

EIGHTEEN REMARKABLE THINGS OR EVENTS OF THE REIGN (593-628 A.C.) OF KHUSRU PARVIZ (CHOSROES II) OF PERSIA.

(Read on 11th March 1924.)

Introduction.

I.

THERE IS A SMALL Pahlavi treatise known as "Mādigān-i Bīnā-Fravardīn yūm-i Khurdād," i.e., "an account of month Fravardin, day Khurdād." It is referred to by Dr. E. West as "Mādigān-i mäh Fravardīn roz Khurdād" in his article on the Pahlavi Literature.¹ It describes the remarkable events said to have occurred on the Khurdād-sāl day, from the beginning of the creation upto now, and says, that even the Resurrection day will fall on that day. This Khurdād-sāl day now falls in September. It is still observed with some eclāt by the Parsees and is declared as a Public Holiday by Government.

In this Pahlavi treatise, we read the following reference to 18 remarkable things or events of the reign of Khusru Parvīz (i.e. Khusru the Victorious), known by Western writers as Chosroes II his grand-father Naushīrwān 'Ādil (i.e., Naushīrwān the Just) being known as Chosroes I. (sec. 27)

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¹ *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, Band II, pp. 75 et seq. Vide p. 111 for the reference to the text of the events. The Text is published in *The Pahlavi Texts* by Dastur Dr. Jamaspji Minocherji (pp. 102 et seq.). It is translated by Dastur Kaikhosru Jamaspji in the *K. R. Cama Memorial Volume* (pp. 122 et seq.), edited by me. An incomplete Persian version of the treatise is found in the *Rivayets* (vide Dastur Darab Hormuzdyar's *Rivayet* by M. R. Unvala, with my Introduction, Vol. II, p. 49).

Translation: In the month of Fravardin, on the day Khordād, 18 things² came (or occurred) to Khusru, the son of Hormazd during 18 years.

The Pahlavi treatise does not say what the particular 18 remarkable things or events of Khusru's reign were. Again, it does not say which particular 18 years of Khusru's long reign of 38 years (590-628 A.C.) are meant as those during which the things or events occurred. There is no other writing, Pahlavi or Persian, as far as I know, which enumerates and determines these 18 things or events.

I was led to the study of this subject by an interesting article entitled, "Note sur une Tapisserie Arabe du VIII^e siècle" by M. E. Blochet in the October 1923 issue (pp. 613-17) of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. M. Blochet describes the Arab Tapestry and illustrates his description with a plate, representing a piece of the tapestry in the collection of M. E. Gélou of Paris. He traces the design to an original Persian carpet of Khusru Parviz. He thus refers to it:

"The Mahomedan historians, (both) Arab and Persian, have preserved for us in their chronicles, a tradition, according to which the army of Sa'd, which seized Ctesiphon in 637 (A. C.) found in the palace of the King of Persia a carpet of gigantic dimensions, the history of which seems to be a legend borrowed from (the book of) *The Thousand and One Nights*. The subjects of the Sassanian monarch called this carpet 'The Spring of Khusru' and the Arabs, who had never seen at Mecca or Medina an object with which they could compare it, gave it the name of al-Kathif i.e., the Carpet."³

² The Pahlavi word for "things" used in this passage is *mandavam* or (*mindavam*), traditionally read as *mandum*. It means "a thing, something, anything, a matter, an affair, a concern, property." Its Pazend synonym is *chish* Pers. چیز (West-Haug's Glossary of *Virāf-Nāmeḥ*, p. 221).

³ "Les historiens musulmans, arabes et persans, nous ont conservé dans leurs chroniques une tradition suivant laquelle l'armée du Sa'd, qui s'empara de Ctésiphon, en 637, trouva dans le palais du roi de Perse un tapis de dimensions gigantesques, dont l'histoire semble une légende empruntée aux Mille et Une Nuits. (E. Blochet, *Les Peintures des Manuscrits Orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, dans les Publications de la Société Française de reproduction de manuscrits à peintures, Paris, 1914—20, Page 137f.) Les sujets du monarque sassanide nommaient ce tapis 'le Printemps du

M. Blochet then describes the carpet and says that according to Arab historians, during the monotonous rigour of winter, the carpet gave to the King of Iran the illusion of the budding spring (printemps naissant). In winter, the king lived in the vaulted halls of the White Palace of Ctesiphon. There, he got this carpet spread on the pavements of the galleries and with his family in the midst of the groves, which were embroidered in gold and silk on the carpet, imagined to himself that he was enjoying the spring season. Hence, the carpet was named "the Spring of Khusru." When Ctesiphon fell, this carpet was captured by the Arab army and sent to Khalif Omar at Medina. There, it was broken up in pieces. M. Blochet says that the style of this carpet continued in Persian carpets upto the 16th century. M. Blochet then gives a plate illustrating a carpet in which the above style of embroidery was copied.

Now I think that the carpet of Khusru, known as the "Spring of Khusru" referred to by M. Blochet, as being one, the style of which served as a model for a long time, was one of the 18 remarkable things of the reign of Khusru Parviz⁴ referred to in the above Pahlavi treatise. The object of this paper, therefore, is to determine, as said above, the 18 remarkable things or events of Khusru's reign and the period of 18 years during which they occurred. First of all, I will determine, what we may call, the fortunate 18 years of Khusru's reign.

II.

The Fortunate 18 years of Khusru's reign.

Khusru Parviz was one of the most unfortunate as well as one of the most fortunate kings of Persia. As said by Nöldeke on the

'Chosroès,' et les Arabes, qui, à la Mecque et à Médine, n'avaient jamais vu un objet qu'on lui put comparer, lui donnèrent le nom de al-Kathif 'le Tapis.'

⁴ Old Arab writers like Mas'ûdi and Tabari, give the name as (ابرويز) *abarwiz*. The word seems to be originally something like Av. *apara*, (far off,) and *viz* or rather *vis* विश (to be or become or to come), i.e., one who reaches far off; then victorious. Nöldeke (*Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, p. 275 n.) thus traces it: *aparwēg*, *aparwēz*, (neu-Pers.) *abarwēz* (arab *abariz*—oder *abarwaz*) oder *parwēz* "siegreich" (victorious).

authority of Tabarī, Khusru Parvīz “ was one of the Persian kings, who, in valor, prudence and distant military expeditions, was the most prominent.”⁵ The reign of Khusru Parvīz was a reign in which Persia had come into great contact with the later Roman Empire. The history of the times of Emperor Maurice, his murderer and his successor Phoceon and of his successor Heraclius, is greatly connected with the history of Persia in the time of Khusru. Again, some of the 18 things or events in the 18 years of his reign are associated with both, the history of Persia and the history of the Roman Empire. So, a brief narration of the historical relations between the two countries seems to be necessary to understand our subject well and to enable us to determine the 18 years and the 18 events or things.

Khusru came to the throne of Persia in 590 A. C. when his father Hormazd was deposed and put to death at Ctesiphon. Then for six more years he was not secure on his throne and had to look after the dangerous conspirators of his own court and country, the very men who had revolted against his father and murdered him. In these early years, he had to run away to the Court of the Roman Emperor Maurice, who not only helped him, but, according to Masūdī, Firdausī and other writers, gave him, in marriage, his daughter Mary (ماریه).⁶ By the treaty of alliance which was the result of the marriage,⁷ Khusru gave up to the Roman Emperor his rights on the country of Egypt and Syria which his grandfather Naushirwān had conquered.

⁵ “Dies war einer der persischen Könige, welche durch Tapferkeit, Klugheit and weite Kriegszüge, am meisten hervorragten.” (*Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden aus der Arabischen Chronik des Tabari*, von Th. Nöldeke (1879), p. 275.)

⁶ Masūdī transl. B. de Meynard, II, p. 221.

⁷ With reference to this marriage of a Zoroastrian king with a Christian princess, Masūdī refers to the custom of the kings of Iran which required that an Iranian can marry the girl of a non-Iranian but not give an Iranian girl in marriage to a non-Iranian. He points, as analogy for a similar custom, to the Korachites. He says: “Le roi de Perse pouvaient épouser les filles des rois étrangers; mais ils ne voulaient pas de ces rois pour gendres, parce qu’ils se considéraient comme d’une race plus libre

Gibbon, in his long account of Khusru's relations with Maurice, does not refer to this marriage, but according to him, the relations between Khusru and Maurice were like those of a son and father. He speaks of Maurice as Khusru's "adopted father"⁸ and of Khusru as his son. So, the relationship, if not of father-in-law and son-in-law, was certainly something like that of an adopted father and son. Khusru remained faithful to the Roman Emperor Maurice till the end of his life when he was killed in the revolution of Phocas. Then he helped his son Theodosius. In fact, his subsequent war with Rome was to avenge, as it were, the insult that Rome, instigated by Phocas, had done to his adopted father.⁹

Now, just as Khusru and his father had to suffer at the hands of rebels in their country, Emperor Maurice had to do the same. He fell at the hands of Phocas (603 A.C.), who seized the throne of the Roman Empire. By this time Khusru had established himself on his throne, and was in a position strong enough to avenge the death of Maurice. He helped Theodosius, the son of Maurice, who had fled and sought his shelter. He on behalf of Theodosius, declared war against the Roman Emperor Heraclius, who was, at one time, the Governor of Africa, and who, overthrowing Phocas, the usurper, in 610 A.C., had come to the throne. In the next year, Khusru Parviz invaded Syria and took Antioch and Apamea. He invaded Cappadocia in 612 A.C. In 614 A.C., he took Damascus. He then enlisted 26,000 Jews in his army and raised a general war against the Christians, and going to Palestine, took Jerusalem and captured the holy cross on which Christ was crucified. In 616, his general Shahr Baraz, crossing the desert, went over to Egypt

et plus noble. Les Persans entrent dans de longs détails sur cet usage qui offre de l'analogie avec les privilèges des Koreïchites et leur titre de Hamas (braves.)" (Ibid.)

⁸ *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1844), Vol. III, p. 238.

⁹ It was said that the influence of the relationship with Maurice had turned Khusru a little to Christianity. If so, it may have been for a short time only. According to Gibbon, the pregnancy of this beloved wife of his, whom he calls "Sira or Schirin" and who was a devout Christian, was ascribed to the King's devotion to the Christian bishop Sergius (Ibid). On his return to Persia, Khusru is said to have had 1,000 picked Roman soldiers as his bodyguard.

and captured Pelusium and Alexandria. Thus, after about 900 years, Persia regained Egypt which was first conquered by the Achæmenians. In 617, Khusru's second army, which had invaded Cappadocia, besieged Chalcedon, situated on the Bithynian coast opposite to Constantinople. Heraclius sued for peace on the advice of the Persian general Sain but in vain. Khusru got enraged against his general for the above advice. Chalcedon fell in 617 A.C. With this victory, Persia extended its sway over all the regions once ruled over by the Achæmenians. The great Roman Empire was now reduced merely to the city of Constantinople and some stray tracts of country in Italy, Greece and Africa. And according to the saying that, at times, misfortunes do not come singly, the Avars, an offshoot of the Old Hun race, invaded Thrace and threatened Constantinople itself. Being hard pressed on all sides, Heraclius thought of leaving Constantinople and going to Carthage in Africa, the region of his former governorship. So during this time of various difficulties, he embarked all his treasures on board the ships to be carried away, before him, to Africa, his proposed destination of flight. When Tabarī speaks of Abyssinia as the country to which the Roman treasures were sent, the country meant was Africa, of which Abyssinia was then an important part. But another misfortune followed. The fleet of ships carrying his treasures to Africa was wafted by adverse winds to a Persian port in Asia Minor and the great Roman treasure fell into the hands of Khusru. At home, another misfortune overtook Heraclius. The news of his proposed flight to Africa became known to the people whom he wanted to desert in their difficulties and they all rose against him under the Patriarch of Constantinople. They prevented him from running away and the Patriarch made him swear in the famous church of St. Sophia, that he would stick to his country and not run away.

What stood by his side in the midst of all his misfortunes was his maritime power. With the help of this power, he went to the Armenian frontiers and defeated the Persian army there in 622 A.C. and returned victorious to Constantinople. The next year (623), he again marched against the Persians—this time with the allied help of the Khazars, another offshoot of the Huns. He

won a great victory and destroyed several Persian towns and places, one of the most important of which was the city on Lake Urumiah (Chaechista of the Avesta), where burned one of the most sacred Fires of the Zoroastrians. He destroyed the great Fire-temple and avenged, as said by Nöldeke, the fall of Jerusalem.

In 624, the Persian army under Shahr Baraz was defeated in Armenia. In 625 Shahr Baraz was again defeated in Cilicia. In 626, Khusru took into his alliance the Khān of the Avars and made a powerful attempt to turn the tide of his defeat. He stood well in the land fight near Tiflis. His allies, the Avars, had attacked Constantinople, but owing to want of sea-power, the Persians could not render any substantial help, in time, to the Avars. So, the attack on Constantinople failed.

In 627, Heraclius attacked Dastgard, the city of Khusru's residence, about 70 miles north of Ctesiphon, and, after a stubborn fight in several places, won the final victory against Khusru. This defeat brought about a revolution in Khusru's country. He had further made himself unpopular by misbehaving with two generals, who, though fighting bravely under unfortunate circumstances, lost battles. His nobles rose against him and he was put into prison and later on murdered. (628 A.C.).

Thus, we see that the fortunate successful years of Khusru commenced from 604, when he began to wage a successful war against Rome under Phocas, who had murdered the preceding Roman Emperor, and ended in 622 when Heraclius turned the scales of victory against him.

III.

The Eighteen Remarkable Things or Events.

Now, we come to the subject of the 18 remarkable things or events which occurred during the above 18 years. As said above, though we do not find any regular enumeration in any work, Pahlavi or Persian, we are in a position to make up an approximate though not a sure and certain list from various sources.

First of all, it is the Arab historian Ṭabarī who refers to a number of these remarkable events of Khusru's reign. The subject

forms, according to his translator, Zotenberg,¹⁰ the 55th chapter of the second part of his work.

Tabari's List of some of the 18 things.

In the Persian Version of Tabari's work there is a separate chapter, headed :¹¹

در ذکر پادشاهی کردن خسرو پرویز که کسری خوانند

(i.e., in the matter of the reign of Khusru Parviz who is called Kesr). Therein, we have an account of some of his very rare unique possessions. Zotenberg has very properly headed the chapter as that of Khusru's Treasures (richesses).¹² In this chapter of Tabari, we have a mention of the following rare possessions of Khusru's reign. I will first enumerate them and will then describe them in some details.

1. A rich golden throne known as Tākdis.
2. A rich crown.
3. A very swift Roman horse, known as Shabdiz.
4. A young girl of surprising beauty, known as Shirīn.
5. An enormous treasure, known as Bādverd, which was captured from the Roman Emperor.
6. A stable of 50,000 horses, camels and mules.
7. 1,000 elephants.
8. A harem containing 12,000 women including free and slave women.
9. 12,000 white camels known as Turkish camels.
10. A towel made of malleable gold.
11. Two great musicians named Bārboud and Sergius.
12. A rich carpet (mentioned in a separate chapter by Tabari).

¹⁰ Tabari, transl. Zotenberg II, pp. 304-5. For the Arabic text of the reign of Khusru, spoken of by Tabari as *کسری پرویز* Kesr Abarviz vide "Annales quos scripsit Abu Djafar Mohammed ibn Djarir at Tabari cum alis edidit M. J. de Goeje. Prima Series II, recensuerunt J. Barth et Th. Noldeke (1881-82)" p. 1009.

¹¹ Munshi Naval Kishore's Text of 1874, p. 359.

¹² Zotenberg, *op. cit.* II, p. 304.

These things form the list of Khusru's very rare valuable possessions as given by Tabarī.¹³ I will now describe these in some detail:

The first unique thing which Khusru possessed was a golden throne named Tākdis.¹⁴ It had a height of 110 cubits¹⁵ (ارش) having its four feet of red rubies. At the end

1. *A rich Golden Throne.* of each foot there were 100 pearls, each of the size of the egg of a sparrow (*kunjishk*). Firdausī gives a long description of this throne.

He first refers to a throne of the kings of Persia which was first got constructed by Faridun through an architect named Jahn Barzin (جهن برزین). Faridun had possessed three valuable things: 1. A cow-shaped mace (*gurz-i gārsār*); 2. A jewel, named *haft-chashma* (i.e., seven-eyed or seven-sided); and 3. This throne. The kings who succeeded him, one by one, added to the beauty of the throne by putting on it additional jewels. It came down upto the time of Alexander who destroyed it and Firdausī calls this a "senseless work" (*bi-dānashī*) on Alexander's part. When Ardeshir (Babegān) ascended the throne, he heard of it and collecting the remains or broken parts of the old throne reconstructed another throne, which, later on, was embellished by Noshirwān (Chosroes I). Khusru Parvīz, on coming to the throne of Persia, thought of reconstructing it (*ke ān nāmvar takht rā nao kunam*). He heard that there were old records to show that king Gushtāsp had thought of constructing a throne on the advice and design of his minister Jāmāsp. He sent for the records and proceeded to construct another grand throne with the help of his architects

¹³ I have followed in this enumeration, not Nawal Kishore's Text, which is much abridged, but Zotenberg's version (Vol. II, pp. 304-5, Chap. 55).

¹⁴ Lit. "like (دیس *dis*) an arch."

¹⁵ Tabari, Text, *op. cit.*, p. 359, last line. Zotenberg, p. 304. Firdausī gives 170 cubits. A cubit is about 18 inches.

¹⁶ Macan's Calcutta Edition, Vol. IV, pp. 2004 *et seq.* I give my translation from this text. *Vide* Mohl's small edition, Vol. VII, pp. 249, *et seq.* Kutar Brothers' Shah-nāmah, Vol. X, p. 74. Dastur Minocheher's Trans., Vol. IX, p. 499.

assisted by those from Roum (Constantinople), Chint-Mekran and Bagdad. 1,120 artizans, with 30 apprentices under each, worked for two years over the throne. The throne was 120 *rash*¹⁷ (i.e., cubits) in breadth. The height of the throne was greater than the breadth. On each of the 30 days of the month, different kinds of carpets (*farsh*) were spread upon it. It was made of ten parts (*lakht*) with 140,000 paintings with turquoises set on a golden surface. The clasps and nails were all of silver. The throne was put upon the ground of a race-course (*asp-ris*) and the surroundings were artistically prepared, so that, with the position of the sun in the different constellations, different garden landscapes presented themselves. It was provided with sufficient warm curtains or screens (*tāq*)¹⁸ for the winter. Again a thousand golden and silver balls were kept on it, and, they, being heated by some contrivance, diffused heat. Each of the balls weighed 500 *misqāls*.¹⁹ Half the number (i.e., 500) of the balls were in turn kept on the throne to give warmth and half the number were in turn carried to the fire to be heated. The throne was mathematically or astronomically so arranged in the midst of its surroundings, that those sitting on it could know by what they saw, the position of the moon in the heavens at the time and calculated what time of night it was. The whole structure consisted of three stages, one over the other, all the three standing on a platform. The throne-seats of all the stages were decorated with rich jewels. Four steps led from one stage to the higher. All the steps were of gold and were bedecked with jewels. The first part or stage of the throne was called *mish-sār* (i.e., sheep-like), because it had the facing of a sheep. The second was called *lājward* (i.e., of lapis lazuli). The third stage of the throne was made of *pirouzeh* (i.e., turquoise). On the public occasions when the court was held, the lower *mish-sār* stage or platform of the throne was occupied by the commoners (*dahhkān va zīr dastān*, i.e., the villagers and the subordinates); the *lājvardi* platform was occupied by the higher

¹⁷ A *rash* or cubit is one and a half foot. So, the breadth of the throne came to 180 ft.

¹⁸ cf. Gujarati ટાંકા.

¹⁹ A *misqāl* is one and three-seventh dram in weight.

military classes. The highest platform of turquoise was occupied by the Dastur or the Prime Minister.

It appears from the above description of the throne by Firdausī, that it was not an ordinary throne but a huge piece of structure with platforms or stages rising one over another, over the uppermost of which sat the king himself with his prime minister by his side.

Khusru's second rare possession, according to Ṭabarī, was a

2. *A Rich Crown.* very rich crown. It was a crown having 100 pearls, each of the size of a bird's egg.²⁰

The third valuable possession of Khusru was a horse named Shab-dīz, i.e., the night-coloured or dark-coloured (horse).

It was "taller than any (other horse) in the world, being four cubit-measures (*zara*'). It had come to his hands from Roum.²¹ When it was shod on its 'hands and feet,'²² the shoe had to be fastened with 8 nails on each. Shab-diz ate the same food which Khusru Parviz ate. When the horse died they sculptured his features in stone."²³

The next rare and valuable possession of Khusru was Shīrīn. The story of Khusru and Shīrīn has been the subject of the poetical writings of more than one Persian poet. Ṭabarī speaks of her as "a girl (*kanizak*)

4. *Shīrīn.* named Shīrīn than whom no Turkish or Arab person had a more beautiful and comely face.

This Shīrīn was one, of whom Farhād was enamoured and for whom he excavated and broke the mountain of Bīsatūn. Each piece of stone which Farhād broke from the mountain was so large

²⁰ Zotenberg, *op. cit.* II, p. 304. The way in which Ṭabarī gives his account may possibly make one doubtful, whether to take this as a separate possession.

²¹ Constantinople.

²² Dast va pai. The front feet are spoken of as hands.

²³ I have translated this from Naval Kishore's edition of Ṭabarī p. 360 ll. 1-3. According to the Text which Zotenberg has followed, Ṭabarī said that the sculpture stood at Kirmanshah upto his time (Hijri 224 to 310; A.C. 838 to 922). Masūdi also

that 10 men, nay even 100, could not lift up and these (stones) are still lying there now (lit even to-day that is so)."²⁴

Parviz possessed a Treasure called Bād-vard (*i.e.*, carried away by the wind).²⁵ It is said that the King of Roum was sending to Abyssinia his immense treasure for safety as

5. *The Treasure* a powerful enemy was about to invade his known as *Bādvard*. country. Adverse winds wafted the boats, about 1,000, carrying the treasures to the shores of Persia and Khusru seized them. We find from our above brief historical account that this Bādvard (wind-carried) treasure was the treasure which Heraclius was stealthily sending away from Constantinople to Africa. Tabarī says that the adverse winds carried the treasure boats to "the shores of Oman in the territories of Persia." But from the brief history of Persia and Rome during

says the same thing. He says: "C'est le cheval qu'on voit sculpté sur le montagne de Kermasin" (Kirmanchah). Masūdi speaks of the horse as Shabdār شبدار (Maḡoudi traduit par Barbier de Meynard II, pp. 215-16). Mas'ūdī gives the following story about the horse: Once when the king was riding on it, the rein broke. He sent for the master of his equipage and was going to cut off his head to punish him for his negligence in not looking well after the saddle of the horse, when the man said: "Sire, nothing can stand against the king of men and against the king of horses," meaning thereby that it was the strength of the horse and the rider which led to violent riding and brought about the breaking of the reins. This was indirectly a compliment to the king and to his horse. The king was pleased and gave him his life. According to Gibbon, his two favourite horses were "Shebdiz and Barid" (*Op. cit.*, III, p. 251). The sculpture forms a part of the well-known sculptures of Taq-i Bostān. (After writing the above, I had the pleasure of visiting this sculpture during my tour in Persia *via* Russia. *Vide* my book of Travels (मारी मु'अफ अहमरनी सेहल १८२६ p. 357).

²⁴ *i.e.*, in the time of Tabarī. I have followed Naval Kishore's Text, p. 360 l. 4. Local tradition, even now, connects Farhād with Bisatūn, but the Inscription on the Mount shows that the sculptures belonged to Darius. *Vide* my Books of Travels (*op. cit.* pp. 363-368), published since writing the above.

²⁵ I give an account of this and some subsequent remarkable things on the authority of Zotenberg (*Op. cit.* II, p. 305.). Naval Kishore's abridged text does not refer to them. The word Bād-vard may be taken either as باد برد, *i.e.*, carried by wind or باد آورد, *i.e.*, brought by wind.

these times which we have traced above, it appears that Tabari is wrong in saying that the treasure was wafted to the sea or gulf of Oman. Gibbon, who seems to speak resting on other authorities, is right in saying that it was wafted into one of the Syrian ports possessed by Persia.²⁶

Khusru possessed 50,000 horses, camels and mules, out of which he had 8,000 for his own personal use. Now the mere possession of a large number of horses, &c.—and in fact the number is not unusually large—should not make it a rare possession. So, a further statement of Mas'ūdi on the subject makes the point clear. He says: "His stable included 50,000 horses or beasts of burden; all the horses which formed his cortege had a saddle of gold enriched with precious stones and pearls."²⁷

He possessed 1,000 elephants.²⁸ Mas'ūdi²⁹ explains as to what the rarity in this possession was. He says that the elephants were whiter than snow, some of them were 12 cubits³⁰ in height. He adds that this height is very rare for war-elephants, the average being between 9 and 10 cubits and that the kings of India paid very high prices for any elephant of greater height than the above average. He adds in passing that the elephants of *zanj* (زنج) have still higher statures. Their tusks at times weigh 150 to 200 maunds (من), each maund weighing two ratals (رطل) i.e. pounds of Bagdad. Mas'ūdi further adds that when

²⁶ Gibbon (*Op. cit.* III, p. 251) thus refers to this treasure of Badvard: "The various treasures of gold, silver, gems, silk and aromatics, were deposited in a hundred subterraneous vaults; and the chamber *Bada-verd* denoted the accidental gift of the winds which had wafted the spoils of Heraclius into one of the Syrian harbours of his rival."

²⁷ I translate from the French of Barbier de Meynard's *Maçoudi* Vol. II, p. 230. Mas'ūdi speaks of Khosru Parviz as البرويز which Barbier de Meynard reads as Ebeviz. I think Mas'ūdi read the izafat of the words Khosru-i Parviz with the last word which he read Barviz instead of Parviz.

²⁸ Gibbon says: "Nine hundred and sixty elephants were maintained for the use or splendour of the great king." (*Op. cit.* III, p. 251.)

²⁹ Barbier de Meynard, *op. cit.* II, 230.

³⁰ i.e. about 18 ft.

the king reviewed his army, these 1,000 elephants, when they passed before him, lowered their heads and folded their trunks and remained in that posture till their drivers drew their ropes and said some words in their Indian language. The king often regretted that the elephants were not the products of Persia. He admired much their intelligence.³¹

8. *Khusru's Maid-servants.* Khusru had twelve thousand women, both free and slave, serving as maid-servants in his palaces.³²

He possessed 12,000 white camels. Gibbon³³ says on this subject: "His tents and baggage were carried into the field by twelve thousand great camels and eight thousand of a smaller size."

9. *A stable of 12,000 camels.* One of the rarest things possessed by Khusru was a handkerchief for cleaning his hands, made out of malleable gold, *i.e.*, gold which was extended by beating into very thin sheets. When the handkerchief got dirty, it was thrown into fire where it did not burn and got its dirty stains and spots cleared.

10. *A Towel of Malleable Gold.* He had at his Court distinguished musicians like Bārboud and Sargash. We do not find any account of these musicians in Tabarī, but we learn the following from Firdausī: There was a musician of the name of Sargash. He was happy (or joyous) in music. He invoked blessings upon the king in his song (or on his musical instrument *rūd*) and gave many benedictions to the Emperor. Great men threw jewels over him (*i.e.*, were much pleased with him) and called him Farr-i Buzorgi, *i.e.*, 'the

³¹ Mas'ūdi adds his own admiration of the size, intelligence, docility and patience of the Indian elephants. He says they have a tact of discerning the desires of their masters and they distinguish a king from others. Zanj seems to be Zanzibar.

³² Gibbon says: "The service of the interior apartments was performed by twelve thousand slaves." In this number, there were "three thousand virgins, the fairest of Asia." (Gibbon, *op. cit.* III, p. 251.)

³³ *Op. cit.* Vol. III, p. 251.

splendour of greatness.’³⁴ I have given above my own translation of Firdausi. As my translation and other translations³⁵ all differ a little, I give here the lines in the original to enable students to form their own opinion.

یکی مطربی بود سرگش بنام
برامشگری در شده شاد کام
همی آفرین خواند سرگش برود
شهنشاه را داد چندی درود
بزرگان برو گوهر افشاندند
که فر بزرگیش میخ—واندند

Firdausi then says that in the 28th year of Khusru’s reign (618 A. C.) Bārbad, a great singer, came to the court of Persia. Sargash who commanded great influence in the Court, hearing of his arrival got a little afraid, lest the singing of this new-comer, who had made his name outside the court, would undermine his influence with the king, and tried to keep him out of the Court, even going to the length of bribing the chamberlain for that purpose. We further learn from Firdausi that this Bārbad was a foreigner. He went to the court of Khusru from his own country (*ze keshvar beshud tā ba dargāh-i-shāh*). Thus it seems that both these singers were foreigners. Sargash was a Christian divine and Bārbad also may be a Christian bishop.

As to this musician Sargash (سرگش), I think, that he was the same as the St. Sergius of the Western writers. We know that there was a martyr named St. Sergius to whom Khusru was attached. Gibbon refers to some preliminary inclination of the king towards Christianity, the result of the influence of Maurice whom he calls his “adopted father,” and then says: “The imaginary conversion of the king of Persia was reduced to a local super-

³⁴ Macan’s (Calcutta ed.), Vol. IV, p. 2008. Mohl (small ed.), Vol. VII, p. 259.

³⁵ *Vide* the small edition of M. Mohl’s French Translation, Vol. VII. p. 255. Warner’s Vol. VIII, p. 397. Dastur Minocheher’s Vol. IV, p. 504, Kutar Brothers’ Vol. IX, p. 78.

stitious veneration for Sergius, one of the saints of Antioch, who heard his prayers and appeared to him in dreams; he enriched his shrine with offerings of gold and silver, and ascribed to his invincible patron, the success of his arms, and the pregnancy of Sira, a devout Christian, and the best beloved of his wives. The beauty of Sira or Schirin, her wit, her musical talents, are still famous in the history or rather in the romance of the east.”³⁷ So, I think that the Sargash of the Oriental writers is no other than Bishop Sergius. Again, let us take a note of what Firdausi says of Sargash’s song. He recited in his song benedictions and blessings. Again, I think, that the title Farr-i Buzargi referred to by Firdausi is a rendering of something like “His Reverence.” All these facts lead me to conclude that Sargash and Sergius were the same persons.

We saw above, that in one place (Chap. 55 of Zotenberg) Tabari has referred to eleven rare things or events connected

with the name of Khosru Parviz. He has referred

12. *A Rich Car-* red to them under the head of Khusru’s
pet. treasures, “ses richesses,” as said by Zotenberg

on the authority of his text of Tabari. But

we find, that Tabari has referred to a twelfth rare rich thing in another part of his work in his account of the defeat of the last Sassanian monarch Yazdagard. While describing all the treasures that fell into the hands of the Arabs, he thus describes a carpet which fell into their hands and which he names “the Spring of Khusru : ”³⁸

اندر خزانه فرشی یافتند سید ارش بالا اندر و شصت ارش
بهنا و آنرا دستانی خواندند و ملکان عجم آنرا باز کردند و
بران نشستندی بدان وقت که اندر جهان سبزی نمائده بود و هر
ده ارش ازان بگوهرهای دیگر بافته و ده ارش زمرد سبز و
ده ارش بگوهر سفید و ده ارش یاقوت سرخ و ده ارش
یاقوت کبود و ده ارش یاقوت زرد و هر کس که بدان اندر

³⁷ *Op. cit.* Vol. III, p. 238.

³⁸ Zotenberg, *op. cit.* III, p. 417.

نگریستی پنداشتی که پری زاد است و از اندرون آن همه
گوهرها بدان در نشانده بودند و شکل هر چیزی که اندر جهان
اسیر آب و گل است و سبزیهای آن دروی نگارده بودند
سعد رضی الله عنه آنرا بنزدیک عمر رضی الله عنه فرستاد.....
و چون بمدینه رسید عمر رضی الله عنه بفرمود تا آنها را اندر
مسجد بمهادند³⁹

Translation.—In his treasures, they found a carpet 300 cubits long and 60 cubits broad. They called it Dastān. The kings of Persia spread it and sat on it at the time when there was nothing green in the world (*i.e.*, in winter). On every 10 cubits of it, they had woven different jewels and on 10 cubits green emeralds; on 10 cubits white jewels; on 10 cubits red rubies; on 10 cubits blue rubies: on 10 cubits yellow rubies. Whoever looked on it thought that it was fairy-born (*i.e.*, fairy-made). In it, jewels were set in, and pictures of all things which grow on earth and water and all green plants were woven in it. S'ad, on whom there may be the peace of God, sent it to Omar—may the peace of God be upon him. . . And when it arrived at Madineh, Omar—may the peace of God be upon him—ordered that all that should be placed in the Masjid.

I think, it is this carpet, which Firdausi describes at some length, in his account of the reign of Khusru.

Firdausi's Account of Carpet. It is after his account of the throne Tākdis that he refers to it. He says (I give my translation):

Translation.—A gold embroidered cloth was spread (over the throne). Its length was 57 hands.⁴⁰ All its strings were woven with jewels and it was woven with golden threads. The Signs of Heaven were marked on it (such as) Mars, Saturn, Jupiter, Sun, Venus, Mercury and the brilliant Moon, which all declared the good or the evil (fortune) of the king. Again, it has pictures of the seven regions, of the peasants and of the battles of heroes.

³⁹ Munshi Naval Kishore's Text of Tabari, p. 483 l.10.

⁴⁰ The measure is uncertain, but بالا is used in the sense of "the upper hand" (Steingass).

Again there were portraits of forty-seven (preceding) kings with their (decorated) hands, crowns and thrones. The crown of kings was woven with gold and there never existed in the world a piece of cloth like this. There was a matchless man in China and he had woven the cloth during seven years. In the beginning of the new year, on the day Hormazd, (month) Farvardīn he came before the King of the land of Iran. He carried the carpet which was worthy of the Kaës (or the Kayānian kings) before the king. The great men (of the court) made way for him. He spread the carpet on the New Year day. The King was overjoyed with pleasure. He assembled his court in that capital and he sent for players of music and wine there.⁴¹

We find from the above account of Ṭabarī that the carpet was sent with other treasures by the Arab general S'ad who captured Ctesiphon to Khalif Omar and that Omar placed it in the Masjid at Medinah.⁴² It is this carpet to which M. Blochet refers, as said in the commencement of this paper. It was spread on the throne Tâqdis, referred to above.

Having described the 12 rare things referred to by Ṭabarī, we will now refer to some rarities referred to by other writers.

According to Maşūdi⁴³ Khusru Parvīz possessed a set of nine seals of a rare kind. Maçoudi gives a pretty detailed description of them and refers to the different purposes for which they were used. I give below a table describing briefly the seal and its use.

13. *A Set of 9* for which they were used. I give below a table
Seals. describing briefly the seal and its use.

Description.

Use.

1. A Diamond with a bezel of red ruby engraved with a portrait of the king. For letters and diplomas.

⁴¹ Macan IV, p. 2007, l. 20, Kutar Brothers X p. 77.

⁴² This event of sending the carpet to the Holy place reminds us of the present annual event of sending a carpet to the Holy city by the Khedive of Egypt. Perhaps this event was the origin or precursor of the modern annual event.

⁴³ Maşūdi, par Barbier de Meynard, op. cit. II, p. 228.

2. Gold surmounted with a cornelean stone with a legend *Khorassan Khorah* (خراسان خره). For State archives.
3. Gold ornamented with onyx with the portrait of a galloping rider with the legend "Rapidity." For postal correspondence.
4. Gold with a bezel of rose-coloured ruby with the legend "Wealth is the source of prosperity." For diplomas and Letters of Indulgences.
5. Ruby of the *bahrmān* (بهرمان) species, the best of the red, pure, valuable kind with the legend *khoureh va khurram* (خره و خرم) i.e., splendid and auspicious. This was encased in pearls and diamonds. For sealing treasures of precious stones, royal caskets and wardrobe and crown ornaments.
6. One with a bezel of Chinese Iron representing an Eagle. For sealing despatches to foreign rulers.
7. One surmounted with a bezoar with a fly engraved on it. For sealing the dishes, medicine and perfumery intended for the king.
8. One with a bezel of pearls with the effigy of the head of a pig. For marking the necks of persons who were condemned to death and judicial decisions sentencing prisoners for capital punishment.
9. Of Iron. Used when the king retired for his bath.

I think that the palace which Khusru built and to which Firdausī refers at some length under a separate heading, entitled

14. *The Palace of Khusru at Madāyan.* *Aiwān sākhtan-i Khusru dar Madāyan, i.e.,* the building of a palace at Madāyan (Ctesiphon) by Khusru, should be taken as one

of the 18 great things or events of the reign of Khusru. According to Firdausī, ^{43a} he had sent for architects and artists from Roum, India, China and other countries to build this palace. He collected 3,000 masons and other artizans. Over these 3,000, he set 30 as superiors and over these thirty there were three—two Rōumi or Byzantine and one Parsi, i.e., Persian, who were placed at the head of all. Then again, out of these three, one Byzantine was made the chief architect. This architect whose name was Fargāna laid the foundation, 10 royal *rash* i.e., 15 feet deep and $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad. After filling up the foundation and the upper structure of plinth, he got some measurements taken and got the measuring tape duly marked placed in the treasury of the king. He then, with the view that the foundation may be set properly, asked to postpone the work of superstructure. But the king wanted him to proceed with the work. The architect thought that there was danger of the foundation sinking and that the foundation must be allowed to set properly. But, when he found that the king was impatient, rather than run the risk of building a grand palace which may sink, he quietly left the court and fled to his country. The king got angry and asked other experts to proceed with the work but none undertook the risk of sinkage by proceeding with the work at once. The king got disheartened and left off the idea of proceeding with the work till another good architect was found. None capable to carry on the work could be found. So, no work was done for three years. The first Byzantine architect turned up again in the fourth year and explained the state of affairs to the king. He sent for the tape with the previous measurement, referred to above, from the treasury, and, measuring the foundation, plinth, &c., showed to the king that the

^{43a} Mohl small Edition VII, p. 260. Macan (IV p. 2011) gives the heading of the subject as "Sākhtan-i Khusrū Shehr-i Madāyan rā." Kutar Brothers, Vol. X, p. 81.

foundation had sunk a little, that after three years' postponement it had properly set itself, and that there was no risk of proceeding with the work now. The architect then took seven years to complete the work. The palace so constructed was an unique work of art.

It seems that notwithstanding all the precautions taken by the architect to do the work slowly in order to let the foundation set properly, the palace twice suffered damage during the very lifetime of the King. According to Tabari (Chapter 56, entitled *Mujizāt-i Hazrat Paegambar* i.e., The Miracles of the Prophet), the fall of a part of one of the vaults of the palace of Ctesiphon, was taken to be a miracle in connection with the new religion of the Arab prophet intended, to show to Khusru, that he was wrong in not acknowledging the prophet.

The above 14 things or events present to us a splendid view of the grandeur and splendour of the Court of Khusru Parviz. Gibbon, while speaking of the luxurious life of Khusru at Ctesiphon and at Artaima, spoken of as Dastgard by oriental writers, thus refers to some of the remarkable things named in our above list.

Gibbon and Malcolm on the Riches of Khusru.

“Nine hundred and sixty elephants were maintained for the use or splendour of the great king: his tents and baggage were carried into the field by twelve thousand great camels, and eight thousand of a smaller size; and the royal stables were filled with six thousand mules and horses, among whom the names of Shebdiz and Barid are renowned for their speed or beauty. Six thousand guards successively mounted before the palace gate; the service of the interior apartments was performed by twelve thousand slaves, the fairest of Asia The various treasures of gold, silver, gems, silk and aromatics, were deposited in a hundred subterraneous vaults; and the chamber Badaverd denoted the accidental gift of the winds which had wafted the spoils of Heraclius into one of the Syrian harbours of his rival. The voice of flattery, and perhaps of fiction, is not ashamed to compute the thirty thousand rich hangings that adorned the walls, the forty thousand columns of silver, or more probably of marble, and plated wood, that supported the roof; and a thousand globes of gold suspended in the dome, to imitate the motions of the planets and constellations of the Zodiac.”⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Vol. III, p. 251 (ed. of 1844).

Malcolm, in his *History of Persia* thus speaks of Khusru's luxury and magnificence. "(a) His noble palaces, of which he built one for every season ; (b) his thrones, which were invaluable, particularly that called Takh-dis, formed to represent the twelve signs of the Zodiac and the hours of the day ; (c) his treasures⁴⁵ ; (d) his ladies, of whom there were twelve thousand every one, if we believe the gravest Persian writers, equal to the moon in splendour and beauty ; (e) his horses, of which fifty thousand stood in the royal stables ; (f) his twelve hundred elephants ; (g) his Arabian⁴⁶ charge Shub-Deez, fleeter than the wind ; (h) his enchanting musician, Bārbud ; (i) above all, the incomparable Shereen, with whom he was distractedly in love ; are subjects on which a thousand volumes have been written by his countrymen. Although the magnificence of this prince has been much exaggerated, we may conclude, that no monarch ever lived in greater luxury and splendour. His reign for more than thirty years was marked by a success never surpassed by the most renowned of his ancestors." ⁴⁷

The nine remarkable possessions referred to by Malcolm in the above passage are contained in our above list given on the authority of Ṭabarī. It seems that when Malcolm wrote this, he had the work of Ṭabarī before him.

One can name the Palace of Mashita in Moab, situated on the table-land on the east of the Dead Sea, as one of Khusru's rich rare possessions. Its exterior was ornamented with beautiful sculpture on the stone surface. The designs of this palace are believed to be presenting "an evident link between Assyrian and Byzantine art."⁴⁸ "Among the Mashita

⁴⁵ "One of these treasures was called Badawerd or "The Gift of the Winds," because it had been cast upon his territories when conveying to the Roman Emperor." Malcolm's *History of Persia*, Vol. I, p. 126. Malcolm is wrong in this observation, as said above.

⁴⁶ According to Ṭabarī, as said above, it was a charger from Roum (i.e., Constantinople.)

⁴⁷ Malcolm's *History of Persia*, Vol. I, pp. 125-26 2nd ed. of 1829.

⁴⁸ W. Morris and Prof. Middleton in the article on "Mural Decoration" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (9th Ed.) Vol. XVII, p. 35, col. 1.

carvings occurs that oldest and most widely spread of all forms of Aryan ornament—the sacred tree between two animals. The sculptured slab over the ‘lion gate’ at Mycenae has the other common variety of this motive—the fire-altar between the beasts. These designs, occasionally varied by figures of human worshipper instead of the beasts, survived in a most extraordinary way long after their meaning had been forgotten.”^{48a}

I think that Khusru’s conquest of the country round Constantinople and Jerusalem may be taken as the remaining three remarkable principal things or events of the reign

16. *Conquest of Egypt.* As to Egypt, it had long remained under the sway of the Roman Empire. As said by Mr. Reginald Stuart Poole,⁴⁹ Egypt, “remote from the great conflicts that destroyed the Western Empire, and threatened the existence of the Eastern, had enjoyed uninterrupted freedom from an invader since its conquest of Zenobia⁵⁰ and had known no rebellion since that of Achilleus.”⁵¹ So, its fall when attacked by Khusru in 616 A.C. may naturally be considered as a great event.

When Emperor Maurice of Rome was treacherously killed by the tyrant Phocas, who succeeded him in 602 A.C.

Khusru assumed the role of a protector of Maurice’s deposed son Theodosius who had sought refuge in his court. Again Narses, who ruled over the country round Edessa, asked his help against Phocas. So, when Phocas sent his ambassadors in 604 A.C. to the Court of Persia to announce his accession, Khusru imprisoned the ambassadors and declared war. The war lasted long, and, as said by Prof. Nöldeke, Khusru “for 20 years laid the Roman lands open to such ravages as had never before been known ; so helpless was the

^{48a} Ibid. Vol. XVII, col. 1. n. 1.

⁴⁹ Article on Egypt. *Encyclopædia Britannica* (9th Ed.) Vol. VII. p. 748.

⁵⁰ Zenobia was the queen of Palmyra. She came to power in A.C. 266. She claimed to be the queen of the East and invaded Syria and Egypt.

⁵¹ Achilleus had assumed the title of Emperor rebelling against Diocletian and ruled over Egypt for some time till overthrown and put to death by Diocletian in A.C. 296.

empire under the bad rule of Phocas and through the pressure of Avars and other barbarians. Khosrau was present at the taking of Dara (604 A.C.). After a few years, the Persian armies were seen as far west as Chalcedon against Constantinople."⁵² Thus, this great event of curbing the power of Rome, in a way never experienced before, should assuredly be considered a remarkable event of Khusru's reign.

The conquest of Jerusalem and the capture of the very cross on which Christ was crucified was an event which surprised the whole Christendom, and so, it can easily be taken

18. *Conquest of Jerusalem.* as a remarkable event in the reign of Khusru.

Khusru took it in 614 A.C. and he is said to have burned some of the churches and sepulchres. This conquest of Jerusalem and capture of the Holy Cross must have been considered a great remarkable event by the Persians, especially because they believed that the inclination of Khusru in the early years of his reign was in favour of Christianity. The Zoroastrian courtiers of the King did not like his being too much under the influence of Christian bishops and Christianity.

We know from oriental writers, that the Zoroastrian courtiers at one time, resented the king putting on the royal robe presented to him by his Christian father-in-law Maurice, because it carried the symbol of Cross and other Christian symbols. Again, we know that at one time, when the Zoroastrian prayer of grace was recited by a Zoroastrian courtier—according to one authority, it was the king himself who was reciting it—at a dinner given in honour of a Roman ambassador, the ambassador objected to the recital, saying that a Zoroastrian ritual should not take place in the presence of a Christian ambassador. The quarrel that rose between the Christian ambassador and the Zoroastrian courtier would have ended in bloodshed, had it not been for the Roman wife of Khusru who persuaded the ambassador, who in this case was one of her own brothers, to give way. Thus, under all these circumstances, the capture of Jerusalem and its Holy Cross may have been taken as a remarkable

⁵² Prof. Nöldeke in his Article on Persia (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th Ed., Vol. 18, p. 614).

event of Khusru's reign by his people. Gibbon speaks of the capture of the Cross as "the ruin of the proudest monument of Christianity." On the subject of the capture of Jerusalem and of the Holy Cross we read the following in Gibbon's History:⁵³

"The conquest of Jerusalem, which had been meditated by Nushirvan was achieved by the zeal and avarice of his grandson ; the ruin of the proudest monument of Christianity was vehemently urged by the intolerant spirit of the Magi ; and he could enlist, for this holy⁵⁴ warfare, an army of six and twenty thousand Jews, whose furious bigotry might compensate, in some degree, for the want of valour and discipline. After the reduction of Galilee, and the region beyond the Jordon, whose resistance appears to have delayed the fate of the capital, Jerusalem itself was taken by assault. The sepulchre of Christ, and the stately churches of Helena and Constantine, were consumed, or at least damaged, by the flames ; the devout offerings of three hundred years were rifled in one sacrilegious day ; the patriarch Zachariah, and the *true cross* were transported into Persia."

Sir P. Sykes speaks of this seizure of the "True Cross" as "an act which moved Christendom to its depths."⁵⁵ Firdousi describes a letter of the Roman Emperor to Khusru requesting the return of the Holy Cross and Khusru's letter politely refusing that request.⁵⁶

History tells us that the victory of Khusru in Jerusalem was short-lived. The new Roman Emperor Heraclius undid all that Khusru had done. According to Tabari, prophet Muhammad had prophesied this turn of affairs, and this prophecy has been taken as one of the many miracles accompanying the advent of the Prophet in Khusru's reign. According to this author, during the 20th year of the reign of Khusru Parviz the Prophet began preaching at Mecca. He fled to Medina at the end of the 30th year. There was hardly a day since

⁵³ The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Ed. of 1844, Vol. III. p. 249.

⁵⁴ One cannot understand well, why Gibbon should call this warfare "holy" on the part of the Persians, as this was not a religious war against the Romans as Christians.

⁵⁵ Persia (1922) p. 40.

⁵⁶ Macan's Edition, Vol. IV, pp. 1992-98. Mohl's small edition, Vol. VII, pp. 227-239.

the birth of the Prophet when God did not show evidences of his prophetic mission to Parvīz. Ṭabarī then describes⁵⁶ the following miracles of the Prophet which occurred at the court of Parvīz.

(a) The vaults of Khusru's palace of Madāin (Ctesiphon) fell down twice. Each time the reparation cost one million⁵⁷ dirhems. When Khusru asked of his astrologers the signification of this event, they told him that it portended the coming of a new religion.

(b) When once Khusru was crossing a bridge, it fell by the force of water and he just escaped falling. The reparation of the bridge cost 5,00,000 dirhems.

(c) Once, when Khusru was in his apartment, a person with a stick (*chūb*) in his hand came suddenly into his presence and said that Mahomed was a true prophet. He added "If you will not follow him I will destroy (lit. break up) your religion." He, on uttering these words, symbolically broke the stick.⁵⁸ This person was an angel who had come to warn Khusru.

(d) The people of Roum (the then Roman Empire, which had its capital in Constantinople, known at first as New Rome) conspired and killed their king Maurice, who had sent his son Theodosius to assist Khusru to regain his throne. Then they placed Phocas on the throne. Then on the representation of Theodosius, who reminded Khusru of what his father had done for him, Khusru sent a Persian army under Farroukhan to the help of Theodosius. At the same time, he sent another general Cadrān to invade Jerusalem. This general took the holy city and got possession of the Holy Cross which he sent to Parvīz. Parvīz placed it in his treasure.

⁵⁶ 56th Chapt. according to Zotenberg. The Persian version of Ṭabarī heads this chapter as معجزات حضرت پیغامبر (Naval Kishore's Text, p. 360).

⁵⁷ The Persian version gives the figure as one hundred thousand.

⁵⁸ گر بدو نگروی من دین ترا بشکنم و آن چوبرا بشکست

(Naval Kishore's Text, p. 360 l.12). This version further on says that the people of Persia were not taken to be the people of the book:—

(Ibid 1. 14): میگفتند اهل عجم اهل کتاب نیستند

The supporters of the prophet had taken a wager on the subject of the result of the war and the prophet himself predicted a victory in the end for the Romans, and his prediction began to turn out successful with the advent of Heraclius (هرقل) on the throne of the Roman Empire.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ Tabarī also describes an embassy of the Prophet to the Court of Khusru Parviz. The Persian king tore off the letter from the Prophet, who on hearing the news, cursed the king saying: "He has torn asunder his own country" (او ملک خویش درید). Naval Kishore's Text, p. 361. 1.10.