiled with the invading Arabs. Numismatic evidence (see n. 1013 above) shows the existence of a rival for the throne, Hormizd (V), who challenged Yazdagird's position and whose center of power Armenian sources place in Nišībin in Upper Mesopotamia.

1017. Yazdagird III ruled from the end of 632 or the beginning of 633 till his death at Marw in 31/651 (al-Ṭabarī, I, 2872–84, tr. R. S. Humphreys, *The History of al-Ṭabarī, an Annotated Translation*, XV, *The Crisis of the Caliphate. The Reign of 'Uthmān*, 78–90). The Arabs began their probes into Iraq by the end of the second year of his reign, i.e., in 634 or 635, with the major battle for the province coming a year or two later. Yazdagird's name appears on coins as YZDKRTY. See

There are various further historical reports about this ruler Yazdajird and his sons, which I will mention later, if God wills, in their appropriate place, including the conquests by the Muslims of the land of the Persians, and what was the ultimate fate of Yazdajird and his sons.¹⁰¹⁸

on his coins, Paruck, *Sāsānian Coins*, 70, 394–96, 494–95, Plate XXIII, Table XXXI, Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, 54–55, Table XIII, Plate 15, Sellwood, Whitting, and Williams, *An Introduction to Sasanian Coins*, 21, 175–78; Malek, "A Survey of Research on Sasanian Numismatics," 240.

The other Arabic sources on Yazdagird's accession and first few years include Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 666–67; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'riḫ*, I, 198; al-Dīnawarī, *al-Aḫbār al-ṭiwāl*, 119; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 234 = § 655; idem, *Tanbih*, 103, trans. 147; Ḥamzah al-İṣfahānī, *Ta'riḫ*, 53; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 501. Of Persian sources, see Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, trans. II, 353, who merely quotes the fact of Yazdagird's accession and that he reigned for four years, i.e., this source regards his reign as closing with the Arabs' capture of the capital al-Madā'in in March 637 and Yazdagird's subsequent gradual retreat eastward across Persia from Hulwān and İṣfahān to İṣṭakhr (thus according to such Arabic sources as al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, 315; al-Ṭabarī, I, 2439–40, tr. *The History of al-Ṭabarī, an Annotated Translation. XIII. The Conquest of Iraq, Southwestern Persia and Egypt. The Middle Years of 'Umar's Caliphate*, 20; the *Anonymus Guidi*, tr. 33, has Yazdagird flee via Khūzistān) to Kirmān and then his being killed in Khurāsān. Of modern studies, see Nöldeke, trans. 397 nn. 3–5, 431; Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia. The Arabs in the East*, London 1975, 57–67; 'Abd al-Ḥusain Zarrīnkūb, "The Arab Conquest of Iran and Its Aftermath," 4, 12–25.

1018. One of Yazdagird's sons, Fīrūz (III), spent the rest of his life after his father's death on the far northeastern fringes of the Islamic lands. He seems to have received aid from the Hephthalite or Turkish local ruler of Bactria/Ṭukhāristān, and may, in the surmise of J. Harmatta, have held power in Sistan for a short period ca. 660. He became a Chinese vassal and hoped to make a comeback with Chinese help; but he was driven out of the upper Oxus region by the Arabs, subsequently made his way to the imperial capital Ch'ang-an and died in China. Fīrūz's son, whose name is known only from Chinese sources as Ni-nieh-shih (presumably Narseh) continued to hover round the regions of Sogdia and Ṭukhāristān, stirring up trouble against the Arabs, but China was too distant to give these Sāsānid claimants any effective military support; he had to fall back into China and died there soon after 707. The presence of Sāsānid descendants in the Chinese capital Ch'ang-an seems nevertheless to be attested, according to Chinese sources, into the ninth century. See Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 68, 133–34; J. Harmatta, "The Middle Persian-Chinese Bilingual Inscription from Hsian and the Chinese-Sāsānian Relations," 373–76; Frye, "The Political History," 176; W. Watson, "Iran and China," 547.



[The Chronology of the World]



[1068]

The whole of the period of years that elapsed from Adam's being sent down to earth (i.e., his expulsion from the Garden of Eden) up to the time of the Prophet's Hijrah, according to what the Jews among the People of the Book say and according to what they allege is in the all-embracing text of the Torah (*al-Tawrāt al-ṣūrah*) setting forth the lives of the prophets and kings, is 4,642 years and a few months.¹⁰¹⁹

According to what the Christians say and assert in their Torah in the Greek language (i.e., the Septuagint), that extent of time was 5,992 years and a few months.

With regard to the whole of that, according to what the Persian Zoroastrians say, it was 4,182 years, ten months, and nineteen days, with the proviso that included in that span is the period of time between the Hijrah and the killing of Yazdajird—that is, thirty years, two months and fifteen days—and the further proviso that this system of reckoning of theirs and the beginning of their era (*ta'rikh*) runs from the time of Jayūmart, Jayūmart being Ādam (Adam), the progenitor of all mankind, to whom every human being can be traced back, as I have clearly set forth in this book.

Concerning the learned scholars of Islam, I have mentioned previously what certain of them have said regarding it, and I shall now mention some of those whose fame has not come down to the present day. These persons say that from the time of Ādam to that

¹⁰¹⁹. In n. a to his text, Nöldeke cited the origin of this phrase as Syriac *ṣūrat kəṭāb* "the complete text of the sacred books."

of Nūḥ (Noah) was ten centuries (a century, *qarn*, being a hundred years), between Nūḥ and Ibrāhīm (Abraham), ten centuries (a century being a hundred years again) and between Ibrāhīm and Mūsā, son of 'Imrān (Moses, son of Amram), ten centuries (a century being a hundred years yet again).

Mention of Those Who Say That

There related to us Ibn Bashshār—Abū Dāwūd—Hammām b. Qatādah—'Ikrimah—Ibn 'Abbās, who said: Between Ādam and Nūḥ there were ten centuries, and all of them (i.e., the people of this period) followed a path of divine truth (*sharī'ah min al-ḥaqq*).

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There related to us al-Ḥārith b. Muḥammad—Muḥammad b. Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Wāqid al-Aslamī,¹⁰²⁰ from several of the learned scholars, who all said: Between Ādam and Nūḥ were ten centuries (a century being a hundred years), between Nūḥ and Ibrāhīm, ten centuries (a century being a hundred years again), and between Ibrāhīm and Mūsā, son of 'Imrān, ten centuries (a century being a hundred years yet again).

It was transmitted from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī—Abū 'Awānah—'Āṣim al-Aḥwal—Abū 'Uthmān—Salmān, who said: The interval (*al-fatrah*) between Muhammad and 'Īsā (Jesus), peace be upon them both, was six hundred years.¹⁰²¹

It was transmitted from Fuḍayl b. 'Abd al-Waḥhāb—Ja'far b. Sulaymān—'Awf, who said: Between 'Īsā and Mūsā was 600 years.

1020. That is, the historian al-Wāqidī (130–207/747–823), who derived this *nisbah* from his grandfather's name and that of al-Aslamī from being a mawlā of a member of the Medinan clan of Aslam. Of his many works on the pre-Islamic history of Mecca and Medina and on early Islamic history, only the *Kitāb al-maghāzī* and possibly a *Kitāb al-riddah* survive, but his work was much used by slightly later authors such as Ibn Sa'd. See Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 294–97; *EP*², s.v. al-Wāqidī (S. Leder).

1021. The literal meaning of *fatrah* is "relaxation, weakening," thence "elapsing, period of time," and the term is especially applied in early Islamic usage to the interval between any two of the numerous prophetic messengers (*rasul*) who preceded the advent of Muḥammad. Al-Jāhiz explained that these intervals were called *fatrahs* because there was a "slackening" of observance, with a reinvigoration of religion when a new *rasul* came along. It became particularly used, as here, for the lengthy period without any prophets between Jesus and Muḥammad. See *EP*², s.v. *Fatra* (Ch. Pellat), and n. 1025 below.

There related to me Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm—Ibn 'Ulayyah—Sa'īd b. Abī Ṣadaqah—Muḥammad b. Sīrīn, who said: I was informed that Ka'b said that God's words, "O sister of Hārūn (Aaron)" do not refer to Hārūn the brother of Mūsā.¹⁰²² He related: 'Ā'ishah said to him, "You are wrong!" He replied, "O Mother of the Faithful! If the Prophet said it, then he is the most knowledgeable and the best one,¹⁰²³ but if not, I find a space of six hundred years between them." He related: She was thereupon silent.

There related to me al-Hārith—Muḥammad b. Sa'd—Hishām—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās, who said: Between Mūsā, son of 'Imrān, and 'Īsā, son of Maryam (Mary), was nineteen hundred years, but there was no interval (*fatrah*) between them, because during this period, God sent a thousand prophets from the Banū Isrā'īl (Children of Israel), apart from those whom He sent to other nations. Between the birth of 'Īsā and the Prophet was 569 years, in the first part of which He sent three prophets, as in His words, "When We sent to them two persons, and they branded them as liars, We strengthened them with a third person";¹⁰²⁴ the person whom He sent as a strengthener was Sham'un (Simon), one of the Apostles. The interval during which God did not send any prophets was 434 years.¹⁰²⁵ When Jesus was raised up (i.e., in his

[1070]

1022. Qur'ān, XIX, 29/28, there being an apparent confusion here of Maryam, the Virgin Mary, with Maryam, the sister of Moses and Aaron. However, J. M. Rodwell in his *The Koran Translated from the Arabic*, 385 n. 2, admitted that Muḥammad seems here to be guilty of an anachronism, but further pointed out that the anachronism might be only apparent, since even if Aaron, the brother of Moses, is meant, Maryam, the Virgin Mary, could be called his sister because she was of Levitical stock. Ka'b (i.e., Ka'b al-Aḥbār, on whom see n. 371 above) is in this tradition implying that the Hārūn/Aaron here is another person. See the extensive discussion in R. Paret, *Der Koran. Kommentar und Konkordanz*, 65.

1023. For the Leiden text's *khayr*, the Cairo text, II, 236, has, following al-Ṭabari's *Tafsīr*, the reading *akhbar* "giving more faithful reports."

1024. Qur'ān, XXXVI, 13/14. The words occur at the opening of the parable, or rather, story, of the unbelieving town, Antioch being the city commonly identified with this. K. Ahrens referred to a story of St. Peter at Antioch given in Ps.-Clement of Alexandria, see Bell, *A Commentary on the Qur'ān*, II, 138-39. Muslim tradition came to connect the story of the unbelieving town with the legendary character Ḥabīb the Carpenter who urged the town's inhabitants not to reject the three messengers who had been sent to them by God. See *EP*², s.v. Ḥabīb al-Nadīdjār (G. Vajda).

1025. We thus have an attempt to fill up part at least of the *fatrah* between Jesus

Ascension to Heaven), he was thirty-two years and six months old, and his period of prophethood was thirty months. God raised him [to Heaven] corporeally, and he is still alive at this moment.

There related to me Muḥammad b. Sahl b. 'Askar—Isma'īl b. 'Abd al-Karīm—'Abd al-Ṣamad b. Ma'qil, who heard Wahb [b. Munabbih] say that fifty-six hundred years have elapsed of this present world.

There related to me Ibrāhīm b. Sa'īd al-Jawharī—Yaḥyā b. Ṣāliḥ—al-Ḥasan b. Ayyūb al-Ḥaḍramī—'Abd Allāh b. Busr, who said: The Messenger of God said to me: "You will certainly live for a century (*qarn*)!" And he did [in fact] live for a hundred years.

This is what was transmitted from the learned scholars of Islam concerning this, and in what they say there is a very wide variation. This is seen in the fact that al-Wāqidi told the story, on the authority of a group of learned scholars, that they said what I have mentioned as his transmission from them. On the basis of what he said, one must take the whole span of years of this present world up to the birth of our Prophet as being forty-six years, but on the basis of what Ibn 'Abbās said, as transmitted by Hishām b. Muḥammad—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās, one must take the figure up to the birth of the Prophet as fifty-five hundred years. As for Wahb b. Munabbih, he mentioned what he had to say in one bloc, without breaking it down into details, that is, up to his own time [is a span of] fifty-six hundred years. The entire extent in time of this present world is, according to Wahb, six thousand years, of which there had elapsed up to his own time, in his view, fifty-six hundred years. Wahb b. Munabbih died in the year 114 of the Hijrah [A.D. 732].¹⁰²⁶ Thus the remainder of the extent of this present world, from the time we are actually in now, is, according

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and Muḥammad, other Muslim scholars endeavored to find also within it persons who had at least rejected the worship of idols and had followed an ascetic way of life, such as the *ḥaniḥ*s in pre-Islamic Mecca and the poet-ascetic of al-Ṭā'if, Umayyah b. Abī al-Ṣalt (on whom see n. 603 above), called collectively the *ahl al-fatrah*. See *EP*, s.v. Fatra (Ch. Pellat).

1026. This is one of the two dates given in the sources for Wahb's death, the other being 110/728-29. See Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 305; *EP*, s.v. Wahb b. Munabbih (R. G. Khoury).

to Wahb's words, 215 years.¹⁰²⁷ This is what Wahb b. Munabbih says, conformable to what Abū Šālih transmitted from Ibn 'Abbās.

Some authorities state that from the time of the descent [to earth] of Ādam to the mission of our Prophet is 6,113 years, [this span comprising,] in their view, from Ādam's descent to the earth up to the Flood, 2,256 years; from the Flood to the birth of Ibrāhīm, the Friend of the Merciful One,¹⁰²⁸ 1,079 years; from the birth of Ibrāhīm to Mūsā's exodus with the Banū Isrā'īl from Egypt, 565 years; from Mūsā's exodus with the Banū Isrā'īl from Egypt to the building of the Sacred Temple (*al-Bayt al-Maqdis*)—this being four years after the accession to royal power of Sulaymān, son of Dāwūd (Solomon, son of David)—636 years; from the building of the Temple to al-Iskandar's (Alexander the Great's) accession to royal power, 717 years; from al-Iskandar's accession to the birth of 'Īsā, son of Maryam, 369 years; from the birth of 'Īsā to Muḥammad's mission, 551 years; and from Muḥammad's mission to his Hijrah from Mecca to Medina, thirteen years.

[1072]

Some authorities have related from Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī—his father—Abū Šālih—Ibn 'Abbās, who said that from Ādam to Nūḥ was twenty-two hundred years; from Nūḥ to Ibrāhīm, 1,143 years; from Ibrāhīm to Mūsā, 575 years; from Mūsā to Dāwūd, 179 years; from Dāwūd to 'Īsā, 1,053 years; and from 'Īsā to Muḥammad, 600 years.

Al-Haytham b. 'Adī¹⁰²⁹ has related from certain members of the People of the Book, saying that from Ādam to the Flood was 2,256 years; from the Flood to the death of Ibrāhīm, 1,020 years; from Ibrāhīm's death to the Banū Isrā'īl's entry into Egypt, seventy-five years; from Ya'qūb's (Jacob's) entry into Egypt to Moses' exodus from it, 430 years; from the building of the Sacred Temple to the accession to royal power of Bukht-Naṣṣar (Nebuchadnezzar) and

1027. That is, the period of time between Wahb's death and the date when al-Ṭabarī was writing his *History*, which would bring the latter date up to 319 [931].

1028. Ibrāhīm/Abraham being called in Muslim lore Khalil Allāh, the "Friend of God," this being based on Qur'ān, IV, 124/125 "and God took Abraham as a friend," echoing Isa. xli. 8.

1029. That is, the Kūfan *akhbārī* or historian (d. 204, 207 or 209/819–24), a source for al-Ya'qūbī, al-Ṭabarī, al-Mas'ūdī, and other historians. See Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 272; *EP*², s.v. al-Haytham b. 'Adī (Ch. Pellat).

the destruction of the Sacred Temple,¹⁰³⁰ 446 years; from the accession of Bukht-Naşşar to the accession to royal power of al-Iskandar,¹⁰³¹ 436 years; and from al-Iskandar's accession to the year 206 of the Hijrah [/A.D. 821-822], 1,245 years.

1030. The Old Testament Nebuchadnezzar (*nbwkdn'sr*, a scribal error in the masoretic text for *nbwkd'r'sr*), Babylonian Nabû-kudurri-uşur, "the god Nabu has guarded the estate [succession]," came to power in 605 B.C.; various dates, including 588, 587, and 586 B.C. are given for his sack of Jerusalem and destruction of the Temple there. The extents of time between the events delineated here, going up to Alexander's accession (see below) are, of course, fanciful.

1031. That is, Alexander the Great (365-323 B.C.), whose accession to the throne of Macedon took place in 336 B.C. on his father Philip II's assassination. Al-Ṭabarî's computation of 1,245 years is thus an exaggeration, even if *hijri* lunar years and not solar ones are used.



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The index contains proper names of persons, places, and tribal and other groups, as well as topographical data, occurring in the text (and sometimes in the footnotes also), together with technical terms; where the latter are explained in the footnotes, they are also noted.

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