
Encyclopaedia Iranica Online

KOSROW I

(9,937 words)

Sasanian king (r. 531-79), son of Kawād I.

KOSROW I

Sasanian king (r. 531-79), son of Kawād I. This entry is divided into three sections:

KOSROW I i. LIFE AND TIMES

Known as *Anōširavān* (Mid.Pers. *anōšag-ruwān*, q.v.), “of immortal soul,” *Kosrow I* (r. 531-79 CE) was given this title after death, to differentiate him from *Kosrow II* (590-628; q.v.), Parviz (Mid.Pers. *Abarwēz*, “triumphant”). The Middle Persian form of the name is read as *Husrāw/Husrōy* or *Xusrow/Xōsro(y)* (Av. *Haosrauuah-*, **hu-srauuah-* “good fame, renowned”; Gk. *Chosroēs*, Ar. *Kesrā* [q.v.]; Gnoli, 1995, pp. 120-21; Gignoux, p. 100, n. 465). The clear reference to immortality in his title probably evoked a resemblance with the mythic immortal king, Kay *Kosrow* (q.v.; see KAYĀNIĀN vii). In particular, both kings were distinguished in public memory for their religious zeal as the restorer of the *weh dēn*, the “good religion” of Zoroastrianism, and for destroying many pagan idols in Iran.

Kosrow I was considered as the ideal king throughout Islamic times (de Fouchécour, pp. 38-58; Vitalone, pp. 435-39; Wiesehöfer, 2007, pp. 206-15; see also the contributions in Jullien, 2015) as the “just” (*ādel*) king, and he certainly was one of the main protagonists of Late Antiquity. According to Arthur Christensen’s historiographic view (1944, pp. 363-440), *Kosrow* inaugurated the most brilliant period of Sasanian Iran, through a series of important economic, fiscal, administrative, religious and military reforms, whose global effects probably escape to us (see below, ii. REFORMS).

Kosrow I (b. ca. 496), was the son of *Kawād I* (q.v.) and the sister of *Astabed* (q.v.) (*Aspebedes*, in Procopius, *De bello Persico* [hereafter, *BP*] 1.11.5, 23.6), the Sasanian general (see *spāhbed*) who negotiated peace with Celer, in 506. This high official is likely to be identified with Persian *Bōē* (Joshua Stylite, tr. Wright, p. 59; Procopius, *BP* I 12.10). Thus the *Xwadāy-nāmag*’s tradition

Table of Contents

KOSROW I i. LIFE AND TIMES

KOSROW I ii. REFORMS

KOSROW I iii. COINAGE

(Ṭabari, p. 884, tr. V, p. 128) that **Kosrow** was a son of “Nēwāndukht,” the daughter of a noble *dehqān* (q.v.) that Kawād encountered during his flight to the *Hephthalites* (q.v.), might be legendary (Christensen, 1925, pp. 118-19 and p. 95 note 3; 1944, p. 350).

Following the Sasanian dynastic right, Kāvus (Kaosēs), being the eldest son of Kawād, should have succeeded him, but was disliked by his father, probably for his Mazdakite sympathies (Procopius, *BP* 2.9.12; see Börm, 2007, pp. 111-19). Zamasp (Zamēs), his other son who was second in age, however, was excluded from succession because he had lost an eye in battle (Procopius, *BP* 1.11.3-5; Theophylact, AM 6013).

Kawād feared that after his death some Persian noble could try to eliminate his descendants, in particular, his younger and preferred son **Kosrow**; for this reason, he proposed to the Roman emperor Justin I (ca. 525), to formally adopt him. But this proposal was refused due to the intervention of the Quaestor Proclus (Procopius, *BP*, 1.11.1-30; Theophylact, AM 6013; Christensen, 1925, pp. 12-4), who offered an adoption “by arms,” according to the barbarian custom, without any written document (Pieler, pp. 427-29; Greatrex and Lieu, p. 81; Börm, 2007, pp. 312-17). This procedure, which patently implied poor care for the future of the next Sasanian monarch, was rejected by Kawād. Thus, prince **Kosrow**, who was waiting at *Nisibis* (q.v.) for the powerful Persian ambassadors, Seoses (Siyāwaxš/Siāwoš) and Mebodes (Mahbod), as soon as he heard about the negative meeting with the Romans, had to come back home very enraged (Gariboldi, 2009, pp. 110-11).

In 531, when Kawād was fatally ill and close to death, the problem of the succession occurred again. Kāvus made an alliance with the Mazdakites (Manicheans, in Theophylact, AM 6016, where Kāvus is indicated as king of Ṭabarestān: see Mango and Scott, pp. 259-61; Christensen, 1925, p. 117; 1944, pp. 353-55), hoping to ascend the throne instead of **Kosrow**. There was a real plan to annul Kawād’s will in favor of **Kosrow**, but he was able to persuade many nobles to vote for him and was legitimately elected king (Börm, 2007, pp. 111-19). Afterwards, he killed all his own brothers, together with the notables and the priests who had taken part in the plot against him (Procopius, *BP*, 1.23.6; Malalas, ed. Dindorf, pp. 444, 470-72; *Histoire nestorienne* 2.23, p. 146; Ebn Esfandiār, pp. 147-50). Thus the slaughter of the Mazdakites could have been connected with the bloody removals wanted by **Kosrow** in occasion of his enthronization. He soon started the reforms, but the process was slow (see Crone, pp. 30-2, even if her hypothesis that the revolt of the Mazdakites was a reaction to the reforms is not acceptable; Rubin, 1995, pp. 230-31; Gnoli, 2004, pp. 441-42, with full bibliography on Mazdakism; Fiaccadori, 2006, pp. 128-29; Pourshariati, pp. 83-118, underlines that **Kosrow** tried to divide the power of the Parthian families; Gariboldi, 2009, 85-142; Wiesehöfer, 2009, pp. 402-05).

According to Malalas (ed. Dindorf, p. 471), **Kosrow** was crowned after the death of Kawād on 13 September 531, but a very precise Arab horoscope of his accession to the throne, embedded in the *Ketāb al-masā’el*, composed by the Persian astronomer and astrologer Qaṣrāni (Taqizadeh, pp. 128-30), dates the coronation of **Kosrow** to 18 August 531 and tells that he reigned for 47 years and eight months, so till March 579 CE (see also Ṭabari, I, p. 899, tr. V, p. 160; Nöldeke, pp. 429-30). Agathias (4.29.6) and John of Ephesus (*Historiae Ecclesiasticae* 3.6.20-21), give in total

48 years of rule; Euty chius of Alexandria (*Annales*, col. 1077) says 47 years and six months; *Histoire nestorienne* 2.38, p. 197, reports 47 years and some months. The testimony of the horoscope is trustworthy, since it is reasonable that Kawād abdicated before his death caused by an ictus (Gariboldi, 2009, p. 113). The physical and patrimonial persecution of the Mazdakites, anyway, continued long after 531/32 (Yarshater, pp. 998-1006).

Zoroastrian texts, in general, exalt the *pōlāwadēn xwadāyīh*, “the reign of steel,” inaugurated by *Kosrow* in defense of religious orthodoxy, because he kept away the “accursed Mazdak” and sustained many theological councils with the most authoritative Magi of the time (*Zand ī Wahman Yasn* III, 28, II, 2; Cereti, 1995, pp. 134-35, 174-76). Furthermore, a passage of the *Bundahišn* (q.v.), which probably contains an original fragment of the *Xwadāy-Nāmag*, tells that *Kosrow* was much praised because he killed Mazdak, restored the true religion, drove away the enemies and finally made the Iranian realm safe (chap. 33.24; Arzarnouche, 2015, pp. 236-45, 250; Pakzad, pp. 367-68; Shapira, pp. 65-66; Messina, pp. 266, 288-89). These actually were the main themes of the Sasanian propaganda concerning the long reign of *Kosrow*.

The *Letter of Tansar* (tr. Boyce, pp. 33-39) well documents that under his rule the tie between state and religion was strengthened, and Sasanian society was rigidly divided into four estates led by the king (Tafazzoli, p. 2). It is likely that in this period also occurred the written compilation of the Avesta, with the invention of the Avestan alphabet and the codification of many Pahlavi texts (Bailey, pp. 169-72; Gnoli, 1971, pp. 226-27; Cereti, 2008, pp. 179-82). Procopius says that *Kosrow* was “fond of innovations” (*BP*, 1.23.1), and he liked Greek and Indian cultures (Panaino, 1999, pp. 47-58; Arzarnouche, 2013, pp. 36-38; Huby et al., 2016), in particular philosophy, astral sciences, and medicine (John of Ephesus, *Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, 3.6.20). About 543, he suffered from a serious plague, and Justinian sent to him a learned doctor by name Tribunus (Procopius *BP*, 2.24.8, 28.8 [545 CE]; *Goth.* 4.10.10-16; *Histoire nestorienne* 2.27, pp. 161-62). He ordered the translation of many scientific works from Greek or Syrian into the Pahlavi language (Bailey, pp. 80-88, 157-58; Garsoïan, 1983, p. 577; Panaino, 2001a, pp. 125-28; 2001b), but, according to the ironic words of Agathias (2.28), he actually did not understand Aristotle’s doctrines.

After the closure of the Academy in Athens by Justinian in 529, *Kosrow* welcomed at his court the seven philosophers who decided to leave the Roman empire, but soon they were disgusted by Persian customs, which appeared fairly “barbarous” to them (Agathias, 2.28-32. On this famous episode and its cultural implications, see Cameron, 1969-70, pp. 165-76; Pugliese Carratelli, 1971, pp. 599-602; Fiaccadori, 1983; Melasecchi, pp. 21-35; Hartmann, pp. 127-38; Börm, 2007, pp. 277-83; Frendo, 2008, pp. 100-106).

To face the initial difficult political situation, *Kosrow* signed with the Romans the so-called “eternal peace” (Procopius, *BP*, 1.22.16-19; Malalas, ed. Dindorf, pp. 471, 477; cf. Blockley, 1985b, pp. 70-71; Greatrex and Lieu, pp. 96-97). He quickly eliminated all his internal political opponents and started to improve the Persian economy, continuing the administrative and fiscal reforms that had been carried out by Kawād (Rubin, pp. 229-31; Pigulevskaja, 1937, p. 145; Ognibene and Gariboldi, p. 71; Jackson Bonner, pp. 71-78). The importance of his military and

administrative reform is now definitively established by Sasanian primary sources (Gyselen, 2001; 2007, pp. 47-53). Furthermore, a Middle Persian juridical text, *Mādayān ī Hazār Dādestān* (q.v.) clearly attests (93.4-9; Macuch, pp. 14-15, 596, 600) that *Kosrow* implemented the use of seals for many civil and clerical administrations, such as judges operating in small districts or villages, and he even instituted a special tribunal in defense of the poor (Gyselen, 1989, p. 3; Perikhanian, p. 214). Then he turned against the Romans, claiming that some Arab troops, allied with them, attacked the *Lakhmid* (q.v.) ruler *Monder III b. No'mān* (Ṭabari, I, p. 958, tr., V, pp. 252-53. For the events of the war between Persia and Byzantium see *Byzantine-Iranian Relations; Justinian I; Martindale*, pp. 303-306; Martindale, s.v. "Chosroes I"; Frye, pp. 153-62. A useful collection of sources is in *Greatrex and Lieu*, pp. 96-162; *Dignas and Winter*, pp. 38-42).

With a sudden military campaign, *Kosrow* invaded Syria and pillaged many cities, conquering *Antioch* (q.v.), in 540. He deported its inhabitants to a new town, purposely built for them near *Ctesiphon* (q.v.), named *Wēh-Andiyōk-Husraw*, "the good Antioch of *Kosrow*" (Börm, 2006, pp. 303-305; Gariboldi, 2007-8, pp. 28-29). According to the *Šahrestānīhā ī Ērānšahr* (q.v.), *Kosrow* built five cities named after him (Daryaei, 2002, p. 14, par. 19).

We also know some Sasanian sealings with the toponym *Ērān-abzūd-Husraw*, "*Kosrow* (has) increased *Ērān*," an area probably located in upper *Mesopotamia* (q.v.) under the fiscal control of an *āmārgar* (q.v.), "accountant" (Gyselen, 2002, pp. 140-42; 2007, p. 43). An influential secretary of *Kosrow* was *Pābak* (*Bābak*, q.v.), who carried out the land reform and enjoyed great prestige at court (Ṭabari, I, p. 963, tr. V, p. 262; Dinavari, p. 74; see Browne, p. 231; Tafazzoli, pp. 20-33). Christian prisoners were divided into artisan corporations under the direct control of the king (Jullien and Jullien, p. 161). He deported farmers also from *Callinicus* in 542 to acquire labor supply for the agricultural development of Persia (Morony, 2004, pp. 173-76; see *DEPORTATIONS*). In the city of *Sura* on the *Euphrates* (q.v.), he found among the captives he had taken a beautiful woman, *Euphemia* by name, and married her (Procopius, *BP*, 2.5.28), but he had many other wives. On the way back to Persia, *Kosrow* exacted a large amount of gold from the cities he encountered to spare their inhabitants (Gariboldi, 2006, p. 422; 2009, pp. 68-69; Iluk, pp. 90-92; Altheim and Stiehl, 1954, pp. 46-50. Curiously, the third episode of the *Sirat Anušīrwān*, in Grignaschi, 1966, p. 17, reports that the king gave back to the poor people of Syria part of the gold tribute he received from Justinian).

In 541, by invitation of *Gubazes*, king of *Lazica*, he invaded this strategic region, which offered to the Persians an important outlet on the *Black Sea* (q.v.). The Sasanians maintained the possession of *Lazica* till 548, when *Gubazes* returned to a policy in favor of the Romans (Greatrex and Lieu, pp. 115-22; Bertinelli Angeli, pp. 126-32; Braund, pp. 298-311). Warfare continued in *Lazica* up to 557, when a truce was concluded on the basis of the status quo (Agathias 4.30.7-10). *Kosrow* then sent to Constantinople his powerful chamberlain *Zīg Yazd-Gušnasp*, to negotiate with care the terms for peace (Constantine Porphyrogenitus, 1.89 [p. 405]; see Manini, pp. 130-33; Diebler, pp. 189-200), which was finally signed at *Dārā* (q.v.), on the border of the two great empires, in 561/62 (*Menander Protector*, frag. 6.1-3; cf. Blockley, 1985a, pp. 55-91; Dignas and Winter, pp. 138-48. On the letter sent by *Kosrow* to Justinian, illuminating Sasanian royal ideology, see Huyse, pp. 194-96; Panaino, 2009, pp. 230-31).

This “fifty years” peace treaty provided, in substance, the cession of the Lazica to the Romans, in change of an annual payment of 30,000 *nomismata* to the Persians (Güterbock, pp. 61-65), which mainly served to sustain military expenses for the control of the Caucasus passes, even if a final agreement about the Suania region was not found. *Kosrow* strongly fortified the *Darband* (q.v.) pass with long walls and military posts (Howard-Johnston, pp. 191-97; Harmatta, 1996, 81-82; Mahamedi, pp. 150-52). Nisibis and Dārā were confirmed as the main trade centers with the Romans, and they also included an international agreement regarding the tolerant treatment of religious minorities in both empires (Winter, pp. 67-72; Guillaumont, pp. 48-49).

Under *Kosrow*, we know of just a few persecutions against Christians: Usually they were Persian nobles converted to Christian faith, as the case of martyr Šīrīn (Devos, pp. 6-11; see MARTYRS, CHRISTIAN) or the *katholikos* Mār Abā (q.v.; 540-52), who was, on the contrary, protected many times by the king himself against the Magians (Peeters, pp. 88-111; Garsoïan, 1973, pp. 131-33). *Kosrow* cunningly took advantage of the strong influence of Mār Abā to repress the riot headed by his eldest son Anōšagzād (see ANŌŠAZĀD), “born immortal”, in 550-51, who, being a Christian, had been banished to *Bēt Lapaṭ* (q.v.; *Histoire nestorienne* 2.27, pp. 162-63; Dinavari, pp. 70-71; Ferdowsi, ed. Mohl, VI, pp. 225-43. See Nöldeke, pp. 467-74; Labourt, pp. 189-90; Christensen, 1944, p. 383; Pigulevskaja, 1963, pp. 221-28, connects this episode with the Mazdakite upset in Khuzestan; Hutter, p. 169; Panaino, 2004, pp. 815-19; Jullien, pp. 222-24; Gariboldi, 2009, pp. 138-39). When Anōšagzād learned that his father was ill, he tried to usurp the royal power (Procopius, *Goth.* 4.10.8-22), thus *Kosrow* scalded his eyelids to prevent him from becoming king. Procopius (*BP* 2.24.8) says that another son of *Kosrow* revolted against him in 543 CE, but it is likely a duplicate of the same story.

Kosrow was also engaged with the eastern borders of the Empire, for the Western Turks invaded Central Asia. The Sasanians made an alliance with them around 557-61 to defeat the Hephthalites. *Kosrow* got hold of the territory south of the Oxus river (see AMU DARYĀ), and in order to consolidate the relations with the Turks, he married the noble daughter of the *khagan* (q.v.), who gave birth to his future successor to the throne of Persia, *Hormozd IV* (q.v.; Mas‘udi, *Moruj*, II, p. 211, ed. Pellat, I, p. 312, says that this woman was named Fāqom; Ṭabari, I, p. 988, tr. V., p. 295; see Widengren, 1952, pp. 76-78; Mochiri, pp. 238-39).

Some Bactrian documents testify that the Persians, in about 560, were the opponents of the Hephthalites in northern *Hindu Kush* (q.v.), and the further evidence of a Sasanian bulla indicates that the region of *Kadagistān* (q.v.) was under the control of an *ōstāndār*, a “provincial administrator,” in the late 6th century (Sims-Williams, 2000, p. 197; 2008, pp. 96-99; Gyselen, 2002, p. 152). Probably in 570, *Kosrow* launched a successful expedition to conquer Yemen. The Sasanian army ended the Abyssinian occupation and installed Sayf b. Dī Yazan as *Kosrow*’s client king. Thus, *Kosrow* secured a new maritime way to avoid the Byzantine commercial block (Ṭabari, I, pp. 948-49, tr. V., pp. 239-42; Morony, 2002, p. 34; Potts, pp. 206-9).

Yet the peace with the Romans lasted only ten years, since in 572 a revolt against the Persians broke out in Armenia and the *marzbān* Surēn was killed at *Dvin* (q.v.; Sebēos, ed. Thomson, p. 6; Garsoïan, 2009, p. 108). Thus the emperor Justin II (520-78 CE) refused to pay the annual

tribute established under the treaty terms and gave military help to the Armenians. In addition, the Turkish-Byzantine connection was an important cause for the renewal of the war between Byzantium and Persia (Menander Protector, frag. 16.1; cf. Blockley 1985a, pp. 150-55; Turtledove, pp. 298-99). In 573 the Sasanians conquered Dārā. After vain diplomatic contacts in 575/6, *Kosrow*, notwithstanding his old age, personally led his troops through Mesopotamia and Armenia, but, in the end, the incursion was not a great success (Menander Protector, frag. 18.6; Theophylact, 3.14. 11; John of Ephesus, 6.8-9; Evagrius, 5.14-15; Whitby, 1994, pp. 227-31; 1986, pp. 262-67). During new negotiations for peace, he seriously fell ill with chest complaint (*Histoire nestorienne* 2.38, p. 197), and consequently died in Ctesiphon in February/March 579 CE, before the ambassadors sent by emperor Tiberius could reach Persia (Agathias, 4.29.9-10; Menander Protector, frag. 23.9. Cf. Blockley, 1985a, pp. 207-9; Theophylact, 3.16.7). The tale reported by Sebēos (I, pp. 9-10) that *Kosrow* would have been converted to Christian faith on his deathbed is fanciful, and it rather reflects the general positive trend of Christian sources towards him.

Andrea Gariboldi

Bibliography

Sources.

Agathias, *Agathiae Myrinaei Historiarum libri quinque*, ed., R. Keydell, Berlin, 1967.

Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae*, ed. J. J. Reiske, Bonn, 1829-1830.

Abu Ḥanifa Dinavari, *al-Akbār al-ṭewāl*, ed. Vladimir Guirgass, Leiden, 1888.

Evagrius, *The Ecclesiastical History*, eds. J. Bidez and L. Parmentier, London, 1898.

Eutychius (Saʿīd b. Baṭriq), *Annales*, tr. Edward Pococke, Oxford, 1658; repr. in Migne, *PG* 111, cols. 889-1232; Arabic text, see *Eutychii Patriarchae Alexandrini Annales*, ed. L. Cheikho, *CSCO* 50-51, *Scriptores Arabici* 6-7, Beirut, 1905; repr. Louvain, 1954.

Abu'l-Qasem Ferdowsi, *Šāh-nāma*, ed. and tr. Jules Mohl, 7 vols., Paris, 1838-78; repr. 1976.

Jāḥiẓ, *Kebāb al-tāj*, tr. Charles Pellat, as *Le livre de la couronne: Kitāb al-tāğ*, Paris, 1954.

Histoire nestorienne inédite (Chronique de Séert) II/1, ed. and tr. Addai Scher, *Patrologia Orientalis* 7, Paris, 1911, pp. 99 [7]-201 [109].

[Ebn Esfandiār] Moḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Esfandiār, *Tāriḳ-e Ṭabarestān*, ed. ʿAbbās Eqbāl, 2 vols., Tehran, 1941.

John of Ephesus, *Iohannis Ephesini Historiae ecclesiasticae: Pars Tertia*, ed. and tr. E. W. Brooks, *CSCO* 105, *Scr. Syr.* 54, Louvain, 1935; *CSCO* 106, *Scr. Syr.* 55, Louvain, 1936.

Joshua the Stylite, *The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite: Composed in Syriac A.D. 507*, ed. and tr. William Wright, Amsterdam, 1968.

John Malalas, *Chronographia*, ed., Ludwing A. Dindorf, Bonn, 1831; repr. in Migne, *PG* 97, cols. 9-790.

Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Ali Mas'udi, *Moruj al-dahab*, eds. and trs. Charles Barbier de Meynard and Abel Pavet de Courteille, as *Les prairies d'or*, 9 vols., Paris, 1861-1917, rev. ed. by Charles Pellat, vol. I, Paris, 1962. Menander Protector, see Blockley, 1985a.

Michael the Syrian, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, Patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche (1166-1199)*, ed. J. B. Chabot, 4 vols., Paris, 1899-1924.

Procopius of Caesarea, *Procopii Caesariensis Opera Omnia*, I-IV, ed., Jacob Haury, rev. ed. by Gerhard Wirth, Leipzig, 1962-64.

[pseudo-]Sebēos, *The Armenian History Attributed to Sebeos*, tr. and annot. R. W. Thomson, comm. J. Howard-Johnston with T. Greenwood, 2 vols., Liverpool, 1999.

Sirat Anuṣīrwān, see Grignaschi, 1966. Moḥammad b. Jarir Ṭabarī, *Ketāb ta'riḳ al-rosol wa'l-moluk*, eds., M. J. de Goeje et al., 3 vols. in 15, Leiden, 1879-1901 (see also Nöldeke, 1879); tr., as *The History of al-Ṭabari*, gen. ed. Ehsan Yarshater, 40 vols., Albany, N.Y., 1985-2007 (translators vary).

Abu Maṣṣūr 'Abd-al-Malek Ṭa'ālebi, *Ḡorar aḳbār moluk al-fors*, ed. and tr. Hermann Zotenberg, as *Histoire des rois des Perses*, Paris, 1900.

Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. Carl de Boor, Leipzig, 1883-85 (see also Mango and Scott, 1997).

Theophylact, *Theophylacti Simocattae historia*, ed. K. de Boor, Leipzig, 1887; revised ed., P. Wirth, Stuttgart, 1972 (see also Whitby, 1986).

Aḥmad b. Abi Ya'qub Ya'qubi, *Ta'riḳ*, ed. M. T. Houtsma, 2 vols, Leiden, 1883; repr. 1969.

Zacharias Rhetor, *Historia ecclesiastica Zachariae Rhetori vulgo adscripta*, ed. E. W. Brooks, *CSCO* 84, *Scriptores syri* 39, Louvain, 1921; *CSCO* 87, *Scriptores syri* 41, Louvain, 1924.

Studies.

Franz Altheim and Ruth Stiehl, *Ein asiatischer Staat: Feudalismus unter den Sasaniden und ihren Nachbarn*, Wiesbaden, 1954.

Idem, *Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike*, Frankfurt and Main, 1957.

Samra Azarnouche, *Husraw ī Kawādān ud Rēdag-ē "Khosrow fils de Kawād et un page,"* Paris, 2013.

Idem, "La Geste Zoroastrienne de Husraw I^{er} selon la littérature moyen-perse," in Ch. Jullien ed., *Husraw Ier. Reconstructions d'un règne: sources et documents*, Studia Iranica Cahier 53, Paris, 2015, pp. 235-55.

Harold W. Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth-Century Books*, Oxford, 1943; repr. 1971.

Maria G. Bertinelli Angeli, "Al confine tra l'impero romano e la Persia in età tardoantica: la questione della Lazica," *Quaderni Catanesi di Cultura Classica e Medievale* 1, 1989, pp. 117-46.

Roger C. Blockley, *The History of Menander the Guardsman: Introductory Essay, Text, Translation, and Historiographical Notes*, ARCA 17, Liverpool, 1985a.

Idem, "Subsidies and Diplomacy: Rome and Persia in Late Antiquity," *Phoenix* 39, 1985b, pp. 62-74.

Henning Börm, "Der Perserkönig im Imperium Romanum: Chosroes I. und der sasanidische Einfall in das Oströmische Reich 540 n. Chr.," *Chiron* 36, 2006, pp. 299-328.

Idem, *Prokop und die Perser: Untersuchungen zu den römisch-sasanidischen Kontakten in der ausgehenden Spätantike*, Stuttgart, 2007.

Mary Boyce, tr., *The Letter of Tansar*, Serie Orientale Roma 38, Rome, 1968.

Mary Boyce and Frantz Grenet, *A History of Zoroastrianism III: Zoroastrianism under Macedonian and Roman Rule*, Leiden, 1991.

David Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity: A History of Colchis and Transcaucasian Iberia 550 BC – AD 562*, Oxford, 1994.

Edward G. Browne, "Some Accounts of the Arabic Work Entitled 'Niháyatu'l-irab fī akhbāri'l-Furs wa'l-'Arab,' Particularly that Part which Treats of Persian Kings," *JRAS*, 1900, pp. 195-259.

Averil Cameron, "Agathias on the Sassanians," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 23/24, 1969-70, pp. 67-183.

Idem, *Procopius and the Sixth Century*, London, 1985.

Carlo G. Cereti, *Zand ī Wahman Yasn: A Zoroastrian Apocalypse*, Serie Orientale Roma 75, Rome, 1995.

Idem, "On the Pahlavi Cursive Script and the Sasanian Avesta," *Stud. Ir.* 37, 2008, pp. 175-95.

Arthur Christensen, *Le règne du roi Kawādh I et le communisme mazdakite*, Copenhagen, 1925.

Idem, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, Copenhagen, 1944. Patricia Crone, "Kavād's Heresy and Mazdak's Revolt," *Iran* 29, 1991, pp. 21-42.

Touraj Daryaee, *Šahrestānīhā ī Ērānšahr: A Middle Persian Text on Late Antique Geography, Epic and History*, Costa Mesa, Calif., 2002.

Idem, "The Ideal King in the Sasanian World: Ardaxšīr ī Pābagān or Xusrō Anōšag-ruwān?," *Nāme-ye Irān-e Bāstān* 3/1, 2003, pp. 33-45.

Paul Devos, "La jeune martyre perse sainte Širin (†559)," *Analecta Bollandiana* 112/1-2, 1994, pp. 5-31.

Stéphane Diebler, "Les Hommes du Roi. Sur la représentation souveraine dans les relations diplomatiques entre Byzance et les Sassanides d'après les historiens byzantins du sixième siècle," *Stud. Ir.* 24/2, 1995, pp. 187-218.

Beate Dignas and Engelbert Winter, *Rome and Persia in Late Antiquity: Neighbours and Rivals*, Cambridge, 2007.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Il tramonto dell'Accademia, I. Kavādh," *Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina* 30, 1983, pp. 255-71.

Idem, "Māsīdis (Giovanni di Nikiou, *Chron.* XC 54-60)," in G. Fiaccadori, ed., "*In partibus Clus*": *Scritti in onore di Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli*, Naples, 2006, pp. 113-35.

Charles-Henri de Fouchécour, *Moralia: Les notions morales dans la littérature persane du 3^e/9^e au 7^e/13^e Siècle*, Paris, 1986.

Joseph David Frendo, ed. and tr., *Agathias: The Histories*, Berlin and New York, 1975.

Idem, "Agathias' View of the Intellectual Attainments of Khusrau I: A Reconsideration of the Evidence," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 18, 2008, pp. 97-110.

Richard N. Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," in *The Cambridge History of Iran* III/1, Cambridge, 1983, pp. 116-80.

Andrea Gariboldi, "The Role of Gold and Silver in the Sasanian Economy," in A. Panaino and A. Piras, eds., *Proceedings of the 5th Conference of the Societas Iranologica Europaea* I, Milan, 2006, pp. 415-35.

Idem, "Donations of Land in Sasanian Empire," *Nāme-ye Irān-e Bāstān* 7/1-2, 2007-8, pp. 19-36.

Idem, *Il regno di Xusrāw dall'anima immortale. Riforme economiche e rivolte sociali nell'Iran sasanide del VI secolo*, Milan, 2009.

Nina Garsoïan, "Le rôle de l'hierarchie chrétienne dans les rapports diplomatiques entre Byzance et les Sassanides," *REA* 10, 1973, pp. 119-38.

Idem, "Byzantium and the Sasanians," in *The Cambridge History of Iran III/1*, Cambridge, 1983, pp. 568-92.

Idem, "Armenian Sources on Sasanian Administration," in R. Gyselen, ed., *Sources pour l'histoire et la géographie du monde iranien (224-710)*, Res Orientales 18, 2009, pp. 91-114.

Philippe Gignoux, *Noms propres sassanides en moyen-perse épigraphique*, Iranisches Personennamenbuch II/2, Vienna, 1986.

Gherardo Gnoli, "Politica religiosa e concezione della regalità sotto i Sassanidi," in *Atti del Convegno Internazionale sul tema: La Persia nel Medioevo*, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rome, 1971, pp. 225-53.

Idem, "The Quadripartition of the Sasanian Empire," *East and West* 35, 1985, pp. 265-70.

Idem, "Cosroe dall'anima immortale o della doppia felicità," in *Un ricordo che non si spegne: Scritti di docenti e collaboratori dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli in memoria di Alessandro Bausani*, Naples, 1995, pp. 119-46.

Idem, "Nuovi studi sul Mazdakismo," in *Convegno Internazionale: La Persia e Bisanzio*, Atti dei Convegni Lincei 201, Rome, 2004, pp. 439-56.

David M. Goodblatt, "The Poll Tax in Sasanian Babylonia," *JESHO* 22, 1979, pp. 233-95.

Geoffrey Greatrex and Samuel Lieu, eds., *The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars: Part II AD 363-630*, London and New York, 2002.

Mario Grignaschi, "Quelques spécimens de la littérature sassanide conservés dans les bibliothèques d'Istanbul," *JA* 254, 1966, pp. 1-142.

Idem, "La riforma tributaria di Ḥosrō I e il feudalesimo sasanide," in *Atti del Convegno Internazionale sul tema: La Persia nel Medioevo*, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rome, 1971, pp. 87-147.

Antoine Guillaumont, "Justinien et l'église de Perse," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 23-24, 1969-70, pp. 41-66.

Karl Güterbock, *Byzanz und Persien in ihren diplomatisch-völkerrechtlichen Beziehungen im Zeitalter Justinians. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Völkerrechts*, Berlin, 1906.

Rika Gyselen, *La géographie administrative de l'empire sassanide: Les témoignages sigillographiques*, Res Orientales 1, Paris, 1989.

Idem, *The Four Generals of the Sasanian Empire: Some Sigillographic Evidence*, Rome, 2001.

Idem, *Nouveaux matériaux pour la géographie historique de l'empire sassanide: Sceaux administratifs de la collection Ahmad Saeedi*, *Studia Iranica Cahier* 24, Paris, 2002.

Idem, *Sasanian Seals and Sealings in the A. Saeedi Collection*, *Acta Iranica* 44, Leuven, 2007.

János Harmatta, "The Struggle for the Possession of South Arabia between Aksūm and the Sāsānians," in *IV Congresso Internazionale di Studi Etiopici*, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rome, 1974, I, pp. 95-106.

Idem, "The Wall of Alexander the Great and the *Limes Sasanicus*," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 10, 1996, pp. 79-84.

Idem, "The Struggle for the Silk Route between Iran, Byzantium and the Türk Empire from 560 to 630 AD," in Csanád Bálint, ed., *Kontakte zwischen Iran, Byzanz und der Steppe im 6.-7. Jahrhundert*, *Varia Archaeologica Hungarica* 9, Budapest, Naples and Rome, 2000, pp. 249-52.

Udo Hartmann, "Geist im Exil: Römische Philosophen am Hof der Sasaniden," in Monika Schuol et al., eds., *Grenzüberschreitungen: Formen des Kontakts zwischen Orient und Okzident im Altertum*, *Oriens et Occidens* 3, Stuttgart, 2002, pp. 123-60.

Walter Bruno Henning, "Arabisch ḥarāğ," *Orientalia* 4, 1935, pp. 291-93.

James Howard-Johnston, "The Two Great Powers in Late Antiquity: A Comparison," in A. Cameron, ed., *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East III: States, Resources and Armies*, Princeton, 1995, pp. 157-226.

Pamela Huby et al., *Priscian: Answers to King Khosroes of Persia*, London, 2016.

Manfred Hutter, "Mār Abā and the Impact of Zoroastrianism on Christianity in the 6th Century," in Carlo G. Cereti, Mauro Maggi and Elio Provasi, eds., *Religious Themes and Texts of Pre-Islamic Iran and Central Asia: Studies in Honour of Professor Gherardo Gnoli on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday on 6th December 2002*, Wiesbaden, 2003, pp. 167-73.

Philip Huyse, "Die sasanidische Königstitulatur: Eine Gegenüberstellung der Quellen," in J. Wiesehöfer and Ph. Huyse, eds., *Ērān ud Anērān: Studien zu den Beziehungen zwischen dem Sasanidenreich und der Mittelmeerwelt*, *Oriens et Occidens* 13, Stuttgart, 2006, pp. 181-201.

Jan Iluk, "The Export of Gold from the Roman Empire to Barbarian Countries from the 4th to the 6th Centuries," *Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte* 4/1, 1985, pp. 79-102.

Michael R. Jackson Bonner, *Three Neglected Sources of Sasanian History in the Reign of Khusraw Anushirvan*, Paris, 2011.

Christelle Jullien, "VI^e siècle, un temps de réformes en Iran: Échos dans l'église syro-orientale?," *Parole de l'Orient* 33, 2008, pp. 219-32.

Idem, *Husraw Ier: Reconstructions d'un règne: sources et documents*, Studia Iranica Cahier 53, Paris, 2015.

Christelle Jullien and Florence Jullien, *Apôtres des confins: Processus missionnaires chrétiens dans l'empire iranien*, Res Orientales 15, Bures-sur-Yvette, 2002.

Jérôme Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse sous la dynastie sassanide (224-632)*, Paris, 1904.

Vladimir G. Lukonin, "Political, Social and Administrative Institutions: Taxes and Trade," in *The Cambridge History of Iran III/2*, Cambridge, 1983, pp. 681-746.

Maria Macuch, *Rechtskasuistik und Gerichtspraxis zu Beginn des siebenten Jahrhunderts in Iran: die Rechtssammlung des Farrohmard i Wahrāmān*, Wiesbaden, 1993.

Hamid Mahamedi, "Wall as a System of Frontier Defense During the Sasanid Period," in T. Daryaee and M. Omidisalar, eds., *The Spirit of Wisdom, Mēnōg ī Xrad: Essays in Memory of Ahmad Tafazzoli*, Costa Mesa, Calif., 2004, pp. 145-59.

Cyril Mango and Roger Scott, eds., *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History, AD 284–813*, Oxford, 1997.

Milena Manini, *Liber de caerimoniis aulae byzantinae: prosopografia e sepulture imperiali*, Quaderni della Rivista di Bizantinistica 13, Spoleto, 2009.

John R. Martindale, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire III: AD 527-641*, 2 vols., Cambridge, 1992.

Beniamino Melasecchi, "Il lógos esiliato: gli ultimi Accademici alla corte di Cosroe," in Lionello Lanciotti and Beniamino Melasecchi, eds., *Scienze tradizionali in Asia: principi ed applicazioni*, Perugia, 1996, pp. 11-43.

Giuseppe Messina, "Mito, leggenda e storia nella tradizione iranica," *Orientalia* 4, 1935, pp. 257-90.

Malek Iraj Mochiri, "Une monnaie de Khusraw I de l'atelier de Samarcande," in Ph. Gignoux, Ch. Jullien and F. Jullien, eds., *Trésors d'Orient. Mélanges offerts à Rika Gyselen*, Studia Iranica Cahier 42, Paris, 2009, pp. 237-43.

Michael G. Morony, "The Late Sasanian Economic Impact on the Arabian Peninsula," *Nāme-ye Irān-e Bāstān*, 1/2, 2002, pp. 25-37.

Idem, "Population Transfers between Sasanian Iran and the Byzantine Empire," in *Convegno Internazionale: La Persia e Bisanzio*, Atti dei Convegni Lincei 201, Rome, 2004, pp. 161-79.

Theodor Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden: Aus der arabischen Chronik des Tabari übersetzt und mit ausführlichen Erläuterungen und Ergänzungen versehen*, Leiden, 1879.

Paolo Ognibene and Andrea Gariboldi, *Conflitti sociali e movimenti politico-religiosi nell'Iran tardo antico: Contributi della storiografia sovietica nel periodo 1920-1950*, Milan, 2004. Fazlollah Pakzad, *Bundahišn. Zoroastrische Kosmogonie und Kosmologie I: Kritische Edition*, Ancient Iranian Studies Series 2, Tehran, 2005.

Antonio Panaino, *La novella degli scacchi e della tavola reale: Un'antica fonte orientale sui due giochi da tavoliere più diffusi nel mondo euroasiatico tra Tardoantico e Medioevo e sulla loro simbologia militare e astrologica*, Milan, 1999.

Idem, "Greci e Iranici: confronto e conflitti," in Salvatore Settis, ed., *I Greci: Storia, Cultura, Arte, Società III: I Greci oltre la Grecia*, Turin, 2001a, pp. 79-136.

Idem, "L'influsso greco nella letteratura e nella cultura medio-persiana," in Gianfranco Fiaccadori, ed., *Autori classici in lingue del Vicino e Medio Oriente*, Rome, 2001b, pp. 29-45.

Idem, "La Chiesa di Persia e l'Impero Sasanide: Conflitto e Integrazione," in *Cristianità d'Occidente e Cristianità d'Oriente (secoli VI-XI)*, Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo LI, Spoleto, 2004, pp. 765-863.

Idem, "The King and the Gods in the Sasanian Royal Ideology," in R. Gyselen, ed., *Sources pour l'histoire et la géographie du monde iranien (224-710)*, Res Orientales 18, Bures-sur-Yvette, 2009, pp. 209-56.

Paul Peeters, "Observations sur la vie syriaque de Mar Aba, catholicos de l'Eglise perse (540-552)," in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati V: Storia ecclesiastica, diritto*, Studi e testi 125, Vatican City, 1946, pp. 69-112.

Anahit Perikhanian, *The Book of a Thousand Judgements (A Sasanian Law Book)*, tr. from Russian by Nina Garsoïan, Costa Mesa, Calif., 1997.

Peter E. Pieler, "L'aspect politique et juridique de l'adoption de Chosroès proposée par les Perses à Justin," *Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité* 19, 1972, pp. 399-433.

Nina Pigulevskaja, "K voprosu o podatnoy reforme Khosroya Anushervana," *Vestnik Drevney Istorii* 1, 1937, pp. 143-54.

Idem, "Mar Aba I: K istorii kul'tury VI v. n. è," *Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie* 5, 1948, pp. 73-84.

Idem, "Vosstanie v Khuzistane pri Khosrove I," *Kratkie Soobshcheniya Instituta Vostokovedeniya* 4, 1952, pp. 3-10.

Idem, *Les villes de l'état iranien aux époques parthe et sassanide: Contribution à l'histoire sociale de la Basse Antiquité*, Paris, 1963.

Daniel T. Potts, "The Sasanian Relationship with South Arabia: Literary, Epigraphic and Oral Historical Perspectives," *Stud. Ir.* 37, 2008, pp. 197-213.

Parvaneh Pourshariati, *Decline and Fall of the Sasanian Empire: The Sasanian-Parthian Confederacy and the Arab Conquest of Iran*, London and New York, 2008.

Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli, "La Persia dei Sasanidi nella storiografia romana da Ammiano a Procopio," in *Atti del Convegno sul tema: La Persia nel Medioevo*, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rome, 1971, pp. 597-604.

Idem, "Genesi ed aspetti del Mazdakismo," *La Parola del Passato* 27, 1972, pp. 66-88.

Zeev Rubin, "The Reforms of Khusro Anushirwān," in A. Cameron, ed., *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East III: States, Resources and Armies*, Princeton, 1995, pp. 227-97.

Dan Shapira, "On the Scriptural Sources of Mazdak's Teachings," *Nāme-ye Irān-e Bāstān* 5/1-2, 2005-6, pp. 63-82.

Nicholas Sims-Williams, *Bactrian Documents from Northern Afghanistan I: Legal and Economic Documents*, Studies in the Khalili Collection 3, Oxford, 2000.

Idem, "The Sasanians in the East: A Bactrian Archive from Northern Afghanistan," in Vesta Sarkhosh Curtis and Sarah Stewart, eds., *The Idea of Iran III: The Sasanian Era*, London, 2008, pp. 88-102.

Ernest Stein, "Ein Kapitel vom persischen und vom byzantinischen Staate," *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbucher* 1, 1920, pp. 50-87.

Ahmad Tafazzoli, *Sasanian Society: I Warriors. II Scribes. III Dehqāns*, New York, 2000.

Sayyed Hasan Taqizadeh, "Some Chronological Data Relating to the Sasanian Period," *BSOS* 9/1, 1937, pp. 125-139.

Harry Turtledove, "Justin II's Observance of Justinian's Persian Treaty of 562," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 76, 1983, pp. 292-301.

Jamshedji M. Unvala, *The Pahlavi Text "King Husrav and his Boy": Published with its Translation, Transcription and Copious Notes*, Paris, 1921.

Mario Vitalone, "Khosrow of the Immortal Soul in the New Persian Zoroastrian Literary Tradition," in C. G. Cereti, M. Maggi and E. Provasi, eds., *Religious Themes and Texts of Pre-Islamic Iran and Central Asia: Studies in Honour of Professor Gherardo Gnoli on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday on 6th December 2002*, Wiesbaden, 2003, pp. 435-40.

Michael and Mary Whitby, *The History of Theophylact Simocatta: An English Translation with Introduction and Notes*, Oxford, 1986.

Michael Whitby, "The Persian King at War," in E. Dąbrowa, ed., *The Roman and Byzantine Army in the East*, Kraków, 1994, pp. 227-63.

Geo Widengren, "Xosrau Anōšurvān, les Hephtalites et les peuples turcs," *Orientalia Suecana* 1, 1952, pp. 69-94.

Idem, "Recherches sur le féodalisme iranien," *Orientalia Suecana* 5, 1956, pp. 79-182.

Idem, "Iran, der große Gegner Roms: Königsgewalt, Feudalismus, Militärwesen," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* II, 9/1, Berlin and New York, 1976, pp. 219-306.

Josef Wiesehöfer, "Chusro I. und das Sasanidenreich," in M. Meier, ed., *Sie schufen Europa: Historische Portraits von Konstantin bis Karl dem Großen*, Munich, 2007, pp. 195-215.

Idem, "Kawad, Khusro and the Mazdakites: A New Proposal," in Ph. Gignoux, Ch. Jullien and F. Jullien, eds., *Trésors d'Orient: Mélanges offerts à Rika Gyselen*, *Studia Iranica Cahier* 42, Paris, 2009, pp. 391-409.

Engelbert Winter, "Handel und Wirtschaft in sāsānidisch-(ost-)römischen Verträgen und Abkommen," *Münstersche Beiträge zur Antiken Handelsgeschichte* VI/2, 1987, pp. 46-74.

Ehsan Yarshater, "Mazdakism," in *The Cambridge History of Iran* III/2 Cambridge, 1983, pp. 991-1024.

KOSROW I ii. REFORMS

A series of reforms in the taxation of the Sasanian monarchy and in its military organization, probably initiated already under Kawād I, were carried out to their full extent by his son, **Kosrow** I Anuširwān (r. 531-79).

Sources. The two most detailed surviving accounts in Arabic are Ṭabari's *Ta'rik al-rosul wa'l-muluk* and the *Nehāyat al-erab fi akbār al-fors wa'l-'arab*, falsely attributed to Asma'i. In New Persian, Ferdowsi's *Šāh-nāma* is likewise valuable. Bal'ami's modified translation of Ṭabari into Persian adds at least one important detail. These sources appear to derive, through different lines of transmission, from various redactions of the lost Sasanian Xwadāy-nāmag (Khwadāy-nāmag). A literary source which seems to have used good sources independent of the Xwadāy-nāmag tradition is the so-called *Sirat Anuširwān*, professedly an autobiography of King **Kosrow** I, embedded in Meskawayh's *Tajāreb al-omam*. Other sources in which some valuable details about the reforms have been preserved are the geographical surveys of **Ebn Kordādbeh**, **Ebn Hawqal**, and **Ebn Rosta** (see "Bibliography").